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Use policy

Integrating economic and community development within the context of rural regeneration in County Durham

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography,

University of Durham

May 2005

For Mum and Dad, with love
(and for all of my bears)

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work. Data from other authors contained herein are acknowledged at the appropriate point in the text.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Integrating economic and community development within the context of rural regeneration in County Durham

Alison L. Scott, University of Durham, May 2005

Many policy-makers and academics now argue that if development is to be successful, the approach needs to be holistic encompassing different strands of activity and, importantly, the community needs to be involved. Community and partnership are central themes within policy. The rise of partnership working is associated with a shift to governance. The emphasis on community as a target for government action and as having a role to play in policy formation and delivery can be understood as a form of governmentality - governing through community. This thesis explores the integration of economic and community development understood as both the bringing together of different strands of development activity and of top-down and bottom-up efforts.

The research focuses on the rural areas of County Durham. It examines development activity at a county level and in three case study areas. Rural areas in the County vary significantly in terms of their socio-economic history and the approach allows comparison of integration in different settings. The contested nature of the concept of community has been largely neglected in previous work drawing on the governmentality perspective, but is a key part of this work.

The findings suggest that many local people are not involved in development activity. There are some new actors, but not mass participative democracy. Blurred boundaries between actors/organisations from different sectors and the power relationships within partnerships cast doubt on the difference between government and governance. Adopting a governmentality approach shows how governmental technologies influence the integration of economic and community development. In some ways integration is hindered, but the evidence shows that obstacles can be overcome indicating the need to consider local agency and the possibility of resistance. Notions of governing through community need to be qualified with regard to disengagement.

List of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Plates

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND

Despite the efforts of successive Governments it is widely agreed that economic development policy in Britain has largely failed to deliver. From the 1970s development policy prioritised economic over social issues and physical and property-led approaches dominated. It was argued that social deprivation would also be addressed as the benefits of new economic activity 'trickled down' (Foley and Martin, 2000a). Initiatives were mainly top-down (agency-led). By the late 1980s, early 1990s, commentators were proclaiming the limits of such a policy agenda. Geographical inequalities have widened and places suffer from multiple deprivation. There has been growing recognition that if development is to be successful it needs to be holistic tackling economic, social and environmental problems and, significantly, involve local people.

Economic development policy has traditionally been concerned with ostensibly 'economic' objectives with initiatives focusing on areas such as inward investment, business support and infrastructure provision. Commentators now report a broadening of economic policy and a blurring with social themes. This is influenced by national and European policy agendas emphasising 'joined up solutions to joined up problems' (SEU, 1998) and a concern with social exclusion (Betteley and Valler, 2000; see Geddes and Newman, 1999; Foley and Martin, 2001a; Valler and Betteley, 2001). Community has become a central theme in policy. It is argued that the community needs to play a much greater role in both the formation of development policy and delivery. There is a perceived need to integrate economic development with community development.

Community development is an increasingly significant aspect of development policy, but the term is used with different meanings. It may refer to a particular strand of development activity which involves building people's confidence and giving them skills. Such work it is argued by some people is necessary to ensure communities benefit from (economic) development initiatives. The work may also involve enabling people to participate in development activity from consultation to delivery, including helping to establish community level organisations. Alternatively community development may refer to development activity within a particular geographical area, or undertaken by a community - bottom-up development. Owing to differing interpretations integrating economic and community development can, therefore, refer to the pulling together of different strands of development activity and/or the bringing together of top-down and bottom-up efforts.

The term regeneration has been increasingly used in policy discourse and following this academic discourse. Regeneration implies recovery after decline. The term now appears to be used more commonly than development. Commentators argue that regeneration needs to be holistic and involve the community (Haughton, 1998). Economic and community development are seen as integral parts of the regeneration process.

There have been different co-ordination strategies for economic and community development in the past. The current concern with integration of economic and social themes in some ways can be seen as a revival of the policy agenda in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Valler and Betteley, 2001). At this time the approach to economic and community development was state-led. From the late 1970s there was change to an approach in which economic development through market forces was seen as the route to community development and again this was a top-down process. Dissatisfaction with these strategies from the early 1990s has led to a new approach based on partnership. The efforts of the public, private, voluntary and community sectors are to link up in order to achieve the desired holistic approach to development/regeneration. The rise of partnership working is associated with a shift from government to governance.

The central role of the community in the rhetoric and discourse of this policy arena is particularly interesting. Working in partnership by 'bringing the community in' has become both the policy goal and a method of policy formation. The community is cast as being the target of government policy and as playing an active role in policy formation and delivery. From a theoretical point of view this can be understood as a particular form of governmentality. Community is a problematic and ambiguous concept. It is important to interrogate how community is understood within the context of governing, but this is an area which has been largely ignored within previous research drawing on the governmentality perspective.

Traditionally economic and community development have been seen as separate activities, the remit for which falling to different institutions, departments and practitioners. Development/regeneration has been a largely top-down process. Economic and community development have also been theorised independently within the academic literature. Whilst it is reported that the integration of economic and community development is a key theme in policy and that the community is being placed at the heart of the regeneration policy agenda there has been little empirical investigation of the phenomenon. As Betteley and Valler (2000: p296) argue "[t]o date, claims around the seemingly closer relationship of local economic and social policies in the 1990s have largely run ahead of empirical support, and there is a clear need for detailed investigation of both the configuration and meaning of new arrangements".

This thesis explores the integration of economic and community development within the context of rural regeneration. It investigates whether economic and community development are being integrated at the local level, how this is being facilitated, or prevented, the new forms of working associated with it and the roles of different sectors, particularly the community. The research is based in County Durham and specifically focuses on rural areas which have been relatively neglected in commentaries on the integration of economic and community development. Much of the previous work has focused on urban areas which it is argued have been worst hit by economic and social deprivation owing to the decline of employment in traditional industries and changes to the welfare system (Betteley and Valler, 2000; see SEU, 1998). County Durham is an interesting case as it is a predominantly rural

county, but was once dominated by the coalmining industry and as a result many of the problems associated with urban areas are found within the County's rural setting. Not all of the County has an industrial past, however, and there are significant variations between the rural areas which may affect the capacity to integrate economic and community development. The rural focus of the work is particularly significant in terms of the emphasis on community in regeneration policy as rural areas are often characterised as having communities which are ideal for participating in the regeneration process.[1] Issues surrounding the integration of economic and community development in different rural areas are investigated in this thesis through the adoption of a case study approach. The thesis draws on the governance and governmentality perspectives. These theoretical perspectives have been pioneered in the urban studies literature and there is potential to develop them further through study in rural contexts (Woods and Goodwin, 2003).

Community, as I have noted, is a problematic term. It is often used uncritically and functions as political/governmental rhetoric. In general I only use the term within this thesis when referring to its use by policy-makers and other actors and within the academic literature. However, given the topic of the research it is difficult to avoid using the term entirely.

The thesis is funded by an Economic and Social Research Council CASE (Collaborative Awards in Science and Engineering) studentship and the collaborating organisation is the Economic Development and Planning Department, Durham County Council. The Council's concern with the integration of economic and community development stems from the increasing requirement for this within national and European funding streams. The work provides the first narrative of economic and community development policy and practice in County Durham. A qualitative methodological approach involving interviews and participant observation was employed for the research and the collaborative nature of the work was influential in this. The relationship with Durham County Council was particularly significant in terms of access to key actors and research settings. It is intended that the research findings will be of interest to Durham County Council and

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[1] Selecting County Durham as the research area also meets a strategic objective of the University of Durham - to develop closer links with its surrounding region.

that they can be potentially of use in its work with partners. The aims of the research are detailed in the next section and following this an outline of the thesis structure is provided.

1.2   RESEARCH AIMS

As the research was established as an Economic and Social Research Council CASE studentship the project title and aims were originally determined by the academic supervisors and representatives of the Economic Development and Planning Department of Durham County Council and included in the studentship specification.   The title was *Integrating social, community and economic development within the context of rural regeneration: A comparative study to influence the economic and social regeneration of County Durham.*   The original aims were:

i.   To determine the effectiveness of the current relationships between local authorities, the private sector and voluntary and community organisations within County Durham in tackling rural regeneration.

ii.   To examine the existing mechanisms for combining strategic economic development and regeneration policy with locally driven community development activity and explore the scope for improving these, particularly in smaller, isolated settlements of rural areas.

iii.   To inform organisations involved in economic development and social and community regeneration activities on appropriate approaches to combining community and economic development within rural areas suffering comparable levels of deprivation to major urban areas but compounded by the effects of rurality and isolation.

iv.   To draw upon debates in human geography and cognate social sciences on issues of regulation and governance in understanding issues of regeneration in County Durham and to inform those debates via drawing upon fresh empirical evidence produced as part of the research.

At the beginning of the research I took on these aims. Early work involved engaging with bodies of academic literature concerned with economic and community development, governance and rural studies. Recent work on changes in governing, particularly within the rural studies literature, has employed a governmentality perspective in looking at the emphasis on community within policy (for example, Murdoch, 1997; Ward and McNicholas, 1998; see also Herbert-Cheshire, 2000) and such an approach appeared relevant to my concern with the integration of economic and community development. I also recognised a need to look more closely at the definition and construction of the concept of community. As the work evolved, therefore, I adopted a new title and a revised set of aims on which this thesis is based. The aims are:

i. To identify the nature and scope of current economic development and community development policies and activities in County Durham.

ii. To identify the role played by members of communities in development policy-making and delivery in County Durham and how different actors/organisations see a role for members of communities.

iii. To examine the integration of economic and community development in rural County Durham, both in terms of different strands of development activity and the involvement of different actors/agencies.

iv. To draw upon debates in human geography and the cognate social sciences on governance and governmentality in understanding regeneration in County Durham and contribute to these debates.

v. To identify the policy/practice issues surrounding the integration of economic and community development in order to inform Durham County Council and its partners.

1.3   THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into six chapters.

In *Chapter Two* I discuss the key concepts and theoretical perspectives which underpin this research. At the beginning of the chapter I set out important shifts within UK development policy highlighting the changing focus between economic and social polices, and discourses of community. Partnership is a key theme in policy and I discuss issues surrounding partnership working and outline ideas on governance. I also discuss the contested nature of community which is central to this thesis. The research draws on the governmentality perspective. I detail this approach and how the governmentality literature interprets the emphasis on community and partnership in recent policy. As the work is concerned with rural areas at the end of the chapter I outline debates surrounding the concept of rurality.

In *Chapter Three* I focus on the research area of County Durham and the policy context. I detail the socio-economic history of County Durham which is dominated by the rise and fall of the coal industry and the associated effects on the County's economy and population. I then describe the current state of the County. Policies dating back to the 1940s are significant to a present day understanding of the issues facing the County, so I outline the policy history before discussing more recent policy developments at the national, regional and county scales.

I discuss the predominantly qualitative research methodology in *Chapter Four* detailing the methods of data collection and analysis chosen. I also outline a number of issues which were encountered or considered in the research process. The collaborative nature of the research has both advantages and disadvantages in terms of the methodological approach and these are highlighted in the chapter. The empirical research can be divided into two main strands - investigation at the county level and investigation of three case study areas. In the second part of part of the chapter I detail the case study approach. I describe each of the areas drawing on some of the research evidence and discuss the rationale for the selection of areas in order to set the scene for the case study work in the following chapter.

In *Chapter Five* I evaluate the evidence from my research. I discuss how economic and community development and regeneration are understood within County Durham, the types of activity they involve and how this has evolved in recent years. I also consider the definition of community in the development/regeneration process. Many people are not engaged in local activity in County Durham and I focus on the significance of this and suggest what it means in terms of governmentality. I then explore further issues surrounding the community in development/regeneration including the role local people can and should be expected to play, who becomes involved, concerns around representativeness and problems faced by those who are engaged. I also look at the multi-involvement of local activists. Following these discussions I examine the integration of economic and community development in County Durham. Here I consider people's opinions on the relationship between these different strands of development activity, the desire for integration and what is happening in terms of integration in the County - how in certain ways it is hindered, but can also be facilitated. Having detailed many of the issues surrounding local people's involvement in development/regeneration I briefly discuss integration in terms of bringing together top-down and bottom-up efforts. As it is an important mechanism in the integration of economic and community development, and a key theme in recent policy, in the last section I consider the experience of partnership working in County Durham focusing on its history in the County, its recent proliferation, its advantages and disadvantages, factors contributing to success and the involvement of different sectors.

Finally in *Chapter Six* I summarise the main findings of the thesis. I critically reflect on the research process acknowledging problems encountered and limitations of the chosen methodological approach. In conclusion I detail the theoretical and policy/practice implications of the study and make suggestions for future research.

Key Concepts

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I discuss the key concepts and theoretical perspectives underpinning the research. I start by outlining the key shifts in development policy, showing the change in emphasis between economic and social policies and how community has become central to recent policy. In the following section I focus on partnership, another key theme in policy, and discuss issues surrounding partnership working and outline notions of governance. Following this I focus on community and describe the contested nature of the concept which is significant for this research. The emphasis on community in recent development policy has been interpreted as a shift in governmentality and I detail this perspective which is employed in my research. Although governance and governmentality are the main theoretical perspectives drawn on in the research, and discussed in this chapter, it should be noted that I also use the body of work concerned with what Woods and Goodwin (2003: p257) refer to as the "local politics of rural change" to help in understanding how the actors involved "engage with the changes to governance and policy". Many of the concepts I am drawing on have been developed in the urban studies literature. Recently they have started to be applied to rural areas and it is within this context that I will be using them. Two issues need to be considered here: first whether urban ideas can be imported to rural situations (Woods and Goodwin, 2003) in this way; and second, the contested nature of the concept rural. An important theme within this chapter is the relationship between theory and policy. It should be recognised that this relationship is not unidirectional, but reciprocal. Theory can be led by as well as influence policy (see Lovering, 1999).

2.2   KEY POLICY SHIFTS

2.2.1   *1945 - mid-1970s*

After 1945 socio-economic development policy was based on controlling land-use and development (with a formal system laid down in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act), redressing the imbalance between rich and poor regions and establishing the welfare state to provide government determined universal services delivered to national standards (Hill, 1994; 2000). In the 1960s, however, a "'rediscovery of poverty'" (Hill, 2000: p21) called the planning system and welfare services into question and led to a shift in policy. The issues which needed to be tackled went well beyond what could be defined under planning (Cullingworth and Nadin, 1997) and there was pressure to broaden the object of planning to cover economic, social and physical development. A number of anti-poverty programmes were developed which had an urban focus and were not universal, but targeted on particularly deprived areas (Hill, 1994; 2000). The Urban Programme was developed in 1968 and formalised in 1969. Discourses of community[1] became significant in policy agendas at this time. The loss of community was believed to be partly responsible for the decline of places (see Home Office, 1968) and so at the same time as the Urban Programme Community Development Projects (CDPs) were also established (Imrie and Raco, 2003).[2] They were an attempt at joined-up government with citizen involvement and self-help. The remit of the Urban Programme projects and Community Development Projects included strengthening community involvement in initiatives. Locating and mobilising communities was often difficult (see Higgins *et al.*, 1983) and a top-down process (Imrie and Raco, 2003). The many problems with involving communities resonate with those for community development initiatives today (Imrie and Raco, 2003; see Stewart *et al.*, 1976).

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[1] Community is a contested concept which I will discuss in detail later in this chapter (see section 2.4).

[2] Taylor *et al.* (2000) chart the origins of, and changes within, community development in depth from before this period and onwards. I noted the difficulty of defining community development in Chapter One. Taylor *et al.* (2000: p12) in defining community development argue that "[a] total approach aims to give people the opportunity to define the goals they want to achieve both for themselves and for their community, release the energy and skills needed to achieve these goals both in the community and beyond it, and ensure that they are combined to the greatest effect".

2.2.2 Mid-1970s - early 1990s

Concerns about unemployment were added to those of welfare in the 1970s and there was a change in focus from social to economic projects. This was marked by the 1977 White Paper *Policy for the Inner Cities* (DoE, 1977) and 1978 Inner Urban Areas Act in which reversing economic decline was seen as the key to tackling the entrenched socio-economic problems of the inner cities (Hill, 1994; 2000).[3]

Following the 1979 election of the Conservative government policy was influenced by a New Right ideology. There was "emphasis on the market and a reduced role of the state in both economic and welfare provision" (Hill, 2000: p26). The private sector was of primary importance both in terms of encouraging investment - through deregulation and financial incentives - and business involvement in decision-making and implementation. The emphasis on the private sector in policy was established with the 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act which introduced initiatives including the Urban Development Corporations (UDCs). As Hill (2000: p28) details "the UDCs reflected an important change of direction from a needs-based policy to a supply-side approach that aimed to attract private enterprise into specifically defined areas". The Urban Development Corporations were one of a new public-private organisational form - quasi-nongovernmental organisations (Quangos) - to which powers were transferred from local authorities. During the 1980s urban areas were suffering from the decline of manufacturing industries and there was a threat of social unrest. The Urban Development Corporations were to undertake regeneration, a term which was not clearly defined in the 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act (Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Hill, 2000).

As I noted in Chapter One, the term regeneration implies recovery after decline. There is no literature which clearly traces the evolution of the concept of regeneration; it appears to have become part of academic discourse after its use in policy. Research by Smith (2003) shows that the term was in use in official publications from the early 1980s and there was a dramatic increase in the mid-1990s. In the 1980s regeneration initiatives such as the Urban Development

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[3] In places where community development was taking place there was a move to initiatives concerned with enterprise and training (Taylor *et al.*, 2000).

Corporations were dominated by property-led approaches. Regeneration was to be brought about "through an agenda of wealth creation" (Haughton *et al.*, 1999: p212). Policy was focused "not on people and communities, but on property and physical regeneration" (Colenutt and Cutten, 1994). The benefits of this approach, it was hoped, would 'trickle down' to communities. By the late 1980s, however, commentators were arguing that 'trickle down' was not working. Policies were criticised for being top-down and lacking in terms of social development (Imrie and Raco, 2003). At this time discourses of community were partly founded on ideas of developing community capacity as a way to reduce government spending. As Imrie and Raco (2003: pp10-11) argue "the broader political objective ... was a moralisation of individuals ... policies defined the individual as a sovereign consumer, whose interests were best served by minimal government and the facilitation of choice through the context of the market".[4] There was, however, little support for citizen involvement in regeneration and as Hoggett (1997: p10) claims community "became a metaphor for the absence or withdrawal of services by the state".

2.2.3 Early 1990s onwards

A significant shift in policy at the beginning of the 1990s was a move to resources being allocated through competitive bidding processes. It was not necessarily the most deprived areas which would gain funding, but projects where the capacity for improvement could be demonstrated (Hill, 2000). This change came with the Challenge funds, the first of which being City Challenge later followed by Rural Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Challenge Fund. The Single Regeneration Budget was introduced in 1994 and was an attempt by government to tackle co-ordination and overcome the Audit Commission's (1989) criticism of the "patchwork quilt" of previous regeneration initiatives. It was managed through the new Government Offices of the Regions (GORs). According to Oatley (1998) a significant feature of the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund is that it 'de-urbanised' regeneration policy. Its "comprehensive national coverage ... acknowledges that there are regeneration issues in both the urban and rural context"

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[4] Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher claimed that "it is our duty to look after ourselves, and then to look after our neighbour" (Thatcher, 1987: p10 quoted *in* Imrie and Raco, 2003: p11).

(Oatley, 1998: p158). The Challenge Fund opened up opportunities for places which previously did not qualify for assistance including the coalfields.

In the early 1990s economic development was the main aim of regeneration initiatives. Unlike in earlier policies social problems were not neglected. Integrated approaches including economic, social and environmental aims were emphasised. Social problems were subordinate, however, to economic development which was "defined in terms of the competitive success of enterprise and localities" (Oatley, 1998: p154). Analysis of the first round of the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund shows the emphasis on economic growth and the priority given to employment and education initiatives (see Mawson *et al.*, 1995). The importance of human resource development was, however, a change from the property-development focus of the 1980s (Hall and Nevin, 1999).

From the early 1990s there was concern with the uneven effects of 1980s regeneration initiatives. Dissatisfaction with the top-down (agency-led) approaches of the 1980s led to an increasing number of community-based or bottom-up approaches to regeneration (Smith and Schelsinger, 1993). There was a shift within policy towards themes of community participation, empowerment and partnership (Imrie and Raco, 2003). The Challenge funds required bids to be put together by partnerships involving members of the public, private and voluntary sectors and communities. Government believed that regeneration could best be achieved by involving people who live and work in the areas concerned (Imrie and Raco, 2003). Commentators have, however, criticised these regeneration initiatives with Foley and Martin (2000a: p481) claiming that there is "little evidence that challenge programmes had any discernable impact on the levels of alienation felt by communities in the most deprived urban areas". Members of communities received little by way of empowerment or resources (Imrie and Raco, 2003; see Lovering, 1995) and were unable to participate on equal terms within partnerships. As Cameron and Davoudi (1998: p250) have commented the "community partners have ... been given a mere presence rather than a voice". Community consultation was also often crude (Foley and Martin, 2000a).

Moves towards community-based economic regeneration mean that formal economic development is increasingly complemented by community economic development. This has been influenced by the importance of community economic development within European funding programmes (see Haughton *et al.*, 1999). There are different interpretations of community economic development (Haughton, 1998; Savoie, 2000; see also Boothroyd and Davis 1993). As Lawless (2001: p149) describes "[t]he sector consists of a rather ill-defined set of initiatives, which tend to adopt diffuse social, as well as economic, objectives". Community economic development covers a range of activities including community empowerment and capacity building, institution building at the local level (developing community organisations) and developing community businesses. Haughton (1998) makes a distinction between 'localist' and 'mainstream' community economic development. Emphasis in localist approaches is on strengthening a localised economy by building alternatives to the mainstream market such as community businesses and credit unions. Mainstream approaches are less about developing alternatives to mainstream markets and more about tackling social exclusion and linking the socially excluded with the mainstream economy the focus in this approach is on more actively engaging people in mainstream initiatives such as training and support for small business. It is this approach which is embraced by the mainstream funders in the UK.

New Labour came to power in 1997 after eighteen years of Conservative government. Emphasis is on a new approach between the market and the state.[5] The New Labour government's argument for reform is based on a belief that the state has been relied on too much in the past, as Home Secretary David Blunkett (2002: p1) stated "government could never do it all... We have deluded ourselves if we believed we could simply deliver from the centre" (quoted *in* Imrie and Raco, 2003: p13). Individuals are believed to be tied to society through communities and it is through partnership with these communities, "partnerships between government and civil society" that New Labour seeks to tackle social and economic problems (Imrie and Raco, 2003: p7). The New Labour approach is summarised by Hill (2000: p36) as being "focused on the requirement to match individual opportunity

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[5] Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001) briefly review debates on the 'third way' concept.

with responsibility ..., on new forms of accountability of service providers to consumers and voters, on citizenship as fulfilling obligations as much as claiming rights and on the virtue of community".

The "New Labour approach to regeneration ... is embedded within a broader understanding and strategy concerning social exclusion" (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001: p923). Hill (2000) describes social exclusion as being not only about material deprivation, but also referring to the restrictions on participating in social and political life that stem from concentrations of poverty. The emphasis on social exclusion sets the New Labour government's approach apart from previous governments.[6] The New Labour government believes that the approach to regeneration should be holistic and involve all relevant government departments and agencies from different sectors, including the community, in partnership working. Its approach to regeneration places greater emphasis on tackling social problems along with economic development (Smith, 2003). The Government believes that economic development and regeneration have been undertaken in isolation for too long. There is, however, an emphasis on the mainstream economy, which is seen as the key to regeneration - for New Labour the economy has to be working in order for regeneration to be possible. Such belief is behind the thinking on the development of the Regional Development Agencies (Bennett *et al.*, 2000) which were established in 1999 following the 1997 White Paper *Partnerships for Prosperity in the English Regions* (DETR, 1997a). These new regional bodies are to "... promote sustainable economic development and social and physical regeneration and ... co-ordinate the work of regional and local partners in areas such as training, investment, regeneration and business support" (DETR, 1997a: p9).

The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) was established by the Government in 1997 in order to co-ordinate polices from different government departments and tackle specific problems. In 1998 the Unit published *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (SEU, 1998), which acknowledged that despite thirty years of regeneration policies conditions in the most deprived areas had worsened (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001). Previous initiatives had not

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[6] The exact meaning of social exclusion, according to Tiesdell and Allmendinger (2001), remains problematic.

"succeeded in setting in motion a virtuous circle of regeneration" (SEU, 1998 : p9). The report's main conclusion was "that 'joined-up problems' had never been addressed in 'joined-up ways' " (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001: p915). The need to learn from previous approaches was stressed, for example by involving communities rather than 'parachuting in' solutions (see SEU, 1998; Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001; Imrie and Raco, 2003). Following consultation, the National Strategy Action Plan was published in 2001 (SEU, 2001). The Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU) was established "to spearhead change across and outside government, intervene where national policies or local implementation was failing, and to adopt and refine national strategy in the light of experience" (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001). At a local level the development of Local Strategic Partnerships is to be encouraged. These partnerships involving members of the public, private, voluntary and community sectors are to co-ordinate services and initiatives at the local level. Responsibility for policy development at the local level has not returned to local authorities, but lies with a number of supra-local organisations which are based on partnerships, including the Regional Development Agencies and Local Strategic Partnerships (Imrie and Raco, 2003). Local authorities do have a new power, which was included in the 1999 Local Government Bill and introduced in the 2000 Local Government Act - "to promote the economic, social, and environmental well-being of their areas" (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001: p913).

Ensuring that mainstream public services - health, education and housing - are effective in the most disadvantaged areas is an important part of the Government's policy. The drive towards 'bending' mainstream spending programmes is central to the approach to tackling deprivation and is being spearheaded by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit. As Imrie and Raco (2003: p14) describe this part of the Government's agenda "reflects, in part, a recognition that local initiatives have been undermined in the past by broader government spending, which has at times transferred greater resources to more affluent places ... at the expense of others". Alongside mainstreaming a number of area-based initiatives have been introduced in order to tackle economic and social decline (for example the New Deal for Communities which was launched in 1998). The New Labour government's approach has a stronger emphasis on targeting funds in areas of greatest need, which

is a move away from the previous government's approach based on need and capacity for improvement (Hill, 2000). The National Strategy did, however, emphasise that the future direction should be a move away from targeted initiatives towards improving mainstream services (Tiesdell and Allmendinger, 2001).

The idea that the state should have a facilitating role rather than providing for people underpins the New Labour government's policy. Communities are encouraged to help themselves and giving people the skills and capacity to be able to do this is central to policy. Communities are also to play a bigger role in the design and implementation of policy.[7] Empowering communities to enable them to be active participants in development/regeneration is a key theme of the 2000 Urban and Rural White Papers (DETR, 2000a; DETR and MAFF, 2000). Policies then are aimed both at improving communities and to be delivered through community action. It can be argued that community action is an alternative to increasing state intervention and related to this public expenditure (see Kling and Posner, 1991). Foley and Martin (2000a), however, argue that New Labour value community involvement for the tacit knowledge members of communities bring to the policy process and the legitimacy related to communities' sense of ownership having been involved. Community participation can generate a sense of ownership which increases the chance of communities playing a role in the maintenance of neighbourhoods and production of services (McArthur, 1993).

The Government's desire for more effective community involvement can be seen in its regeneration programmes, both new programmes and existing ones.[8] Changes to Single Regeneration Budget guidelines, for example, include the need for partnerships to demonstrate how communities are involved in the development and implementation of bids. There is also provision for capacity building to enable members of the community and voluntary sectors to lead bids (Hall and Nevin, 1999; Bennett *et al.*, 2000; Foley and Martin, 2000a; 2000b; see DETR, 1998a; 1999). Foley and Martin (2000a) argue that the increase in the number of successful community and voluntary sector-led Single Regeneration Budget bids suggests this

[7] Gilchrist (2003) discusses community development within the context of the changing role for communities in tackling deprivation.
[8] Chanan (2003) discusses community involvement in depth in a report commissioned by the Government to review its guidance on community involvement in urban policy.

is not empty rhetoric. Subsidiarity and community are key themes of the New Labour government's approach, but there are also centralist tendencies (Hill, 2000).

2.3   PARTNERSHIP

2.3.1 Partnership working

A partnership can be simply understood as two or more people/organisations co-operating when they are not obliged to. Partnerships are not new phenomena, but have grown in number since the 1980s (Pierre, 1998) and are increasingly prominent in economic development and regeneration (Miller, 1999). Partnership working in development/regeneration can be traced back to the late 1970s efforts by government to co-ordinate public sector involvement in development. Under the Conservative governments of the 1980s and early 1990s partnership working became much more significant. During the 1980s public-private sector partnerships were formed which were viewed as a way of dispersing local government responsibility for development/regeneration and introducing business ideas to the public sector. From the early 1990s partnerships were central to the competitive form of regeneration policy (Edwards *et al.*, 2000; see also Hill, 2000). Funding guidelines required bids to be from what are often now referred to as multi-sector partnerships. Multi-sector partnerships involve the public sector (national, regional and local government), private sector (businesses), voluntary and community sectors. Definitions of the voluntary and community sectors are loose and it is not always clear how (or whether) the two are seen to differ (see Cabinet Office Strategy Unit, 2002; Compact Working Group and Active Communities Unit, Home Office, 2003). As Macmillan (2003: p17) describes a common distinction is of a voluntary sector consisting of "mainly larger, more formal and professionalised organisations, often providing services, with larger funding regimes and paid staff teams" and a community sector "primarily consisting of smaller, more informal and less professionalised groups and organisations, operating within specific communities of interest or place, and usually with little or no paid staff" (see also Taylor *et al.*, 2000).[9] It is this distinction I employ in this thesis. Members of, what is referred to as, the community sector in partnerships are often from local groups engaged in

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[9] I discuss the distinction between communities of interest and place in section 2.4.1.

organised activity. Where there is reference to community participation it may, however, also refer to the involvement of local residents or people from particular interest groups, who may not be members of a specific local organisation. Multi-sector partnerships are central to the current New Labour government's approach to development/regeneration (see below) and are, therefore, focused on in this thesis. In addition to UK government policy European policy has also been influential in the rise of partnership working. Emphasis on partnerships in European policy has been on them being seen as mechanisms for shifting funding from state driven "infrastructure based exogenous development" to "locally driven endogenous development" (Edwards *et al.*, 2001: p294; see also Edwards *et al.*, 2000).

Whilst partnership working is in both UK government and European Union policy discourse the meaning of the term is unclear "[central] government has been unwilling to spell out exactly what partnership means, other than expressing hopes that greater co-ordination and synergy will focus minds and maximise resources" (Atkinson, 1999: p63 quoted *in* Gibbs *et al.*, 2001: p106). Edwards *et al.* (2001) discuss the discursive context of partnership working arguing that its meaning is framed both by official policy documents and rhetoric and by partners during the formation and operation of partnerships. As they summarise "the meaning of 'partnership' is discursively constructed and contested through political rhetoric, policy documentation, programme relations, and grassroots practice" (Edwards *et al.*, 2001: pp294-295 see also, Atkinson, 1999; Hastings, 1999).

The partnerships which developed from the early 1990s were intended to create a more co-ordinated and strategic approach to regeneration. Partnerships are seen as a way of pooling resources (such as knowledge and finances) in order to gain a capacity to act, create synergy. There are different types of partnership. Some operate at a strategic level and are concerned with determining policy and perhaps distributing funding, whilst others are established in order to undertake particular projects or programmes of projects. Edwards *et al.* (2000) distinguish between two different types of partnership organisations which differ in terms of their activities and a number of other factors. Delivery partnerships are constructed for specific projects, are funded by specific programmes and often have a limited life. Facilitative partnerships focus on strategic discussion and planning and do not have

a pre-determined lifespan. Partnerships may operate at different scales including regional, county and sub-county (for example, district). Partnerships also form within small geographical areas and within particular interest groups which are led by local people who are starting to play more of a role in development/regeneration. The experience of partnership working varies between places as it is affected by locally specific social, cultural, economic and political factors (Edwards *et al.*, 2001).

Commentators have made a number of criticisms of the partnership approach to regeneration/development which developed during the 1990s. Regeneration programme funding requirements necessitated bids to be made by partnerships and this was a dominant rationale for their formation. As Peck and Tickell (1994: p263) describe partnership became "the key to unlocking competitively-allocated resources, both from Brussels and Whitehall". The proliferation of partnerships has created problems including a need for more effective co-ordination of them all (Peck and Tickell, 1994) and partnership fatigue. There are also problems surrounding the involvement of different sectors. Differences in the abilities and strengths of each sector mean that ideas of equal partnerships are cast into doubt. Non-funding partners may not feel as equal and those who are involved in funding the partnership, for example. There are also concerns about the blurring of boundaries between organisations and their responsibilities. There can be problems with accountability and scapegoating (Edwards *et al.*, 2000).

Commentators have highlighted the participation of communities and the community sector as being particularly problematic. Issues include their participation being meaningful and not merely tokenism. Local people/organisations have not always felt like valued partners. They may not have the resources required for involvement in partnerships such as knowledge, contacts and technical expertise, or be able to commit the labour, time and money (Jones and Little, 2000). Discourses can exclude people who do not have the necessary technical knowledge (Murdoch and Abram, 1998; Smith, 2001). Organisations from the voluntary sector may also struggle to have the labour power to commit to partnerships. Whilst there may have been equal numbers of people/organisations from the different sectors on partnership boards community and voluntary sector organisations have often lacked

power and influence, only being consulted after the agenda has been set by other partners (Foley and Martin, 2000a). Some recent initiatives have pointed to the need for other partnership members to undertake capacity building work in order to be trained in how to work with local people (Gilchrist, 2003). There may be a requirement to include the community sector or members of communities in partnerships, but who becomes involved, or is selected for involvement, can raise concerns about representativeness and affect partnerships' legitimacy.[10] The very people who the regeneration work is targeted on may be excluded from the process (Jones and Little, 2000). Elected representatives can feel that their position is threatened by other local representatives (Edwards *et al.*, 2000).[11]

There can also be problems surrounding private sector participation as this may not always be forthcoming. Limited private sector involvement may be owing to a lack of interest or problems with encouraging companies, or representatives of industrial sectors, to participate in work which may not directly benefit them (Gibbs *et al.*, 2001).[12] Additionally, there can be particular problems in rural areas where there is less private sector activity. The small organisations which do exist may experience similar problems to voluntary and community sector organisations in terms of having the resources required for partnership working (Jones and Little, 2000).

Problems surrounding the involvement of local people and organisations in regeneration partnerships "led various commentators to conclude that partnership was a largely discredited notion by the late 1990s" (Imrie and Raco, 2003: p12). Partnerships, however, continue to be central to the development/regeneration process (and within different policy areas) under the New Labour government. Partnership is a keyword in New Labour discourse (Fairclough, 2000). Partnership working in regeneration is closely associated with the Government's 'joined-up'

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[10] Problems surrounding the legitimacy of local groups representing the views of others is a significant issue. Public agencies sometimes complain if local groups cannot live up to an expectation of representing all views. Officials have turned to using methods such as surveys to tap into the diversity of views in order to complement the participation of local activists (Goodlad, 2002).
[11] In addition to the problems surrounding local people's involvement in multi-sector partnerships, there are issues concerning people's participation in smaller, local groups. These problems include, for example, representation and accountability (see Goodlad, 2002; Taylor, 2002).
[12] Colenutt (1999) discussing private sector involvement in strategic public/private regeneration partnerships under the New Labour government argues that large companies may feel it to be worthwhile as they may benefit from funding and from influencing policy and planning decisions.

approach - tackling joined-up problems with joined-up solutions and joined-up government. The joined-up approach involves co-ordinating the efforts of different government departments and the different tiers of government. The new Regional Development Agencies and Local Strategic Partnerships are to co-ordinate the work of partners within regions and local areas. The Government has argued that the advantages of the partnership approach to regeneration outweigh the disadvantages (DETR, 1997b). There has been recognition of the problems of previous partnerships, however, including them being 'paper partnerships' (DETR, 1997b) or what Jones and Little (2000) refer to as 'false partnerships', which have only been established to secure funding. As Foley and Martin (2000a: p482) comment "while statements about the need for partnership between the public, private and voluntary/community sectors are not new, there is a growing sense that, as a senior Whitehall official put it recently, "Whilst we've said for years that the community must be involved, *this time we really do mean it*" ". As I have already noted in this chapter the New Labour government has placed much more emphasis on developing the capacity of communities and voluntary sector organisations so they can have more involvement in the regeneration process including leading on bids and within partnerships.

2.3.2 Partnership and governance[13]

The rise of partnership working which I have discussed in this chapter is associated with a shift from government to governance (Stoker, 1998a). Traditionally governance has been seen as synonymous with government, but more recent academic work distinguishes between government and governance (Rhodes, 1996; Goodwin, 1998; Stoker, 1998a; 1998b; Painter, 2000). It is not that the outputs of governance are different, "[g]overnance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action", but the processes (Stoker, 1998b: p17). As Rhodes (1996: p652) describes "governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to a *new* process of governing; or a *changed* condition of ordered rule; or the *new* method by which society is governed" (emphasis in original). There are a number of different meanings of the term governance (Rhodes, 1996; Stoker, 1998b); the process, condition or method

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[13] The discussion of governance is brief compared to that of governmentality (section 2.5) as it is less central to the thesis. It provides context for debates about partnership.

referred to in Rhodes' (1996) description can be specified in different ways (Rhodes, 1996: p653).

There is general agreement that governance refers to governing styles which involve a wide array of both actors and institutions from the public, private and voluntary/community sectors (Painter, 2000) and with a blurring of boundaries between the sectors (Stoker, 1998b). Government is just one part of governance which involves different actors and agencies working at different levels. As Painter (2000: p317) argues "[t]o some extent this definition is a belated recognition that the coordination of complex social systems and the steering of societal development have never been the responsibilities of the state alone, but have always involved interaction between a range of state and non-state actors".

As the policy narrative earlier in this chapter described, after the Second World War development was a state-led top-down process. Following 1979 there was a shift to a market-led approach. Both of these approaches were found wanting leading to a further shift from the mid-1990s to an approach which lies between the state and the market and involves partnership working. This can be described as a change in co-ordination strategies for governing from co-ordination through hierarchy, then markets and more recently networks and *partnerships* (Painter, 2000; Newman, 2001). This framework is an oversimplification (Newman, 2001), but is useful and commonly used in describing a shift from government to governance.

Rhodes (1996) defines governance as referring to self-organising inter-organisational networks. He lists four characteristics of governance:

> (1) "Interdependence between organizations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors. Changing boundaries of the state meant the boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors became shifting and opaque.
> (2) Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes.
> (3) Game-like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants.
> (4) A significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organising. Although the

state does not occupy a privileged, sovereign position, it can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks"

(Rhodes, 1996: p660).

The shift from government to governance can be usefully related to Jessop's (1997) work on the reorganisation of the state. Of particular significance is what is referred to as the hollowing out of the state which involves two processes. First, the denationalisation of the state which suggests that there has been a move of powers between different levels of government - upwards, downwards and sideways. Whilst regional and local levels of government may have enhanced roles the nation state has not lost power (Gibbs *et al.*, 2001). Second, the destatisation of the political system. Many commentators argue that non-state (private and voluntary/community sector) organisations have become relatively more important in governing compared to the state (Painter, 2000). Jessop's (1997) work involves a third process which is the internationalisation of policy regimes and "refers to the growing importance of international contexts and policy arenas for state actors" (Gibbs *et al.*, 2001: p105).

The combined trends of governance operating at different territorial scales, both larger and smaller than the national state, and the inclusion of actors and organisations from different sectors (in Jessop's (1997; 2002) terms the denationalisation of the state and the destatisation of the political system) are reflected in the concept of multi-level governance (Jessop, 2002). There is a wide body of literature concerned with theoretical and empirical work on the organisation and operation of multi-level governance (for example, MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999; Hooghe and Marks, 2003; Morgan, forthcoming).

The governance perspective recognises that the capacity for 'getting things done' does not depend on government alone (Stoker, 1998b). The governance literature suggests that government has recognised this and reinvented itself (Goodwin, 1998: p9). The new role for government is in managing and steering. Government identifies organisations and actors, bringing them together to act. It may steer the relationships to achieve or avoid certain ends (Goodwin, 1998; Stoker, 1998b; see also Kooiman and Van Vliet, 1993). Where government does identify "new operational parameters" success is not guaranteed, however (Goodwin, 1998: p9).

As Jessop (1995: p325) argues "the growing obsession with governance mechanisms as a solution to market failure or state failure should not lead to a neglect of governance failure. One should avoid seeing governance as being necessarily a more efficient solution than markets or states to problems of economic and political co-ordination" (see also Jessop, 1998; 2002). Many different kinds of problems between partners and institutions can lead to governance failure. There can be legitimacy and representational crises owing to gaps between those who are involved in networks and those being represented and problems in achieving compliance. Where there are a number of different partnership and governance arrangements involved with related issues there can also be problems around co-ordination (Jessop, 2002; see also Jessop, 1998).

The New Labour government's approach places a strong emphasis on the role of the community in governance. As I have already discussed the community is increasingly expected to be involved in partnership working, influencing decision-making and actively undertaking development/regeneration work. Policies and programmes include a focus on building the capacities of communities so they can fulfil this role. In looking at this emphasis on community consideration needs to be given to how the term is defined.

2.4   COMMUNITY

2.4.1 Community: definitions and the concept

Community is a contested concept, which has received much attention in the social sciences. Hillary (1955) analysed ninety-four definitions of community, concluding that the only common element was the involvement of people. The difficulty of defining community comes from it having both descriptive and evaluative meaning (Plant, 1974). The evaluative meaning relates to its normative character. Describing a community has been impossible without theorists' subjective feelings of what it should be being entangled with empirical description. Plant (1974: p28) argues, unlike other theorists, that it is impossible to formulate an uncontested descriptive meaning of community.

Community has a wide descriptive meaning, features of which, used by different theorists, may be incompatible (Plant, 1974: p13). It is possible to distinguish two broad definitions of the term. First, community defined as social relations within a particular geographic area. Communities of this type are known as geographical or territorial communities. There is some dispute over the size of the area these communities cover. Communities can be defined at different scales including global and national communities, however, the idea of community is mostly applied to smaller areas such as particular villages, towns or districts (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001: p72). Stacey (1969) questions whether social relations can have anything but a global boundary and whether even this will be meaningful. She argues for a complete avoidance of the term, which she refers to as a "non-concept" (Stacey, 1969: p137). Rather than communities Stacey (1969) advocates the study of institutions in localities and the connections between them - local social systems. Social systems are defined as "a set of inter-related social institutions covering all aspects of social life" (Stacey, 1969: p140).[14]

A key question is, does community mean spatial propinquity or not? Some authors argue that the idea of territorial community is now irrelevant (Bell and Newby, 1971). There is "community without propinquity" (Webber, 1963 *in* Bell and Newby, 1971; see also Johnston, 2000). Others have disagreed with this total rejection of the importance of locality arguing that although social relationships may extend beyond where people live, no study has demonstrated a complete absence of local relationships (Bell and Newby, 1971). Community without propinquity is related to the second broad definition. This is community defined as a sense of belonging to a particular group, which may or may not be tied to place. Communities of this type are known as communities of interest or identity. One example is the virtual communities created through the Internet (Kitchin, 1998). Members of communities of interest may live in the same place, for example people who go to a particular church, although they may also be seen as part of a wider faith community which is not tied to place.

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[14] Stacey includes a footnote in this sentence explaining that a "social institution is defined, following Ginsberg [1934: p42], as 'recognized and established usages governing the relations between individuals or groups' " (Stacey, 1969: p140).

Some commentators (Nash, 2002; Nash and Christie 2003) argue that communities of interest (and identity) may be of greater significance to people than geographical communities. People do, however, live in particular places and have some contact with the people around them. Relationships people are engaged in within their neighbourhood can affect their opportunities and quality of life. Community in the sense of local social ties (geographical communities), therefore, is a relevant policy concern. The interaction of geographical communities and communities of interest should also be considered.

Community is a highly flexible phenomenon, people belong to many different types of community, they are not mutually exclusive. Communities are, therefore, "rarely a coherent entity that can exist without conflict and speak with one voice" (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001: p73). This is an important point to note when thinking about people representing a community or trying to gain a community opinion. Storey (1999) argues that it is dangerous (in the context of development) to assume that the members of geographical communities have shared interests. Sense of community may be strengthened when communities are threatened. " 'Community' is also a cultural construct, the existence of which relies as much on symbols as on material practices, and the meaning attached to such symbols may well vary amongst group members" (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001: p73).

As Taylor (2002) details Glen (1993) has identified three main ways in which the term community is used. These are:

- "Description: community as a group or network of people who share something in common;
- Value: community as a place where solidarity, participation and coherence are found;
- Action: community as an agent acting to maintain or change its circumstances" (Taylor, 2002: p89).

These different uses can be confused. I have already highlighted the misconception that people who live in the same place necessarily have the same values or interests.

Community is generally seen as a positive thing, the opposite of individualism.[15] The supposed characteristics of community as involving dense social ties in a place are contrasted to what is found in industrial society. The idea of community is credited to Tönnies (1957) and his ideas on Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft (community and society). The decline of community, and its associated community spirit, is seen as a bad thing. There are a number of different reasons why the idea of community is appealing. These include community emphasising collective action, it may be appealing for government in terms of the idea of people taking responsibility for themselves and being able to exercise control over a defined area (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001). The idea of community referring to collective action or agency relates to notions of governing through community which I discuss later in the chapter (section 2.5).

Some theorists, such as Tönnies, see "in the notion of community an encapsulation of the values of the rural community" (Plant, 1974: p24). There is an assumption that 'natural' communities exist in rural areas (Storey, 1999: p309). Such a connection made between communities and rural areas is important in the context of this work. Like community, rurality is a contested concept (see section 2.6).

2.4.2 Researching communities

Four approaches to the notion of community have been identified in previous work. These are discussed by Barke and MacFarlane (2001: p74) whose work is after Liepins, (2000; also Harper, 1989; Murdoch and Marsden, 1994). The structuralist-functionalist approach in early studies viewed communities as a particular social arrangement which were stable and spatially discrete. The ethnographic/essence approach, like the previous one saw community as an object which existed and could be researched. This approach, rather than looking at the structure and purpose of communities was concerned with the reality of community through the use of ethnographies describing diverse experiences. These approaches were, however, critiqued, with problems including "attributing either functions or authenticity to the concept of 'community' " (Liepins, 2000: p25). Locality studies were favoured. This led to the minimalist approach to community. In this literature some work

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[15] Community may not always be positive, as communities can have negative values (see Keller, 1988) and be seen as exclusionary (Taylor *et al.*, 2000).

hardly uses the term community. Where it is used community is employed to mean a scale for research endeavours or sense of being part of a social collective. Community may be used implicitly or rhetorically. This use of community is important because it is the way in which community is often employed in the notions of governing I discuss in this thesis (see section 2.5). A fourth approach which is related to the second one emerged at the same time as the minimalist approach. It is concerned with "the symbolic construction and socially created meanings of 'community' " (Liepins, 2000: p26). Liepins (2000: p26) criticises this approach for not giving enough consideration to the power relations involved in constructing, controlling or critiquing the symbols and meanings.

Despite the concept of community going out of favour in academia it retained significance in other areas such as the media and politics (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001). As Barke and MacFarlane (2001: p76) outline, how community is something which exists and is important to people is often the focus of popular concerns. The community as a category is, therefore, significant. As Day and Murdoch (1993: p108) argue "[i]f social researchers have a responsibility to follow the accounts of those actively involved in social processes, then this would seem to argue for the reinstatement of 'community' as a term at the centre of the study of social space".[16]

Notions of community have been reinvigorated in academic work.[17] Liepins (2000) draws on early approaches, but also themes in recent social thought to develop the conceptualisation of community.[18] She has developed a framework to "create a better understanding of the notion of 'community' that embraces recognition of meanings, heterogeneity, spatial forms, dynamism and the relations associated with uneven expressions of power" (Liepins, 2000: p29). She argues that community should be recognised as a social construct. There should be analyses of discourse and difference and the inherent power relations in order to investigate meanings and

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[16] Nash (2002) highlights problems of clarifying the meaning of community. These include its use without rigour in policy debates and the lack of crossover between use of the term in public policy and debates in academic literature.

[17] The concept of community has re-emerged in rural studies, but the use of community as a social category is recognised in wider human geography (Liepins, 2000; see *Environment and Planning A* 31, 1999).

[18] An important feature in other recent work on re-conceptualising community is the idea that communities are imagined (Anderson, 1991); members of a community can never know all of the other members or know that they have the same sense of belonging (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001).

contestations of community. There should be "questions about who is constructing notions of community and what ideas are assembled under the term" and communities in different spaces - geographical and interest communities (Liepins, 2000: p33). Academics researching the recent emphasis on community in governing have drawn on the concept of governmentality which I detail in the following section.

2.5   GOVERNMENTALITY

2.5.1   Government: the 'conduct of conduct'

Government is defined, by Foucault, as the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault, 1982: pp220-221; Gordon, 1991: p2). This definition involves two senses of the term, first, as a verb, to conduct meaning to lead, direct, or guide, maybe implying calculation as to how. Second, the term as a noun, meaning behaviours or actions. It is assumed that there are standards, or norms, to judge by and strive towards and also that it is possible to regulate behaviour (human conduct). The subjects, both those to be governed and the governors, are free to act. So, "government entails any attempt to shape with some degree of deliberation aspects of our behaviour according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends" (Dean, 1999: p10). Dean (1999: p11 emphasis in original) provides an expanded definition.

> *"Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes".*

Government is "conducted in the plural" (Dean, 1999: p10) and refers to more than the activities of the state (Painter, 2002). There is also a moral element in that government refers to not only how we govern others, but also self-government.

2.5.2   Governmentality: the concept

Foucault introduced the concept of governmentality, in a lecture at the Collège de France in 1978. It was not until a revised English translation was published in the

Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality (Burchell *et al.*, 1991) that the concept was given a lot of attention in Anglophone social sciences. However, since then there has been burgeoning use of the concept (Burchell *et al.*, 1991; Barry *et al.*, 1996; Dean, 1999; Painter, 2002) including applications in geography, rural studies and political economy (Painter, 2002). Whilst the work draws on Foucault, the concept has been expanded upon and developed by others (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999).

An approximate definition of governmentality is 'the art of government' (Painter, 2002). The term links government and mentality. Dean (1999: p16) considers that "[a] mentality might be described as a condition of forms of thought and is thus not readily amenable to be comprehended from within its own perspective. The idea of mentalities of government, then, emphasizes the way in which the thought involved in the practices of government is collective and relatively taken for granted, i.e. not usually open to questioning by its practitioners". One illustration of this point is how knowledge of a nation's economy is crucial to the way government is thought about. The necessity to "attempt to properly manage the economy is one feature of the mentality of national governments that is completely taken for granted" (Dean, 1999: p16). "[G]overnmentality refers to the methods employed as the state both represents and intervenes in the domains it seeks to govern, and how territorial integration is thereby achieved" (Murdoch and Ward, 1997: p308).[19]

Painter (2002: p116 emphasis in original) argues that governmentality, concerned as it is with specific situations rather than generalisations, is "more a methodological *approach to* the analysis of government, ... than a substantive *theory of* government" what Dean (1999) refers to as an analytics of government. This is study of the regimes of practices which are organised ways of doing things (Dean, 1999: p18) of which there is a subset, regimes of government which are "concerned with ways of directing the conduct of self and others" (Dean, 1999: p211). They are the object of analytics of government (Dean, 1999: p27). As Dean (1999: p21) details:

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[19] In Foucault's work governmentality has a second meaning. It "marks the emergence of a distinctly new form of thinking about and exercising power in certain societies. This form of power is bound up with the discovery of a new reality, the economy, and concerned with a new object, the population" (Dean, 1999: p19 who is drawing on Foucault, 1991: pp102-104).

"An analytics of government attempts to show that our taken-for-granted ways of doing things and how we think about and question them are not entirely self-evident or necessary. An analytics of a particular regime of practices, at a minimum, seeks to identify the emergence of that regime, examine the multiple sources of the elements that constitute it, and follow the diverse processes and relations by which these elements are assembled into relatively stable forms of organization and institutional practice. It examines how such a regime gives rise to and depends upon particular forms of knowledge and how, as a consequence of this, it becomes the target of various programmes of reform and change. It considers how this regime has a technical or technological dimension and analyses the characteristic techniques, instrumentalities and mechanisms through which such practices operate, by which they attempt to realize their goals, and through which they have a range of effects".

2.5.3 Changing governmentalities and governing through community

Governmentality is a particularly useful concept for understanding the government of liberal democracies (Miller and Rose, 1990). Under liberalism there is "a profound conundrum..: in order for a free society to exist it must be rendered governable while government itself must be constrained in the extent of its activities" (Murdoch, 1997: p109). Government is concerned with the "management of freedom" (Hindess, 1996: p131; see Murdoch, 2000). Humans and organisations may be subject to laws, but their lives are not wholly determined by them (Hindess, 1998 *in* Murdoch, 2000). Government has to mobilize spheres, or domains, which are not under its control (Murdoch, 2000). Governing human beings is, therefore, "not to crush their capacity to act, but to utilize it for one's own objectives" (Rose, 1999: p4). Throughout the history of liberal polities government has redefined its roles in governing different spheres.[20]

In the mid-nineteenth century the economy became a sphere which could only exist under conditions which were guaranteed by government. Following this shift the trend extended and the scope of government broadened to other problems including welfare. "The 'social' came into existence in part because of the attentions of government; it was defined by the sets of problematisations that emerged as government explored the welfare of its citizens" (Murdoch, 1997: p111). The economy and society were seen as "problems *for* government [rather] than as ...

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[20] For more detailed accounts see, for example, Rose and Miller (1992); Murdoch (1997); Murdoch and Ward (1997); Rose (1999).

self-regulating sphere[s] that would only be undermined *by* government" (Murdoch and Ward, 1997: p310 emphasis in original). The Keynesian Welfare national state, a managerial form of liberal government (welfarism/managerial liberalism), developed in the UK (and other advanced capitalist societies) following the Second World War.

Recently there has been a further shift, away from this managerial form of liberalism to advanced liberalism (Murdoch and Ward, 1997), or neo-liberalism (Rose and Miller, 1992; Rose, 1993). The state has withdrawn from managing, particularly the welfare of society as this costly exercise has become problematic in a global environment in which economic success is determined by the market. This means there are new governmentalities (Murdoch and Ward, 1997). According to Murdoch (1997: p117), it is not that the state is weakening; the central state is "retain[ing] its strength and ability to act by redrawing its responsibilities in such a way as to ensure a fair degree of success in those objectives which it now sets itself".

Rose (1996: p331) discusses the "reconfiguration of the territory of government" (see also Rose, 1999). He believes that, in the terms of governmentality, in advanced liberalism there are rationalities and techniques which aim not to govern society - welfarism involved government through society (Rose, 1993; 1996) - but to govern by "government through community" (Rose, 1996: p332 emphasis in original).[21] Community is a new sector for government (Rose, 1996).[22] This is "a shift from the governance of a national (welfare) space to the governance of diverse and discrete localities and communities" (Murdoch, 1997: pp109-110). Raco and Imrie (2002: p24), in discussing British urban policy, describe communities as becoming "both the subject and object of policy agendas". Communities are developed as "agents of government" (Raco and Imrie, 2002: p17; Raco, 2003: p239).

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[21] Dean argues that rather than the "death of the social" (Rose, 1996) the "social will be reconfigured ... [it is] a post-welfarist regime of the social" (1999: p207).

[22] Murdoch (1997) suggests that whilst in the social sphere there is a shift to governing through community, the shift in the economic sphere may be 'governing through companies'. Ideas of government setting frameworks, but self-help for companies through the transference of best practice (Murdoch, 1997).

2.5.4 Elements of the governmentality approach

'How' questions are central in notions of governmentality (Dean, 1999; MacKinnon, 2000).[23] An analytics of government seeks "to understand how different locales are constituted as authoritative and powerful, how different agents are assembled with specific powers, and how different domains are constituted as governable and administrable" (Dean, 1999: p29). From this perspective, power is "resultant of the loose and changing assemblage of governmental techniques, practices and rationalities" (Dean, 1999: p29). Agents (such as communities) are formed with particular "capacities and liberties" through the practices of government (Dean, 1999: p29). In the governmentality approach, consideration is given to the 'regimes of practices' of government; the techniques, knowledge and rationalities used in the operation of government (Dean, 1999).

As Rose and Miller (1992: p181 emphasis in original) describe "[g]overnment is a *problematizing activity*: it poses the obligations of rulers in terms of the problems they seek to address". Political rationalities are "the changing discursive fields within which the exercise of power is conceptualised, the moral justifications for particular ways of exercising power by diverse authorities, notions of the appropriate forms, objects and limits of politics, and conceptions of the proper distribution of such tasks among secular, spiritual, military and familial sectors" (Rose and Miller, 1992: p175). Rationalities underlie, they are translated into, programmes (Rose and Miller, 1992). Programmes of government are composed of ways to address the problematics of government, the outcomes of which are consistent with the political rationality (Miller and Rose, 1990; MacKinnon, 2000).

At least an aspect of targets for government action must be identified, brought into being, made visible as something which requires and is amenable to government. This is what Painter (2002: p125 emphasis in original) refers to as the "*constitution of objects of government*" and Dean (1999: p30) "the field of visibility ... that characterizes a regime of government". Knowledge of the objects of government, and, as Painter (2002) adds the process of government, is necessary. It makes

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[23] "It asks questions concerned with how we govern and how we are governed, and with the relation between the government of ourselves, the government of others, and the government of the state" (Dean, 1999: p2).

objects visible, forms them in particular ways - represents them - and allows the application of governmental techniques to them. Aspects of subjects are made visible and, therefore, governable through the practices of government so particular identities and subjectivities are promoted (see Dean, 1999; Painter, 2002). People are made to identify with particular groups or communities and as active citizens in governing through community. The analytics of government, therefore, includes "an excavation of the genealogy of the knowledges embedded in governmental practices" (Painter, 2002: p125). Statistics, for example, can be used to make visible, bring in to being "domains of life" (Murdoch and Ward, 1997: p 308). The statistical representations are amenable to government.

The mechanisms, techniques and practices through which programmes are implemented are the technologies of government (Rose and Miller, 1992; MacKinnon, 2000).[24] Gathering statistical information is a governmental technology as are community appraisals which can be employed in governing through community (see Ward and McNicholas, 1998; MacKinnon, 2002). MacKinnon (2000) discusses managerial technologies such as targeting and auditing which are neo-liberal governmental technologies. Technologies help to define sectors of government. As a domain becomes more like its representation it is "increasingly incorporated into the prevailing mode of governmentality" (Murdoch and Ward, 1997: p309).[25]

Under liberalism, government is made possible through alignments "forged between the objectives of authorities wishing to govern and the personal projects of those organizations, groups and individuals who are the subjects of government" (Rose, 1999: p48). Rose (1999) calls this 'translation'.[26] Actors are brought together into networks through the rationalities and technologies of government (Murdoch and Ward, 1997). The state can be thought of as multi-centred. It brings these networks together and maintains the link between the state and non-state actors. 'Centres' has

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[24] This is known as the "*technical* element to government" (Painter, 2002: p126 emphasis in original) in the governmentality approach. Dean (1995) calls this the *techne* of government. Government must use technical means to achieve its goals, but these can limit what is possible (Dean, 1999).

[25] Murdoch and Ward (1997) discuss how this was achieved for the agricultural sector, the production of the 'national farm' which brought the state control over the agricultural territory.

[26] Here Rose is borrowing a word from the work of Callon and Latour (Callon, 1986; Callon and Latour, 1981; Callon *et al.*, 1986).

a social and spatial meaning. The periphery may be socially constructed, for example civil society, which is regulated, but beyond the limits of the state. It may also be geographical, in the sense that what is being governed is distant from the centre. This mode of operation is known as government at a distance (Rose, 1999: p49); actors can govern at a distance, from the centre to the periphery (Murdoch and Ward, 1997: p311). The centres bring into being what is to be acted upon through representation. Information on the distant objects of government is gathered and transferred to the centres allowing government to 'act at a distance' (Latour, 1987; Miller and Rose, 1990; Rose and Miller, 1992; MacKinnon, 2000). Latour (1987) describes how governmental technologies can work in this way owing to their characteristics of mobility, stability and that they can condense information through aggregation (Murdoch, 2000; see also Rose and Miller, 1992; MacKinnon, 2000). As MacKinnon (2000: p309) states "it is the combination of flexibility and standardisation ... that gives governmental technologies their utility as instruments for managing space". Managerial technologies are employed to steer from the centre, for example to make sure local agencies deliver on national policy (MacKinnon, 2000). Local diversity is reduced to figures which can limit flexibility at the local level (MacKinnon, 2000; although see MacKinnon 2002 on local flexibility in the example of Local Enterprise Councils in Scotland). There can be tensions within the workings of networks between generality and local context (Star, 1995) some things will "refuse to be incorporated and transported along the network" (Murdoch, 2000: p507).[27]

There are some similarities with the ideas of governance (discussed above) in terms of co-ordination between networks involving state and non-state actors. However, the two concepts should not be confused; there can be governmentality without governance (Painter, 2002). I draw on the governance perspective within this thesis, but predominantly employ a governmentality approach.[28] The governance perspective can be used to interpret the organisational structures surrounding economic and community development, the rise of partnership working and the inclusion of local people in governing. The governmentality approach, as I have described, provides a framework for looking at the how of governing. The

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[27] See Murdoch (2000) for an example of planning for housing.
[28] Rose (1999) discusses the difference between these two perspectives.

integration of economic and community development can be thought of in terms of a shift to governing through community.[29]

2.5.5 Governmentality, partnerships and community

From the governmentality perspective, partnership (inter-organizational networks) development can be viewed as a specific technology of government (Painter, 2002). Jessop et al. (1999: p155) argue that "[i]f partnership now matters, then, it is because it has been made to matter". It can be seen as constitutive of a new governmentality. Partnership working can be interpreted as a way in which the state seeks to share its responsibilities. Edwards et al. (2000) argue that partnerships have been used as a strategy by government to share responsibility for regeneration. This is part of the move away from state intervention, a change in governmentality. The dominance of the public sector in funding and organising partnerships, however, means that it can be argued that this new governance "has not ... involved a dispersal of state responsibilities but ... produced a new way of discharging what are still largely public sector responsibilities" (Edwards et al., 2000: p45). Government argues that partnership working is empowering for other actors or organisations, particularly members of the community in, for example, regeneration work. However, partnership activity can be constrained by bureaucracy, outputs and auditing. As discussed above, the setting of targets and auditing are managerial technologies in the terms of governmentality (see MacKinnon, 2000) which enable government to control or steer activity. In maintaining the strategic line, the state has to make important decisions which through national-local networks tend to override the voices of communities/citizens (Murdoch and Abram, 1998: p42). Jones and Little (2000) describe this as "the inevitable limits to local/community autonomy in the face of national and regional strategic policy and trends" (see also Tewdwr-Jones, 1998). The use of partnership discourses "can be seen as part of central localism (Peck, 1998) ... where central government determines the 'rules of the game' for local actors, albeit that these may in turn be reinterpreted in different local contexts" (Gibbs et al., 2001: p106).

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[29] In Chapter Six (section 6.4.1) I reflect on the use of the governmentality approach within this research in the context of some previous criticism of the approach.

The new role for the community in governance can be interpreted as a shift to a new governmentality of governing through community. The contested nature of the concept of community is significant to ideas of governing through community. The concept can be (re)constructed and invoked in different ways in attempts to achieve particular outcomes (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001). How community is constructed in governing, therefore, needs to be considered. As Liepins (2000: p33) writes "conceptualisations of peoples' individual or collective capacity to act upon, and be governed by, a notion of 'community' requires thought". In the terms of the governmentality approach in order to be governed communities need to be identified. This can be done using different techniques, such as community appraisals which cause communities to "think themselves into existence" (Ward and McNicholas, 1998: p38). In this way communities are defined.

When communities have been identified they can become agents of government via the processes involved in governing through community. Government can pass on responsibilities to the community, members of which are key actors in the new governance. Community is a sphere which is not under the control of government, but is constructed and mobilised by government in order to achieve particular outcomes. In notions of governing through community, community refers to not only territorial definitions of community, but also communities of interest (Woods and Goodwin, 2003). Territorial definitions of community are useful, however, because control may be exercised more easily over defined areas (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001).[30] "Defining communities in area-based terms ... enables policy-makers to 'fix' community - socially and spatially - in ways that make it visible and enable it to be worked on and shaped" (Raco, 2003: p238). Communities of interest have not been ignored by the New Labour government, but the recognition of different forms of community, such as communities of interest and that people belong to many communities makes creating communities as agents of government harder. Practical issues around community involvement and representation are also more complicated (Raco, 2003).

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[30] Barke and MacFarlane (2001: p72) also point out, however, that "others would see the territorially bounded community, with the possibility of organizing its own affairs, as a way of opposing or challenging the monolithic State".

When thinking about community the complexity of the concept should be remembered. Ideas of governing through community and, at least some of the work on community involvement in governance, use the concept of community rhetorically. Given the issues surrounding the concept of community, the way in which community is constructed in governing demands attention as well as issues surrounding so called community involvement.

2.6   FROM URBAN TO RURAL

As noted in the introduction to this chapter the theories of governance and governmentality were developed in the urban studies literature. In 1998 Goodwin argued that there had been a notable silence on issues of governance in contemporary rural studies, which was surprising given the scale of changes in the governance of rural areas. More recently, however, research on rural politics, policy and governance has increased (Woods and Goodwin, 2003). Similarity between the processes which have occurred in rural and urban policy have led to rural researchers looking to the theoretical perspectives developed in urban studies. The theoretical concepts have been applied to rural areas rather than developed within them. Work in rural studies using the governance perspective, for example, has "privileged new empirical knowledge over and above conceptual and theoretical development" (Woods and Goodwin, 2003: p250). Consideration needs to be given to whether the theories/ideas can be transferred from urban to rural contexts. This is a point which is further complicated by the contested nature of the concept of rurality; what is the rural and can it be distinguished from the urban?

Defining the rural and distinguishing its distinctiveness from the urban has been the subject of much work in the social sciences (Valentine, 1997a). Hoggart (1990: p246)[31] argued for an abandoning of the "category rural as an analytical construct". This is because there can be big intra-rural differences whilst rural and urban areas can be similar. It has been assumed because of "supposed rural attributes" that places are equivalent, when there are different causal processes at work (Hoggart, 1990: p245). "[C]ausal forces are not distinctive in rural areas, nor are they uniform

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[31] See also Hoggart (1988).

in them" (Hoggart, 1990: p249). Despite this protest by Hoggart (1990) the rural remains a widely-used concept and work has continued (Pratt, 1996: p69).

A significant example of problems concerning the rural/urban distinction in the context of this research is the categorisation of coalfields.[32] Coalfield areas have increasingly been categorised as rural; "[a] change in nomenclature which recognised that their industrial employment had been removed" (Bennett *et al.*, 2000: p1).[33] They can be categorised as a hybrid of rural and urban. Coalfield areas are considered to be unique in terms of the issues they face (Coalfields Task Force, 1998; Bennett *et al.*, 2000). They share some of the problems of rural areas as the settlements are often in physically isolated locations and have a low level of services/amenities, but the population densities are greater and the areas experience many of the problems familiar in urban areas (Bennett *et al.*, 2000).

"Rurality is ... a series of socio-cultural constructs" (Cloke, 2000: p720). Social spaces of rurality do not necessarily overlap geographical spaces (Cloke, 2000: p720; see Halfacree, 1993). Murdoch and Pratt (1993) see this as constitutive of a 'post-rural' condition (Cloke, 2000). The "spatial element to the rural ... is not a necessary one: it is an effect" (Murdoch and Pratt, 1993: p425). There is now recognition that there are many or multiple rurals (Philo, 1992; Valentine, 1997a). Whilst Philo (1992) has argued that there is a need to look at neglected rural 'others', Murdoch and Pratt (1993) have said research needs to look at the many rurals, the 'others' and the different constructions of the rural and the associated power relations.

As Pratt (1996) details, in the past there are two main senses in which the terms rural and rurality have been used. In the first sense, drawing on empiricist and rationalist perspectives, the rural is utilised "to denote a real object, or to variously describe some quality of landscape or preponderance of social and economic practices" (Pratt, 1996: p70). The existence of a rural is assumed; there is an absolute against which other things can be measured. In the second sense, drawing on idealist and

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[32] The problem of categorising coalfields as urban or rural is highlighted by a number of authors (for example, Francis *et al.*, 2002a; 2002b; Horton, 2002).

[33] In the Coalfields Task Force Report (1998) some coalfield areas are described as being urban in character.

materialist perspectives, rurality is a qualitative measure of the naturalness of landscapes or social and economic practices. From this perspective the rural exists, but it is recognised that the rural is variable. A third position or perspective has developed, inspired by post-structuralism, in which there is not a rural, but many rurals. In this sense there is no objective definition of rural areas that can be worked with, instead work focuses on why a definition is accepted and its effects (Pratt, 1996).

Research has turned to consider different discourses of the rural. Places are differentially defined as rural and non-rural by different discourses. Lay discourses have become central to some academic considerations of the rural and are defined by Jones (1995: p1) as "people's everyday constructions of the rural within the contexts of their own lives". The complexity of the rural, it is argued, will be shown through lay discourses (Crouch, 1992; see also Cloke and Milbourne, 1992). Lay discourses are also significant because ideas of the rural, and of the rural idyll, pervade national culture (Mingay, 1989; Jones, 1995). Popular constructions of the rural have been of - what academics term - the rural idyll.[34] This is the rural characterised as tranquil, picturesque; the urban being the opposite of this. Importantly, in the context of this research, a supportive, strong community has also formed part of the construct. Ideas of co-operation and mutual support have been much vaunted in previous studies of rural areas (Valentine, 1997a). Research has shown fractures within rural communities, for example between long term residents and incomers, and different forms of othering, although it is suggested that this does not detract from the sense of community (Valentine, 1997a). The rural idyll is a concept thought by some to be a myth, but Jones (1995: p46) argues that it may be "a comparative aesthetic reality ... a rural as a 'relative to urban idyll' ".

Pratt (1996) argues for a position between the second and third perspectives outlined above (the cultural materialist and post-structuralist). From this perspective there are many meanings of the rural which are all of equal value, but the significance of power is recognised. Different discourses of rurality may be identified as "serv[ing] to enable and support the reproduction of particular uneven social relations,

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[34] Here popular refers to popular culture; popular and lay discourses are not the same thing (Jones, 1995).

economic distributions and social stratifications" (Pratt, 1996: p70). As there are intra-rural differences - and it should be noted intra-urban differences - and similarities between the rural and urban the categories could be dismissed (see Hoggart, 1990). Pratt (1996: p72) argues that their "persistence points to the ongoing operation of asymmetric power relationships". He questions "what are the *effects* of the maintenance of such labels?" (Pratt, 1996: p77 emphasis in original).

Discourses are powerful (Pratt, 1996) and can be used in political ways (Woodward, 1996). "[A]ttempt[s] by academics or policy-makers to impose a 'definitive' rural domain is itself an exercise of power" (Murdoch and Pratt, 1993: p423). The use of discourse analysis can highlight "the different constructions of the rural that are selectively drawn upon and articulated to particular causes and resources" (Pratt, 1996: p77). One concern arising from the powerful nature of discourses is that the popular dominant constructions of a rural idyll may exacerbate and hide problems in rural areas (Bradley *et al.*, 1986; McLaughlin, 1986; James, 1991; Jones, 1995; Woodward, 1996). Popular discourses may influence professional discourses and affect how professionals view and act upon rural areas (Short, 1992; see also McLaughlin, 1986). Tackling deprivation is central to ideas about regeneration. Within rural areas the notion of deprivation can be denied in a number of ways through the discourses of people who live there. Deprivation can be normalised as a necessary feature of rural life; hidden, being seen as a historical problem, or a failing of individuals and a reluctance of them to ask for help (lifestyle choice); and seen as an urban problem (with urban as the rural 'other') (Woodward, 1996). This may influence what problems professionals perceive to exist in rural areas and how people in rural areas respond to ideas around tackling deprivation.

Pratt (1996) argues that rather than dismissing rurality as a chaotic concept there should be awareness of different meanings and that the salient meaning in a discourse is dependent on context.[35] Different constructions of the rural are drawn upon and used for particular effects. The many rural discourses are "woven into" other discourses, such as community (Pratt, 1996: p77). As I noted earlier in the chapter, rural areas are characterised as having ideal type communities. Murdoch

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[35] In Chapter Four I discuss the difficulties in selecting rural areas for my research.

(1997) identifies a shift to a new governmental rationality of governing through community in the 1995 Rural White Paper (DoE and MAFF, 1995). In the 1995 Rural White Paper rural society is represented as consisting of small, closely knit and self-reliant communities (see also DETR and MAFF, 2000). Murdoch (1997: p117) argues that this representation is used in order to justify policies which devolve responsibility to communities as part of "the covert withdrawal of the state as the contours of governmental responsibility are redrawn". Using the concept of governmentality "allows for exploration of how 'the rural' is constructed and deployed in framing policies and techniques of governance" (Woods and Goodwin, 2003: p255 see for example Murdoch, 1997; Murdoch and Ward, 1997; Ward and McNicholas, 1998). Government may construct discourses of the rural which perpetuate the idea of there being ideal communities in attempts to create suitable agents for governing. The complexity of the rural as a category, as discussed in this section, however, may mean that the reality in terms of the experiences of people in rural society is very different and there is a tension here.

2.7   SUMMARY

In this chapter I have discussed key policy shifts and the concepts and theoretical perspectives to be employed within the thesis. Partnership working is seen as indicative of a shift to governance and both community and partnership can be identified as exercises in governmentality. Many commentators now argue that government seeks to govern through community. Community is a contested concept which should not be used uncritically. The existence of communities is often assumed, but it should be questioned. Community is a construct and government can create particular constructions of community which are suitable for its purposes. Rural areas have often been characterised as having communities which could be considered as ideal for governing through community. However, notions of rurality, like community, are highly complex. Definitions of the rural differ and intra-rural area differences and similarity with urban areas call into question what is specifically rural. Research has so far mostly applied the perspectives of governance and governmentality to rural areas and there is potential to develop the theories and assess their "wider applicability" outside urban contexts (Woods and Goodwin, 2003: p258).

County Durham and the Policy Context

3.1 INTRODUCTION

County Durham lies in the heart of the north east of England covering an area of 2 232 square kilometres (ONE, 2002a; Figure 3.1a). The County is delimited by the North Pennines watershed to the west, North Sea to the east and the conurbations of Tyne and Wear to the north and Tees Valley to the south (CDEP, 2002).[1] The population is approximately 486 600 (2000 estimate quoted *in* CDEP, 2002) and more than 60 per cent of the population live in settlements of less than 10 000 people. There are seven local authority districts (Figure 3.1b).[2] The County is described as being predominantly rural although owing to the legacy of its industrial past it is often referred to as suffering from "urban issues set in a rural context" (CDEP, 2002: p7). The County has a unique socio-economic history and is today very different from the County Durham of just sixty years ago. In this chapter I will discuss the policy context for economic and community development in County Durham. Policy developments as early as the late 1940s are relevant to an understanding of the present and I will outline these before considering more recent developments and the policies being devised and implemented during the course of this research at the national, regional and local scales.[3] In the following section I will briefly discuss the socio-economic history of County Durham and the current situation to provide the context for the policy review and empirical research.

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[1] As will be noted in this chapter the County boundaries have changed substantially since 1974.

[2] These are: City of Durham, Chester-le-Street, Derwentside, Sedgefield, Easington, Wear Valley and Teesdale.

[3] The policy review is not exhaustive. County Durham has benefited and continues to benefit from a variety of European, national and regional policies and funding programmes, but not all of them can be discussed in this thesis. This chapter largely focuses on county level policy developments.
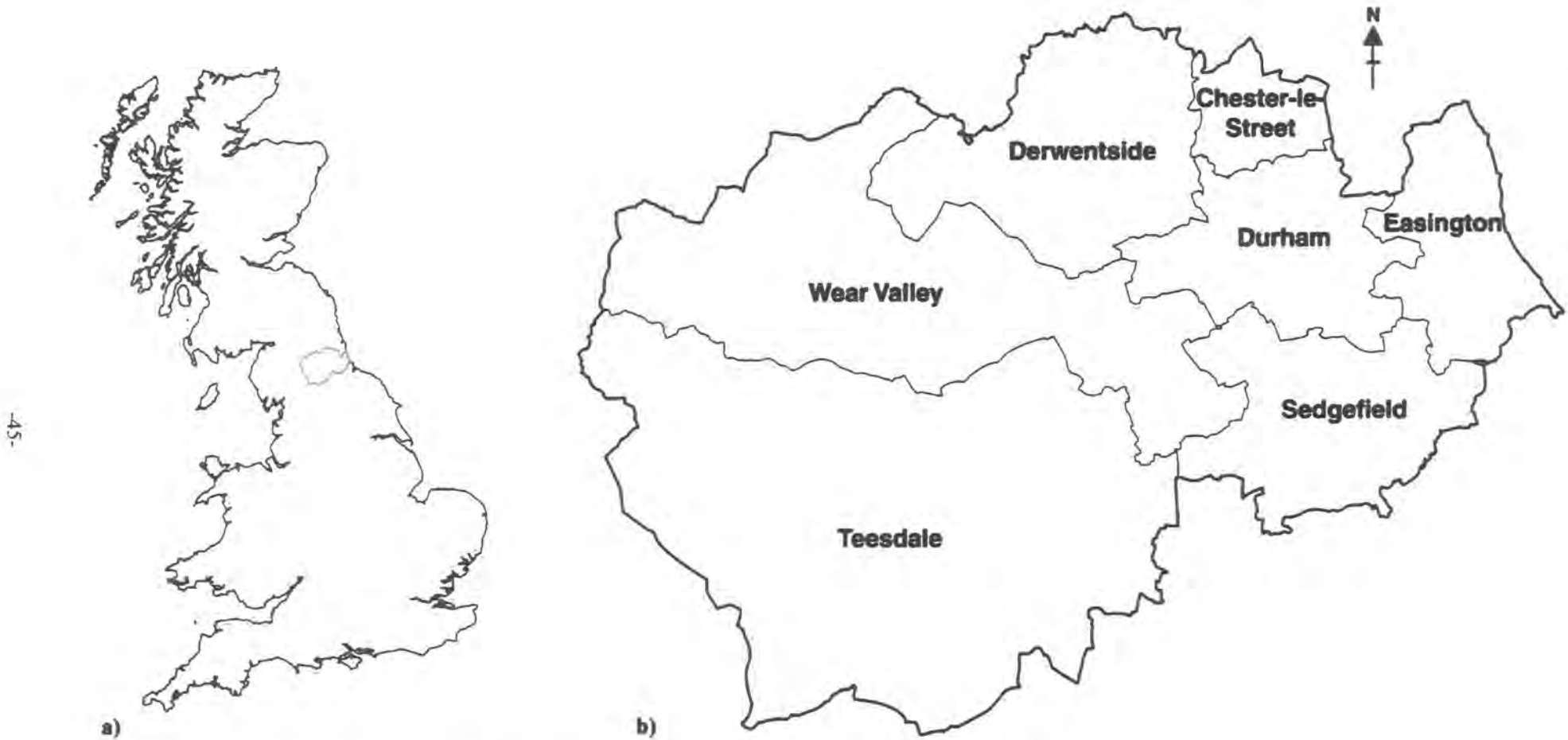
Figure 3.1: a) Location of County Durham within Great Britain. **b)** County Durham with local authority district boundaries.

3.2   A BRIEF SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF COUNTY DURHAM[4]

Before 1974 County Durham covered a greater area than the present day county extending between the rivers Tyne (to the north) and Tees (to the south).   In the sixteenth century the economy was based on agriculture and the land, although there were early developments in lead- and coalmining.   During the eighteenth century lead production became more significant and two companies were formed which dominated lead production in the dales.[5]   The companies built cottages with small holdings in order to attract people to a remote place for work in an industry which was subject to recession.   A dual economy existed in the dales as many workers were miner-farmers.   The most prosperous period for the industry was the middle third of the nineteenth century, which saw railways extending to the dales.   Lead-mining, however, experienced a rapid decline from the 1870s owing to overseas competition.[6]

It is another mineral, however, which is crucial to any understanding of the history of the County - coal.   As Pocock and Norris (1990: p51 emphasis in original) write "[i]n more recent times, the history of the county *is* the history of coal-mining, with the extraction, movement and utilisation of the mineral significantly determining the population and employment patterns and settlement types".   Durham coalfield was the greatest producer in the country during the nineteenth century, the peak year for production being 1913 (Bowden and Gibb, 1970).[7]   Whilst in 1800 agriculture had been the main employer, by 1913 coalmining had more than overtaken it.   The landscape was extensively changed by coalmining.   Villages - the number of which more than doubled - developed where nothing had previously existed and the character of those which had existed was transformed.   Villages were built as collieries were sunk in order to quickly establish the industry in rural areas.   These new colliery or pit villages were "a new feature in the Durham countryside" (Pocock and Norris, 1990: p57).   The populations of the pit villages were made up of local

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[4] This section draws mainly on Pocock and Norris (1990).   There are only a few sources providing a written history of County Durham.

[5] One of these was the London Lead Company (the Quaker Company).   The northern headquarters of the Company were established in Middleton-in-Teesdale (see Chapter Four section 4.5.3.1).

[6] Other minerals have provided employment in the dales, the most significant being iron ore extraction (Pocock and Norris, 1990).

[7] Note the early figures for the County are based on the old County boundaries extending to the Tyne and Tees.

people, and those moving from the lead-mining dales, nearby counties and other mining areas further afield. Between 1801 (the year of the first national census) and the First World War there was a nearly tenfold increase in the County's total population. The increase did not occur in the west, but in settlements which could attract manufacturing industry or in new settlements. Mine owners dominated life in the villages. Other industries were significant in the County, the North East region was a centre for pig iron production in the nineteenth century. From the 1870s this was increasingly superseded by steel, much of the output supplying local shipbuilding and heavy engineering industries. Shipbuilding has a long history in the County, but the modern industry dates to the middle of the nineteenth century when ships were needed to transport coal. Railway engineering also developed in the County owing to the need to transport coal (Bowden and Gibb, 1970). It was common for settlements to be dependent on one industry - coalmining, coal exporting, shipbuilding, iron and steel and railway engineering. A significant feature of the mining settlements - particularly in the context of my research - was the wide variety of local voluntary activity and associations, from sports clubs to leek-growing and the St John's Ambulance Brigade (Bulmer, 1970).[8]

The prosperous economy of the early twentieth century was based on coal, a finite resource, and a small number of heavy, capital products. These depended on export and were greatly affected by the depression of the 1920s. Between the First and Second World Wars unemployment was above the national average, reaching 40 per cent and higher locally. Whilst the population of the country increased during this time (by over 9 per cent) it declined (by 3 per cent) in the County. If there had not been so much out migration there would have been higher levels of unemployment. The industry continued to decline following the Second World War and nationalisation in 1947. Coalmining moved progressively eastwards in the County as production became focused in the coastal collieries (see Reid, 1970). During the 1960s the workforce was halved and more than half the pits closed. Open cast working grew for a time, the effect of this on the countryside and landscape being much greater than the deep-mining undertaken before (Beynon *et al.*, 2000). Following the Second World War the iron and steel industry survived for two

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[8] Bulmer (1970) discusses social structure and social change in County Durham in the twentieth century with a particular focus on mining communities.

decades before entering decline and for shipbuilding there was similar post-war prosperity, but then decline. Severe economic and social problems resulted as thousands of jobs were lost. People's social lives and leisure facilities were affected as these had been closely related, or tied, to the colliery. There was also a downturn in agricultural employment during this period (Bowden and Gibb, 1970).

From the 1960s emphasis was placed on attracting manufacturing branch plants to the County. Industries which expanded included electrical goods, motor vehicles, textiles and clothing. Industries were attracted to the County owing to government-financed industrial estates and the availability of labour. Jobs in the service sector were also created and there was an upward trend in employment (Bowden and Gibb, 1970). Although more jobs were created than had been lost from traditional industries many of them were 'female' jobs and lower paid than the 'male' jobs in the traditional industries which had been lost. This led to a profound shift in the 'culture' of, and dynamics within, the local population and affected how the next generation viewed their prospects (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*). Additionally, not all redundant miners were willing to travel to work in factories - or across the County to different pits for those who could be relocated in this period. In an area dominated by one industry towns people were used to travelling only short distances to work.

A revised system for local government, which altered the County boundaries was introduced from 1st April 1974. The major urban-industrial areas next to the Rivers Tees, Wear and Tyne became part of new counties leaving County Durham smaller in terms of area, population and rates income (Hudson, 1989). The boundary change and loss of industry in many of the one industry settlements contributed to County Durham becoming a predominantly rural county.[9]

Whilst there was success in creating manufacturing jobs later on the County suffered from 'branch plant syndrome' as the footloose industry relocated elsewhere. The recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s had a devastating impact on the new

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[9] There was a further change in the County boundary in 1997 when, following a recommendation in 1994, Darlington (previously the County's largest settlement) became a Unitary Authority (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*).

manufacturing employment. A third of all manufacturing jobs were lost between 1979 and 1984 (CDEDP, 1995). The service sector had grown significantly, but during the recession there was a net loss of jobs in the sector. There was considerable growth in this sector, however, and by 1991 68 per cent of the County's workforce was employed in services (CDEDP, 1995). Population in the County continued to decline. The recession of the early 1990s hit the manufacturing sector again. It was the primary production sector (including agriculture, mineral extraction, energy and water supply) which was hardest hit, the last collieries closing in the early 1990s. With further job losses the deep rooted economic and social problems in the County were compounded. Social problems included skills shortages and health problems - a legacy of the mining industry.

3.3 COUNTY DURHAM IN THE LATE 1990s AND EARLY 21ST CENTURY

Population in the County continues to decline[10] and significantly it is also an ageing population which may affect the available workforce for employers and compound skills shortages (CDEP, 2002). There is a relatively strong reliance on the manufacturing sector (24.5 per cent of all employment was in this sector in 2000). Although figures indicate that manufacturing employment is decreasing it remains significantly higher than national levels. Employment in the service sector has increased (to 67.2 per cent of County Durham employees), but is still below the national figure emphasising the reliance on manufacturing and there is under representation in key service sectors such as banking, finance and insurance.[11] There is also a lack of self-employment "reflecting a tradition of working for large employers" (CDEP, 2002: p10). Unemployment, although remaining above the national average, has continued to decline in recent years. Unemployment is not, however, an accurate measure of joblessness in the County as there is hidden unemployment; large numbers of people who are unable to work owing to ill health. 15.6 per cent of the working age population was jobless in August 1999 compared to a national figure of 5.6 per cent (CDEP, 2002).[12] GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita is also below national levels. Business competitiveness is a key area in

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[10] The County Durham Economic Strategy (CDEP, 2002) reports that the most recent trend projection (1999) indicates the population will start to rise by 2006 to an estimated 485 000 people in 2007.
[11] The figures discussed here are based on estimates from the Annual Business Inquiry (see CDEP, 2002)
[12] More than 25 per cent of the County's 152 wards had a jobless rate exceeding 20 per cent.

which the County lags behind. Despite increases in business formation and survival rates they are still below the national average. The County's businesses are also behind in terms of innovation spending significantly less on research and design than the national average. Educational attainment is a key issue in the County. The number of pupils at Key Stage 4 gaining at least 5 A-C grades at GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) in 2001 was more than 9 per cent below the national average of 50 per cent. The percentage of the population with vocational qualifications is also below the national average and there are significant problems in terms of basic skills (CDEP, 2002). These are issues for workforce competitiveness.

The severe problems of socio-economic deprivation across County Durham have recently been highlighted by the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) figures produced by the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR, 2000b).[13] The Index measures thirty-three indicators of need at ward level. These values are statistically condensed to produce six themes or domains.[14] According to the Index of Multiple Deprivation 31.2 per cent of the County's population live in wards within the top 10 per cent most deprived nationally (DCC, 2000a). The aggregate Index of Multiple Deprivation rankings show that there are problems across the County (Figure 3.2) although deprivation is worst in the east. Particularly concerning are the figures for employment with 40.1 per cent of the population living in deprived wards (Figure 3.3) and health as 57.8 per cent of the population live in deprived wards. The health domain highlights the problems of poor heath in ex-mining areas (Figure 3.4). Access to services is worst in the west of the County, as might be expected owing to the sparse population (Figure 3.5).[15]

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[13] A team from the University of Oxford was also involved (see DETR, 2000b).

[14] The domains are: income, employment, health, education, housing and access to services. More detail is provided in DETR (2000b).

[15] A revised Index of Deprivation was released by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) in June 2004. An analysis of the Index has not yet been produced by Durham County Council. There have been changes to the existing domains and an additional one concerning crime added. The geographical scale has also changed with reporting units now smaller than local authority wards.
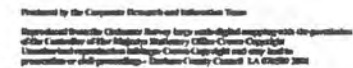
Figure 3.2: Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 - distribution of aggregate ward scores in County Durham (*after* DCC, 2000a).
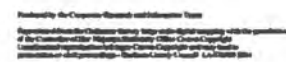
Figure 3.3: Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 - distribution of ward scores for the employment domain in County Durham (*after* DCC, 2000a).
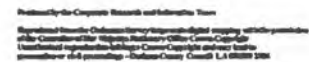
Figure 3.4: Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 - distribution of ward scores for the health domain in County Durham (*after* DCC, 2000a).

Figure 3.5: Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 - distribution of ward scores for the access domain in County Durham (*after* DCC, 2000a).

In 2001 County Durham was affected by the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak,[16] which clearly demonstrated the "fragility of the rural economy" (CDEP, 2002: p20). Economic impacts were greatest in tourism, the crisis clearly showing the interdependence between the sectors. The need for rural recovery has been compounded by job losses in two of west Durham's largest employers. Task groups/forces have been established in Teesdale and Upper Weardale to tackle the effects (LaFarge, no date; Jones, 2002; White, 2002).

3.4   POLICY HISTORY[17]

3.4.1   1946 - 1974

Following the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act Durham County Council (DCC), as a planning authority, was required to produce a Development Plan for the County. The production of the Plan was influenced by the North East Development Area (NEDA) Plan commissioned in 1946 by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning.[18] The North East Development Area Plan was to provide a basis for the development of county development plans and to co-ordinate the policies of central government departments and the Board of Trade's distribution of industry policies (Hudson, 1989). The North East Development Area Plan included an assessment of the prospects and policies for important industries in the north east and their implications for settlements. Nationalisation of the coal industry, for example, was leading to modernisation and concentration on only the most economic pits. The Plan's settlement proposals asserted that to make some areas habitable would cost too much and would not be an advantage to people who would be, or soon would be, without prospects for employment there. The North East Development Area Plan was never finalised owing to political controversy surrounding the settlement

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[16] The County was the fifth worst affected shire county in England (CDEP, 2002: p24).
[17] The outline of Durham County Council policies between 1947 and 1983 draws extensively on the comprehensive discussion in Hudson (1989).
[18] There was an interim edition in 1949, but a final version was never published.

proposals. Nevertheless these proposals were significant in shaping those in the Durham County Development Plan.[19]

In 1946 the planning committee of Durham County Council started its work and "four issues emerged as central to the evolving employment and settlement polices of Durham County Council: balanced employment; diversified employment; new towns; and constraints arising from the activities of the NCB [National Coal Board]" (Hudson, 1989: p226). From this time there was a link between those proposals concerning industry and changes in employment and spatial selection in infrastructure investment by the public sector and settlement patterns. Durham County Development Plan was published in 1951 (DCC, 1951) and approved in 1954. It is significant to note that the Ministry of Town and Country Planning argued that the Development Plan "... was a land use plan and ... not an economic development plan for County Durham" (quoted in Hudson, 1989: p229). The Development Plan contained employment and population forecasts upon which industrial land allocations, settlement regrouping and public investment policies were determined. Population was forecast with the assumption of full employment. "In essence the population projections represented a judgement as to each area's future employment prospects, tempered by what it was politically feasible to admit publicly regarding the probable attainment of full employment aims" (Hudson, 1989: p234). Settlements were categorised according to the proposals.[20] The categorisations were contentious.[21] The categories ranged from A to D. In Category A settlements the population was expected to increase and, therefore, the investment of considerable capital was justified. Population was expected to stay at the present level in Category B settlements which should be supported by sufficient capital investment. In Category C settlements the population was expected to decrease so

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[19] In addition to the North East Development Area Plan influencing settlement proposals there were similar ideas to those on settlement regrouping in the 1944 White Paper on employment policy (Ministry of Labour, 1944; see Hudson, 1989). The origins of plans not to allow rebuilding in and clear certain areas of the County date back to legislation earlier in the century (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*).

[20] The categories in the Plan were based on an earlier paper Report of the Durham County Planning Officer *Preliminary statement of basic principles: the future of individual communities*, (DCC, 1950, see Hudson, 1989). In the earlier paper, however, Category C was in two parts and there was no Category D.

[21] I discuss the continuing significance of the categorisation in Chapters Four and Five.

there should only be investment to cater for a reduced population. It was Category D settlements that created protest (Plate 3.1). These were:

> "those from which a considerable loss of population [might] be expected. In those cases it [was] felt that there should be no further investment of capital on any considerable scale, and that any proposal to invest capital should be carefully examined ... . When the existing houses become uninhabitable they should be replaced elsewhere and any expenditure on facilities and services in these communities which would involve public money should be limited to conform to what appears to be the possible future life of existing property in the community"
>
> (DCC, 1951 quoted *in* Hudson, 1989: p235).

Plate 3.1: Category D Settlement (Townsend and Couper, 1970; courtesy of Durham County Council).

The Plan was to provide for the needs of industry and people in terms of jobs and living conditions. "The remodelled communities [would] not only prove more attractive to [industrialists]; they [would] also provide more satisfactory living places" (DCC, 1951 quoted *in* Hudson, 1989: p235). There was conflict between the District Councils and County Council concerning the policy, especially Category D.[22] Government supported Durham County Council when District Councils

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[22] At the time of publication, however, this was concealed as a "public display of unity between Labour-controlled councils" (Hudson, 1989: p237). Following publication there was public conflict between the County and District Councils at Public Inquiries (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*).

appealed against Category D status. However, there was no guarantee the Board of Trade could create the concentrated employment on which the regrouping was based.

Employment policies were reviewed during the 1950s. The inability of Durham County Council to influence central government was recognised and emphasis was put on autonomous policies for the first time, but these were constrained by the actions of (uncoordinated) central government departments and also the National Coal Board. Additionally, Durham County Council and central government were constrained by the definition of "the legitimate boundaries to, and character of, state involvement in economy and society in the UK" (Hudson, 1989: p248). From 1958 unemployment rose associated with a decline in coalmining and shipbuilding.

The Development Plan was reviewed in 1964 and the implicit commitment to full employment in the 1951 Plan was abandoned although commitment to settlement regrouping which had been linked to this remained, albeit in a revised and intensified form.[23] The Council's aims were to improve housing conditions, reduce outmigration and make the County more attractive to industry. Work in settlements chosen for investment included "improving housing; redeveloping town centres; reclaiming derelict land; [and] attracting new industry" (Hudson, 1989: p263). Despite Durham County Council attempting to develop a united stance the District Councils remained opposed to the settlement policy which created implementation problems as they were the housing authorities. There was also opposition from residents. Although central government backed settlement regrouping it did not provide the necessary support for implementation by Durham County Council.

The assumptions on which the 1964 Review was based were invalidated by the National Coal Board's decision on 18 November 1965 to close thirty-six collieries in the County in two to three years and see an uncertain future for a further twelve. Durham County Council proposed a "joint strategy" with the National Coal Board and government departments, but this only resulted in the intensification of already existing policies (Hudson, 1989). In the past the policies had not been effective

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[23] Descriptive labels replaced the alphabetical categorisation (Pocock and Norris, 1990).

enough at tackling unemployment, but politically Durham County Council had to act. A massive rate of colliery closures was announced in 1967. Even before this Durham County Council was trying to strengthen policies as development of new or existing industries was not keeping up with the rate of decline in employment. Industrial estate development policies including incentives were not effective enough in tackling unemployment. For one thing developing sites did not guarantee industry would locate there.

Durham County Council had limited powers and although government could influence some conditions, changes were also taking place beyond its control. Policies were affected by the activities of multinational companies, changes in production methods and the development of new spatial divisions of labour. "The possible impacts on the welfare of individuals living in areas where ... waged work was unavailable should neither be ignored nor underestimated in a culture where 'work' was of pivotal importance" (Hudson, 1989: p279). However, despite the persistent problems in the County, the Labour Party remained dominant; "the political culture that had grown up around coalmining and "traditional" industries apparently survived intact, if not unscathed, in the absence of promised alternative jobs" (Hudson, 1989: p280).

3.4.2 1974 - early 1980s

As I discussed in section two of this chapter the County boundary changed in 1974. Over much of the new County changes in the coal and steel industries remained critical in terms of the employment situation. Rural areas became more significant in the County following the boundary redefinition and an important change in policy emphasis was a greater concern with the problems facing rural areas. The County Development Plans were replaced by a requirement to produce a Structure Plan (a process which lasted from 1974-1981).

An international recession during 1974-5 continued as a national recession and central government responded by restricting public expenditure. The ability of Durham County Council to implement its own policies was affected by reduced rate income in the new County and government restrictions on local authority spending.

Additionally, funding from the European Community was limited. Employment prospects deteriorated as companies closed, reduced the number of workers and postponed expansion. Central to Durham County Council industry and employment policies was the development of industrial sites and estates. Such developments were seen to equate with employment provision. The Structure Plan, like the Development Plan, was primarily seen as a land use plan (Hudson, 1989: p284). During the 1960s there had been increasing emphasis on developing large sites to attract branch plants and this continued. However, there were soon changes with the agreement to accommodate service industries and the need for smaller industrial estates. What was attractive to investors rather than the need for employment began to influence location. It was recognised that increasing industrial land on its own was not likely to increase jobs. The provision of nursery factories was one development and Durham County Council worked in collaboration with organisations such as the Development Commission. The Commission "is a state agency founded in 1909 to promote the economic well-being of rural areas" (Hudson, 1989: p289). In 1977 the Council developed an *Interim Action Plan for the Rural West of the County* (DCC, 1977) following an invitation from the Development Commission which was approved.[24] The Commission designated the Rural West Special Investment Area in 1977.[25] In the late 1970s a draft strategy for County Durham was developed by the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas which included proposals for distributing its resources. The Rural West Special Investment Area was to be given first priority, whilst second priority went to "Pockets of Need ... other places, particularly the old mining settlements away from the County's central corridor [which] may also have problems of depopulation and high unemployment" (quoted *in* Hudson, 1989: p313).[26]

In addition to the industrial estates and factory developments Durham County Council continued to provide financial incentives which had been rarely used before 1974. They were revised in 1976, including extending them to certain parts of the service sector. A more thorough review of policies considered the level of

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[24] The Plan was part of developing a strategy to prioritise the rural areas of the County over the centre "although it was emphasised that the final decisions on this would be taken in the County Structure Plan" (Hudson, 1989: p289).

[25] A Rural East Special Investment Area was designated in 1979.

[26] As Hudson (1989: p313) reports "[t]he County Council accepted this strategy, but reserved its position regarding the need for possible future revision".

incentives and different levels of assistance in the rural west and east since an aim of the Structure Plan would be to reduce population losses in these areas.

In producing the Structure Plan Durham County Council had a statutory requirement to undertake consultation and participation exercises. There was a lot of pressure for relaxation of settlement categorisation policy with differences in opinion both between Durham County Council and the District Councils and Members and officers. Political and social pressures combined to overcome the technical arguments. In a climate of deindustrialisation and Durham no longer an attractive place for branch plant investment, the idea of creating a labour supply by concentrating housing and other investments in selected places to create employment growth was not credible. Finally "the abandonment of perhaps the most contentious aspect of postwar DCC [Durham County Council] planning was brought about by a combination of pressures 'from below', by Labour-controlled district councils and residents of settlements classified as 'D', and 'from above', by a radical 'new right' central Government intent on giving the market a much greater role in shaping - amongst other things - land-use patterns" (Hudson, 1989: p327).

Financial incentives to industry were reviewed in the early 1980s as the economic situation was worse than forecast in the Structure Plan. There was intense competition between areas for footloose industry. New incentives implemented during 1983 included start-up grants[27] for new or existing firms, free business consultancy and a young persons employment premium.

Whilst in the 1960s the Labour County Council, loyal to central government, had accepted closures in the coal industry, after the election of a Conservative government in 1979 this was no longer the case. Durham County Council recognised that it could, and central government would, do little "to provide alternative employment" (Hudson, 1989: p320). Durham County Council, in a change from previous policy, campaigned to protect existing jobs and for areas which were affected by closure they devised programmes and lobbied for additional funding. A very significant development, during the 1970s, was the formation of the

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[27] These were smaller than those in nearby counties.

Consett Task Force owing to concern about the future of Consett steelworks (in Derwentside District).[28] Durham County Council "pressed for a joint central/local government "task force" to examine the "potential problems" of closure and possible policy responses to it" (Hudson, 1989: p321), but although there were discussions it was not immediately created. Durham County Council and Derwentside District Council lobbied central government for extra funding and became involved in the anticlosure campaign. The steelworks did, however, close and this combined with other job losses in the area saw the male unemployment rate in the area rise to 32 per cent. A co-ordinated industrial development programme was launched with an initial ten year lifespan. This included reclamation work, environmental improvements, industrial estate provision, road communications and business support measures. There was major public sector investment (from central and local government and the European Commission). A Derwentside Strategy Committee was established along with a task force which was "charged with ensuring that operational co-ordination was achieved" (Durham and Cleveland IDOP Partnership, 1989). Private sector organisations became involved in resourcing the programme (Durham and Cleveland IDOP Partnership, 1989) and local groups and voluntary organisations also participated (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*).[29] Hudson (1989) argues that despite the proven limits of previous policies and the changed economic climate in the 1980s, Durham County Council continued to see the problems and solutions in the same way as it had done in the era of the Development Plan (1950s and 1960s). "The talk was of roads, factories, and the needs of industry; people remained off the agenda" (Hudson, 1989: p326).

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[28] The Consett Task Force (later called Derwentside Task Force) was an early example of partnership working.

[29] The development of the task force can in some ways be seen to fit with central government's move at the time towards establishing public-private sector partnerships. I discussed changes in Government policy and partnership working in Chapter Two (sections 2.2 and 2.3). There was some participation by voluntary organisations and local people in the task force in Derwentside, however, this was not as significant as the private sector involvement. The significance of early partnership working in County Durham is discussed in Chapter Five (section 5.8 particularly 5.8.1).

3.4.3 Early 1980s - 1994

3.4.3.1 Policies and programmes in County Durham

As I noted earlier in the chapter, the County suffered during the recession of the 1980s and later in the early 1990s. There was a post-war unemployment peak in January 1986 when it hit nearly 20 per cent (Durham County Council, 1995). The Structure Plan (DCC, 1981) remained in operation during this period although there were a number of alterations, in the light of the recession which had occurred since the plans were prepared, to cover an extended period until 1996 (DCC, 1986). Provision of industrial sites remained a priority with emphasis as much on quality as quantity (DCC, 1986; see also DCC, 1989). Financial incentives continued, but there were other non-financial incentives for the promotion of industrial development. These included employment by the County Council of a Co-operative Development Officer (see DCC, 1986). At this time there were limitations in law as to what the County Council could do to support business development. To get around this problem in 1986 the Council established a wholly owned subsidiary company - the County Durham Development Company - which could undertake work the Council could not. It was run by staff in the Council's Industrial Bureau before acquiring its Chairman in 1987. The County Durham Development Company provides assistance for existing and new industry, its focus being on manufacturing businesses which trade on a national or international level or service industries operating on a regional or national scale.[30] During this period there was a shift to policy interventions concerned with human resource development in order to tackle the mismatch between job opportunities and skills - the local population did not have all the necessary skills to work in the new industries which were being attracted to the County.

Following the decline of heavy industry environmental improvement work was necessary and important to improving both the appearance and the image of the County. Between 1970 and 1990 4 273 hectares of land were reclaimed (DCC,

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[30] The history of County Durham Development Company was derived from an interview with Mark Lloyd, Director of Economic Development and Planning, Durham County Council who is also the current Managing Director of the Company and discussion with John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council.

1990a). Tourism development was included in the Structure Plan (in 1981), but there was more emphasis on this from around 1986 and since then it has been seen as increasingly important within the County. In agricultural areas tourism is seen as a particularly important way of diversifying the local economy, although there has been concern that developments should not damage the attractive countryside. Coastal resort development has also been promoted.

Following the task force approach taken in Consett there were further examples of agencies coming together in partnership type organisations in the County. In 1984 British Railway Engineering Limited's Wagon Works at Shildon (in the south of the County) closed. The closure acted as a catalyst and local agencies joined together to produce an economic development strategy for the area. Funding was secured for the period 1984-1990 from the European Commission's European Regional Development Fund, by a partnership involving public and private sector organisations.   The Shildon Programme's strategy was based on physical development and "complementary financial support and business advice services" (Sedgefield District Council, no date: p2; see also Conran Roche Planning, Newsom James and Moodie, 1991).

During the 1980s the European Commission identified Durham and Cleveland as one of the areas worst affected by job losses in the steel industry in the European Community. In response to this an application was submitted for an Integrated Development Operation. A partnership involving central government departments, local authorities, training, business and voluntary organisations was involved in preparing the proposal. Following this, in 1989, Durham and Cleveland was designated as an area eligible for aid from the reformed European Structural Funds. The Integrated Development Operations Programme continued for the period 1989-1993 and was "the main avenue through which the European Community [channelled] assistance from its Structural Funds to Durham, Cleveland and parts of North Yorkshire" (Durham and Cleveland IDOP Partnership, 1992: p2).   The integrated approach included economic, social and environmental initiatives. There was particular concern with the need to consider training needs concurrently with industrial sector support and infrastructure development. The Programme involved six related sub-programmes: "Encouraging Business Development and Enterprise;

Providing Industrial Land; Premises and Infrastructure; Remedying Communication Difficulties; Enhancing the Area's Image; Tourism Development and Improving Human Resources Development" (Durham and Cleveland IDOP Partnership, 1989: pp3-4). The programmes were to enhance indigenous development, but also to enable efficient and effective use of resources by a number of means including:

> (i)   "improving further the substantial degree of co-operation that exists between agencies and to further reduce any unnecessary duplication;
> (ii)   improved co-ordination between European Community grant regimes and domestic programmes in tackling problems with multiple aspects"
>
> (Durham and Cleveland IDOP Partnership, 1989: p4).

A Co-ordinating Committee - involving representatives of all of the partner organisations - was the decision-making body for the Programme which approved bids submitted by different organisations.

At the beginning of the 1990s another task force was established, this time in East Durham. The area was already suffering from the decline of the coalmining industry. In 1951 there had been 25 000 jobs in the coal industry, but after rapid decline in the 1970s and 1980s only 3 600 remained in 1991 (East Durham Task Force, 1991). The four remaining collieries were threatened with closure and they eventually closed in 1992/3. The County Council and partners had experience of tackling problems caused by previous closures (for example, in Consett and Shildon). However, a recent Task Force document (East Durham Task Force, 2001: p1) claims that "they recognised that the scale and complexity of the problems in East Durham was much greater and required a more innovative and concerted approach". Local and regional partners were brought together to establish a long term commitment to tackle the problems in the area. The Task Force was intended to improve co-ordination between agencies and a strategic approach to regeneration was developed. A series of Programme for Action documents were produced (East Durham Task Force, 1991; 1993; 1997; see also 2001) Aims of the Task Force Programmes covered not only industrial land, transport and environmental improvement, but also learning and skills, housing and crime. The need for community development work was identified in the first Programme in order to

address issues around the "decline of community identity ... the lack of a sustainable infrastructure of community groups ... and the lack of a systematic programme of community development work in the area" (East Durham Task Force, 1991: p16). The involvement of people/organisations from across the different sectors, including voluntary organisations and local people, was a stronger feature in this later partnership working.[31] The early experience of partnership working through the development of the task forces in the County has influenced more recent work.[32] In the early 1990s there were moves towards the beginning of County-wide economic development partnership working (see section 3.4.4.1).

3.4.3.2 Rural East and West Durham

In 1982 the Rural Development Commission received greater independence and more funding from Government. Following this the Commission reviewed its priority areas, resulting in the introduction of Rural Development Areas in 1984. A bid by the local authorities and Durham Rural Community Council was successful and the Special Investment Areas of West and East Durham became Rural Development Areas. The areas were larger than the earlier Special Investment Areas and now covered two thirds of the County's area and 15 per cent of the population (EWD RDA JSC, 1988a).[33] The East Durham Rural Development Area was suffering from the decline of mining and quarrying with a high unemployment rate (above the County and national averages) reflected in loss of population. Although by this time the decline in population in the West Durham Rural Development Area had virtually halted, and the number of people who were claiming unemployment benefit had declined, unemployment rates remained high.

In 1985 strategies were produced for the Rural Development Areas along with a programme of projects lasting three years to be funded by the Rural Development

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[31] I discussed in Chapter Two how from the late 1980s and early 1990s there were moves towards more involvement of local people in partnerships. I also noted some of the problems of local people's involvement in partnerships (section 2.3.1).

[32] This is discussed in Chapter Five.

[33] The East Durham Rural Development Area covered parts of Durham, Easington and Sedgefield District and Whitton Parish in Stockton-on-Tees, Cleveland. The West Durham Rural Development Area covered all of Teesdale District and parts of Wear Valley District and the south west area of Derwentside District.

Commission's Rural Development Programme (RDP) (EWD RDA JSC, 1985).[34] A Steering Committee for the Rural Development Areas with representatives from a number of different organisations in different sectors (including elected Member and officer representation) was set up with an officer working group to prepare the Strategy and Programme. A co-ordinated approach to problems in rural areas was set out in the Strategy. "It aim[ed] to maintain and if possible improve the quality of life in the RDAs [Rural Development Areas] and to encourage local people to establish and maintain active business and community organisations" (EWD RDA JSC, 1988a: p4). The principal objective of the Strategy was "[t]o diversify the economy of the RDAs [Rural Development Areas] and to provide more employment opportunities" (EWD RDA JSC, 1985: p28). The objectives were, however, wide ranging, covering not only employment but also access to services (including transport), health and social services, education, library, information and advice services, shops, post offices and community facilities, housing, leisure and recreation and the environment. Economic, social and community development were set alongside each other and projects supported by the Commission tackled the different concerns. There was, however, still an emphasis on workspace development which was allocated 60 per cent of the Rural Development Programme funding.

The Strategy was reviewed in 1988. Although there had been considerable progress with the projects the situation in the Rural Development Areas had not changed considerably and the existing aims and objectives remained relevant (EWD RDA JSC, 1998b). In 1988 East Durham Rural Development Area was chosen by the Rural Development Commission for an enhanced programme in addition to the Rural Development Programme. "A key objective [was] to encourage private sector involvement and investment in an area where entrepreneurial activity is low and unemployment high and where workshop programmes have not proved as successful as in other RDAs [Rural Development Areas]" (EWD RDA JSC, 1988c: p1). Additionally, in the late 1980s the Rural Development Commission considered three

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[34] Whilst there was some assistance for community projects through the Rural Development Programme the Commission had a number of different grants to fund these projects which were not part of the Rural Development Programme.

areas in the Durham Rural Development Areas for a Civic Trust feasibility study.[35] The study was to "identify a programme of environmental improvements designed to encourage business and employment growth" (EWD RDA JSC, 1988a: p12). Wingate/Station Town in East Durham was awarded the study.[36] A further Strategy review was undertaken, published in 1991. Although the "inter-related nature" of economic, social, and environmental problems was recognised and there was increasing recognition of the amount of work needed to tackle social and community development issues, severe economic problems persisted and economic revitalisation remained the priority (EWD RDA JSC, 1991: p1). The aims and objectives from the 1988 review were largely retained although training was given a greater emphasis.

3.4.4 County Durham policy 1994 - 2000

3.4.4.1 County Durham Economic Development Partnership

In 1994 the County Durham Economic Development Partnership was formed. There were three main reasons behind the formation of the Partnership: the new general power to undertake economic development activity given to local government in the 1989 Local Government and Housing Act;[37] recognition amongst the County and District Councils that despite the Local Government Review (between 1992 and 1994) they needed to work together on "the most important thing for County Durham's people, namely sustainable and sufficient employment"; and the foresight that manufacturing employment would remain in long term decline (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*). The Partnership consisted of members of the public sector (including the County and District/Borough Councils, and government departments) and private sector (predominantly representative organisations such as the Durham Branch of North East Chambers of Commerce and Industry) and there was a small amount of

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[35] The areas were Wingate/Station Town and Fishburn in East Durham and Langley Park in West Durham.

[36] See below and Chapter Four section 4.5.1

[37] Until this time the power for local government to undertake economic development activity depended on an Act of Parliament (there was a 1963 Durham County Council Act) and the provision in Section 137 in the 1972 Local Government Act which gave powers for discretionary expenditure to benefit local people (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*).

voluntary sector representation (Durham Co-operative Development Association). The formation of the Partnership brought with it production of the first economic development strategy for the whole County (CDEDP, 1995).[38] Previously employment policy had been contained within the Structure Plan and County Development Plans in terms of industrial land and support for businesses and there had been plans for European programmes, the Rural Development Areas and for specific areas following the closure of major employers.

The County Durham Economic Development Strategy 1995-2001 was developed by the Economic Development Partnership during 1994 and published in 1995. "The Strategy [was] directed towards creating the conditions where public investment will no longer be necessary in order to sustain economic growth. The central vision of the Strategy [was] therefore:

> **To help create a more robust, diverse, prosperous and self-sustaining economy for County Durham, sufficient to meet the needs and aspirations of the County's residents and businesses"**
> (CDEDP, 1995: p17 emphasis in original).

The overall aim was for unemployment and economic activity rates to be equal to or exceed the national averages, for there to be at least average representation of growth sectors in the economic structure and for participation and attainment in further education to be at least matching national levels (CDEDP, 1995).[39] Six overall themes permeated the Strategy and directed the policies. These included diversifying the economy and providing a wide range of jobs, quality and competitiveness, sustainability, catering for a stable or slightly increasing population, playing a leading role in developing the region, helping those areas with the most need and reducing disparities (CDEDP, 1995). There were four strategy components: physical development, image, business and people.

Under physical development emphasis was on creating a range of different quality business sites for both inward investment projects and indigenous businesses. There

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[38] Although there were private and voluntary sector representatives on the main Partnership board and they agreed how to prepare the Strategy they were not heavily involved in its production (John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, *personal communication*).

[39] A realistic target of creating 15 000 net additional jobs was set (CDEDP, 1995).

were also proposals for smaller sites, particularly important in deprived and rural areas. Additionally, a portfolio of different types of premises was proposed with a particular need for "modern large factories and high quality office space" (CDEDP, 1995: p28).[40] Financial and business services were to be encouraged by developing suitable premises and there was to be provision for business start-ups. Strategic highways were planned for the dual purpose of making business sites more attractive and employment more accessible to residents. Access to employment and training via public transport was to be increased and the possibility of community transport to be pursued. The potential of modern telecommunications for working and learning was recognised. Environmental improvements were needed "to remove the scars of the County's industrial past" (CDEDP, 1995: p35) and improve the appearance of settlements. Places important to the image of the County were prioritised. Improvements to the physical environment and facilities and attractions for the growing tourism sector were emphasised, with the production of a new Tourism Strategy a priority (see CDTP, no date).

Image was a component of the Strategy in its own right. The need to improve the County's image was seen as crucial to the Strategy and in particular for attracting inward investors, but also regional businesses and visitors. Local residents and businesses were also to be targeted by image development initiatives owing to the importance of them having a positive image of the County. The County's strengths were to be drawn on, although these were also some of the areas listed in the Strategy for improvement. As well as physical improvements social issues such as crime were also to be tackled.

The business component of the Strategy started by stating that "[a]lthough the work of the partnership ... can provide a context for reviving communities and promoting economic well-being and sustainability, it is businesses themselves that create jobs and generate wealth within the local economy" (CDEDP, 1995: p42). For this reason the initiatives which existed to help companies to establish and expand in the County were to be developed. Improving co-ordination in business support was a priority. It was felt that the County could not be selective about the type of

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[40] The rate of development needed was compared to previous decades in the new towns and following the closure of Derwentside steelworks.

businesses and jobs it should encourage, the aim being to diversify and strengthen the economy. Support was also to be provided for research and innovation, which had been recognised as important in the North East of England Economic Development Strategy. Inward investment continued to be seen as important as it created jobs, introduced new processes and developed new skills in the County.[41] Financial incentives were to continue, but were to be reviewed, with additional help for small businesses planned.[42] Recognising that some areas were needier than others there was to be targeted additional assistance. The principle in existing policy of enhanced incentives for the east and west was maintained, but the exact areas were revised. Community-based businesses were to be supported alongside traditional business development, a strategy believed to be necessary for the neediest areas. Tourism business support was emphasised and seen as particularly crucial in relation to diversification of the rural economy as agricultural employment continued to decline.

The people component of the Strategy recognised that if local communities are to take up the employment opportunities created they must have the right skills and aspirations. High quality education and training provision, able to respond to changing demand, was deemed necessary. "Entrepreneurial skills, self-reliance and flexibility" (CDEDP, 1995: p54) were to be encouraged as skills valuable to employers and which lead to business start-ups. Making people aware of employment opportunities was seen as important as was increasing participation in post-16 and post-18 education, particularly in needier areas where "[m]any people do not consider education and training relevant to their lives" (CDEDP, 1995: p56). Proposals were made for tackling unemployment (realising that the unemployed suffer from more than financial problems) by improving access to training and co-ordinating existing work. Breaking down barriers to education and training was emphasised. This included physical and cultural barriers and was to be targeted at disadvantaged groups in the labour market and in needy areas. Access was a specific problem to address (and for which community transport was a possible solution) and a particular issue in rural areas where community-based learning was

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[41] County Durham Development Company would continue to be the lead body.
[42] Incentives were not to be offered to companies from the primary sector as location is determined by natural resources.

identified as a solution to problems. Emphasis was placed on encouraging employers to train and develop their workforce. Proposals were made for measures to help in identifying the skills needs of employers and promoting links between education and industry was to continue to be developed. The importance of County representatives lobbying to make sure the national policy framework reflected the County's needs on education and training was recognised.

The Partnership consisted of the Economic Forum (with political and board level representatives) underneath which the officer Steering Group oversaw four Working Groups, one for each strand of the Strategy. Annual programme documents were produced for the Strategy outlining projects and as a way of monitoring performance against set targets. Documents produced by partners fitted into the overall programme set by the Strategy. Successful implementation of the Strategy relied upon financial support from a range of different funding sources - central government, European Union programmes and organisations such as British Coal.

The Strategy was subjected to a Mid-Term Review which was published in 1999 (CDEDP, 1999).[43] The Review covered a redefined County as Darlington was formally established as a Unitary Authority in 1997. Significant achievements had been made since the beginning of the Strategy, which were largely attributed to investments in infrastructure. There had also been progress in equipping residents with the necessary skills for job opportunities, establishing a learning culture in the County, and increasing emphasis on lifelong learning. The unemployment rate had continued to decline, although the gap between the County and national rates had increased. Despite the successes many problems remained and changing circumstances in the world economy along with uncertainty in future grant aid made the review timely to ensure the Strategy was headed in the right direction. It was concluded that there was no need for a fundamental shift in strategy. There were,

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[43] In 1999 the new County Durham Structure Plan for the period 1991-2006 was also published. The Plan "sets out the strategic planning policies for the future development and use of land within County Durham up to the year 2006" (DCC, 1999: p5). The Plan includes details on the provision for employment and sites in the County. Other topics covered include: communications; environmental policy; town centres and shopping; tourism and recreation; and land for housing. As the County Durham Economic Development Partnership and first Economic Development Strategy have developed since 1991 these have been the focus of this section of the Chapter rather than the Structure Plan.

however, some changes in emphasis including greater attention to indigenous enterprise relative to inward investment (a continuing balanced approach). The potential of knowledge-based sectors was highlighted in discussion of how the County needs to build on its manufacturing strengths without being too dependent on the sector (CDEDP: 1999). Informatics was identified as an area of increasing importance. There was also "an increasing emphasis on sustainability, with a growing awareness of the diminishing gap between economic, social and environmental interests" (CDEDP, 1999: p42). Here reference was mostly made to balancing the environment as a main asset of the County with the need to create jobs. Tackling run-down settlements was another issue discussed in the Review. It states that:

> "[s]ettlement renewal brings together the complementary activities of economic development and community development, since both are essential elements in the kind of holistic approach needed to breathe new life into deprived communities. ... Although it is beyond the scope of the Strategy to deal with specific local regeneration initiatives, it does nonetheless provide a framework within which settlement-based strategies setting out the action needed to revitalise run-down settlements can be formulated. This reflects the fact that employment creation and increased economic activity are key to revitalising these settlements, since bringing wealth back into the community helps break the cycle of decline, while supporting the principle of sustainability by reducing the need to commute"
>
> (CDEDP, 1999: p18).

There were some changes to the objectives and policies set out in the original Strategy (see CDEDP, 1999). One new policy in the people component was that "[t]he voluntary sector will be encouraged and supported to clarify and enhance its role in economic development" (CDEDP, 1999: p34).

3.4.4.2 East and West Durham Rural Development Areas

3.4.4.2.1 East and West Durham Rural Development Areas' Strategy
The boundaries for the Rural Development Areas were redefined in 1994 (following a review in 1993) leading to 74 per cent of the County's area, and 31 per cent of its

population being covered by the Rural Development Area designation.[44] In 1994 a new East and West Durham Rural Development Areas' Strategy was published for the period 1994-1999 (EWD RDA JSC, 1994).[45] Despite the achievements of the previous ten years there had been a number of setbacks during this time. There was a national recession and the County was continuing to suffer from industrial decline. On the positive side, at a national level, rural development was becoming more significant in the policy agenda as the contribution that the rural economy could make to prosperity, both nationally and locally, was recognised (EWD RDA JSC, 1994). The aim of the Strategy was: "[t]o improve the quality of life for the residents of Durham's Rural Development Areas by encouraging the development of a diversified economy underpinned by balanced and participative communities" (EWD RDA JSC, 1994: p9). Economic objectives/measures in the Strategy included some workspace activity (although the Rural Development Areas had been well provided for over the previous ten years) including provision for community enterprises, conversion of buildings, business support, farm diversification and tourism. Social/community objectives and measures covered activity to increase community involvement in identifying and addressing their economic and social needs. This included community facilities, transport, including community transport, education and training and housing. Environmental objectives and measures aimed to improve the quality of life for residents and make the areas more attractive to investors. Following the establishment of the County Durham Economic Development Partnership it has steered the activities of the Rural Development Areas' Partnership. The Rural Development Programme was taken under the control of the Regional Development Agency in 1999 (see section 3.5.3.2).

3.4.4.2.2 Settlement Renewal Initiatives

There was spatial and non-spatial targeting in the Rural Development Areas' Strategy which was intended to maximise the impact of the Rural Development Programme funding. One method of targeting was Settlement Renewal Initiatives (SRIs). There was recognition that previous attempts to address the deep-rooted

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[44] The East Durham Rural Development Area covers most of Easington District and parts of Durham and Sedgefield Districts. The West Durham Rural Development Area covers the whole of Teesdale District, most of Wear Valley and Derwentside Districts and part of Durham District (EWD RDA JSC, 1994).

[45] When this Strategy was published a draft of the Economic Development Strategy for the County (see below) was out for consultation.

problems in the local economy had spread resources too thinly. Settlement Renewal Initiatives were promoted as a way to target resources in areas of greatest need. They are "integrated regeneration initiatives comprising a range of economic, social and environmental projects" (EWD RDA JSC, 1994: p27) which operate in a settlement or group of settlements. The Settlement Renewal Initiatives were to focus on: capacity building, environmental improvements, access improvements and community development (with the possibility of this being extended to community businesses). They were, therefore, to co-ordinate a wide range of activity. Community partnerships were seen as central to the process. The Wingate/Station Town Initiative (noted above) was to continue in East Durham, but other settlements were considered in both of the Rural Development Areas. Two further Settlement Renewal Initiatives, in the Dene Valley and Cornforth, were designated in 1995.[46]

In 2000 an evaluation of the Settlement Renewal Initiatives was commissioned and concluded that "the development of Settlement Renewal Initiatives through the Rural Development Area[s'] Strategy has been largely positive" (Roger Tym and Partners with John Stevens Associates, 2001: piv). Environmental improvements have improved the image of the settlements, changing the internal and external perceptions. The Settlement Renewal Initiative status has been a focus for activity and attracted funding from other sources. Community involvement and participation is probably the area to have had most benefit from the Settlement Renewal Initiatives. In some areas there were issues around representation on the partnerships, but community organisations have grown in confidence and capacity. The evaluation sees technical and administrative support as essential in establishing meaningful community involvement and building capacity. There was less emphasis on economic development measures, "reflected in low levels of direct job creation, business development activities and low levels of training and development activity" (Roger Tym and Partners with John Stevens Associates, 2001: piv). As the evaluation suggests this may be owing to the stage of development of the partnerships and that these activities are usually carried out at district or regional levels. The partnerships have moved towards sustainable management in order to

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[46] See Chapter Four section 4.5.2.2 on the Dene Valley Settlement Renewal Initiative.

continue beyond the lifetime of the Settlement Renewal Initiative designation.[47] "Aside from their achievements in physically improving all three settlements and acting as a focus for social, community and economic initiatives, the SRIs [Settlement Renewal Initiatives] also appear to have had a clear psychological impact locally in demonstrating that improvement can be effected" (Roger Tym and Partners with John Stevens Associates, 2001: pv). The partnership structures which have developed are seen as "significant in the context of other sources of funding such as the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund" (Roger Tym and Partners with John Stevens Associates, 2001: pv).[48] Improvements to the Settlement Renewal Initiatives were recommended in the evaluation report, but overall they were considered to be valuable and new Settlement Renewal Initiatives are now underway.

3.4.4.3 Community Development Strategy

The idea to produce Durham County Council's first Community Development Strategy was endorsed in 1998 and it was published in 2000 (DCC 2000b). "It ha[d] been recognised for some time that the County Council would benefit from a distinct Community Development Strategy that would transcend departmental boundaries and be seen as a corporate or 'whole council' plan" (DCC, 2000b: p2). Behind the idea to produce the Strategy was recognition that a community development approach[49] could be used to increase community involvement and, therefore, make the Council a more responsive organisation. It fits with the Government's agenda for modernising local government (see DETR, 1998b). The Strategy is based on the following policy statement:

> "The County Council supports the Community Development process as a means of bringing together appropriate partners to help local people benefit the wider community of which they are a part, and to enhance their own capacity to shape and determine their contribution to their community. Community Development works towards helping communities articulate local views and to influence the processes that

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[47] "The moves towards limited company charitable trust status have been significant in this respect" (Roger Tym and Partners with John Stevens Associates, 2001: pv).

[48] See section 3.5.1.1.

[49] "Community Development as an approach suitable for adaptation by Local Authorities is defined as a way in which a Local Authority deliberately stimulates and encourages groups of people to express their needs, supports them in their collaborative action and helps develop their response to those needs as part of the authority's overall objectives" (DCC, 2000b: p17).

affect their lives; it seeks to ensure the full participation of all groups and individuals"

(DCC, 2000b: p2).

Four strategic objectives follow from the policy statement: improving community governance; tackling social exclusion; improving partnerships; and building community capacity (DCC, 2000b).[50] Although the Strategy is for the County Council the need to work in partnership is emphasised. It is acknowledged that turning the policy statement into action will involve changing the way the County Council works as much as it will be about specific projects and programmes (DCC, 2000b).[51]

3.5 CURRENT POLICY CONTEXT

3.5.1 National policy

In Chapter Two I outlined the New Labour government's approach to regeneration and stressed the emphasis placed in Government policy on notions of community and partnership. In this section I will discuss some of the specific policy developments and initiatives which are significant to an understanding of current economic and community development in County Durham.

3.5.1.1 Neighbourhood Renewal

Acknowledging that the gap the between the most deprived areas and the rest of the country had increased, in 2001 the New Labour government launched *A new commitment to neighbourhood renewal: national strategy action plan* (SEU, 2001) to tackle this problem.[52] The Action Plan sets out the Government's approach to tackling neighbourhood decline. The vision is that "within 10 to 20 years, no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live" (SEU, 2001: p8). There are two long term goals: "[i]n all the poorest neighbourhoods, to have common goals of lower worklessness and crime, and better health, skills, housing and physical environment [and] [t]o narrow the gap on these measures between the most deprived

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[50] A specific 18 month action plan develops the objectives.

[51] The Community Development Strategy has been subject to review (see http://www.durham.gov.uk/ durhamcc/usp.nsf/pws/Policies+-+Community+Development+Strategy).

[52] The work was commissioned in 1998 (SEU, 2001).

neighbourhoods and the rest of the country" (SEU, 2001: p8). As I noted in Chapter Two, a new cross-governmental unit called the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU) was established in 2001 to spearhead change both across government and outside (NRU, 2002; see also SEU, 2001). At the regional level the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit works with Neighbourhood Renewal Teams in Government Offices for the Regions.

Looking at deprivation on a neighbourhood scale attempts to avoid the problem of pockets of deprivation being concealed, which can occur when the focus is on a larger scale.[53] "Deprivation is a spectrum" there is not a clear point at which a neighbourhood can be described as deprived or not (SEU, 2001: p13). The Government's Indices of Deprivation - the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 - ranks wards by deprivation (DETR, 2000b) and "82 per cent of the most deprived wards are concentrated in 88 local authority districts" (SEU, 2001: p13). Most of these wards are in areas defined as urban, one or no industry towns and coalmining areas, but deprivation also occurs in rural areas. 19 per cent of the most deprived wards are in the North East Region and 35.9 per cent of the region's population live in these wards (SEU, 2001).

Whilst there are a number of social and economic changes (including recessions and the decline of manufacturing) which have led to neighbourhood decline, the Strategy acknowledges that government policies have been inadequate and have in cases contributed to the problem. Past efforts have not addressed problems in local economies or social issues, and have failed to "promote safe and stable communities" (SEU, 2001: p18). Deprived areas have also suffered from the poorest public services. The Strategy recognises that in the past "change has been imposed from above", with little understanding of the issues or community involvement (SEU, 2001: p19). It also acknowledges that problems have been compounded by no institution having responsibility for deprived neighbourhoods, a lack of clear strategy or accountability, 'partnership-itis' as new bodies are continually invented by central government and too much reliance on short-term

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[53] The Strategy recognises that there is not a single definition of neighbourhood. It states that "[l]ocal perceptions of neighbourhoods may be defined by [amongst other things] ... the sense of community generated around centres such as schools, shops or transport links" (SEU, 2001: p13).

initiatives.[54] Departments have worked alone on issues which required joined-up working. The aim is to join-up activity at the national and local levels.

The Strategy sets out how the Government is to achieve neighbourhood renewal - how there is to be joint working between different services and initiatives and community involvement. Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) are promoted as being "the key local vehicle for implementing and leading neighbourhood renewal" (SEU, 2001: p43). Local Strategic Partnerships are to involve partners from the public, private and voluntary/community sectors. There is to be an "appropriate balance" of representatives from the different sectors and it should be a partnership of "equal players" (SEU, 2001: p45).[55] Local Strategic Partnerships are charged by government with "identify[ing] local problems and deliver[ing] solutions to regenerating neighbourhoods" (NRU, 2002: p10). The idea is to achieve co-ordination, to bring all of the agencies together to align services and set common priorities with the possibility of rationalising the partnerships and plans operating in an area. Service deliverers will come together with the people they provide the services for. A key task for Local Strategic Partnerships in the eighty-eight most deprived areas is to produce a Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy, including targets in line with those set nationally, by April 2002. This limited time span is set despite recognition that "[e]ffective partnerships take time to develop" (SEU, 2001: p46). A number of different funds are available to support work in the eighty-eight most deprived areas including top-up funding called the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund set up in 2000 to help improve services and narrow the gap between the most and least deprived areas (see SEU, 2001). To continue to receive Neighbourhood Renewal Fund money the eligible Local Strategic Partnerships must have agreed their Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy and be accredited by their local Government Office (see NRU, 2001). Involving local people in Local Strategic Partnerships is central, as the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (2002: p13) describes:

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[54] A further problem detailed is a lack, and poor use, of information on neighbourhood deprivation (SEU, 2001: p20).

[55] This new commitment to the involvement of local people/organisations in partnership working can be seen as a shift from the approach of the previous Conservative governments including those of the late 1980s and early 1990s which did move towards local people's participation (see Chapter Two sections 2.2 and 2.3.1).

"Local people know best what the priorities of their own neighbourhood are. It is essential that they have the opportunity and the tools to get involved in whatever way they want".

There is funding to support local people's involvement. The Community Empowerment Fund is available to the most deprived areas to support the involvement of the voluntary and community sector in Local Strategic Partnerships. The money is to be used to establish a community network bringing together the community and voluntary sector organisations/groups in each area. There is also a Community Chest funding pot to provide small grants for "community projects" and Community Learning Chests "to help either individuals or partnerships with limited resources to apply for learning opportunities" (NRU, 2002: p14). The role of Local Strategic Partnerships goes beyond neighbourhood renewal, for example, they are responsible for preparing a community strategy for their area (see DETR, 2001a).[56]

Within County Durham four of the seven local authority districts are within the eighty-eight most deprived areas (Derwentside, Easington, Sedgefield and Wear Valley). In these districts Local Strategic Partnerships have had to develop within central government's timetable in order to qualify for their extra funding. In the remaining districts Local Strategic Partnerships are being established, but at a slower pace. A new Countywide Strategic Partnership (the County Durham Strategic Partnership) is also being established (see Chapter Five).

3.5.1.2 The Rural White Paper and Market Towns Initiative

The new Labour government published its Rural White Paper, *Our Countryside: the future A fair deal for rural England* in November 2000 (DETR and MAFF, 2000).[57] The White Paper sets out the Government's vision for rural areas. It covers social, economic and environmental issues, recognising their inter-relation, and places a strong emphasis on partnership working and the role of local people (referred to as) communities. The Government claims that:

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[56] The requirement to produce a community strategy comes from the 2000 Local Government Act. Although it is not a Government requirement it is recommended that Local Strategic Partnerships are established to produce the community strategies.

[57] This was published alongside an Urban White Paper (DETR, 2000a). The Rural White Paper argues that urban and rural areas are interdependent making it necessary to address their needs together. There are, however, specific issues in rural areas which need to be tackled and these are the focus of the White Paper (DETR and MAFF, 2000: p9).

"[w]e will empower local communities, so that decisions are taken with their *active participation and ownership*. We will help communities map out how they would like their town or village to evolve *and let them take on more responsibility for managing their own affairs*"

(DETR and MAFF, 2000: p11 my emphasis).

The Rural White Paper is described as setting "out a toolkit of measures which local communities can apply to meet their priorities and concerns" (DETR and MAFF, 2000: p11). Regional Development Agencies are charged with taking forward the policies for rural regeneration. The Agencies' "primary aim for rural areas is to ensure a dynamic local economy and vibrant communities able to respond to changes in traditional industries such as agriculture and mining and to contribute positively to the regional and national economy" (DETR and MAFF, 2000: p82). The Rural White Paper details a number of responsibilities for the Regional Development Agencies which cover helping rural businesses, overcoming rural deprivation and encouraging sustainable development (DETR and MAFF, 2000; Lowe and Ward, 2001).

Market Towns (or key settlements) are seen as "the foci of local economic regeneration in rural areas" in the Rural White Paper, which devotes a whole chapter to them (Lowe and Ward, 2001: p387). They have an important role as service centres, which is also recognised in the new Countryside Agency strategy (Countryside Agency, 2001a) and the Regional Economic Strategy for the North East (ONE, 1999). "[P]riority is to be afforded to strengthening the role of these key settlements to support the economic and social regeneration of their rural hinterlands" (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p1). Government funding was made available to Regional Development Agencies for a Market Town regeneration programme. The Market Towns Initiative focuses on a 'healthcheck' process in order to determine the economic, social and environmental health of the town. The Countryside Agency (2001b: no page numbers) claims that "[t]he key to a successful healthcheck is a strong working partnership involving people from all sectors of the community - residents, businesses, government and other relevant organisations". Following this an action plan is to be produced to guide development/regeneration, identify projects and funding (Countryside Agency, 2001b; EWD RPA JSC, 2001a).

In 2001 the Rural Development Programme Partnerships in the North East along with ONE NorthEast and the Countryside Agency commissioned research in order to select towns which would be suitable for Market Towns Initiative status. Within County Durham there are many towns which have an important function as centres for employment and services, but do not have the "characteristics of the typical 'Market Town' " (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p3). Ex-mining or industrial settlements fit this category. They do not appear to have a strong role as service centres for a rural hinterland and for this reason it was believed that they would not be successful candidates in a submission for Market Towns Initiative status (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a).[58] However, four suitable County Durham towns were selected and granted Market Towns Initiative status in May 2001 (CDEP, 2002).[59]

3.5.2 Regional policy

3.5.2.1 Regional Development Agencies and the North East Regional Economic Strategy

As I noted in Chapter Two, Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were introduced in 1999 (see DETR, 1997a). They "were established as non-departmental public bodies ... with a wide remit to promote the economic wellbeing of the English regions in ways consistent with the goals of sustainable development and social inclusion" (Robson *et al.*, 2000: pvii). They are lead bodies in the regions co-ordinating "inward investment, raising skills levels, improving business competitiveness and for social and physical regeneration" (Robson *et al.*, 2000: p1). Regional Development Agencies inherited responsibility for some existing funding streams including "the rural regeneration programmes of the Rural Development Commission; the regional and urban regeneration functions of English Partnerships; and the administration of the Single Regeneration Budget ... from the GORs [Government Offices for the Regions]" (Robson *et al.*, 2000: p4). Under guidance from the DETR (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions) they have produced regional economic strategies.

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[58] This was also the case for other parts of the region. Small, but self-sufficient settlements developed in rural areas owing to the industrial history (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a).
[59] These are Crook, Stanhope and a joint bid for Barnard Castle and Middleton-in-Teesdale (see Chapter Four section 4.5.3.2).

ONE NorthEast (ONE) is the Regional Development Agency for the north east of England which produced *Unlocking our potential: Regional economic strategy for the North East* (ONE, 1999) following a period of wide consultation. The overall vision for the Region is "By 2010, the North East of England is a vibrant, self-reliant and outward looking Region with the aspiration, ambition and confidence to unlock the potential of all its people" (ONE, 1999: p8). The Regional Economic Strategy (RES) is based on six priorities:[60]

> "First, we must build the Region's capacity to (1) **create wealth by building a diversified knowledge driven, economy**. We will achieve this if we (2) **establish a new entrepreneurial culture** throughout the Region and (3) **build an adaptable, highly skilled workforce**. Moreover, a knowledge driven economy requires that we (4) **place our universities and colleges at the heart of the North East economy**. This will enable knowledge transfer between companies, universities and colleges and contribute to building a highly skilled workforce. In order to compete in global markets, we must (5) **meet 21st century transport, communication and property needs** and (6) **accelerate the renaissance of the North East**. This will make the Region more attractive to local and national investors and entrepreneurs"
>
> (ONE, 1999: p30 emphasis in original).

The approach to these priorities is described in the Regional Economic Strategy. Emphasis is placed on cluster development. Objectives also include continuous improvement in business including looking at routes into employment and training for the unemployed, and building a regional electronic economy. In order to create a culture of entrepreneurship the region "must cast off the "dependency culture" that relies on large organisations to create jobs" (ONE, 1999: p44). This entrepreneurial culture will be fostered through rebuilding of the necessary attitudes and skills and provision of an accessible business support network and networking opportunities for business and universities and colleges. There are also proposals for financial assistance for business and community businesses/third sector organisations are also to be supported. There is emphasis on improving education and skills and promoting lifelong learning. Proposals are outlined for work and training for the economically excluded, for example people in rural areas who are deterred by travelling costs. There are plans for a North East Skills Observatory to develop "a

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[60] Although referred to in the Regional Economic Strategy as priorities, within the County Durham sub-region they are commonly referred to as the six Regional Economic Strategy objectives.

better understanding of the current and future skills requirements of employers"
(ONE, 1999: p55). Compacts are being prepared between ONE NorthEast and
universities and colleges. "These compacts will represent Statements of Intent ...
[and] [t]he main objectives ... are to increase participation in learning; accelerate
knowledge transfer, and use academic resources to build better communities" (ONE,
1999: p56). Proposals for investment in transport infrastructure include road
networks, public transport and community transport and the particular needs in rural
areas are considered. Telecommunications are also considered important. Proposals
for business sites and property include high quality provision and suitable premises
for new smaller companies as well as sites for larger investments.

Work on regenerating communities recognises the differences between sub-regions
with each Sub-Regional Partnership (referred to in the Regional Economic Strategy
as Local Development Partnerships) being tasked with producing Local
Regeneration Frameworks including complementary social, economic and physical
investments. There is a leadership role for local authorities and plans to empower
communities to become involved in regeneration, or stimulate further involvement.
Investments in communities cover housing, health and crime. Rural regeneration is
highlighted as are coalfield communities and flagship projects in large towns and
cities.[61]

Key to delivery of the Regional Economic Strategy are the four Sub-Regional
Partnerships. In County Durham this is the County Durham Economic Development
Partnership.[62] The part that the community has to play in implementation is
acknowledged, ONE NorthEast is seeking to invest in such social entrepreneurship
as it is "recognise[d] that sometimes it will be desirable to support new, higher risk
community-based implementation organisations" (ONE, 1999: p108).

Regional Development Agencies were taken under the control of the Department of
Trade and Industry (DTI) following the June 2001 general election. In April 2002

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[61] It was deemed necessary to update the Regional Economic Strategy following significant changes
in the world economy and the UK and region. The updated strategy has been submitted to the
Department of Trade and Industry for approval (see ONE, 2002a).
[62] The others cover the remaining sub-regions which are Tees Valley, Tyne and Wear and
Northumberland.

the Regional Development Agency 'Single Pot' (Single Programme) funding was introduced to replace the Single Regeneration Budget and other programmes. This fuelled concern about the Regional Development Agencies' future role in social regeneration and capacity building activity (see *Regeneration and Renewal*, 2001; Willis, 2002; Urban Forum, 2002). In a unique move in the north east of England, ONE NorthEast determines region-wide priorities, but allocates 75 per cent of its headroom budget to the Sub-Regional Partnerships (ONE, 2002b).

3.5.2.2 LEADER+

In 2002 a North Pennines bid for funding from LEADER+ which is a European Community funded initiative was approved.[63] The North Pennines area covers parts of County Durham (including areas in Wear Valley, Teesdale and Derwentside districts), Northumberland and Cumbria. LEADER+ funds local partnerships (known as Local Action Groups) to devise and undertake local solutions to rural development issues. The North Pennines LEADER+ Local Action Group includes members of the public, private voluntary and community sectors and is responsible for drawing up and implementing a development plan. The North Pennines LEADER+ Development Plan has an overall theme of 'Improving the Quality of Life (North Pennines Plus, 2001). This theme is addressed through seven strategic objectives in the Plan. The first of these is: "providing the means to enable local communities to play an active part in the social and economic development of their communities, and to influence policy developments at a regional level" (North Pennines Plus, 2001: p32). The remaining objectives cover activity in the following areas: job creation and support for small businesses; education and training; access to services; increasing awareness of environmental quality; health and well-being; and art and culture. Projects from different organisations within the programme area and submitted to the Local Action Group which recommends applications for approval by the Government Office.

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[63] LEADER is an acronym for Liaison Entre Actions pour le Développement de L'Economie Rurale (Links between Actions for the Development of the Rural Economy). There was also a North Pennines LEADER II programme between 1996 and 1999. The North Pennines programme operates under a national programme which ends in 2006.

3.5.3 Recent developments in County Durham policy

3.5.3.1 The new County Durham Economic Strategy

Significant changes in circumstances have necessitated a "fundamental revision" of the County Durham Economic Strategy for 2002-2007 (CDEP, 2002: p3). There is a new regional context following the establishment of the Regional Development Agency, ONE NorthEast, and other regional organisations such as the Small Business Service and the Learning and Skills Council. European Union and central government funding changes have altered investment patterns along with fewer large inward investments and increasing acceptance of the need to "diversify into new sectors" (CDEP, 2002: p3). Information Communications Technology (ICT) is important and there is a growing awareness that economic development should improve the quality of the environment. Despite progress made with the first Economic Strategy there remains a lot to achieve. This strategy "places greater emphasis on measures to ensure that all communities benefit from the opportunities being created and enabling them to contribute to the continued economic regeneration of the County" (CDEP, 2002: p4).

The Regional Economic Strategy provides the context for the work of the County Durham Economic Partnership. The production of the new strategy began in November 2000 when debates on the six objectives of the Regional Economic Strategy were held in order to 'County Durhamise' the Regional Economic Strategy (to use a phrase introduced by Mark Lloyd, Director of Economic Development and Planning, Durham County Council and Chair of the Strategy Steering Group). This was followed by work by the Partnership producing several drafts and consultation including business, young people and a rural proofing by the Rural Development Programme Partnership. In addition to the Regional Economic Strategy a number of other significant regional policy documents provide the context for the County

Durham Economic Strategy (CDEP, 2002).[64] It is significant to note "that whilst this Economic Strategy is also concerned with aspects of lifelong learning, the environment and communities, it is purely from an economic perspective" (CDEP, 2002: p31). Different strategies exist to address the other aspects of these areas. Linkage between these is important and at sub-regional level they will be pulled together in the strategy produced by the County Durham Strategic Partnership (see Chapter Five section 5.7).

The Strategy targets priority areas which are the Task Force areas of the North West, South West and East Durham.[65] The challenges facing the County are considerable, bringing employment up to the national average would necessitate the creation of 17 000 net extra jobs.[66] This is seen as an unrealistic target for the strategy period. Owing to problems with economic competitiveness such as deficiencies in the skills base and a low business start-up rate, developing learning and skills and entrepreneurship have been identified as thematic priorities for this strategy period (CDEP, 2002: p4).

The vision of the new Economic Strategy is "...to secure the economic well-being of the County" (CDEP, 2002: p33). The Strategy is focused on residents, but will be delivered through the development of businesses. The implementation of the Strategy aims to benefit all residents and there is an acknowledgement of "a major shortcoming of the first Economic Development Strategy - that while it was effective in facilitating the creation of employment and other opportunities, a significant proportion of the County's residents have not fully felt the benefits" (CDEP, 2002: p33). There is a new strand in the Strategy concerned with economic

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[64] The planning framework for land use is provided by the County Structure Plan (which is under review for the period until 2016). This Plan is in line with Regional Planning Guidance. "[T]he RES [Regional Economic Strategy] operates within the spatial context provided by Regional Planning Guidance [which in turn] ... draws upon the priorities identified in the RES" (CDEP, 2002: p29). The strategic planning framework ensures development can take place to meet economic and social needs without harming the environment so the Economic Strategy and Structure Plan work in accordance with each other.

[65] The North West and South West Task Force areas have Programmes for Action (North West Durham Task Force, 2001; South West Durham Task Force, 2001). Action plans for these areas were produced prior to the County Durham Economic Strategy and in many ways the Strategy has overtaken them. In East Durham a programme document was produced (East Durham Task Force, 2001), but the Task Force has been superseded by the development of the East Durham Local Strategic Partnership (see Chapter Five). Progress in all of the areas is reported to the County Durham Economic Partnership Economic Forum.

[66] Assuming the Partnership works at a similar rate of job creation (CDEP, 2002).

regeneration. The other strands remain business development, learning and skills and physical development.[67] Each of the four strands has a specific aim within the Strategy. Overarching aims of the Strategy are to: "create high quality employment; ... generate wealth within the local economy; ... develop an enterprise culture; ... strengthen and diversify the local economy; ... [and] exploit the potential of the knowledge economy" (CDEP, 2002: p34). There are also a number of cross-cutting themes which include: "[p]utting people first and focusing on the young; ... [a]iming for full employment; ... [s]eeking equality in access to opportunity; ... [r]educing disparities within the County; ... [t]ackling rural issues; ... [and] [w]orking in partnership and improving co-ordination" (CDEP, 2002: pp34-37).

The specific aim for business development is "... to grow competitive businesses" (CDEP, 2002: p41). Efforts to increase competitiveness continue from the last Strategy (see CDEDP, 1999). The approach to business development covers inward investments and indigenous businesses. The reliance on manufacturing branch plants makes the County vulnerable and although high quality investment remains important, diversifying the economy through indigenous enterprise is increasingly significant. Developing knowledge-based businesses is particularly important. Support for community businesses and the tourism sector is included.

The specific aim for learning and skills is "... to develop a highly skilled workforce" (CDEP, 2002: p51). The skills base needs to be adaptable to the requirements of industry so the County's workforce can compete for available jobs.[68] There are skills shortages in the County which need to be addressed. Educational attainment has improved, but it is still below national average and improving this is seen as crucial. Adult basic skills is a priority with emphasis on high quality provision. The Strategy seeks to foster a culture of learning and "[i]ncrease and widen participation" (CDEP, 2002: p56). Information on the needs of both employers and learners is required. Up-skilling of employees is to be promoted to employers. There are proposals for raising the standard of post-16 provision. Collaborative working between learning providers is to be encouraged.

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[67] There is no longer an image strand.
[68] The County Durham Lifelong Learning Partnership and Learning and Skills Council have a role to play in delivering the Regional Economic Strategy in terms of community and family learning as well as training and workforce development (CDEP, 2002).

The specific aim for physical development is "… to secure quality infrastructure" (CDEP 2002: p63). In the past a lot of emphasis has been placed on physical development and whilst this strategy "aims for a more balanced approach" providing the necessary infrastructure to facilitate other aspects of the Strategy is important (CDEP, 2002: p63). There is a range of business sites available in the County - business site development was a key part of the first Strategy and more work is needed. Public investment is still needed to provide the infrastructure for business development. Quality is important if the County is to be competitive. Work is also needed to tackle problems of poor quality or inappropriate property. The quality of the environment is recognised as an asset as is the County's location in the north east. Emphasis in the Strategy is on creating the conditions for knowledge-based businesses and indigenous enterprise "small sites in rural areas (both in remote settlements and former coalfield communities) play an important part in sustaining communities, helping to diversify the local economy, while providing accessible employment opportunities" (CDEP, 2002: p70). Emphasis is also on tackling infrastructure issues and making the most of the County's assets (CDEP, 2002). Communications (road and rail) need to be improved in order for the County to be a competitive location, but again without harming the environment. "The priority is to pursue an integrated transport policy that balances economic, social and environmental considerations" (CDEP, 2002: p72). Information Communications Technology (ICT) is an opportunity, but the County lags behind in broadband Information Communications Technology provision. Physical improvements are still needed to improve the environment - emphasis is placed on those areas particularly significant in terms of the County's image. Tourism is an increasingly significant sector and sensitive work is needed on attractions, accommodation and facilities.

The economic regeneration specific aim is "…to create self-sustaining communities" (CDEP, 2002: p75). This strand "focuses upon the economic needs of local communities" (CDEP, 2002: p75). Recognition of the need to enable all communities to benefit from the opportunities created by the Strategy has led to its

inclusion as a policy strand (CDEP, 2002: p75).[69] Whilst there has been much progress in developing the County's economy some of the population has missed out and pockets of deprivation remain. Building hope and confidence can lead to "community-based solutions that have proved to be effective in arresting decline" (CDEP, 2002: p75). However, expectations have to be managed. Work encouraging participation needs to run in parallel with efforts to create employment opportunities.

"There are particular issues surrounding run-down settlements (in particular, former mining communities) and declining service centres in both urban and rural areas that need to be addressed" (CDEP, 2002: p75). Improving the vibrancy of major centres is emphasised as a way to attract businesses and retain the local population. Work on towns and villages particularly emphasises the main towns which are service centres. Whilst physical improvements are prioritised in locations important to the image of the County, environmental improvements are also important in run-down town and village centres when undertaken in conjunction with tackling other issues. The Strategy recognises the important role of partners in "facilitating appropriate physical [development] projects sought by communities" claiming that in addition to providing practical support (for example, with funding) there is a role in " "coaching" communities to develop projects which have a realistic chance of success" (CDEP, 2002: p80). Some local people have already been involved in regeneration and there are, what are referred to as, community partnerships (which vary in form) in both urban and rural areas.

"Community-based regeneration encompasses a very wide range of activities, including many that are more appropriately addressed through other channels. It is therefore essential that the Economic Strategy focuses upon those areas of activity that will make a real difference to the economic prospects of local people and businesses" (CDEP, 2002: p75). A need for positive cultural change is stressed, empowering communities to become involved in regeneration, raising aspirations. Local partnership working is to be encouraged. Whilst in some areas community

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[69] John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council (*personal communication*) argues that the economic regeneration strand of the Strategy was created to ensure that focus is given to the neediest areas of the County. Such a move is in line with changes in national policy (see Chapter Two on New Labour's focus on regeneration in the most deprived areas).

partnerships have already delivered important projects there is a need to develop capacity in others. Improving access to opportunities includes supporting key service businesses and community enterprises. Exploiting Information Communications Technology, particularly in remote areas, is also emphasised. Community resource centres relate to "all aspects of service delivery, and so [need] to be co-ordinated through other channels" (CDEP, 2002: p80). There are, however, from the point of view of the Economic Partnership opportunities for community enterprise and town and village centre regeneration. Private investment in regeneration is scarce so public money needs to be targeted where there is greatest need and where it will have the greatest impact. Needs should be determined by communities and funding should be accessible to the communities.[70]

Partnership working is emphasised in the Strategy:

> "given the scale of the challenges that the County still faces, it is clear that no single organisation has either the remit or the level of resources needed to do the job on its own. Partnership working is therefore the key to the successful implementation of the Strategy ... the new Economic Strategy establishes a consensus on the approach we need to take ... [which] will help to ensure that all activities are fully co-ordinated, and that there is no duplication of effort"
>
> (CDEP, 2002: p5).

The role of the County Durham Economic Partnership as the Sub-Regional Partnership for County Durham has led to a revision of the Partnership structure. An Executive Group has been established which oversees the work of the Officer Steering Group and makes sure the Partnership is fully accountable in the light of its increased responsibilities, particularly with regard to funding from ONE NorthEast. In line with the changes to the four strands there is also a new Economic Regeneration Working Group (Figure 3.6).

3.5.3.2 East and West Durham Rural Priority Areas

The Rural Development Areas were renamed Rural Priority Areas (Figure 3.7) in 1999 when they came under the control of the Regional Development Agencies. Activity funded through the Rural Development Programme was to contribute to

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[70] It is recognised that the difficulties experienced by community groups in getting match funding need to be acknowledged (CDEP, 2002).

County Durham Economic Partnership/Forum
(Chaired by DCC, meets every 6 months, membership - public/private/voluntary sector)

Executive Group
Chaired by DCC, meets quarterly involving political and Board level representation
Chair of Working Groups - Business Development (NECC), Physical Development (DCC), Learning and Skills (DCC), Economic
Regeneration (District Council), District Councils, Learning and Skills Council, Business Link, Chamber of Commerce,
University of Durham, FE rep, North East Regional Assembly, Countryside Agency, One NorthEast, GO-NE, CDDC,
Enterprise Agencies (1 rep), One Voice (2 vol sector reps)

Steering Group
DCC (Chair), Chair of Working Groups - Business Development (NECC), Physical Development
(DCC), Learning and Skills (DCC), Economic Regeneration (District Council), District Councils,
Learning and Skills Council, Business Link, Chamber of Commerce, University of Durham,
FE rep, North East Regional Assembly, Countryside Agency, CDDC, One NorthEast,
GO-NE, Enterprise Agencies (1 rep), One Voice (vol sector rep), Jobcentre Plus

Rural Sounding Board
(from April 2004)
Political and Board level representation DCC,
District Councils, Business in the Community, Business
Link, County Landowners Association, Countryside
Agency, LSC, DAPTC, DEFRA, DRCC, GO-NE, NFU,
Chamber of Commerce, Groundwork, NTB, One NE

Physical Development Working Group

DCC (Chair), District Councils,
GO-NE, One NorthEast,
Helical Properties,
Groundwork,
Sedgefield Borough Business
Service,
Durham Constabulary, CDDC,
University of Durham

Learning and Skills Working Group

DCC (Chair), District Councils, Colleges,
Lifelong Learning Partnership,
Co Durham Connexions Service, Learning
& Skills Council, Aycliffe Learning Town
Partnership, CBI, Co Durham Business &
Learning Partnership, CDDC, Jobcentre
Plus, DEFRA, Chamber of Commerce,
Beamish Museum, One NorthEast, SW
Durham Training, Churches Regional
Commission, North Durham Healthcare,
Teesdale and Wear Valley Learning
Partnership, TUC, University of Durham,
CDDC, DIDA, Groundwork, Ufi, Learn
Direct Durham Hub

Economic Regeneration Working Group

Borough/District Council (Chair),
DCC, Distric Councils, FE Colleges,
University of Durham, DRCC,
One Voice, Groundwork, Learning
and Skills Council, Co Durham Health
Authority, DIDA, Chester-le-Street and
Durham Enterprise Agency, Durham
Sport, Sport England, Middleton Plus,
Local Agenda 21, Business in the
Community, Countryside Agency,
Jobcentre Plus, North East Housing
Forum, One NorthEast

Business Development Working Group

NECC (Chair), DCC,
District Councils, Business Link,
Business in the Community,
Enterprise/Development Agencies,
CDDC, Chamber of Commerce,
Northwood Partnership, Colleges,
CBI, University of Durham,
GO-NE, DEFRA, LANTRA,
One NorthEast, NTB, Groundwork,
Countryside Agency, DTIU,
Northern Arts

Figure 3.6: County Durham Economic Partnership structure (*after* CDEP, 2002).
DCC - Durham County Council, NECC - North East Chamber of Commerce, FE - Further Education, GO-NE - Government Office for the North East, CDDC - County Durham Development Company, LSC - Learning and Skills Council, DAPTC - Durham Association of Town and Parish Councils, DEFRA - Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, DRCC - Durham Rural Community Council, NFU - National Farmers' Union, NTB - Northumbria Tourist Board, One NE - One NorthEast, CBI - Confederation of British Industry, TUC - Trade Unions Council, DIDA - Derwentside Industrial Development Agency, Ufi - University for industry, LANTRA – The Sector Skills Council for the Environmental and Land Based Sector, DTIU - Derwentside Training for Industry Unit.

Rural Priority Areas

District Boundaries
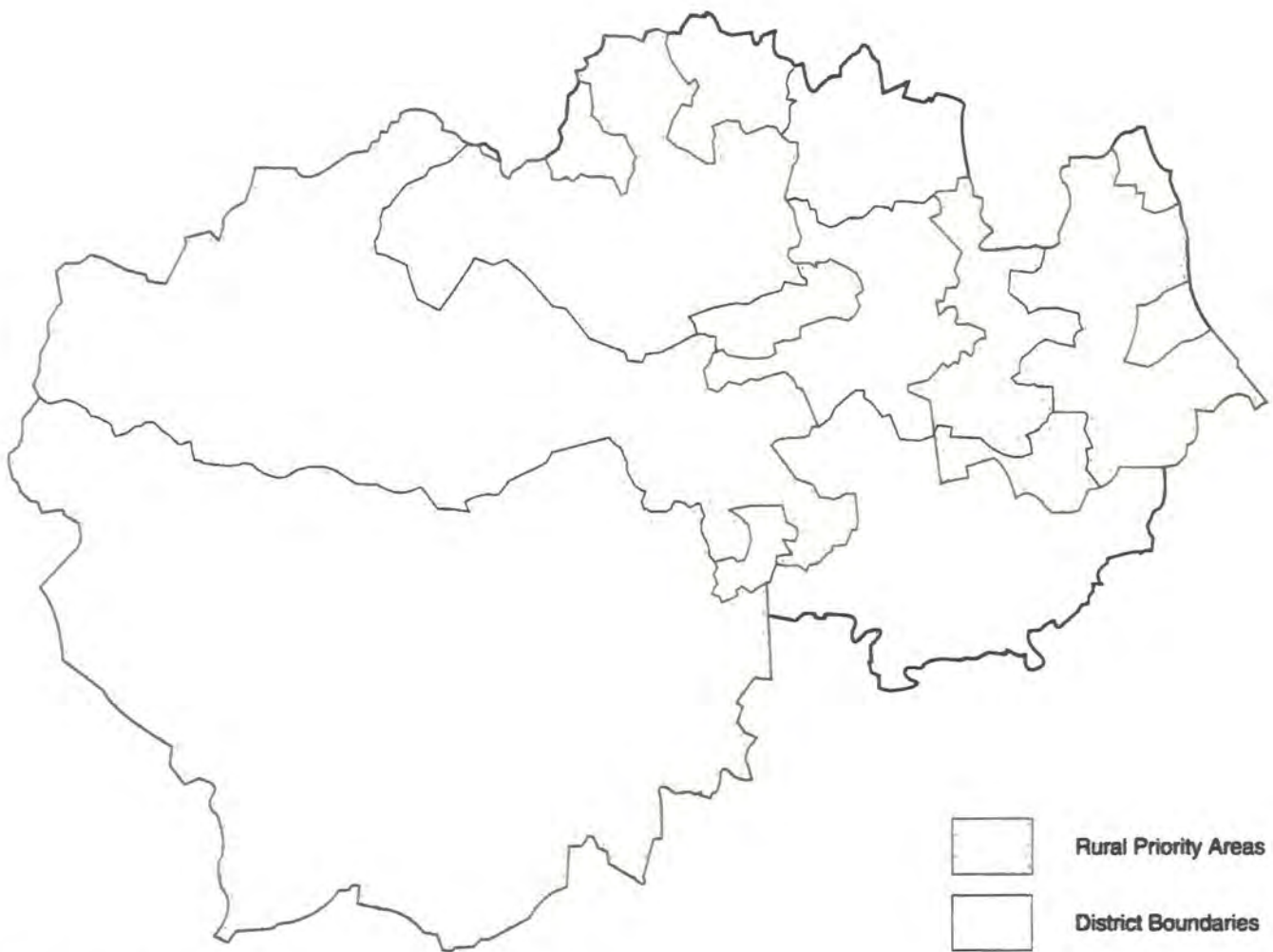
Figure 3.7: East and West Durham Rural Priority Areas (*after* EWD RPA JSC, 2001a).

delivering the strategic objectives of the Regional Economic Strategy as well as Rural Development Programme Strategy objectives (EWD RPA JSC, 2001b). The overriding vision for the 1994-1999 Strategy was deemed appropriate for work at this time. A new strategy was not produced as the development of Single Programme funding meant the end of Rural Development Programme applications in 2002. It continued as a legacy programme subject to Single Programme guidance until 2004. The Rural Priority Areas' Partnership has continued, however, becoming a rural sounding board for the County Durham Economic Partnership (Figure 3.6).

3.6   SUMMARY

The history of County Durham over the last 200 years is dominated by the rise and fall of the coal industry. Development of the coal and associated heavy industries in the County created a scattered network of one industry settlements. For a time the County prospered and played a significant role in the nation's economy. However, this was not to last forever. Decline of the traditional industries left the settlements and their populations with no raison d'être. The industry was gone, but the environmental damage it had caused remained. There was mass unemployment as attempts at job creation could not keep pace with redundancies and severe socio-economic problems resulted. Manufacturing branch plants were attracted to the County providing some new employment, but these were vulnerable to changes in the world's economy. Problems in the County were compounded as they moved away and once again there were significant job losses. Agricultural areas which may have not been affected by the loss of traditional industries have suffered from a decline in the sector (and more recently by the Foot and Mouth Disease crisis).

It should not, however, be argued that there has been no success. New employment opportunities have been created and despite a continuing reliance on the manufacturing sector the County's economy has diversified; unemployment is falling. A lot work has been done to improve the County's environment which is regarded as one of its main assets. However, the problems in the County are deep-rooted and despite the achievements much remains to be done.

From the end of the Second World War it was the needs of industry which were on the policy agenda. Proposals for industry influenced those for settlement patterns and infrastructure investment. The focus was on the provision of industrial land, factories and roads. Later on environmental improvement became important. In response to major job losses in the County early forms of partnership working were established as agencies joined together to try to solve the severe socio-economic problems.

More recently within national, regional and county level policies, there is recognition of the interrelatedness of economic, social and environmental problems. Under the New Labour government there is an emphasis on partnership working and the roles the public, private, voluntary and community sectors have to play in development/regeneration which can be identified in County Durham policy and activities. Discourses of community are central to policy. There is focus not only on developing people's skills and opportunities, but significantly on local people's role in determining and delivering policy. Communities are both encouraged and expected to participate in the regeneration process.

Methodology and Case Study Areas

4.1   INTRODUCTION

In any research the methodological approach has to be consistent with the theoretical approach(es); what constitutes valid evidence is defined within the context of the theoretical approach(es) employed.   As I have discussed in previous chapters this research is particularly concerned with the concepts of community and partnership and is drawing on notions of governance and governmentality.   The focus on governance directs the research to consider who is involved in, and the organisation of, economic and community development.   I am interested in what development work is being done, and how, and looking more closely at the roles that different sectors are able, and expected, to play within rural regeneration.   The governmentality approach is concerned with the how of governing[1] directing attention to the processes of policy-making and implementation.

I chose to employ a predominantly qualitative methodological approach as I am concerned with understanding causal mechanisms.   An intensive approach drawing on people's (and areas') experiences of regeneration work would hopefully reveal the complexity of the phenomenon.   Such an approach was preferred to a predominantly quantitative approach which would conceal the complexity and, importantly, the voices of those being researched.   I employed a multi-method approach which is strongly advocated by Cook and Crang (1995), Cook (1997) and Valentine (1997b) and allows for multiple sources of evidence and triangulation which increases the validity of the findings.   The methods included interviews and participant observation in addition to archives and documentary sources.   Evidence

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[1] This is described in detail in Chapter Two (section 2.5).

from the different sources influenced later stages of research by, for example, identifying new research participants.

There are two main strands to the empirical research. The first strand involves investigation at the county level. This covers the work of Durham County Council, and other organisations, initiatives and strategies concerned with economic and/or community development, which operate across the County and in some cases regionally and nationally. The second strand is investigation of three case study areas. Attempting to study the experiences of economic and community development activity in all of the County's settlements would be impractical[2] - the case study approach allowed detailed examples to be explored. Furthermore there is significant geographical variation within the County (as I discussed in Chapter Three) which may lead to the integration of economic and community development being confronted with different challenges in different areas. By using a case study approach place specific effects could be investigated and similarities identified. Bennett *et al.* (2000) employed a similar approach, based on participant observation, in their study of coalfields regeneration.[3] The intensive nature of the research, multiple methods and in-depth research in the case study areas, is key to the findings and my understanding of the issues involved in economic and community development in County Durham. In this chapter I discuss the methods of data collection and analysis and some of the issues and practicalities which were encountered or considered in undertaking the research. Following this I describe the case study approach and case study areas including the rationale behind their selection.

4.2 METHODS AND SOURCES

4.2.1 Archives, documentary sources and background statistics

Throughout the research process I used archives, documentary sources and background statistics. The evidence was in a number of forms including official and

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[2] At least within the confines of this research.

[3] One difference in the research undertaken by Bennett *et al.* (2000) is that the participant observation involved a researcher living in the case study areas for a period of time. Such an approach could not be used in this research largely owing to financial constraints (see Chapter Six section 6.3). The participant observation is detailed in section 4.2.3.

unofficial documents (strategies, reports, plans), project/work files and newspapers. I used the documentary sources to gather information about economic and community development, the groups involved and the work being undertaken. The exercise of governmentality can be traced through documentary evidence (for example Murdoch, 1997; Murdoch and Ward, 1997; Stenson and Watt, 1999; Painter, 2002) and I used documents such as economic strategies to investigate ideas around governmentality.[4]   In addition to being evidence in their own right, documentary sources and background statistics were an essential tool in preparing for and conducting fieldwork.

Early work included a review of recent and current economic and community development policy in County Durham. The review focused on the work of Durham County Council (and the County Durham Economic Partnership) and I used it to develop my understanding of what was happening in the County and identify issues for further investigation.   Knowledge of the policy environment was necessary background for the research; I had to familiarise myself with this material very quickly. Undertaking this work was also an aid in developing my relationships with officers at Durham County Council.   Secondary data sources were useful in providing context for the detailed case study work (Clark, 1997) and were used in the selection of case study areas. I used secondary data when writing interview prompt sheets; it was useful to know, for example, whether an organisation had an economic/community development strategy and, if so, what it contained. Some documents were also helpful in indicating areas of discussion which may be contentious.   I also prepared in a similar way before undertaking participant observation so I was aware of at least some of the activities and operation of organisations and, therefore, did not enter meetings 'cold'. Knowledge of their organisation, activities, or area helps in gaining credence from research participants and, as a result of this, the research process may be facilitated leading to more useful or interesting evidence.

One advantage of the collaborative relationship[5] with Durham County Council is that I had access to grey literature including minutes of meetings, unpublished

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[4] This is one part of my multi-method approach to notions of governmentality (see section 4.3).
[5] I discuss some other issues arising from the collaborative nature of the research in section 4.2.4.

reports and draft copies of developing strategies and plans. Access to these sources was, therefore, useful in providing historical context, as a way of keeping pace with developments in a rapidly changing policy environment and in discovering future plans. Documents which were only in draft form may not have been available to other researchers and using these, some of which were in production for more than a year before becoming public documents, was particularly valuable in ensuring the research was up-to-date. The participant observation was complementary here in that I was able to observe the process(es) of policy-making (for example, the formation of the new County Durham Economic Strategy) as well as reading the draft and final texts. After developing relationships with other organisations I also had privileged access to their documentary sources. I was added to the mailing lists (including electronic mailing lists) of groups so I received papers for meetings, minutes, newsletters and other correspondence. Papers such as minutes of meetings are not only a source of information about the work being undertaken, but about the way organisations work and the policy-making process. In addition to using this material for interview and participant observation preparation and whilst observing[6] it has allowed me to keep up-to-date with the activities of organisations during the analysis and writing up phases of the research.

4.2.2 *Interviews*

I conducted semi-structured interviews with actors working at the county level and who were working and/or living in the case study areas. Interviews were more suitable than a questionnaire approach as they allowed me to investigate the interviewees' experiences and opinions in depth. Semi-structured interviews guided by key themes do have the advantage of allowing comparison (Dixon and Leach, 1978) and interviewees are able to emphasise issues they feel to be of particular importance. Points which I had not considered (or considered important) could be raised by the interviewees (Silverman, 1993; Valentine, 1997b).

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[6] Meeting papers were necessary for use during meetings. Usually when I was attending meetings I had no trouble in accessing papers, although on occasions I did have to justify my need.

Initially interviewees were identified through desk-based research, suggestions from Durham County Council officers and early participant observation.[7] As I conducted more interviews and participant observation interviewees, particularly those in case study areas, were identified by snowballing (Valentine, 1997b).[8] In the early stages lists of possible interviewees were discussed with Durham County Council officers. The first interviews conducted were with members of the County Durham Economic Partnership. These interviews were organised through Durham County Council, but continuing this arrangement was impractical as it took a long time to organise. I also had concerns about participants' possible perceptions of the research as they were receiving letters on Durham County Council stationery and from officers rather than me.[9] It was agreed that I would contact interviewees independently unless I required assistance. One potential problem with the interviews was that some of them were with council representatives and other local elites, who can be difficult to access (see Valentine, 1997b; also Ward and Jones, 1999). Gaining access is one of the main issues to arise when conducting interviews. Getting past gatekeepers, "those individuals in an organisation that have the power to grant or withhold access to people or situations for the purposes of research" (Burgess, 1984: p48), can be difficult. In practice, however, I had few problems with gaining access and my relationship with Durham County Council often facilitated access, although I did have to be aware of the potential disadvantages of the relationship in this respect.[10] Later in the research, as I became more familiar to prospective interviewees through participant observation, I arranged interviews by telephone, email or on meeting face-to-face. I devised a project description handout, a sheet describing the project which I gave to people who wanted to know more about the research, sometimes before agreeing to, or in preparation for, an interview.[11]

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[7] The participant observation of County Durham Economic Partnership meetings and work at Durham County Council which was ongoing from the beginning of the research.

[8] Snowballing is a method of recruiting and possibly of getting around gatekeepers (see below). People who agree to be interviewed are asked to recommend other people who would be useful to speak to, they may even help to make contact. This was also a useful tactic to employ when finding out about different organisations and could be used when undertaking participant observation as well as interviewing.

[9] I discuss this further in section 4.2.4.3.

[10] I discuss the issue of gaining access and my relationship with Durham County Council in more detail in section 4.2.4.

[11] See Appendix One.

I used interview prompt sheets, to act as a guide and ensure key themes were covered to allow comparison. The prompt sheets did, however, vary between interviews depending on whether the interviewee had knowledge of a particular case study area(s) or worked at a county level. Often the two were combined. Questions focused on key issues affecting the County and/or case study area(s), activities of organisations/groups, particular strategies/initiatives/projects and questions about key themes in the research including regeneration, integration of different strands of development, partnership working, community and the rural. I asked people to define key terms used in the research - community development, economic development, regeneration, community, partnership and rural - as exploring what people understand by these terms was central to the research. It was also important that I knew how people were using ambiguous terms for the purpose of analysis. The prompt sheets evolved as the research developed and new areas for questioning were identified. Later in the research I started to ask people I interviewed in their capacity as (regeneration) professionals about their personal involvement in regeneration/local activity, and non-practitioners about any involvement in organisations/activity which we had not discussed, as the pattern of involvement started to appear to be significant.[12]

A small number of interviews involved more than one interviewee, this was sometimes by arrangement, for example if it made sense to interview at the same time two people who were doing a similar job, or when interviewees invited colleagues or friends to join them. Interviewees sometimes felt that other people may offer a different perspective or support their arguments. Managing these situations could be difficult if one of the interviewees was particularly dominant and always offered their answer/opinions first and occasionally people are prompted in their response by others. Owing to the small number of interviews this affected, and because I could mostly identify if it was happening, I do not think this has particularly influenced the research findings. I attended local group meetings in two of the case study areas, where opportunity arose, in order to generate a discussion like an interview.[13] Whilst it was not always easy to direct conversation in these

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[12] See Chapter Five section 5.6.
[13] These were not intended to be focus groups, just an opportunity to talk to different people and find out about different groups.

groups and to stay on the topic, the discussions were useful in enhancing my knowledge of the particular case study area.

In total sixty interviews were conducted and I taped four discussions at four local group events (with three different groups). A total list of interviewees is provided (Appendix Two). Table 4.1 shows a breakdown of the interviews according to their area focus and Table 4.2 shows the representation of different types of organisation/role. As is shown by the tables interviewees were often involved in more than one organisation/had several roles (see Chapter Five section 5.6).

When interviewing representatives of organisations there was the possibility that I was being fed the corporate line. From my experience I would argue that this may be the case both when interviewing representatives of residents' or interest groups as well as private and public sector organisations (who are perhaps more commonly associated with giving a corporate line). Being given the corporate line is not necessarily a problem. I needed to know the views/positions/approaches organisations claimed to have (or take). However, I also wanted to know where actions or beliefs diverged from this. For example, an organisation may claim that the opinions of local residents influence their decision-making when in reality the views of local people actually receive little attention. Some interviewees admitted to giving the corporate line or would defend statements as being just their opinion and not necessarily that of the organisation. The multi-method approach was particularly valuable here as documentary research helped me to recognise when interviewees' answers were in agreement (or almost identical to), or differed from, (un)published material from their organisations. Participant observation allowed me to identify occasions where what people said did not correlate with their actions or those of their organisation.

All interviews were taped and transcribed.[14] Requesting to tape an interview usually met with a positive response, but some interviewees were concerned. The most common concern was about confidentiality (see below). One interviewee was worried about what they were saying about local people and asked for the tape

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[14] Transcription is discussed further in section 4.3.

County[b]	Sub-county[c]	Case study areas			
		Wingate/Station Town	Dene Valley	Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale	Total
16	4	12	13	15	40

Table 4.1: Number of interviews conducted according to area focus[a]

[a] Interviews often covered issues at more than one scale, but are counted here according to their main area focus.

[b] Includes interviews with representatives of regional organisations as these usually focused on County Durham.

[c] Includes interviews with representatives of organisations operating throughout districts or wider areas of the County.

Public sector				Private sector	Voluntary sector
Regional	County	District	Total		
6	10	9	25	3	5

Community sector			Local councillors				
Paid staff	Volunteers	Total	County	District	Parish	District and Parish	Total
9	18	27	4	1	5	4	14

Non-participants[b]	Miscellaneous[c]
3	2

Table 4.2: Number of interviews according to representation[a]

[a] Interviews with individuals falling under multiple categories are counted in each, hence category totals do not sum to 60. When individuals are involved in more than one organisation in the same category this is counted once. Joint interviewees are also counted once.

[b] Interviews conducted with people who were believed to be non-participants, although this was not always the case (see Chapter Six section 6.3).

[c] Includes Teesdale Market Towns Healthcheck Co-ordinator, LEADER+ Programme Co-ordinator

recorder to be turned off for a short time during the interview. Other interviewees said they would tell me information after the (formal) interview.[15] Although this information was not on tape, and could not be directly quoted, it did contribute to my understanding. Some interviewees were concerned about the content of the interview and asked to be shown a copy of the transcript before it was used, or to be shown quotations I wished to use in the thesis.[16] In practice very few restrictions were placed on the use of the interview transcripts and only slight amendments made to selected quotations (often only in order to clarify meaning).

In addition to taping the interviews I also took notes. This provided a back-up to the tape recorder and also allowed me to note down other aspects of the interview which could not be taped, or would not be captured on tape. After each interview, following the research diary strategy suggested by Valentine (1997b), I wrote a report to record information on the context of the interview, further points which were not included on the tape, how I felt about the research process and ideas for the development of future interviews and analysis.

4.2.3 *Participant observation*

Participant observation "involves living and/or working within particular communities in order to understand how they work 'from the inside' " (Cook, 1997: p127). I conducted participant observation in a number of forms. From the beginning of the research period I spent time working in Durham County Council's offices at County Hall, Durham, in the Economic Policy Team, Economic Development and Planning Department.[17] Working at County Hall from the early stages of the research helped in quickly developing my understanding of the Council's work and complemented the policy review (discussed above). It also allowed me to develop relationships, build trust, with County Council officers. Over time, by becoming a familiar face, I was able to 'blend in' and gained more access to

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[15] Some of the concern was owing to interviewees talking about illegal activities such as the black economy and drug use.

[16] I decided that sending every interviewee a copy of the transcript to comment on, whilst being a useful way of getting feedback would be too time consuming considering the number of interviews conducted and the timescale of the research (see Chapter Six section 6.3).

[17] During the first year of the research this involved one full day a week. As the case study work began time spent at Durham County Council had to be fitted around other participant observation and interviews.

documents and to meetings. I also observed the way the Council works and had informal discussions with officers. I was able to use this ethnographic work in developing my analysis, using the governmentality approach and looking at the how of government. My relationships with the County Council officers were at times difficult to negotiate. I undertook my own work at County Hall, but occasionally I was asked to answer telephones or help with a task such as photocopying. I tried to avoid becoming involved (see below) although as time went on I was seen by some people as part of the team and, for example, invited to social events. Whilst wanting to 'blend in' and gain trust I was, at least initially, nervous about becoming too involved. However, developing more open relationships was beneficial for the research in terms of access and gaining information through informal discussions.[18]

I observed meetings of countywide partnerships throughout the research process. I regularly attended meetings of the County Durham Economic Partnership at different levels of its hierarchy. Similarly I observed meetings of the East and West Durham Rural Priority Areas Rural Development Programme Partnership. As new partnerships developed, for example the County Durham Strategic Partnership, I also attended their meetings.[19] My collaborative relationship with Durham County Council facilitated attendance at these meetings.

The main period of fieldwork lasted a year. During this time I studied the three case study areas (see sections 4.4 and 4.5) and conducted observation in the areas in two ways. First, by 'hanging out' in the case study areas. This involved spending time walking around the villages, using local cafés and shops and attending local events. Spending time in the places enabled me to find out about the areas and local issues and identify different groups and events in the areas which I could observe, and possible interviewees. I was visible in the areas, seen by residents (and people who work in the areas) and as with County Hall became more of a familiar face, possibly even gained credibility, although recognising I would always be seen as an outsider. Second, I observed a number of groups/organisations/partnerships in the case study

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[18] The Economic Policy Team had quite a high turnover of staff and this meant that I had to be continually developing new relationships with new staff members.
[19] See Appendix Three for details of organisations/events observed.

areas.[20] In each area I identified an established local partnership and once I had access to the partnership I identified different groups through snowballing, 'hanging out' or meeting and being introduced to people. By the end of the year long case study research period I was regularly observing meetings of a number of different groups in each area. I also observed meetings of organisations/partnerships who worked outside the case study areas, if I thought they would be relevant, and some who covered the districts, for example the developing Local Strategic Partnerships and associated community networks.[21] In some instances meetings were open to the public and/or associated paperwork a matter of public record, which had to be made available to me. In other cases I had to argue/justify my request to observe meetings, or to be added to mailing lists (so I received papers for meetings and other correspondence). Again, as I spent more time in the areas, access to meetings often became easier and I felt increasingly accepted into some of the organisations. Some of the groups saw my relationship with Durham County Council as an issue (see section 4.2.4.1).

Regular attendance at local organisations' meetings and 'hanging out' ceased during the analysis and writing-up stages of the research. I did, however, attend meetings if they were of particular significance to the research and continued to be on mailing lists. I did continue some work at County Hall and attended some county level meetings. Whilst reading papers, does not provide a complete insight into the operation of organisations, a reason for undertaking participant observation and my multi-method approach, it did allow me to follow their progress from a distance.

I observed a plethora of partnerships/organisations and meetings which developed my understanding of the policy-making process and implementation of policies and strategies/initiatives/projects. I witnessed policy-making processes first hand, interactions between individuals and organisations, how decisions were made, the role of partnership members and groups at different levels in partnership hierarchies

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[20] See Appendix Three for details of organisations/event observed within the case study areas as well as at a county level.

[21] Local Strategic Partnerships and community networks were outlined in Chapter Three. In some cases my relationship with Durham County Council and observation of countywide partnerships, in addition to the case study work, facilitated access to the Local Strategic Partnerships' meetings as I had developed contacts with District Councils.

and how the decisions and policies of some organisations affected the activities of others. Observation was a fruitful complement to using documentary evidence and interviews. It was important to see the operations of organisations first hand as decision-making processes, for example, can be tracked. Discussions, arguments and opinions are often not recorded in detail in documents such as minutes of meetings or are omitted. As I noted above, observation was useful for identifying potential interviewees, gaining access to them and in preparing for interviews.

Unlike the interviews I could not tape informal discussions. I did not request to tape meetings as I believed that most organisations would not have given permission (and may have been suspicious of such a request, possibly jeopardising access). If permission had been granted, taping could have significantly disrupted what I was observing. I did take notes in meetings and in some situations I felt slightly uncomfortable doing this, either because sensitive issues were being discussed or I was the only person taking notes at the meeting (aside from the minute taker perhaps), but I was not asked to stop.[22] I also kept a research diary, a strategy recommended by Cook (1997)[23] and wrote supplementary notes after meetings I attended, detailing context and my thoughts on what I had observed.

Although I have referred to this work as participant observation on the whole I was only observing. I tried to keep my actual participation to a minimum when observing organisations (including working at County Hall as I noted above) and meetings. Occasionally I participated in activities as a way of gaining access to certain research settings or in an effort to 'blend in'. I was often asked my opinion, particularly when observing organisations for the first few times. A number of individuals and groups learnt that I was reluctant to contribute and accepted my silent presence. Even though I was mainly observing rather than participating my attendance at meetings and events was not passive and without influence. People may not have said everything (or said things in the same way) that they would have done had I not been there. There were times when I thought people may be making

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[22] I tried to be discreet when people asked for comments not to be minuted.

[23] As recommended by Valentine (1997b) for interviewing, Cook (1997) advocates keeping a research diary when conducting participant observation to record similar information and ideas.

particular comments because I was observing and I noted these occurrences.[24] People may have said what they thought I wanted to hear. Sometimes members of local organisations made comments they explicitly said they wanted Durham County Council to be told or made aware of. Occasionally someone said Alison should know something and paused to tell me, or to reinforce a point.

4.2.4 Research issues

In preparation for, and when conducting, the fieldwork issues arose which I had to address or at least consider and reflect upon. I have already hinted at some research issues in previous sections of the chapter. Collaborative research is not without difficulties (Lees, 1999) and the collaborative nature of this research raised a number of concerns and dilemmas. The influence of the collaboration is wide ranging cutting across many issues. In this section, I will discuss a number of issues arising from the collaborative nature of the research alongside concerns which are relevant to qualitative research more generally.

4.2.4.1 Access

I have already described gaining access for interviews, participant observation and becoming established in case study areas through the use of County Council and other contacts and snowballing. In choosing case study areas, I did consider the possibility of research fatigue affecting access (see section 4.4). I experienced very few problems in the areas I chose which were a result of research fatigue. I was denied access to observe the regular meetings of one organisation, but I was granted interviews (with employees and a board member) and observed their Annual General Meeting. The time it took to become established and gain access to local organisations in the case study areas was longer than I had anticipated and this did affect my plans for how to conduct the case study fieldwork (see section 4.4).

The collaborative nature of the research facilitated access to grey literature of Durham County Council and partnerships in which it was involved (particularly those for which it provided the secretariat). I also had privileged access in terms of

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[24] Positionality is an important issue, particularly in terms of the participant observation, and is discussed below.

observing meetings and working within County Hall. Access to such documents and settings may have been withheld from researchers not working collaboratively with the County Council. I believe the 'buy in' to the research by the County Council, open working relationships with officers in the Economic Development and Planning Department I was able to build and the time I spent networking within the organisation significantly facilitated access to very valuable and 'hard to reach' data.[25] There are times, however, when researchers have to negotiate access within their collaborating organisations (Macmillan and Scott, 2003). On occasions I was denied access by Durham County Council, one reason for this was when it was felt discussion of sensitive issues may be inhibited by my presence.

Whilst access to documents, key actors and meetings was facilitated by my collaborative relationship with Durham County Council there were also instances when it posed problems, but in practice these were infrequent. A main concern by other groups/organisations when I asked to observe them was transference of confidential information back to the County Council (see below), a point I managed to reassure them on. I think at least one organisation believed they had the advantage of using the press if a researcher affiliated to the County Council, and from the University, acted unethically with confidential information. Some organisations believed that allowing me access may be of benefit to them, either by increasing their profile in, improving their relationship with, or getting information about their experiences back to, the County Council. Negotiating access is related to issues around positionality and I could play up or down my County Council affiliation in order to gain access (see section 4.2.4.3).

4.2.4.2 Confidentiality

I had fewer problems around the issue of confidentiality than I had expected, particularly given my relationship with the County Council. Many people and organisations were happy for me to speak to and observe them and use the evidence uncensored. The majority of interviewees were happy for me to reference any

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[25] Macmillan and Scott (2003) note the potential for facilitated, but structured access in PhD CASE projects. I was promised there was a solemn undertaking by the County Council that they would not seek to direct or contaminate my research in any way, a point which was highlighted, when necessary, by senior County Council officers.

quotations I used from the interview directly to them. As detailed above, a few interviewees asked to speak off tape and be shown a transcript of the interview before I quoted them. Showing interviewees the transcript had the advantage of being able to reference the quotations to them, but there was the risk that they would refuse permission to use certain quotations. When people were concerned about me using their name I discussed with them using their job title or another reference. A number of people felt that they would be recognised, by Durham County Council officers, or people in the case study areas, so there was little point in trying to disguise them or conceal their name (see Punch, 1986 who notes this problem surrounding anonymity). Revealing the case study area the interviewee was from, or talking in reference to, was vital for the comparative aspect of the research. I also wanted to be able to refer to the type of organisation they worked in, or position they held. Concerns about confidentiality were mainly owing to the involvement of the County Council and interviewees not wanting officers to be given tapes to listen to, or shown named transcripts or quotations.[26] Interestingly some County Council officers were concerned about their colleagues finding out what they had said. When this occurred within the Economic Development and Planning Department I talked to interviewees about the research and the importance of them being honest about their own organisation and work and they were reassured about their involvement. Officers in another department (the Community Support Unit) requested to check the transcript before the interview was quoted.

When undertaking participant observation I occasionally had to agree to confidentiality requests. When negotiating access to the meeting papers for one local partnership it was agreed that I could attend the meetings and be sent the papers in advance, but not the financial statements.[27] When observing meetings I heard comments which people asked not to be minuted. Participant observation also allowed me to gather information from informal discussions and I had access to confidential documents. Some confidentiality requests were for commercial reasons, or because decisions had not been approved by board members of

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[26] Some interviewees were worried about other local organisations or key actors finding out what they had said.

[27] The financial statements were not of particular importance to me, but the partnership was obviously worried about outside people finding out about their financial position.

organisations, but others raised questions as to why people did not want information in the public domain (or even to be seen by other people within their own organisation). Confidentiality requests meant that not all of the evidence could be used directly, but it did influence the research process (see also section 4.3).

Whilst I did not want to break the confidentiality of any organisation or individual involved in the research, this raised an issue when reporting on progress. County Council officers received progress reports and were involved in discussions about the research and future directions. The officers are knowledgeable about the County situation and case study areas I was working in, which made disguising individuals and organisations meaningfully almost impossible (Macmillan and Scott, 2003). As a result, and in order to have constructive debates about the research, all officers involved in early discussions of the findings were asked to treat the meetings and reports as confidential. I was also careful not to divulge confidential information about Durham County Council, particularly to other research participants.

4.2.4.3 Positionality (and reflexivity)

In social research consideration must be given to the interaction between the researcher and the researched, the double hermeneutic. The researcher needs to take account of her/his positionality and the positionalities of the people studied (see, for example, Cook and Crang, 1995). A person's positionality includes all aspects of their identity, for example, their gender, race, class and age. It is important to be reflexive during the research process and to take into consideration issues such as positionality and power differentials. As Rose (1997: p319) argues, "[w]e cannot know everything", but uncertainties should be recognised.[28] One part of my positionality which is particularly important in this research is my position as a University student who is working in collaboration with Durham County Council.

Before starting the main fieldwork phase I realised that there may be an issue with organisations' - and individuals' - perceptions of me (and of the research) owing to the relationship with Durham County Council. During the research I told

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[28] In terms of positionality, Schoenberger (1992: p217) discussing the effect her gender may have in interviewing comments "I am not sure precisely what difference it makes, and I am not sure how I would know".

participants that I was a member of the University and the research was being undertaken in collaboration with Durham County Council (Economic Development and Planning Department). I was often asked to introduce myself at County Durham Economic Partnership meetings where I consistently said I was a research postgraduate from the University of Durham working on a project with Durham County Council.[29] My association with the County Council was not, however, fixed. Associations can be described as 'transient positionalities' as "[t]hey may be more elastic or fluid than ... elements normally associated with positionality" (Macmillan and Scott, 2003: p103). I attempted to manage how I was perceived by others, my positioning, in order to facilitate the research process, for example when trying to gain access. Although I commonly referred to myself as a member of the University, working with Durham County Council, I sometimes played up my County Council affiliation by mentioning it first.[30] There were occasions when I tried to downplay the role of the County Council, although I never completely denied the collaboration.[31] I also tried to manage my position by changing to using the University letterhead and contacting potential research participants personally rather than going through the County Council as I described above.

In addition to managing the perception of me as working for the County Council, when undertaking fieldwork I was sometimes mistaken as an employee of the University. The University is a partner in the County Durham Economic Partnership and other organisations in the County. Representatives of the University service department concerned with regional regeneration (the Regional Regeneration Team of the Research and Economic Development Support Service) attended some of the meetings I observed. Occasionally I was asked, or expected to be able, to contribute the University's opinion to discussions. I did not want to take part in discussions, but I was also keen to stress that I was not working for the University in that capacity as such a perception may have affected the research.

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[29] The lengthy introduction I used often created laughter, but I felt it was important to explain exactly who I was for those who were attending the meetings and not aware of my research.

[30] See Fuller (1999) on playing up and down affiliations.

[31] Denying the collaboration would have been deceiving research participants and raises serious ethical considerations (although I recognise it may be argued that there are ethical issues around playing up and down the affiliation). I always explained how the research was set up if people expressed concern and my project description handout (Appendix One) noted the collaboration.

There were a number of other issues around my positionality and the perception of me by research participants. Within County Hall, particularly, but also when working with other organisations I was perceived as a student, with all the connotations of working hours and lifestyle that brings. I tried to fit in, to 'blend in' with all of the organisations, which included dressing appropriately, in a suit for formal meetings and sometimes more casually when working in the case study areas. At times my positionality was particularly obvious. It was pointed out to me (by a practitioner) at an early stage of the research that I am not a local and neither would I be accepted as one (at least within the time frame of the research).[32] I was also set apart from regeneration professionals in certain ways. This does mean, however, that I have a certain amount of critical distance from the research area, which has advantages in terms of the validity of the findings and recommendations. Although I tried to maintain this critical distance, as time went on I did become increasingly accepted in the research settings and more involved with people and organisations. I was increasingly expected to be at events, or in particular research settings, and my presence was not questioned.

It is important to recognise the power relationships between the researcher and research participants. It is usual in interviews for the balance of power to be with the researcher, but the reverse can be true for interviews with people in business (Schoenberger, 1991; 1992; McDowell, 1992; Valentine, 1997b; see also Ward and Jones, 1999 on researching local elites in local economic development). My experience from this research suggests that the balance of power was mostly with the interviewees, who could often be referred to as elites. Organisations I approached for inclusion in the participant observation aspect of the research were powerful in terms of being able to refuse to be involved or not disclosing information. Durham County Council had a particularly influential position, but I do not think this was used negatively. Some of the participants were less powerful, for example some of the case study areas' residents I interviewed.[33] All interviewees had the power to withhold information or time. The power lying with me as the

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[32] I have lived in Durham City for a number of years as a student of the University, but am not indigenous to the case study areas or the north east of England.

[33] I also attended some partnership meetings when I am not sure that all of the partners had discussed and, therefore, had the opportunity to approve my observation work, although I did not hear of any issues arising from this.

researcher was mainly connected to the type of information I was collecting and how this could be used - for example, the concerns of some participants about the leaking of confidential information - and the status of academic research.

4.3   METHODS OF ANALYSIS

As with the methods of data collection, methods of analysis have to be sensitive to the aims and the theoretical approaches taken in the research; "interpretation cannot be divorced from the theoretical approaches adopted throughout a project" (Crang, 1997: p184).   In this section I detail the methods of analysis used.   I start by discussing the initial processes of interpreting the evidence.

As I previously noted, the interviews were transcribed.   Transcription is a time-consuming process (May, 1997) and whilst many of the interviews were transcribed verbatim I did have to resort to producing some summary transcripts (see Appendix Four).   At each stage of the interview and transcription process it should be recognised that information is being lost and disregarded by the researcher.   The loss of information starts when the interview is recorded, as visual actions, such as facial expressions, are lost and some of the nuances of the speech may not be picked up by the tape recorder.   When the interview is transcribed the pauses, stutters in speech and laughter may be included, but the voices are flat, intonation is lost.   As the process continues, after the analysis, sections of the interview are selected for quoting and the transcript is 'tidied' further as pauses, stutters, repetitions and apparently irrelevant words or phrases may be removed.   In addition to transcription, preparation of the data for analysis involved filling in field notes, which I did as soon as possible after the event with the aim of reducing questionable inferences (Boulton and Hammersley, 1996).   As with the interview process details are lost between observation and recording what is seen or heard in notes.

The corpus of evidence was mainly in the form of texts - documents, transcriptions and observation notes.   Qualitative analysis was, therefore, appropriate and could also be undertaken on any quantitative data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).   My analysis drew on the texts in two different ways.   First, I searched the texts in order to draw out relevant material, such as descriptions of activities or experiences.   When

looking at issues around governance, for example, I want to determine who is involved in the regeneration of a particular place. Second, I searched texts for evidence relating to notions of governmentality which required a closer concern with discourses used. Traditionally, there has been little interest in language in most of the social sciences despite the use of linguistic data. Fairclough (1992) argues that in the past there has been a tendency for language to be viewed as transparent. The social content of linguistic data has been read off with no attention being paid to the language itself. Such ideas have, however, changed and there has been a "linguistic turn in social theory ... result[ing] in language being accorded a more central role within social phenomena" (Fairclough, 1992: p2). Language is one element of social practices, such as the social practice of government (Fairclough, 2000). Fairclough (2000) argues that language is a salient part of government and politics and that this salience is increasing, particularly with regard to New Labour.

A number of researchers have traced the exercise of governmentality through close examination of a small number of documents (e.g. Murdoch, 1997; Stenson and Watt, 1999; Painter, 2002; see also Murdoch and Ward, 1997). I did not believe, however, that it was appropriate to use such an approach on its own for my research. It can be argued that by concentrating on a small number of documents the ideas developed about governmentality are decontextualised. Stenson and Watt (1999: p200) employing the governmentality perspective call for "more practice oriented studies of the policy process". I chose the multi-method approach detailed above covering documentary research, but also interviews and participant observation. Interviewing key actors and observing organisations and people allowed me to investigate the how of government, which governmentality is concerned with, in a broader sense. Combining the methods allowed me to compare the findings from different sources, for instance whether what people or organisations claimed to do in a document or an interview was what I observed them doing in practice. Additionally, I wanted to investigate place specific effects which is why I chose the comparative case study approach.[34] Taking this wider approach did, however, necessitate a trade off between breadth and depth. I was not able to undertake detailed discourse analysis, which some researchers have used in studies employing

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[34] I discuss the case study approach in the following section.

a governmentality approach, owing to the time which would have been necessary given the vast amount of evidence I collected. Given my concern with governance as well as governmentality detailed analysis of texts was not always appropriate. My strategies for analysing the corpus of evidence are discussed below.

I used different strategies for handling the written material and the spoken word. I coded the interview transcripts which involved reading through the transcripts and assigning codes, or labels, to the text (see Cook and Crang, 1995; Crang, 1997; Bryman, 2001). The coding was used to pull out factual information and also to highlight statements which were concerned with, supporting or challenging, my theoretical ideas. Some codes were pre-determined as I wanted to search for particular information and ideas, but others were added during the process. I then grouped together into files the sections of text assigned to each code - each file was in four parts to distinguish between interviews/evidence relating to the case study areas and the County/region. Some code files were broken down further, for example texts which had been initially assigned the code 'community' were searched to draw together those concerned with the definition of community. Following coding converging and diverging viewpoints on topics (for example, the understanding of regeneration) could be identified and evidence relating to the theoretical perspectives considered.

I searched documents and participant observation notes for relevant statements, but did not code all of these owing to the large volume of evidence gathered. A number of difficulties surrounded using evidence I had gathered from 'hanging out', casual conversations in case study areas and particularly during my time working at County Hall. I could not always note conversations or events as they were happening which meant that I often did not have exact quotations. Research participants may not have even been aware that I would be using information from casual conversations or that I had witnessed certain events, so I did not have permission to attribute actions or quotations to individuals. I was told information in confidence or given access to confidential documents on the understanding that I would not use it, or reference it to certain people or organisations. As I noted above although I could not directly use some of this evidence, it has influenced my understanding and analysis.

I decided not to undertake computer-assisted (or aided) qualitative data analysis. There are a number of software programs which can facilitate qualitative data analysis. The software, however, only helps with coding and retrieval of information; the interpretation is still up to the researcher (Bryman, 2001). My evidence was not all in an electronic form which could be easily transferred into data analysis software and within the timescale of the research it was not possible to achieve this.[35] I decided against using the software with part of the corpus of evidence. The interview transcripts were produced in an electronic form, but not all of the interviews were fully transcribed, which would have affected, for example, searching for keywords, one use of such analysis software. Additionally, I used different strategies for analysing evidence as described above, not all of which necessitated a lot of searching and coding. Context is particularly important in this research and it can be argued that in using data analysis software there is a risk of decontextualising the data (Bryman, 2001; see Buston, 1997; Fielding and Lee, 1998).[36]

I recognise that further analysis could be undertaken with the corpus of evidence I have already collected. Whilst not all of the evidence may have been analysed at the level of greatest possible detail, I do, however, believe that the scope of the research in terms of the methods used, the amount of fieldwork undertaken and volume of data collected are key to my understanding and analysis of economic and community development in County Durham.

4.4   CASE STUDY METHOD

There is great variation within the County in terms of the economic, social and environmental issues which affect different places. This is strongly influenced by the economic trajectories of places - the east being dominated by coalmining until recently, whereas the west is largely agricultural dales.[37] A key part of this research was investigating whether this variation influences the integration of economic and

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[35] Whilst employing computer software in the coding and retrieval of data may have speeded up the analysis work I decided that within the timescale of this research too much time would have to be spent getting all of the data into an appropriate format and also familiarising myself with the program.
[36] This can be a more general criticism of coding (Bryman, 2001) and is something I tried to avoid by going back to transcripts and listening to sections of interviews again.
[37] I discussed the variation within County Durham in Chapter Three.

community development (whether there are any place specific effects). The capacity of local people may influence the integration of economic and community development and this may be affected by a number of factors including the economic and social trajectories of the areas and the experience of previous regeneration projects. It may be that in areas which are relatively wealthy, where local people's capacity has been developed by previous development/regeneration activity (particularly targeted initiatives/programmes which involve a concentration of resources) or where there is a strong sense of community owing to a mining history or remoteness, the integration of economic and community development is facilitated. In order to investigate place specific effects I decided to use a comparative case study approach. Additionally, attempting to study the whole of rural County Durham would have been impractical within the confines of this research and given the intensive research methods chosen.[38] Yin (1994: p13) defines a case study as "an empirical enquiry that

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident".

Case studies are an appropriate approach "when investigators desire to (a) define topics broadly and not narrowly (b) cover contextual conditions and not just the phenomenon of study and (c) rely on multiple and not singular sources of evidence" (Yin, 1993: pxi). Although Yin (1994) notes criticisms of the case study approach he believes these can be allayed.[39] Owing to their different environments and histories I decided to compare case study areas in the east, west and centre of the County. I also chose areas which had different experiences of previous regeneration activity.

I chose to study three case study areas which allowed me sufficient time for detailed research in each area and to investigate place specific effects. In the process of

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[38] I discussed the difficulties of defining the rural in Chapter Two (section 2.6), however, owing to the characteristics of County Durham (see Chapter Three) I believe it is valid to argue that a large proportion of the County can be considered to be rural and, therefore, is too large an area to be researched in depth.

[39] One criticism of case study research is that it takes too long, but Yin (1994) argues that this can be avoided by using different methods and sources.

selecting the case study areas I sought to establish the type of activity which had been ongoing in the rural settlements of County Durham by developing a project matrix. The matrix would cover all of the projects which were being undertaken, or had been recently completed within the County by settlement. I would then be able to identify where there were comparable projects and, with the geographical variation I wanted the work to address in mind, select appropriate case study areas. Developing the project matrix, however, proved to be impossible owing to the vast and fragmented nature of the information required.[40] The County Council does not have databases of projects within the County by settlement and it was suggested that I would not find this information at a District Council level either.[41] Any County Council databases of projects which did exist were incomplete, or not suitable for my purpose.[42] Durham County Council officers suggested different ways of choosing the case study areas, for example selecting areas based on which funding streams/programmes were, or have been, available and identifying where there may (or may not) be hotspots of activity. I did not, however, feel that this would be a suitable approach. The lack of documentary evidence raises questions about how a strategic approach is taken to development/regeneration work in the County - how decisions are made about the spatial targeting of resources and what types of activity are needed. In selecting the case study areas I had to turn to local knowledge and expertise. Discussions with senior County Council officers informed my choice. The County Council officers had agreed not to influence the research unduly and in these discussions I reinforced the point that I should be told of all possibilities. I did not want to be directed only to places where the County Council's work may be viewed favourably or that could be considered examples of good practice. When discussing the possible choices of case study areas an issue around the definition of the rural arose. One of the possible areas was rejected partly on the grounds that not everyone agreed that it was a rural area.[43] One officer, involved in the research,

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[40] Developing a project matrix may be possible, but this would entail a research project in itself and could not be done within the timescale available.

[41] There were concerns about requesting such a large amount of information from all of the District Councils. As it was unlikely they would have this information easily available it was felt by Durham County Council officers unreasonable to request that they produced the information, especially as an area within their district may not have been chosen for study. Additionally, waiting for such work to be undertaken would have seriously affected the research timetable.

[42] I was told by a Durham County Council officer that the databases had been abandoned, because they were not appropriate for the required financial monitoring of projects.

[43] As noted above, I discussed the contested definition of the rural in Chapter Two (section 2.6).

suggested that an urban area was included for comparative purposes, but it was agreed that this was outside the scope of the research. I considered the possibility that there may be research fatigue (both from academic research and research undertaken by consultants/organisations such as community appraisals) in some areas whilst others may be comparatively under researched. I did not want to exacerbate any problems of research fatigue and it may have affected local people's/organisations' willingness to be involved in the research.

The case study areas selected were Wingate/Station Town in the District of Easington, the Dene Valley in Wear Valley District and Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale in Teesdale District (Figure 4.1). I discuss the case study areas and the rationale behind their selection in the following section. All of the areas were believed by County Council officers to be accessible, with some key informants who could be contacted and were likely to agree to be involved in the research.[44] Suitable documentary evidence could also be made available, for example files on projects and previous research such as community consultations. In each area a community consultation of some form was to be undertaken during the course of my research and I would be able to tap into this research - possibly use the results and observe the consultations. In conducting the research in areas where community consultations were to be taking place it could be argued that I had chosen places where I knew a particular governmental technology was being used, however, I think it would have been almost impossible to choose a suitable case study area in County Durham which was not going to undergo a consultation during my research period. I had anticipated that the case study areas would be individual villages, but during selection discussions and in the early fieldwork I found that villages were grouped together. Previous regeneration work or funding programmes had targeted villages together and/or local people had formed organisations across areas making it more practical and realistic to study areas defined by these boundaries.

Before starting the case study fieldwork I undertook preparatory desk-based research and had discussions with Durham County Council officers about the areas.

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[44] Whilst this may suggest the introduction of bias County Council officers told me that not all of these people may like the County Council, but they would be receptive to the ideas behind the research and want to contribute their experiences.
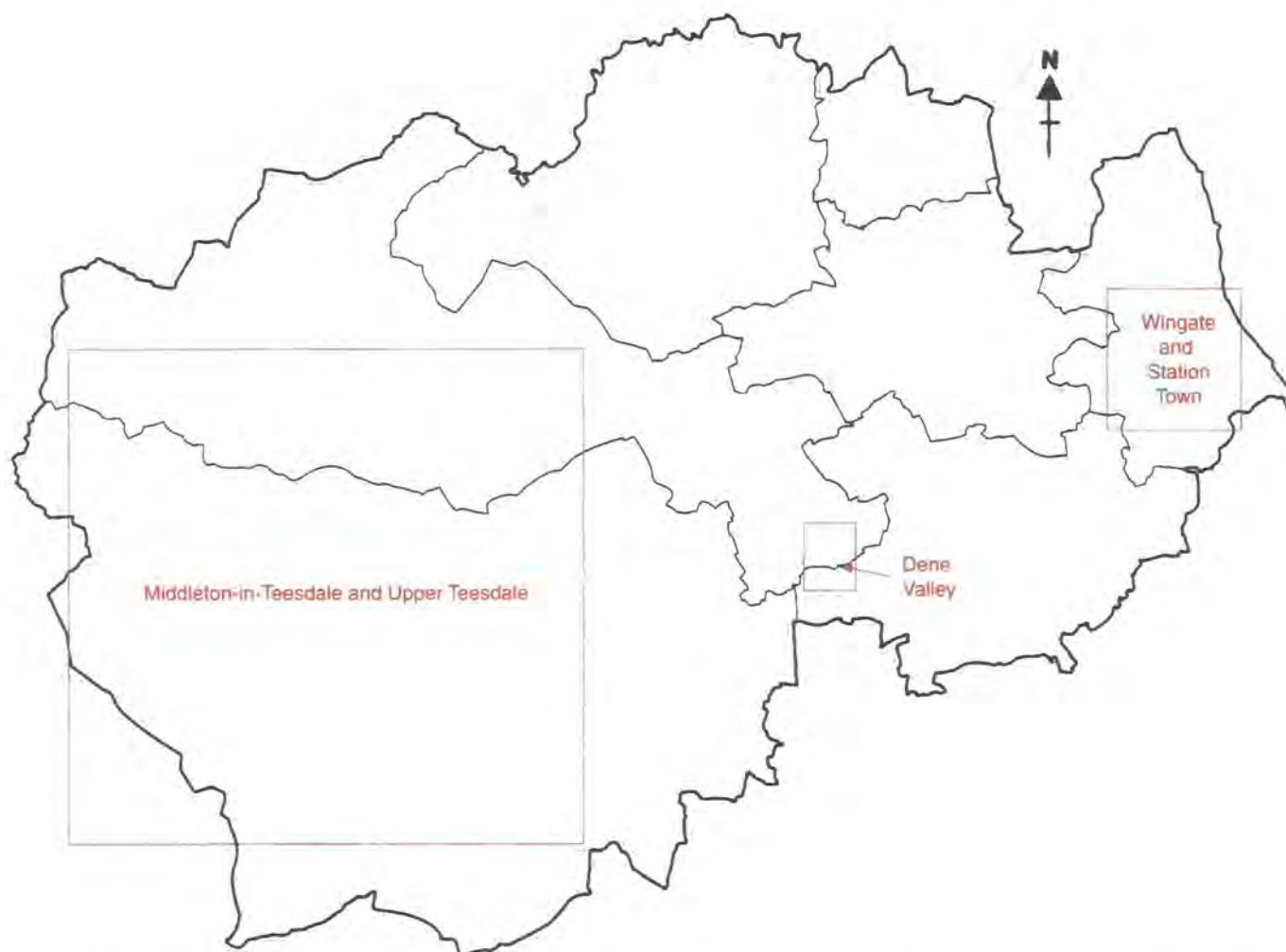
Figure 4.1: County Durham and local authority district boundaries showing the areas covered by the case study maps - Wingate/Station Town (Figure 4.2), Dene Valley (Figure 4.3) and Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale (Figure 4.4).

Approval to work in the case study areas was sought from the economic development/regeneration directors of the appropriate District Councils.[45] District Council officers facilitated contact and access to a key local partnership I had identified in each of the areas, either by allowing me to accompany them to a partnership meeting or contacting the partnership informing them of my work and recommending they agree to become involved. In one case the District Council director referred the decision on approving my research in the area to the local partnership.[46] Having established access to a partnership in each area I made further contacts through the representatives at partnership meetings, interviews and 'hanging out' (as described above). My initial plans involved researching each case study area for a period of four months. However, it took a long time gain approval to work and develop contacts in the first case study area. Following this experience I quickly decided to conduct the research in each of the case study areas simultaneously for a period of a year, which I believe was a valuable strategy to adopt. I learnt a lot more about, and saw more changes within, the organisations by researching them for a year than I would have done in four months. I was able to build strong relationships with a number of research participants and my credibility and the amount of trust placed in me seemed to increase the more time I spent with an organisation.

County Durham was seriously affected by the Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) outbreak in England during 2001 (CDEP, 2002). I had to be aware of the possible influence of this on my research, particularly when researching in the agricultural west of the County. When I was to study each area for four months I planned to work in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale during the last four month period in the hope that any restrictions in terms of movement or access would have been lifted. Although my plans changed and I started work in Teesdale District early, and the Foot and Mouth Disease crisis persisted longer than I had anticipated,

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[45] A Durham County Council officer wrote to each of the directors. At this stage the County Council was more involved in contacting research participants, as I described above in relation to the interviews (section 4.2.2). However, in this case it was agreed that the County Council writing the letters may be a useful demonstration of its support for - and recommendation for being involved in - the research. I think I also may have benefited from having previously met the directors at meetings of the County Durham Economic Partnership.

[46] This was the local partnership in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale - Middleton Plus (see section 4.5.3.2).

I did not experience any problems working in the area in terms of access. I did have to consider other influences of the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak, however, that it may dominate discussions (although the effects of Foot and Mouth Disease on the area, particularly the local economy were not irrelevant to my work I needed to discuss other issues) and influence the activities of organisations including for instance the attendance of farmers at events I was observing. Foot and Mouth Disease did affect Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale significantly and one organisation I included in the research was heavily involved in work concerning the crisis.

I was intending to study a number of projects in each of the case study areas in order to get to the issues surrounding integrating economic and community development. However, my early work in all of the case study areas indicated that I did not need to focus on particular projects. I was able to discuss what I thought were the relevant issues and discover new ones through interviewing and observing the operation and activities of organisations. I did pay particular attention to some of the projects organisations were involved in, especially if they included economic and community development aspects such as community businesses/enterprises.

I was concerned about raising the expectations of the organisations I researched in the case study areas. I promised to give feedback to all of the research participants, individual interviewees and organisations. However, I spent a lot of time with a number of organisations in the case study areas, was granted several interviews with their members and/or employees, received papers and attended events at the (financial) expense of the organisations. On occasions I was worried that even though I had explained the purpose of the research and the reason for studying case study areas organisations were expecting detailed reports on their own work. I had the additional concern, as I noted above, that some of the research participants may have believed that my relationship with the County Council may mean that their organisation's profile or concerns would be raised within County Hall. Whilst I explained that the research was intended to influence the work of the County Council and its partners I could not guarantee that my recommendations would be followed or that anything I reported would be acted on.

4.5   CASE STUDY AREAS[47]

4.5.1   Wingate/Station Town

4.5.1.1 Background

Wingate and Station Town are in the District of Easington in the east of County Durham (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2 and Plates 4.1 - 4.4). The villages are socially and physically linked, although they were originally separate settlements and this continues to be reflected in local people's perceptions (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001). The area has a history of agriculture, but was significantly changed by the development of mining in the nineteenth century (see Moyes, 1962). Wingate and Station Town, like many other villages in east Durham, owe their existence to the coalmining industry. The villages were settlements for workers, and their families, of nearby Wingate Grange and Hutton Henry Collieries. As Smith and Schlesinger (1993: p186) describe "[i]n the 1930s and 1940s when the coalfield was flourishing, Wingate was the social, cultural, and business centre for a wider sub-region, with two cinemas, two railway stations, a department store and many other amenities" (see also Moyes, 1962). The prosperity did not, however, continue. Wingate Grange pit closed in 1962 and 600 jobs were lost.[48] In line with the County Development Plan Wingate was classified as a Category D village. There was to be no further investment or development in the villages of Wingate and Station Town and the aim was to transfer villagers to New Towns such as nearby Peterlee.

As I described in Chapter Three, the closure of collieries in the East Durham coalfield from the 1960s produced severe social, economic and environmental problems. In Wingate/Station Town the main problem was unemployment. In 1984 male unemployment was 40 per cent. Migration, particularly of the younger and more skilled residents, resulted in a decreased population, from 6 000 in 1961 to

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[47] The descriptions of the case study areas include both documentary evidence (some of which was sourced before the main period of fieldwork) and interview and participant observation evidence. This section provides the case study area context for Chapter Five and includes the reasons for selecting the different areas (see particularly section 4.5.4).

[48] Hutton Henry Colliery had a shorter life (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993) closing in 1897 (Moyes, 1962).

4 800 in 1981 and approximately 4 500 in the early 1990s (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993). There were also problems in the fields of health and education and a decline in services, the environment and local morale. Some improvements, including reclamation of the Wingate Grange colliery site and development of an industrial estate, were possible following the late 1960s review of the County Development Plan (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993). A regeneration programme was undertaken in the area between 1990 and 1995 (see below) which mainly focused on environmental improvements.
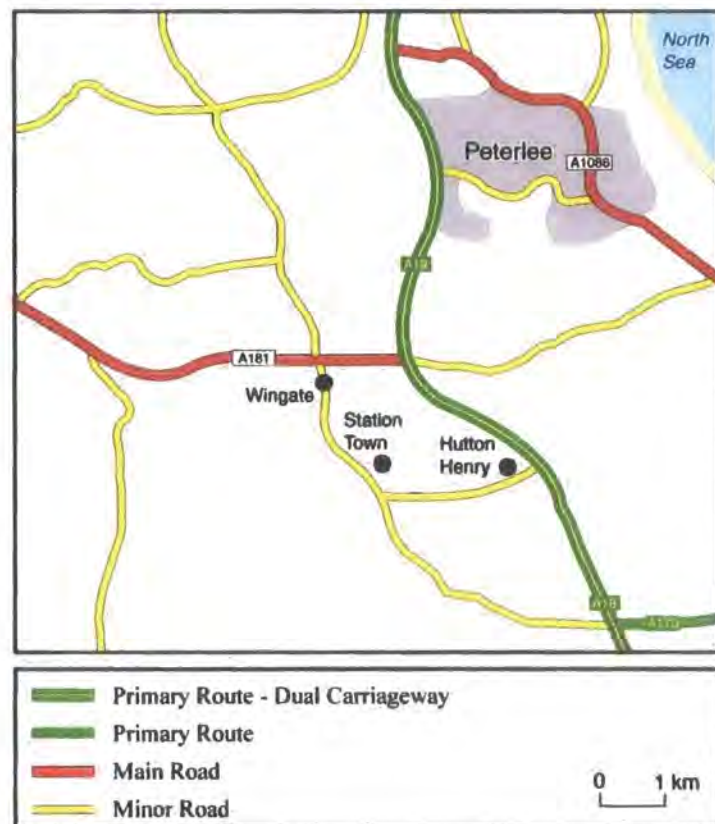
Figure 4.2: Wingate and Station Town.

Interpreting recent official data for the area is complicated by Wingate and Station Town falling within separate local authority wards (Wingate Ward and Hutton Henry Ward) - this changed in May 2003 when ward boundaries in the District of Easington were altered. In 1997 the population of the two villages was estimated at 4 400 people (Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Development Partnership,

Plate 4.1: Wingate section of main thoroughfare (without streetscaping work).

Plate 4.2: Wingate section of main thoroughfare (with streetscaping work).

Plate 4.3: Station Town looking down towards Wingate.

Plate 4.4: Terraces on the outskirts of Station Town leading to Hutton Henry.

1997).[49] The area ranks highly in terms of deprivation statistics with the Index of Multiple Deprivation (2000) ranking Wingate Ward as the 300th most deprived ward in England (there are 8 414 in total) and Hutton Henry Ward the 438th most deprived (DCC, 2000a; Figure 3.2). The conditions in the two villages are very similar, the difference in rankings being largely influenced by other more affluent settlements in Hutton Henry Ward. Unemployment remains a big problem in the area; it is not only a lack of jobs or training problems which influence this, but also poor health. In April 2001 the Wingate Ward jobless rate was estimated to be 24.3 per cent which was a reflection of the high proportion of the local population receiving Incapacity Benefit (District of Easington, 2001a). Other key issues affecting the area include educational attainment and local people would like to have more training opportunities within the villages to help people into employment. Public transport links to employment outside of the villages is problematic, particularly for people working shifts - although car ownership in Wingate Ward is above average for the District of Easington. Although environmental work has been undertaken in the villages in recent years this remains an important local issue with residents wishing to see further improvements to make it a more attractive place both to live and for private investment (District of Easington, 2001a). There is also some evidence of a dependency culture which, as some development/regeneration professionals argue, may be a legacy of the coalmining industry as it provided facilities and services for the local population. Although the area did not benefit from investment for a number of years some people still expect work to be carried out by local authorities and agencies without their involvement. The memory of the Category D classification remains within the area and the lack of investment is still referred to (although this appears to be more acute in the Dene Valley, see section 4.5.2.1).

4.5.1.2 Key development/regeneration work

Wingate/Station Town has been a target of concentrated regeneration effort. By the mid-1980s it was recognised that there were problems of multiple deprivation in the east Durham coalfield and further action was required. In 1988, a report by consultants *The potential for investment projects in the East Durham coalfield: A*

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[49] 1999 figures suggest that the Wingate Ward population is around 3 709 and the Hutton Henry Ward population is around 1 792 (District of Easington, 2001a; 2001b).

new future for East Durham (ECOTEC Research and Consulting Ltd., 1988) recommended that the problems in the East Durham area should be tackled by a range of action including a Settlement Renewal Programme starting in Wingate/Station Town (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993). Previous attempts at regeneration had been broad-based, the Settlement Renewal Initiatives were to be a new approach, concentrating resources in one area, "promoting a comprehensive approach to improve the prospects of achieving lasting sustainable impact" (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001: p1). The Civic Trust Regeneration Unit was requested by the District and County Councils to produce a feasibility study (Civic Trust Regeneration Unit, 1989) which was accepted as the basis for a scheme in early 1990 (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993).[50] The Civic Trust report proposed two main goals for the renewal project in Wingate/Station Town:

(i.)   "improvement of the residential environment (which should subsequently lead to investment in business and commerce) and,

(ii.)   enabling the local community to act for itself and play a strong role in helping guide and shape the plans for renewal"

(DCC, 1990b).

A partnership involving the public, private, voluntary and community sectors was established for the Settlement Renewal Initiative.[51] The Settlement Renewal Initiative was initially established for three years, but in 1992 it was recommended that this was extended to five years. The core funders of the Initiative were Durham County Council, Easington District Council and the Rural Development Commission. The Settlement Renewal Initiative designation formally ended in December 1995, although there was some commitment from partners to continue funding central schemes (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001: p10). The Partnership records show a total expenditure of circa £5.5 million between 1990 and 1996 (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001). A strategy was adopted by the Steering Committee of the Partnership early on in the

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[50] The Wingate/Station Town project was incorporated in the work of the East Durham Task Force, being the first of, and therefore a pilot for, "a comprehensive rolling programme of village renewal schemes" (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993: p187; see East Durham Task Force, 1991; 1993; 1997).
[51] Unpublished Durham County Council files for the Settlement Renewal Initiative suggest that there was a concern to increase private sector involvement, although the 1993 East Durham Task Force *Programme for Action* reports that the private sector was "an increasingly important partner" (East Durham Task Force, 1993: p39).

Settlement Renewal Initiative to guide the work so the issues of greatest priority were addressed (Wingate/Station Town Regeneration Project, 1992). The projects were mainly focused on improvements to the natural and built environment. The idea was that such work was the key to economic regeneration; improving the environment was necessary before inward investment could be expected. Additionally, it was felt the improvements should be visible to local people. Projects included shop front improvements and moving cables underground. Other initiatives/projects included a "community summer festival ... and a vocational skills training initiative in environmental management" (Smith and Schlesinger, 1993).

There is evidence of consultation with local people and action to meet needs they identified throughout the lifetime of the Settlement Renewal Initiative. This is reflected in the work undertaken in the preparation stages which included a village appraisal carried out by local people in Wingate and a 'Planning for Real' workshop in Station Town (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001). The Wingate and District Community Association, established in 1961, is reported to have been an important factor in the area's regeneration. When the Settlement Renewal Initiative Partnership was created committee members had necessary skills and the Association was an aid in gathering local opinions (Roger Tym and Partners John Steven Associates, 2001). Tensions between local groups, however, are cited as a possible contributory factor in slow progress during early stages of the Settlement Renewal Initiative.

From the beginning of the Initiative it was recognised that work would need to continue after the period of concentrated resources. By the end of the first year attention was being given to an exit strategy. One of the reasons cited for extending the Initiative to five years was in order to have time to establish a local group to take over the work when the formal Settlement Renewal Initiative period ended (DCC, 1992). In January 1996 a planning group was formed and during the summer of 1996 community consultation workshops were held. Following this process a new partnership was formed covering Wingate, Station Town and the nearby village of Hutton Henry with the "aim of initiating and co-ordinating regeneration projects"

(Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Development Partnership, 1997: p28).[52] A Local Action Plan was produced in 1997 detailing profiles of the three villages and a three year action plan to continue the regeneration of the area (Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Development Partnership, 1997).[53] A main concern within the village was support for families and young children. Out of this grew the development of the Wingate and Station Town Family Centre. A partnership involving local people, councillors, statutory and voluntary organisations took forward this new build project and the Centre was officially opened in November 1999 (Plate 4.5). It is a registered charity run by a management committee which is dominated by local residents (61 per cent of the committee). It employs several staff and offers numerous facilities and courses to people of all ages - both Wingate and Station Town residents and people from outside the immediate area. Activities at the Centre include holiday play schemes, baby clinics (in partnership with Easington Primary Care Trust) and childcare courses (see Wingate and Station Town Family Centre, 2002; 2003). The Family Centre has outgrown its building and now provides sessions in other local facilities.

Another significant development - and a project led by local residents - is the new Wingate (and District) Community Centre which opened in 2001 (Plate 4.6). The Community Association, which has existed for decades raised funding for a new centre with facilities including a gym and computer suite. Educational courses are provided and there is a community barbers. Other local initiatives have included a detached youth work project (now finished). As I noted above, health is a major problem in the area and local partnerships have been involved in raising funds to buy new equipment for Wingate's health centres and in establishing a service to provide aids and home adaptations for local people with health problems.

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[52] On discovering the new boundary of the local partnership I anticipated extending the case study area to include Hutton Henry. In practice Hutton Henry played a very small part in the research as most organisations/meetings/events were based in Wingate/Station Town. I met one person from Hutton Henry and it was only mentioned on a few occasions. Hutton Henry is generally regarded as less deprived than Wingate and Station Town.

[53] Halse (2002) discusses her role in this work and other projects in Wingate, Station Town, Hutton Henry and the wider area.

Plate 4.5: Wingate and Station Town Family Centre.

Plate 4.6: Wingate Community Centre official opening.

4.5.2 The Dene Valley

4.5.2.1 Background

The Dene Valley lies two miles to the east of Bishop Auckland and includes the villages of Auckland Park, Gurney Valley, Close House, Coundon Grange, Eldon Lane, Bridge Place, Coronation and South Church (see Figures 4.1 and 4.3 and Plates 4.7 and 4.8). The villages are within the Coundon Grange Ward.[54] The Dene Valley villages developed as a result of the sinking of five coal mines in the area in the mid-nineteenth century (including Auckland Park Colliery, Black Boy Colliery, Eldon Colliery and Adelaide Colliery). Following the mine development a brick works, coke oven and tar plant were also established. Unplanned house building developed rapidly on the industrial landscape. Until the 1920s it was a prosperous area, people were attracted to the Dene Valley for work and to live. There was a wide range of facilities including an outdoor swimming pool (Insight, 2002).

When mines closed in the 1950s the villages lost their economic raison d'être; social and environmental decline followed. As in Wingate/Station Town in line with the County Durham Development Plan the villages were given Category D status. The policy meant that when houses were demolished they could not be replaced, many people had to leave the area. The uncertainty impacted upon people's home improvements affecting housing condition and local services and facilities were lost. High levels of unemployment resulted as the once dominant coal industry was not replaced by another industry(ies). Despite being disheartened by Category D status the residents retained a strong community spirit and through the Eldon Lane and District Redevelopment Association continued to seek development until the Category D status was removed. There were attempts to regenerate the area in the 1970s which include an Area Action Plan, but they failed owing to a lack of funding (WVDC, no date).

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[54] The exact villages falling under the banner of the Dene Valley have varied. The villages listed here formed the focus of the research. Coundon Grange Ward was renamed the Dene Valley Ward in May 2003. I use Coundon Grange in this thesis as the ward name as documents I refer to were published before this date.
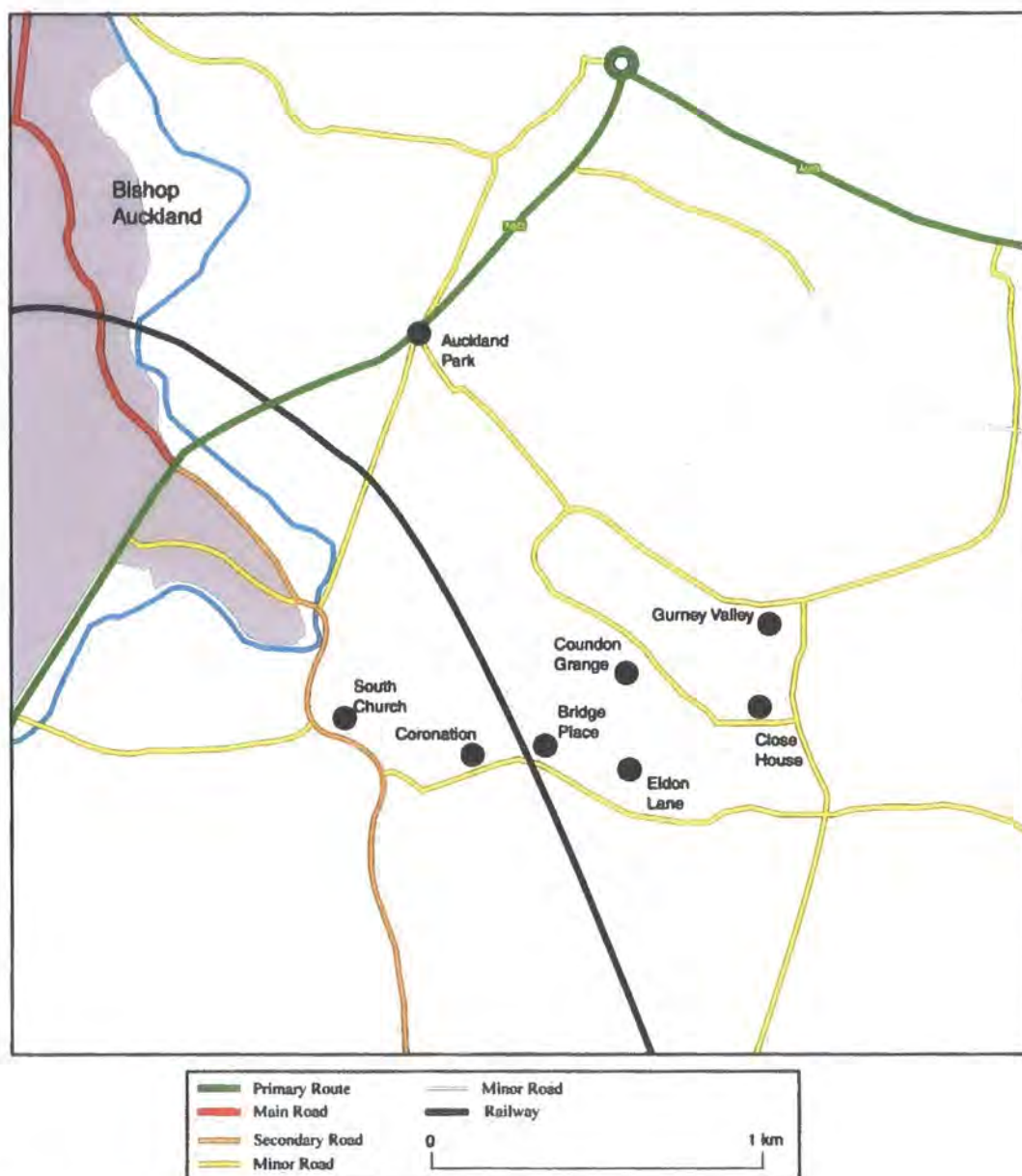
Figure 4.3: Dene Valley.

Population continued to decline decades after the closure of the mines with a 7 per cent decrease between 1981 and 1991 (WVDC, no date). Population in the Coundon Grange Ward is approximately 2 732.[55] It ranks as the 644th most deprived ward in England according to the 2000 Index of Multiple Deprivation (DCC, 2000a; Figure 3.2). The evidence of deep-mining in terms of the colliery buildings and waste heaps was removed, but the characteristic rows of colliery housing remain. The

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[55] This figure is a 2000 estimate by Durham County Council (accessed from http://www.durham.gov.uk/durhamcc/usp.nsf/pws/0B29D569BF3E1E2E80256B7D004C18D3?open document).

Plate 4.7: Eldon Lane looking down towards Coundon Grange.

Plate 4.8: Close House.

environment has suffered as a result of neglect and the lack of investment in the area with the appearance of the villages affecting their image and discouraging investment. Although recent environmental work has been carried out this remains a concern (Insight, 2002). Private absentee landlords have allowed 'problem families' to move into the area causing a deterioration in housing condition and social problems. Crime, particularly the fear of crime, is an area of concern and poor health is a problem. Unemployment and job prospects for young people in the area are key issues. A recent consultation (Insight, 2002) identified the main barriers to work as being a lack of childcare, lack of skills and entrepreneurship and fragmented advice and support services. A lack of self-esteem and ambition amongst the young was also cited. Despite the removal of the Category D status and regeneration work (see below) there is still a feeling among some of the local population that the area has been written off - it is dubbed 'Forgotten Valley'.

> "The Dene Valley has felt for many, many years that it's been a sort of a second cousin to most areas. That stems back to the '60s when it was classified as Category D ... and although that was over 30 years ago people still feel that acutely ... they feel undervalued and unwanted. ... it's certainly something which crops up in a lot of forums which I attend. People do say to me 'If it wasn't for the Council and Category D we wouldn't be in the situation we're in now'. Unfortunately that's going to be a comment within the community for a number of years ... The problem is with the Category D stigma, it's the older people ... they've kind of accepted it as their loss; it's no use complaining now because nobody listens. That's permeated down to the young people in the Dene Valley who also feel, 'Well, what's the point' "
>
> Cllr Phil Graham
> Durham County Council

The stigma of Category D is mentioned more frequently than in Wingate/Station Town. As in the other ex-mining case study area there is also some evidence of a dependency culture.

4.5.2.2 Key development/regeneration work

In September 1993 the Dene Valley Action Group (later called the Foundation Partnership) was established "to pursue a coordinated programme of social, environmental and economic initiatives to achieve regeneration in the ... Dene Valley" (WVDC, no date: p7). The Dene Valley is in the West Durham Rural

Priority Area. Following the decision to designate Settlement Renewal Initiatives in the County through the Rural Development Programme (as detailed in Chapter Three) the Partnership submitted a bid for Settlement Renewal Initiative status, which was granted in 1995.[56]   Before submitting the bid document there was apparently a feasibility study in order to "determine the priorities for investment", but there was a problem with data not being available at village or ward level (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001: p16).   The main aims of the Foundation Partnership were: "to improve the vocational training and skills of residents; to encourage a spirit of enterprise for both private and community projects including village shops and transport; improving community facilities; achieving environmental improvements; improving the overall quality of life; and to set up a millennium trust for the future" (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001: p18).   The bid and funding for the Settlement Renewal Initiative was led by Wear Valley District Council.   Total expenditure during the five year Settlement Renewal Initiative (1995 - 2000) was expected to be £4.45 million.

Community consultation during the planning and implementation of the Settlement Renewal Initiative was good, with "a strong emphasis on capacity building" (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001: p20) and it is believed that this should help with sustainability.   Local people's involvement was dominated by females early in the process, but participation was broadened to include men of different ages and some young people.   The Dene Valley Foundation Partnership (later named the Dene Valley Partnership) oversaw the Settlement Renewal Initiative work.   By the 1996/97 Annual Report the Partnership included 30 organisations from the public and voluntary/community sectors.   Despite support from the private sector in the bid there were no identifiable private sector partners. The Dene Valley Community Partnership was formed in March 1999. Members of the Dene Valley Community Partnership were elected from nine local groups and the villages.   This Partnership was supported and developed with the aim of taking responsibility for the sustainability of the projects and continuing the inward

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[56] The Settlement Renewal Initiative covered the villages of Auckland Park, Close House, Coundon Grange, Coronation, Gurney Valley, Eldon Lane in Wear Valley District and Eldon and Old Eldon in Sedgefield Borough.   After the Initiative owing to the difference in local authority boundary the Sedgefield Borough villages ceased to fall under the banner of the Dene Valley and are no longer involved in the Partnership.

investment following the end of the formal Settlement Renewal Initiative period (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001).

The Settlement Renewal Initiative focused on community development and environmental improvements. Projects included introducing a Community Police Officer, developing a community house and capacity building. Only a small number of jobs were created. However, the Settlement Renewal Initiative may benefit the local economy in the longer term and there are reports that people feel the area has an increased economic potential. The Settlement Renewal Initiative evaluation (Roger Tym and Partners John Stevens Associates, 2001) recommends that business development and education and training are prioritised in the Dene Valley in the future.

The Dene Valley Community Partnership has continued following the end of the formal Settlement Renewal Initiative, membership has increased and new projects have been developed. The Partnership has also become a registered charity. A major achievement was the completion of the new Community One Stop Shop which opened in June 2002 (Plates 4.9 and 4.10). During the Settlement Renewal Initiative the organisation operated out of a small terraced house in the area, but the group have now redeveloped a former public house. The Partnership run a community café in the One Stop Shop, there are private meeting and interview rooms, an information technology suite (used for accredited training courses) and a multi-purpose activity room, which is often used to provide crèche facilities. Members of the Partnership management committee have been involved in a training programme in order to develop their skills for taking the Partnership forward. Other local groups involved in the Partnership include the Dene Valley Craft and Culture Club which is intended to address problems around social isolation, well-being and companionship amongst older residents in the area. A community transport initiative was developed at the beginning of the Settlement Renewal Initiative - an idea which was raised at a public meeting. Dene Valley Community Transport Limited (which is affiliated to the Community Partnership) developed and has recently expanded - the organisation now runs two minibuses (Plate 4.11) which are driven by local volunteers. A breakfast club has been established at the One Stop Shop which provides a healthy breakfast and ensures

children arrive at school (utilising one of the community minibuses). Groundwork West Durham has worked with the Community Partnership on a project to improve the local park (Plate 4.12). They have also undertaken youth work to try to encourage and support the involvement of young residents in influencing decision-making in the area, particularly within the Community Partnership.

Other local groups in the Dene Valley include the Residents' Action Group. This has been funded by Neighbourhood Watch and its monthly meetings include a report from the community policeman. Recognising the problems with housing in the Dene Valley the District Council has established a Housing Renewal Area which involves a ten year strategy of housing improvement. The Dene Valley Partnership has worked closely with the District Council on this work determining the locations and order in which work should be concentrated and liasing with the Council on problems encountered. Following a petition to the local authority for the establishment of a Parish Council, in 1999, the Dene Valley Parish Council came into being from April 2000. The Parish Council can apply for some streams of funding other local organisations do not qualify for and has secured a Parish Transport Grant from the Countryside Agency.

Plate 4.9 Dene Valley One Stop Shop under construction.

Plate 4.10: Dene Valley One Stop Shop operational.

Plate 4.11: Dene Valley Community Transport minibus.

Plate 4.12: Dene Valley Community Park.

4.5.3 Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale[57]

4.5.3.1 Background

Middleton-in-Teesdale is in the west of the County in Teesdale District (see Figures 4.1 and 4.4 and Plates 4.13 - 4.15). It is in a largely agricultural area, but lead-mining was once dominant. Although in evidence earlier, lead-mining expanded in the County in the eighteenth century. The London Lead Company (Quaker Company) was in Middleton from 1815 and in 1880 established its northern headquarters there (Tallentire, no date; Pocock and Norris, 1990) Middleton-in-Teesdale was transformed from a small village to a company town. The Company built houses for the miners and schools, roads were developed and the railway extended to Middleton in 1868. It provided and supported other facilities such as reading rooms, a benefit fund and medical attention for the miners (Pocock and Norris, 1990). There was a growth in shops and services to support the mining population. "In 1827 Middleton had two blacksmiths, six carriers ... two butchers, four surgeons, five tailors, two straw hat and dress makers, three stone masons, four joiners, fourteen grocers and drapers, four academies or private schools, two clock and watch makers, and two clog makers" (Tallentire, no date). There were several inns and a bank had opened by 1856. The Company left the area very early in the twentieth century seriously affecting the prosperity of the area and the population declined as people left the dale to find work (Tallentire, no date). Evidence of the lead-mining industry remains and some quarrying has continued in the area.

Middleton-in-Teesdale has a population of 1 450. It provides a service function for Upper Teesdale and has a catchment area of approximately 30 square miles and 2000 people. Key services include "a bank, Post Office, GP [General Practitioner] Practice / healthcare centre, PH [Public House], garage, supermarket and a range of other independent shops although a number of vacant premises are now evident" (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p6). Discounting agriculture, a local manufacturing company, which supplies Glaxo Smith Kline (in nearby Barnard Castle), is the main employer. Recently, greater reliance has been placed on the income generated by

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[57] I initially intended to study Middleton-in-Teesdale, but early background research highlighted that in this sparsely populated area many organisations/initiatives operate throughout the Upper dale making it rational to extend the research area.

tourism. "Increasing tourism in the town is seen as vital in sustaining the long term viability of the remaining local businesses" (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p6). There is, however, concern to ensure that the area benefits from tourism that does not damage the environment or create ill feeling amongst local people. Middleton-in-Teesdale is in a traditional upland hill farming area and the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in the County in 2001 severely affected not only the local farming population, but also the tourism industry.
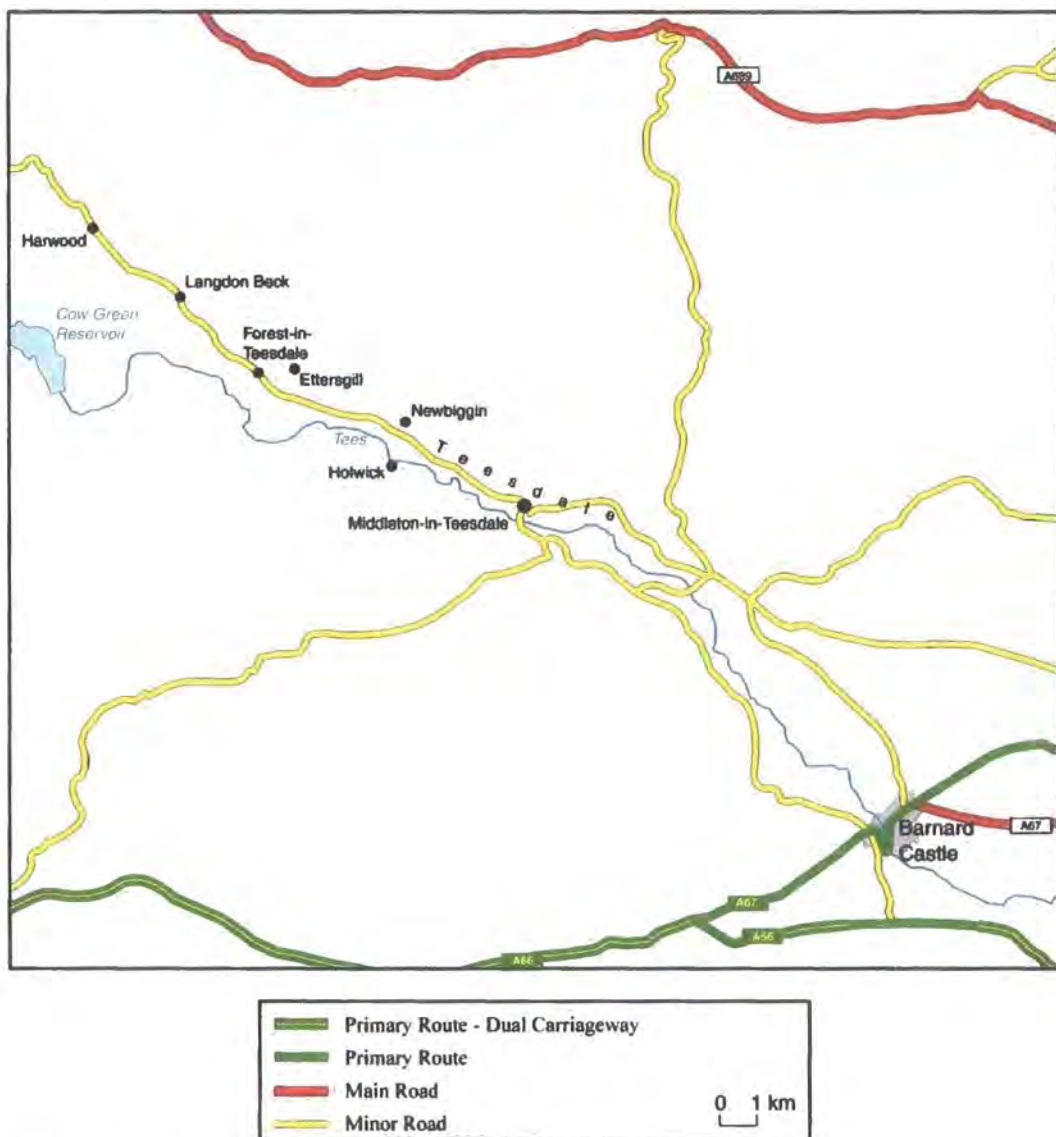
Figure 4.4: Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale.

Plate 4.13: Central Middleton-in-Teesdale.

Plate 4.14: Newbiggin, Upper Teesdale.

Plate 4.15: Forest-in-Teesdale, Upper Teesdale.

The Index of Multiple Deprivation (2000) ranks Middleton-in-Teesdale Ward as the 4 268th most deprived ward in England (DCC, 2000a; Figure 3.2). Unemployment in Teesdale District is low, although so is business confidence owing to the Foot and Mouth Disease epidemic, downturn in agriculture and announced job losses at Glaxo Smith Kline. Agricultural employment has decreased in recent years. There is a high number of second homes in the area which affects spend in the local economy and can mean the viability of local services is questioned. There is also some concern about the need for affordable housing for young people/families. Lack of public transport in the sparsely populated area makes car ownership levels high and it is considered a necessity rather than a luxury. People without their own transport can experience problems in reaching healthcare facilities and the independence of young people is affected as many have to rely on lifts. Crime levels are low, for example between January and October 2001 only fifty-five crimes were reported in Upper Teesdale (Durham County Police Service Crime Figures *in* Teesdale Market Towns Partnership, 2002).

Unusually in County Durham Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale is not a Labour dominated area. Local councillors are members of the Conservative party or

Independents. People in the area feel distant from the centre of power in Durham City, both in terms of geographical distance and political allegiance and consequentially disadvantaged:

> "... where we are in Middleton, we are ... the only blue flag area in a red flag County Durham, politically speaking, and that, I'm sure has its problems as a result"
>
> John Miller
> Middleton-in-Teesdale Parish Councillor
> Middleton Plus Honorary Treasurer and Company Secretary

In addition to feeing remote from the centre of power a lot of the County is ex-mining and some people believe there is little understanding of the different problems facing the rural west. There is a belief amongst some members of the local population that the problems in the area are unique. A number of people argue that such a perception is incorrect and there is concern that the it leads to the potential benefits of working with organisations in other areas or learning from examples of good practice being lost.

Practitioners and local people often argue that the area has a culture of independence and self-help. This is sometimes attributed to being part of the culture of living in an isolated area. The reputation of independence is borne out by some agencies reporting that local organisations requested or required little help in undertaking development/regeneration work. Other people, however, argue that there is a dependency culture, which rather than stemming from a historical reliance on the coalmining industry is attributed to a dependence on agricultural subsidies. In terms of local people's involvement in development/regeneration activity incomers are believed to be significant. The area has a stereotype of having wealthy, well-educated incomers (some of whom are retired and have more free time), that participate in, and drive local activity.

4.5.3.2 Key development/regeneration work

Unlike the other case study areas Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale have not been the subject of a Settlement Renewal Initiative, or similar period of targeted investment. There are, however, numerous local organisations contributing to the development/regeneration of the area including Middleton Plus. The origins of

Middleton Plus lie in a public meeting in 1993 which was called to discuss proposals that had been drawn up for the area by a postgraduate student of the University of Durham for the group Teesdale 2000. The plans were not well received, largely because there had been little consultation with local people. It was decided that local people had to act. As the Middleton Plus Management Committee Handbook describes "[t]he gist of that first meeting was that if 'we' didn't like what 'they' were proposing for us, then 'we' had better do something about it" (Middleton Plus, 2001: p4). Middleton Plus developed as a result of this, its mission statement being: "Middleton Plus exists to facilitate the social, economic and environmental regeneration of Upper Teesdale in order for the area to thrive as a living and working community" (Middleton Plus, 2001: p5). The area covered by Middleton Plus includes Middleton itself and the parishes of Newbiggin, Forest and Frith and Holwick.[58] It is a membership organisation with approximately forty individual and twenty-five corporate members. The organisation is run by a management committee consisting of elected Middleton Plus members and representatives of nominating bodies (which are other local societies and organisations including Teesdale District Council and Middleton-in-Teesdale Parish Council and local churches, for example). The management committee consists of both members of the indigenous population and incomers. Middleton Plus is now a development trust,[59] registered charity and company limited by guarantee. The work of Middleton Plus is undertaken by paid staff and volunteers. At least once a year the management committee has an Away Day as part of their development and training (Plate 4.16). Middleton Plus is listed as a member of the County Durham Economic Partnership Economic Regeneration Working Group (see Figure 3.6). The organisation does not attend meetings, but keeps a watching brief on the Partnership by receiving minutes of meetings. Interestingly, however, a number of people on the Middleton Plus management committee are involved in the Partnership through other roles (see Chapter Five section 5.6).

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[58] This is one of the reasons for the group being called Middleton *Plus*; the other being that it aims to enhance what is "already good about the dale" and its existing organisations (Middleton Plus, 2001: p4).

[59] Development trusts are defined as "independent organisations embedded in and owned by their communities, which tackle a full range of problems and issues including lack of service provisions, access to transport and employment" (Middleton Plus, 2001: p9).

Middleton Plus undertook a year long consultation exercise with local people (in the form of a questionnaire) and the results were published in a Village Appraisal Report, launched in 1996. Following the launch of this document a public meeting was held to discuss the results and move towards the production of an action plan. The appraisal work identified a number recommendations including: the need to support local shops to maintain the village as a shopping centre; promotion of grants and financial assistance to local businesses; urgent need for car parking; a review of public transport timetables and route; to sustain and improve tourism facilities and visitor spend; consideration of a wet weather attraction; a review of further and adult education. Following this work Middleton Plus has undertaken a number of projects on their own or in collaboration with other organisations and with funding from a plethora of sources. Middleton Plus received a £212 000 Single Regeneration Budget award in 1999 for its scheme 'Working Together for Tourism in Rural Upper Teesdale'. Middleton Plus projects include acquiring and converting property into a Tourist Information Centre (which won the Northumbria Tourist Information Centre of the year award in 2001, see Plate 4.17), producing an Upper Teesdale promotional brochure, improving footpaths and restoring the local fountain (a joint project with Middleton Parish Council). A particularly significant project which has recently come to fruition is the development of an indoor tourist attraction based on the area's heritage ('Meet the Middletons'). Middleton Plus are also working on establishing a demand responsive transport scheme.

Middleton-in-Teesdale was considered for inclusion in County Durham's bid for the Market Towns Initiative.[60] Research, undertaken throughout the region by consultants, "identified Middleton-in-Teesdale as *"reasonably well placed"* to participate in the Initiative given the town's access to other sources of funding and the existence of a well established community partnership" (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p4 emphasis in original). Whilst Middleton has its own role as a centre for services and tourism, the County Durham Rural Priority Areas Rural Development Programme Partnership identified cross-cutting issues affecting Middleton-in-Teesdale and Barnard Castle "which supported the case for a joint bid through the Initiative" (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p4). As the Partnership states "[c]onsiderable

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[60] The Market Towns Initiative is discussed in Chapter Three (section 3.5.1.2).

Plate 4.16: Middleton Plus Management Committee Away Day.

Plate 4.17: Middleton Tourist Information Centre.

momentum has been developed in both towns and funding through the Initiative will be important in continuing an integrated programme of economic and community development in the town centres which together service a large rural hinterland" (EWD RPA JSC, 2001a: p6). Middleton Plus did argue for a single bid for Middleton-in-Teesdale. However, the Core Officer Working Group of the Rural Priority Areas Rural Development Programme Partnership agreed that there was a stronger case for the inclusion of Middleton if there was a joint bid. As recorded in the minutes of the meeting when this was discussed this was not the first time that Middleton Plus had wanted to work independently: "[s]ome members of the Group recalled that through work connected to other programmes Middleton Plus had expressed a desire to work independently and this had caused some difficulties in engendering a true partnership approach" (EWD RPA COWG, 2001: p3). Middleton Plus protested, but were not successful. The joint bid for Middleton-in-Teesdale and Barnard Castle under the Market Towns Initiative was approved in May 2001. The Teesdale Market Towns Partnership was formed to take forward the Initiative and Middleton Plus, along with other local organisations, is represented on this partnership. The healthcheck was carried out with the assistance of an employed co-ordinator and a report has been produced (Teesdale Market Towns Partnership, 2002). Actions/projects identified in the healthcheck report include a shop fronts refurbishment scheme, employing a lengthsman in Middleton, provision of youth facilities, a number of tourism related initiatives and car and coach parking provision. The Market Towns Initiative forms part of the action within the County responding to the need for rural recovery resulting from the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak.

Other groups operating in this area include Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services (UTASS). This organisation began in the mid-1990s after local people became concerned about rural stress in the area. Research was undertaken and a steering group sought to establish a support service to address the issue of stress in the farming population. Funding was eventually secured in 1999 and the project was managed through Durham Rural Community Council. Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services became independent in 2002 after becoming a registered charity (Interview: Diane Spark, Project Manager, Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services). The organisation has about 270 members and employs nine people. It

provides practical assistance with, for example, the computerisation of farm records and the completion of official forms and acts as an advocate. It also provides a variety of training opportunities from which local residents who are not involved in agriculture also benefit. The organisation dramatically increased its operation during the Foot and Mouth Disease crisis and has been applauded for its work in supporting the local population at a very difficult time (see UTASS, 2001).

Teesdale Village Halls Consortium is another local organisation which operates to develop and co-ordinate the work of community and village halls in Teesdale. The Consortium is involved in providing training and Information Communications Technology (ICT) facilities and assisting with the redevelopment of halls (Teesdale Market Towns Partnership, 2002).

Teesdale Marketing Limited evolved from the demise of the business club and later local business development group in the area which had dwindled owing to a lack of interest. Two local businessmen developed the group with the support of Teesdale District Council. The main aim of the group's work is to market the area through the creation of attractions and increasing the awareness of Teesdale. It is a not for profit distributing company which is run by a board of directors. There are about fifty members, which are mainly local businesses (predominantly retailers) and all of the work is voluntary (Interview: Bill Oldfield, Chairman, Teesdale Marketing). Much of the organisation's work has been focused in Barnard Castle, but it is committed to whole dale activity subject to the support of local businesses and individuals and the necessary funding (Teesdale Market Towns Partnership, 2002).

4.5.4 Case study areas: rationale for selection

As I discussed earlier in this chapter, I decided to conduct intensive research in three case study areas in order to allow the research to address any place specific effects on the integration of economic and community development. In County Durham the rural areas differ in terms of their economic trajectories, environments and social problems. Practitioners and some lay people distinguish between the 'industrial rural' areas (ex-coalmining villages, largely in the centre and east of the County) and 'real rural' areas (or 'rural rural', the agricultural dales in the west). The case study

areas are located in the east, west and centre of the County to reflect this difference. Areas were also selected on the basis of previous development/regeneration work and other factors which it was believed may influence the integration of economic and community development, particularly in terms of the participation of local people.

Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley have similar socio-economic histories and may be expected to be experiencing similar problems. They were selected as areas which have received targeted investment through the Settlement Renewal Initiatives. In such places it may be anticipated that the involvement of local people in development/regeneration activity has been encouraged by capacity building work and the development of partnerships. This is, however, set in the context of former mining areas which have suffered from a lack of investment for a number of years resulting in severe and persistent socio-economic deprivation. The high levels of deprivation may challenge the effectiveness of regeneration efforts in the areas and the integration of economic and community development. The areas differ in the length of time since the Settlement Renewal Initiatives ended. Whist the research was conducted in the Dene Valley only a few months after the withdrawal of intensive agency support and funding, local organisations in Wingate/Station Town have been operating without targeted help for a number of years. Additionally, the Dene Valley was chosen as it was suggested to me by a senior Durham County Council officer that the Dene Valley may provide an example of bad practice.

Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale differs markedly from the other case study areas in terms of its economic trajectory, environment and politics and the area has not received targeted investment and agency support. The local stereotype of the area as having active residents, mostly believed to be wealthy and well-educated incomers, driving local organisations and development/regeneration work made this a particularly interesting choice of case study. Selecting this area allowed me to investigate whether the integration of economic and community development is facilitated in an area which is less deprived (in most respects) and where residents may have had more education and training, leading to possibly greater community capacity. Background research and discussion with County Council officers also

suggested that issues around partnership working may be particularly interesting to study in this area.[61]

Although the research was designed to draw out any differences between places I also anticipated common themes to arise. I expected similarities in the experiences of local people in all of the areas working in partnerships with county (and regional) level organisations and within national, regional and county policy frameworks and funding regimes.

4.6   SUMMARY

The methodology chosen in research has to be consistent with the theoretical approach(es) taken. I decided to employ a multi-method approach which was largely based on qualitative methods and analysis. Such an approach fitted with my focus on ideas around governance and governmentality and associated concern with understanding causal mechanisms. The methods complemented each other in terms of preparation for different aspects of the work and allowed for triangulation. The multi-method approach allowed me to investigate notions of governmentality in a broader sense than an approach relying solely on documentary sources. The corpus of evidence was mainly in the form of texts which were coded/searched for details/descriptions of activities and experiences and statements related to my theoretical ideas.

The collaborative nature of the research is significant for a number of different reasons. I had privileged access to research materials and settings. Although there are a number of advantages in undertaking collaborative research I have also had to be aware of possible difficulties which may arise and negotiate the concerns of other research participants.

I chose to undertake a case study approach which allowed me to investigate any place specific effects on the integration of economic and community development.

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[61] Academic research was ongoing in Middleton-in-Teesdale, but after discussions with the postgraduate researcher I decided that potential problems of research fatigue could be managed. As I noted earlier in this chapter, I was only denied access to observe the regular meetings of one organisation.

The case study areas were selected following discussions with senior County Council officers, owing to a lack of documentary evidence. I chose areas which varied in terms of location within the County, which is related to their different social and economic characteristics and trajectories. Two areas have been the targets of agency-led concentrated regeneration activity, although undertaken at different times. The third area has previous experience of regeneration activity, but significantly this has not been through targeted investment by agencies. Much of the work and development of local partnerships/organisations has been initiated and led by residents. I anticipated a number of similarities and differences between the areas, in terms of the challenges confronting economic and community development activity and attempts to integrate them in the regeneration process.

Integrating Economic and Community Development in County Durham: Evaluating the Evidence

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine in detail the evidence from my research in County Durham. I start by considering how community development, economic development and regeneration are understood within County Durham, and how the meanings of the terms and types of activity they encompass has been changing in recent years. Communities are increasingly being placed at the heart of the development/regeneration policy agenda. As the concept of community is contested I look at how it is defined within the County and drawing on a governmentality perspective show how communities are identified for involvement in development/regeneration activity. Many people in County Durham are not involved in local activity and I focus on this in the third section. The incidence, or possibility, that people may be disengaged has been largely neglected in the governmentality literature, but I argue that it is significant for notions of governing through community. In the following section I consider the community in development/regeneration looking at the role that people in County Durham believe they can and should play and examine the idea that members of the public (communities) are being handed increased responsibility from government. I also look at who constitutes communities and representativeness and the problems faced by local people who are engaged in development/regeneration activity. In the fifth section I discuss how local activists often have a number of different roles and pay particular attention to practitioners who are involved in development/regeneration activity in a professional and personal capacity and what this means in terms of governance. Integrating economic and community development can be thought of in

terms of different strands of development activity and the efforts of actors/organisations from different sectors. Having discussed at the beginning of the chapter how economic and community development are defined in the sixth section I consider people's different views on the relationship between these strands of activity and the desire behind integrating them. Employing a governmentality perspective I discuss how integration is prevented or hindered. Significantly, I also show how actors in County Durham can circumvent obstacles to integration highlighting the possibility of resistance to governmental technologies. Having already discussed many of the issues concerning the role of local people in development/regeneration activity I briefly comment on the integration of top-down and bottom-up efforts. Partnership is a key theme in UK development/regeneration policy which was supplemented by the recent emphasis on community. Much of the chapter, as I have outlined, focuses on ideas around community, but at the end of the chapter I specifically return to issues surrounding partnership. Partnership working is a way in which the work of different sectors and strands of development activity are increasingly being brought together. I discuss the rise of partnership working and its early history in County Durham. Following this I look at the increase in the number of partnerships, the advantages, disadvantages and tensions in partnership working and outline significant factors in success. I also detail issues surrounding the involvement of different sectors in partnership working, although as partnerships are central to development/regeneration work many of the issues surrounding the involvement of local people are highlighted earlier in the chapter.

5.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND REGENERATION

5.2.1 Introduction

As I discussed in Chapter Two, over time different types of development have been given prominence within policy and the understanding of what is required in order for development to be successful has changed. Recently the discourse of community has become central to development activity. There has been a resurgence in community development (Miller and Ahmad, 1997). Many policy-makers and academics now argue that if development is to be successful, the approach needs to

be holistic encompassing different strands of development activity (including economic and social aspects) and, importantly, members of the pubic (often referred to as the community) need to play a central role. The definitions of economic and community development vary between different people (and organisations) and policies. The growing importance of holistic approaches to development does, however, mean that it is becoming less easy to distinguish economic and community development activity. The concept of regeneration has also become increasingly significant; the use and meaning of the term being driven by policy. Understanding what people and policies mean by these terms, what it is hoped will be achieved by undertaking certain types of development/regeneration activity, is necessary for my research on the integration of economic and community development in County Durham. Differences in definitions/understandings may, for example, influence the operation of partnerships which are becoming increasingly prolific in development/regeneration work.

5.2.2 Community development

Definitions of community development are contested and people's views as to what the activity involves can change over time. My evidence from County Durham suggests that the different understandings of community development can be loosely divided into four groups. Interestingly, there was no clear pattern as to the types of people who employed these different definitions.[1] First, community development can be considered to be work undertaken in order to increase people's confidence and aspirations. Such work is usually intended to have one of two purposes, or a combination of both. It may be intended to engage people in consultations about development or regeneration which is happening in an area and/or to encourage people to establish, or become involved in, local groups in order to take forward projects within an area (or perhaps to stimulate activity within an interest group). Confidence building is often seen as a first stage within community development, the work may then lead on to training people in skills for running local groups such

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[1] It may be expected that community development practitioners as a group or economic development practitioners would have a common definition among themselves, but this was not the case. Practitioners and lay people also shared common understandings in some cases.

as treasurer or secretarial skills.[2] This type of community development is often referred to as (community) capacity building, although not everyone likes to use this term.

Second, community development may refer to allowing people a voice in development decisions; used as a term for what is often referred to as community consultation. Capacity building work, sometimes called community empowerment, which involves giving people the confidence to become involved and speak out may be included within this understanding of community development. Third, community development may be interpreted as development (or regeneration) work which is undertaken by local residents or interest groups rather than agencies or authorities. Using this definition, community development may be referred to as bottom-up, whilst top-down is work that is undertaken by agencies or authorities.

Increasingly a fourth definition is becoming dominant, which is broader and encompasses elements of the above. Community development is seen as developing confidence or giving local residents or members of interest groups skills so they can become engaged in development/regeneration activity, at a minimum to enable them to express their views and influence policy, and for those who are interested in doing so to be able to deliver their aspirations. People are expected to be involved in delivering their own solutions to problems. In addition to influencing work at a local level some people also see a role for community development in helping local residents and interest groups to be involved in wider strategic work and policy. Community development defined in this way can, therefore, be seen as a way of enabling members of the public to play a part in the new mode of governance. People are increasingly expected to play a role in local governance and it is recognised that they may need encouragement, support and training in order to do this. Community development is undertaken in order to empower people to give them the understanding, confidence and skills "so that they can bring a deeper analysis to their immediate concerns and can engage effectively with more complex social issues" (Miller and Ahmad, 1997: p278). Without such an approach people

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[2] Some people define community development only as confidence building and aspiration raising. As soon as the work leads on to training they do not consider it to fall under the banner of community development.

are unlikely to become active citizens (Miller and Ahmad, 1997). From a governmentality perspective community development can be seen as a mechanism through which residents are encouraged to help themselves, a process that might be termed governing through community.

5.2.3 Economic development

Within County Durham I found that economic development is often believed by non-practitioners to refer solely to job creation or job creating activities. Although some practitioners share this opinion, many now see economic development as a much broader activity.[3] Distinguishing economic and community development is becoming more difficult:

> "... I think the differentiation between economic and community development is less easy to make than it ever has been"
>
> John Pearson
> Director of Development and Asset Management
> Derwentside District Council
> Chair of Economic Regeneration Working Group
> County Durham Economic Partnership

As Valler and Betteley (2001) discuss it can be argued that economic and social policies are becoming less distinct, becoming integrated. The blurring of the definitions appears to be related to the growing recognition that a holistic approach to development is required. Within County Durham some people think of economic and community development as being at opposite ends of a spectrum. Shifts in policy (and institutional changes) within County Durham show how economic development activity has become more wide-ranging and that increasing importance is being placed on notions of community.

The definition of economic development and the type of activity this encompasses has changed within County Durham over the last five years.[4] In the past economic development activity focused on improving the physical environment and infrastructure, providing industrial sites. The first Economic Development Strategy

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[3] Some local activists also believe that a wider range of activities can be considered to be economic development.

[4] Changes within economic development policy in County Durham are detailed in Chapter Three.

published by the County Durham Economic Development Partnership (as it was known at the time) in 1995 did not really change this pattern. The physical-/property-led approach was deemed necessary in an environment still reeling from the demise of the coalmining industry. At the time of the Mid-Term Review of the Strategy, in 1999, and in the changed national context of the New Labour government, there was a considerable shift in thinking as to what was required to improve the economic well-being of the County. The new Strategy, published in 2002, is intended to be more people-based:

> "... one of the things ... that really marks the Strategy out from the first attempt that we made, is the extent to which we put the focus on the people of the County ... The last Strategy was very much driven by physical development; business and HRD [Human Resource Development] activities were seen as in support of that and I think the approach that we took was because we still had a sort of clapped out infrastructure ... more appropriate to the days of the mining industry than it was to the twenty-first century we had to get that right first and we still haven't finished that in essence, but we know what we're doing now we've got the programmes in place ... so, we can start looking at the softer measures in terms of how we can ensure that everybody within the County is able to benefit"
>
> <div align="right">Kevin Donkin
Senior Economic Development Officer
Durham County Council</div>

The focus on people is largely based around a recognition of the importance to the economy of developing the workforce and stimulating an entrepreneurial culture. The County Durham Economic Partnership (CDEP) also acknowledges that the first Strategy did not benefit all of the County's population, so making sure that everyone benefits from the work undertaken is central to the new Strategy. There has been an evolving recognition of the significance of learning and skills to the County's economy:

> "Thinking of the resources that are available for the economic regeneration, and for economic activity here in County Durham, got to forget about coal ... in terms of major industries ... manufacturing or service, the main element of capital that we've got is human capital ... So that cycle about developing, educating, training human capital, focusing on activity in County Durham is the most important aspect ... most important resource ... Well it's always been our priority in the Education Service I think other partners have only come round to that

> view in the last three or four years, they're still, even relatively recently,
> I mean [when] I joined the Economic Partnership perhaps five years ago
> there was almost a pathological belief in that more industrial sites,
> greenfield sites, factory units, starter units, ICT [Information and
> Communications Technology] showcases, would in themselves attract
> inward investment and would therefore regenerate the local economy.
> Slowly I think views have changed"
>
> Neil Charlton
> Deputy Director of Education
> Durham County Council
> Chair of Learning and Skills Working Group
> County Durham Economic Partnership

Property and infrastructure provision is no longer seen as enough to attract investment. Skills levels need to be raised in order to attract higher skilled/better quality jobs and the low basic skills legacy in the County needs to be tackled through action within settlements and workplaces. Additionally, having suffered from branch plant syndrome, it is argued that in order to improve the economic situation within the County inward investment alone cannot be relied upon. This recognition within the County has contributed to a new priority being given to learning and skills. Neil Charlton described in interview how the importance placed on learning in County Durham is also being determined at a higher level. Nationally, following the publication of the Government's Green Paper *The Learning Age: a renaissance for a new Britain* (DfEE, 1998), there has been an increase in interest in learning within the general population and in learning within organisations. The governmentality perspective is useful in understanding the increased emphasis on learning and skills. Neil Charlton claimed, in interview, that:

> "... from the point of view of the Government's propaganda raising
> awareness, from the point of view of the public sector needing to engage
> in lifelong learning to meet targets set by the Government, from the
> point of view of business and enterprise being encouraged from bottom
> line [profit] point of view, I think all of these things have come together
> to raise the profile of learning and skills"
>
> Neil Charlton
> Deputy Director of Education
> Durham County Council
> Chair of Learning and Skills Working Group
> County Durham Economic Partnership

Government is promoting learning and skills and is setting targets, which can be interpreted as a managerial technology of government (MacKinnon, 2000). Organisations such as Durham County Council and the County Durham Economic Partnership have to meet these targets. Through awareness raising exercises and the setting of targets government can be interpreted as acting at a distance in order to stimulate learning and skills activity. If local residents have higher standards of skills it may attract industry to the area and there may be more entrepreneurial activity. Skills development may also be related to efforts by government to increase people's participation in governance, to enable them to govern through community.

Whilst there has been a change in, and widening of, the types of work the County Durham Economic Partnership aims to undertake, some partners remain concerned about how economic development and the relationship between economic and community development is viewed within the County. Some partners believe that there continues to be too much emphasis on property/physical development. Whilst later acknowledging that there has been a change in some of the work undertaken in the County, Peter Richards, Executive Director of Groundwork East Durham, commented, in interview, that economic development is seen as being "about building a shed".

5.2.4 Regeneration

The term regeneration is used to describe different types of activity. Within County Durham I found that members of the public sometimes believe that regeneration refers solely to environmental and physical improvement work. Most practitioners and some non-practitioners, often those who are local activists, however, now have a broader definition of regeneration covering economic, social (for example, health and crime) and environmental issues and involving capacity building type work. As with development it is argued that the regeneration process will only be successful if economic, social and environmental aspects are combined and members of the public (referred to as the community) are involved.

Distinguishing development and regeneration is tricky as the terms are often used interchangeably. Some people are comfortable with the terms being used as synonyms as they want to breakdown barriers and stop pigeon-holing activity and see this as a move in that direction. Other people believe the activities to be separate. Regeneration is commonly believed to be about tackling something which has degenerated, whilst, in contrast, development is seen as something new, or more about vision.

Regeneration has become increasingly significant to the Economic Development and Planning Department of Durham County Council, particularly since 1997 when New Labour came to power. The New Labour government see economic development and regeneration as separate issues, but dependent on one another. The economy has to be working in order for regeneration to be possible, but in the achievement of sustainable economic development the policy agenda has "renewed space for consideration of issues of poverty and social exclusion, communities and regional devolution" (Bennett *et al.*, 2000: p7). Within County Durham work has been undertaken to change the way that regeneration is viewed. From previously being seen as a subset of economic development, economic development is now seen as a subset of the broader process of regeneration. A significant development in changing the way regeneration is perceived within the Council was in creating a portfolio position for regeneration in the Council's cabinet. There was political support for regeneration to be a cross-cutting issue covering not only the economy, but all aspects of the Council's work.[5]

Some practitioners (Government officers at the regional level and local authority officers) have adopted the Government's notion of Neighbourhood Renewal as their definition of regeneration.[6] They describe regeneration as narrowing the gap between the most and least deprived. There are different issues to be tackled around

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[5] In 2000 a new director of the Economic Development and Planning Department was appointed and he played a role in making the changes within the authority. Before 2000 the director of the department had focused on physical development which was arguably necessary and delivered a great deal. When Mark Lloyd took over, however, he saw a need to consider both economic and social regeneration. His influence was not the only significant factor this has to be set in the context of regeneration becoming central to national policy agendas.

[6] I noticed this development later in the research period as policy changes associated with the Neighbourhood Renewal agenda were starting to really affect what was happening in the County, for example the development of Local Strategic Partnerships.

the economy, social realm and the environment. When I discussed this with Mark Lloyd, Director of Economic Development and Planning, Durham County Council[7] and Chair of the County Durham Economic Partnership, he said how in a previous interview we had talked about:

> "... regeneration being about identifying where we're performing worse than comparative areas and treating the regeneration strategies about closing those gaps ... On the face of it Neighbourhood Renewal appears to be the same thing ... I think there has been a subtle shift ... I think an awful lot of people pre-Neighbourhood Renewal were locked into the view of regeneration as a physical thing ... in general there's a wider definition probably now of regeneration thanks to the Neighbourhood Renewal initiative. ... that message of change, the different understanding of what regeneration means ... is probably confined to those who've been directly engaged. I don't think we've changed wide usage definitions of regeneration"

The Neighbourhood Renewal initiative has contributed to the adoption of a broader definition of regeneration and also a view that it is about closing the gap between the most and least deprived areas. However, as Mark Lloyd describes, the wide usage definition of the term has not changed.

People have various understandings of economic and community development and regeneration. The differences in what is meant by the terms I believe are significant in the operation of the development/regeneration process. People are increasingly working together in partnership environments and they bring to the partnership tables different interpretations and expectations as to what (different strands of) development and regeneration entail. The interconnectedness of social and economic problems is now realised and holistic approaches to development and regeneration are advocated, which is associated with the proliferation of partnership working, but there can be governance issues surrounding who is responsible for delivering what (in terms of the involvement of local people and the role of different organisations and partnerships). The loose definitions of the terms and increasingly holistic approach can, however, be used to partnerships' favour in terms of gaining funding for work they wish to undertake. I return to these issues in later sections.

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[7] Mark Lloyd is also a Deputy Chief Executive of Durham County Council.

5.3   COMMUNITY

Community is well known as a concept which is difficult to define as I discussed in Chapter Two. It is now recognised that people can construct and use notions of community in order to achieve particular outcomes (Barke and MacFarlane, 2001). How community is constructed in notions of governing needs to be examined. The emphasis which is being placed on community and its role within development/regeneration policy discourse can be interpreted as a shift in governmentality to governing through community. Employing the language of the governmentality approach if there is to be governing through community, the community needs to be identified, made visible. It is therefore important to consider how community is defined and constructed within development/regeneration work.

Everyone that I asked to define community during the course of my research in County Durham offered a different definition, further demonstrating that it is an ambiguous concept. In terms of the distinction of geographical communities and communities of interest people's definitions were usually hinting at geographical communities which include people who live - and sometimes those who work - in a particular place. Commonalties between members of a community, in addition to place, were often highlighted, most starkly by David McKnight, Teesdale Market Towns Co-ordinator, who, in interview, defined a community as:

> "A group of people with common aims, common interests, common locality, common ethos, common past, common future"

This definition of community suggests that people who live in - or perhaps have some other connection to - the same place have the same or similar interests, goals and ideas which is a dangerous assumption to make (Storey, 1999). As I discussed in Chapter Two people may belong to many communities and although they live in the same place they do not necessarily share common interests or opinions. There are many interest groups - which may be referred to as communities of interest - within County Durham, which are evident in the case study areas through the existence of various organisations and activities. Community does not necessarily mean spatial propinquity (see Chapter Two section 2.4.1). However, when discussing community, at least within the context of development/regeneration, a

shared location was often seen as a defining feature. Communities of interest were mentioned far less frequently, but are becoming increasingly significant (see below).

The difficulty of defining community was often mentioned by people, but was highlighted as a particular concern by practitioners. When I asked a practitioner in East Durham to define community she said:

> "I don't know that you can, I think this is actually quite an issue because so often they're actually asking us to target things on communities"
>
>   Kate Welch
>   Manager
>   Easington Action Team for Jobs

Agencies are being asked by the Government (and other bodies) to target and include members of communities in their work,[8] which can be argued to be symptomatic of a new governmentality of governing through community. As I outlined in Chapter Two in order to govern through community communities must be brought into existence made visible and, therefore, governable. Communities can then become agents of government. Adopting a governmentality perspective, in areas where development/regeneration work is needed a community must be identified. Rather than undertaking the development/regeneration work directly themselves government activates communities to do the work.

Ward and McNicholas (1998) argue that one way of bringing a community into existence is by using community appraisals, which can be thought of as a technology of government. Community appraisals are often a requirement for funding development/regeneration and they are influencing geographical definitions of communities as Kevin Donkin, Senior Economic Development Officer, Durham County Council, described in interview:

> "How you define a community ... is that a village, is it a ward, is it a town, what is it? ... I think you do have a situation now where the process has informed the debate in that the [Objective 2] Priority 4 activities and the community appraisals that they triggered off I think have made people identify with wards in a way that perhaps they wouldn't have in the past and so you have people looking beyond the

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[8] I discuss this shift in policy in detail in Chapters Two and Three.

village where they live to encompass the surrounding areas ... or looking at parts of the town" [9]

It can be argued that by making community appraisals an integral part of the funding process government is bringing communities into existence, defining them in particular ways so they are governable. In order for an area (or organisation) to receive funding a community appraisal has to be undertaken. The boundaries of the community as it is defined in the appraisal process may not exactly match how people in the areas have previously perceived their communities. The perception of a community can be quite different for those who live inside a community to those on the outside. Ward, or other boundaries, may not demarcate communities, but people are having to identify with areas wider than individual villages, or how they may have previously defined their communities, in order to attract outside funding.

In addition to community appraisals leading to the instrumental formation of larger communities, people/organisations in different areas, which they may perceive (or in the past have perceived) to be individual communities, are joining together to put themselves in a stronger position to attract funding. Local people who want to undertake regeneration work recognise that government and funding guidelines require, or favour, geographically defined communities to be of a particular size. For example, funding bodies encourage organisations in different places to work together as they do not like to support similar initiatives in nearby areas (Interview: Abby Thompson, Community Capacity Building Co-ordinator, Wear Valley District Council). Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Partnership came together with other local village partnerships in order to form a six village consortium as they recognised it would be to their advantage. Joan Freak a member of the Partnership and a local District and Parish Councillor described to me, in interview, how in a meeting she had asked civil servants from Government Office for the North East if the Partnership would have a better chance of receiving funding if they joined together and that this was the stimulation for the creation of the consortium.

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[9] County Durham qualifies for European Structural Funds as an Objective 2 area. Priority 4 of the Objective 2 Programme is concerned with community economic development. In the North East the central theme of the strategy for this Priority is to connect the residents of target communities with jobs (*personal communication*, Mark Henderson, European Team, Durham County Council).

In other areas people from different settlements have joined together for similar reasons. In Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale groups and activities span more than one village and in some cases the whole area. Despite differences between the villages, in this part of Teesdale there is a wider sense of the area being different to other parts of the District, which brings people together. However, differences between the settlements may remain. The Dene Valley consists of eight different villages which were brought together under the banner of the Dene Valley in a move driven by local councillors.[10] Whilst this has brought (at least some) people and organisations together, differences remain which affect the sense of community:

> "One of the problems with the Dene Valley becoming one community, if you like, is that the differences between Bridge Place, Eldon Lane, Auckland Park and Close House are vast. People in Close House generally do not consider themselves to have an affinity with people in Eldon Lane. People in Auckland Park generally tend not to have an affinity with people in Close House, or Bridge Place. Notice I use the word generally here - they were quite separate communities for many, many years and I noticed that when moves were afoot to bring the whole lot into one community called the Dene Valley there wasn't a lot of enthusiasm. I mean it's clearly worked and it's been very, very helpful in terms of bringing the communities together, but I don't see much evidence myself that there is a kind of a oneness of spirit, if you like. Close House still feels different to Auckland Park, Auckland Park still feels different to Bridge Place"
>
> Cllr Phil Graham
> Durham County Council

The Dene Valley may be created in name, and there has been some successful work involving different groups and villages, but creating the wider sense of community amongst people does not necessarily follow. Keith Hodgson, a Senior Development Executive at ONE NorthEast and Dene Valley Parish Councillor argued, in interview, that community should be defined at a "neighbourhood level", in the case of the Dene Valley the individual villages. He believes that the Dene Valley is not one community owing to the factions within it.

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[10] As I noted in Chapter Four (section 4.5.2.1) the exact number of villages in the Dene Valley has varied. The Parish Council was named Dene Valley and the ward name has also been changed.

Individual villages, which residents may think of as distinct geographical communities, are joining together. Sometimes this is to achieve economies of scale in rural areas, for example in order for local people to benefit from services, such as training courses, that can only operate above a certain threshold. Expanded geographical communities are, however, often being created by government, through the employment of governmental technologies such as community appraisals and other guidelines people have to meet that are effective because they are attached to funding. Government is steering the change from the centre and is constructing communities in ways which make them governable. Although the defined boundaries of communities may appear to widen in this way, individual villages (or smaller areas) often retain their own identity and distinct sense of community.

As I have already noted, when discussing the meaning of community with both practitioners and lay people communities of interest were mentioned far less frequently than geographical communities.[11] The geographical sense of community is particularly significant in development and regeneration policy. As Raco (2003) argues, the geographical sense of community is a critical part of urban policy (and I would argue rural policy). They "[enable] policy makers to 'fix' community - socially and spatially - in ways that make it visible and enable it to be worked on and shaped" (Raco, 2003: p238). New Labour policies are now increasingly concerned with recognising different types of community including communities of interest (Raco, 2003; see DETR 2001a; 2001b). There is a realisation among policy-makers that the views and needs of communities of interest should be considered within development/regeneration work, even if such groups span different geographical areas. Organisations in my case study areas that consisted of, or catered for, interest groups are represented on, for example, the community networks of Local Strategic Partnerships and on other local partnerships involved in development/regeneration. There is also recognition in many policies that people may belong to different communities simultaneously. However, acknowledging the diversity of possible forms of community may make it more difficult to mobilise the idea of community as a mechanism of government. The broader definitions make it awkward to

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[11] This may be owing to our wider discussions being focused on development/regeneration in a particular geographical area (and although the activities of interest groups may contribute to development/regeneration this may not be their main concern).

"operationalise policy agendas" as there are practical and representational issues to be overcome (Raco, 2003: p239). At the same time, it appears that individuals from different interest groups are being harnessed by government in order to achieve particular outcomes. Interestingly, John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council, referred in interview to communities of interest as "policy tool[s]".

5.4 INACTIVE COMMUNITIES

Notions of governing through community make little or no reference to the instance (or possibility) of people not becoming engaged in processes of governing. Government discourse assumes that entities called communities can be identified, made into agents of government and through their activities governmental aims achieved. The idea that communities can be developed as agents of government is complicated by people not fulfilling the model of active citizens which is promoted by government. My empirical work shows that in County Durham many people do not play an active role in development/regeneration. Although some residents and members of interest groups were involved in development/regeneration work there was often discussion of the difficulties surrounding getting people involved in local organisations and disinterest in taking part in consultations.

I anticipated that there may be a difference in how involved local people are in development/regeneration activity in the different case study areas owing to their various socio-economic histories and cultures.[12] I expected people's activity in Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley to be affected by a dependency culture stemming from the coalmining industry which once dominated these areas. It is the effects of the settlement categorisation policy in the County which classified these areas as Category D villages following the closure of their coal mines, however, that is particularly significant with regards to people being disengaged from development/regeneration activity. The Category D status and the stigma that has remained within the area is commonly cited as the underlying cause for local people not participating in activity. Lack of investment (by local authorities) in the Dene

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[12] I chose case study areas with different histories and cultures, or stereotypes, in order to investigate how the integration of economic and community development is affected by place. The case study areas and the reasons behind their selection are discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Valley for such a long period has contributed to high deprivation levels. The situation has become accepted and tolerated by some people who have given up and do not believe that it will change. When I asked Keith Hodgson, a Senior Development Executive at ONE NorthEast and also a resident of the Dene Valley and local Parish Councillor about the key issues in the area he commented:

> "... I think it's apathy really, I think the general feeling is that those in authority just ... aren't committed and that Dene Valley just isn't important. I think that sums it up and consequently people aren't interested [in getting] involved"

Despite the removal of Category D status in the 1970s many people do not think that their situation will improve. The more recent Settlement Renewal Initiative has certainly provided hope for a number of residents, but the majority are not engaged and do not believe that it is worthwhile getting involved. Some people argue that the Settlement Renewal Initiative raised local people's aspirations early in the process, but did not deliver everything that was promised, further compounding a belief that the area will not change. If there are future improvements some local activists believe that more people will become engaged.

In Wingate/Station Town there are problems with engaging people in local activity. A similarity can be drawn with the Dene Valley as again I would argue that the effect of the Category D status and consequent lack of investment is a contributory factor to people's reluctance to becoming involved. In deprived areas, such as these in County Durham, people may be less willing to participate in local activity. As Kearns (1995: p167) describes, it seems that one of the "prerequisites for participation in local civil society" is a "positive view of the local environment". Where the view is negative civic pride is reduced and demoralisation reinforced.

Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale has a local stereotype of being an area where there is a lot of local activity, this being associated with socially entrepreneurial immigrants. My research showed that many people in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale are not engaged in local activity and with the area's different history it cannot be attributed to Category D status. Two reasons for people's lack of participation were suggested in interviews. First, Middleton people

are reluctant to get involved, it being incomers to the village (the socially entrepreneurial immigrants) who drive activity:

"... Middleton people, they're quite happy to let somebody else do something for them and then they can stand back and criticise and say 'I wouldn't ... have done that', but at the same time they're quite loath to get involved. Quite a number of people who've come into the village have gone onto the Parish Council and have ... helped to run the carnival committee and other organisations. So, again it's always been the same here ... they've wanted to let other people do it and then ... sit back and criticise"

Mr Vallack
Middleton-in Teesdale Resident

Second, some residents have low expectations. Disadvantage, for example, in terms of access to public transport and Information and Communications Technology (ICT), is expected owing to the rural location. Some residents describe this as a trade off for the advantages of living in the countryside. Other people, however, believe that they should not have to be disadvantaged in such ways and if expectations were raised more residents may become involved as they would be driven by frustration. Importantly, the reluctance of many members of the population to becoming engaged in local development/regeneration work indicates that not everyone conforms to the stereotype of being empowered activists. My research does suggests that the efforts of incomers (socially entrepreneurial immigrants) is significant in terms of local activity, but not all incomers are involved and the problem of engaging people is a very real issue in the area.

Although some development/regeneration activity is taking place in all of the case study areas many members of the local population are not engaged. The evidence suggests that there are differences in the underlying causes behind people's lack of participation between the former Category D areas - Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley - and Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale. The reasons I have discussed as to why people are disengaged were those commonly cited in interviews.[13] In all of the areas there may be other explanations for people not

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[13] I should note here that most of the interviews I conducted were with active members of the population, or practitioners, who talked about the why they believe people are not involved, which may affect my findings. I was able to conduct a small number of interviews with people who are less active or not engaged, but had problems gaining access to these people (see Chapter Six section 6.3).

participating in local activity. These may include people having a lack of confidence or feeling they do not possess necessary skills. Some organisations/partnerships can appear cliquey and deter people from participating (see also section 5.6). Other members of the population may not have the time or face practical barriers to participation such as not having childcare or transport. Additionally, it should be acknowledged that case study area residents may be engaged in activities in other places. There may be many reasons why people are not involved in local activity and these may vary between places. Although rural areas may be represented within national policy as having communities which are ideal for acting as agents of government (see, for example, Murdoch, 1997) in County Durham the evidence suggests that this is not the case. Rural areas cannot be assumed to be homogeneous or to have communities which can be easily engaged in governing through community.

Furthermore, the incidence of people not being engaged in local activity is significant for notions of a shift in governmentality to governing through community. There are two different arguments which can be put forward in the light of these findings. The first argument assumes the government is acting in good faith and genuinely trying to engage local people, whereas the second suggests that people's lack of involvement is central to government's approach. If members of the public (communities) are either not willing or able to be involved in local activity they can be the object, but not the subjects of policy. Communities have to be identified and made into agents of government in order for it to be possible to govern through community. As I described above governmental technologies can be used to make (mainly geographical) communities visible, but people's lack of engagement suggests that they do not make everyone identify with being an active citizen. My findings from County Durham show that the number people who are active citizens is actually very small. As Haughton (1998: p876) argues "many people simply do not want to be all that actively engaged in building a stronger local community or, even more difficult, building a stronger local economy". If people are not willing or able to become involved in activity the notion of active communities being steered by government in order to achieve development/regeneration policy aspirations is problematic. If it is believed that government genuinely desires people's involvement it can be argued that

government is trying to govern through community, but its approach (the technologies being employed) is either not completely working, or it is not working everywhere.   My evidence suggests that within County Durham people are disengaged from local activity (from processes of self-government) and this is not really affected by differences between places in terms of socio-economic history and culture. The differences between the areas are only influential in terms of reasons why people are not participating. In places such as County Durham, where there is a largely inactive civil society the notion that there is a new governmentality of governing through community can be questioned. It may be that in different parts of the country, for example the south east of England, there may be a more active civil society and in these areas notions of governing through community can be considered to be accurate.[14]

Policies which appear to suggest a shift to governing through community are particularly significant with regard to deprived areas. It is in areas where there are high levels of deprivation that regeneration work is most needed. It is in these places, however, that local people may be least inclined, or able, to be active. When talking about the community and regeneration, in interview, Peter Richards, the Executive Director of Groundwork East Durham, commented:

> "One of my colleagues from another trust said 'Why is it that poor people have to live in communities and the rest of us don't have to?' "

People in the most needy places are expected to feel involved in their local area, from a governmentality perspective to be part of active communities operating as agents of government.   Toynbee (2003) comments that "it is a fine idea that communities should come together and solve their problems. In practice, the poorest people with the hardest lives are expected to undertake heroic civic duties. ... "Community" is only called on when things go wrong - and yet social policy always expects the poorest estates to summon up exceptional community spirit". As I described above, in deprived areas such as Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley it cannot be expected that everyone will want to become involved; people

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[14] Further research would be required in order to investigate this possibility (see Chapter Six section 6.5).

may feel that their situation will never change. Additionally, and as I also found in County Durham, some people do not believe it is their responsibility to be involved they expect paid people to provide the necessary services (see Toynbee, 2003). If there are unrealistic assumptions about the nature of places within policy approaches initiatives are unlikely to be successful; if local people (the communities it is assumed exist or can be identified) are expected to be active they may get blamed for failure. Haughton (1998) comments on how community development and community economic development activities are often considered to be good for marginalized communities, but in the case of middle-class communities mostly irrelevant. He cautions "[w]e need to be careful about what we wish upon other people in communities, especially if we do not appear to wish the same things upon ourselves" (Haughton, 1998: p876).

A second argument can be made concerning people's lack of involvement and what it means for notions of governing through community. Rather than disengagement being problematic for government it can be argued that it is an integral part of its approach. Government may not really be seeking local activism as there is the possibility that it may have a negative influence on what government wants to achieve. By appearing to hand responsibility over to citizens, government may be able to exonerate itself from the failure of initiatives. If people are disengaged government is able to retain control, but when problems occur argue that it has charged communities with finding their own solutions. In effect government may be using the discourse of community-led (or participation in) development/regeneration as a way of 'covering its back', as a tactic used in order to avoid blame.

5.5   COMMUNITY IN DEVELOPMENT AND REGENERATION

5.5.1 Introduction
Local people are increasingly expected to play a role in the governance of their areas and take part in development/regeneration activity. Their involvement is being steered and encouraged by government, which it can be argued is governing through community (or perhaps trying to govern through community). Lay people and practitioners have a variety of views as to what they believe the role of the

community within development/regeneration should be. The subject of community involvement also raises a number of issues. I have already discussed the problems surrounding how community is defined, how communities are constructed by government and that consideration needs to be given to the plethora of communities which may exist in one area. Community representatives and representativeness are further issues which I will discuss below.

5.5.2 The role of the community in development/regeneration

There is a spectrum of views within my case study areas (and the County more generally) as to what people who live in these areas see as their role within development/regeneration.[15] Many people are reluctant to become involved in local activity. Some residents argue that people who are employed by agencies should undertake development/regeneration and there should be no expectation that lay people will become involved. Others argue that they do not have the time to become involved. Alternatively they may feel that they do not possess the necessary skills or confidence to partake in development/regeneration work, something which community development activity may try to address. Some people do want to be involved in what happens in their local areas. They do not believe that all development/regeneration work should be top-down, there should be some bottom-up involvement. Often, people want to be involved in consultation rather than delivery. They want to be able to influence what happens, but do not wish, or feel able to, become involved in delivery.[16] A smaller number of people, mainly local activists, believe that residents (and perhaps interest groups) should be driving the development/regeneration process in their area and have a leading role in both consultation and delivery. One such person is Margaret Ingledew, the Chairperson of the Dene Valley Community Partnership,[17] who commented in interview that the:

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[15] As I detailed in footnote 13 most of the people I spoke to during the course of my research were actively involved in development/regeneration work in their local area (see also Chapter Six section 6.3). This may affect my findings. However, I believe I can make the arguments in this section based on my observation and interviews with local activists (who talked about why they believe other people are not engaged) and the small number of interviews I was able to conduct with people who are less active in their area.

[16] Although people claim to want to influence what happens in their areas this is not always reflected in consultation response rates. This questions not only whether people are actually willing to give the necessary time to become involved, or whether they are sufficiently interested, but importantly also challenges the current approaches to consultation.

[17] Aside from being Chairperson of the Dene Valley Community Partnership Margaret Ingledew also has a number of other roles. I discuss multi-involvement in section 5.6.

"Community's role is … to lead. Not take a back seat. Yes we need the agencies with us, we need them there, but in the background, if we need advice can we come to you, can you show us the right way forward, cos we are not sure where is the road. But not to be sitting on top of us, as I said earlier, saying what the people want. The people tell them, they listen to the people, help and advise and that's what I say [is] the community's role"

By way of illustration as to what Margaret Ingledew means by leading the process, the Dene Valley Community Partnership formed out of the Settlement Renewal Initiative and is now at the forefront of the regeneration process in the area. As I described in Chapter Four the Partnership has opened a one stop shop, and developed Dene Valley Community Transport Limited and has been involved in a number of other social, economic and environmental projects. There are examples in each of the case study areas of local organisations leading on substantial projects. In Middleton-in-Teesdale, Middleton Plus, the local development trust, has opened a Tourist Information Centre and an indoor tourist attraction.

Activity undertaken by residents in the case study areas has been stimulated in different ways. In Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley local organisations were in existence prior to their respective Settlement Renewal Initiatives. Some of these still exist and new ones have emerged. Partnerships were developed during the Settlement Renewal Initiatives in both areas and these have since continued to operate and undertake new work. In Wingate/Station Town the Partnership has dwindled over the years, particularly as practical support from agencies has decreased, but new organisations and initiatives (some stemming from the Settlement Renewal Initiative work) mean that local people are delivering development/regeneration work and are committed to doing so. Less time has elapsed since the Settlement Renewal Initiative in the Dene Valley, the Partnership remains very active and receives support from a number of different agencies. However, local activists claim that without help they will try to continue even if it takes them longer to achieve what they want to do.

In Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale one of the main local organisations, Middleton Plus, is not the result of a targeted initiative by agencies (as I described in Chapter Four section 4.5.3.2). Other organisations have also emerged in the area in

response to a perceived need. The District Council has been influential in stimulating local partnership activity (see section 5.6). Given the stereotype of Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale as having empowered residents before conducting the research I anticipated that in this area people may be more active undertaking larger projects and perhaps projects focusing more on economic issues than community development work. Organisations in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale have been involved in big projects and have acquired significant public funds for them. Whilst there are large initiatives in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale, which are being led by residents and can be considered to be contributing to economic development, as I have already described engaging people is a problem in the area as it is in the other case study areas. Additionally, there have also been large projects in Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley, attracting significant funding, and these cover different strands of development activity including economic. There are similarities in the types of initiatives in the areas even though they may be necessary for slightly different reasons, to tackle problems that face people in the different areas; for example a community transport initiative in the Dene Valley and the developing demand responsive transport in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale.

Practitioners in County Durham acknowledge that lay people are increasingly asked to play a more significant role in development/regeneration. From a governmentality perspective it can be argued that government is steering activity in order to generate involvement by local people. Through the use of governmental technologies, such as consultations and community appraisals, communities are identified and made to define their own problems and become involved in finding solutions. The utility of the technologies is that they are tied to funding meaning that there often has to be demonstrable community involvement in the work of agencies/partnerships.[18] The emphasis on the community coming from government is changing the ways that agencies/partnerships have to work. When I talked to one practitioner in East Durham about how the community is involved in economic development or economic regeneration she said:

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[18] Organisations run by local people can be required by funders to demonstrate they have considered the views of residents and interest groups who are not directly involved.

"I think all of us now in agencies are actually having to be accountable to [the] community in a way that's never happened before. So that what you're looking at now really is that the community, we've consulted with the community, ok, the community appraisals have been produced, the community are, there's a community panel which will be represented in the LSP [Local Strategic Partnership], there will be formally more community involvement ... that's the New Labour steer and the way things are actually going, but in some ways it is actually beginning to actually take shape"

Kate Welch
Manager
Easington Action Team for Jobs

Many practitioners believe that local people should be involved in development/regeneration work, at least at the level of being consulted on what should happen in their areas. There is a view, however, that involving residents and members of interest groups can be a time-consuming and fraught process and may not always be necessary. When I asked Tony Seaman, Director of Development Services, Teesdale District Council, about the role of the community in regeneration he argued:

"It can be ... quite crucial ... [but] I don't think it's essential all the time because I think ... you can go with consultation and community involvement too much and you don't get anything done. ... So I think there is an obsession with this country in spending too much time consulting ... you've got to have the skills of the community and there's a lot of energy in certain communities, a lot of expertise that you've got to tap into. But in some areas it can be counter-productive and you get more criticism and ... moaning and groaning than anything. ... it's important to get it involved, but I think you've got to keep it in perspective and try and highlight where it's essential and where perhaps you can get on without it and I think ... people are naïve if they think that in every situation you've got to get the community involved ... I mean if you try to get everybody involved you never get anything done, ... you've got to go with the key people in the community who are the drivers in the community and say 'Let's go with them' " [19]

Whilst practitioners may recognise the importance of involving the residents and members of interest groups, using their knowledge and considering their views, they argue that sometimes people's involvement can be negative. The type of work is

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[19] This argument is particularly interesting as Tony Seaman has been heavily involved in stimulating a number of local partnerships in Teesdale which are involved in development/regeneration work (see section 5.6).

also significant in what role it is believed people should or can be expected to have. Job creation activity is felt by a number of practitioners and members of the public to be an area of work that the local residents and members of interest groups do not have a role, or a large role, to play in. It is often thought to be the responsibility of agencies and not something that the public want, or have the resources in terms of skills, time or finances to become involved in. This is not to argue, however, that local residents and interest groups are not involved in creating jobs. Projects run by local residents and interest groups and partnerships have provided jobs in all of my case study areas, but these are mainly a limited number of opportunities for staff positions within the organisations/projects themselves.

Recognising people's reluctance to participate in development/regeneration work leads to a view that the Government's agenda, the idea that the members of the public (referred to as the community) can and should always be involved, is naïve. Strategic level work is a particular area of concern.[20] Government is increasingly expecting members of the public to be involved in strategic level work and decision-making, for example through participation in policy formulation and delivery in Local Strategic Partnerships. However, people may not want to be involved, particularly if they cannot see the benefit to their own lives as John Smith, Head of Economic Development, District of Easington, described in interview:

> "... I'm still not sure about their [the community's] involvement because I think ... a lot of members of the community, they expect the statutory authorities to get on and do things. There is a new expectation from neighbourhood renewal units that the community will be involved in that process, I don't think the community wants to always be involved in that process, I think they see it 'We pay them high wages, that's what they get paid to do, that's their day jobs, let them get on with it, ... when it touches our lives we'll tell them, ... we don't want to be involved with strategic decision-making in Seaham when we live in Thornley, we're only bothered about Thornley', ... some people are saying that they want to be involved in the strategic things. But, I think there is almost a ... dilemma or a dichotomy between how we involve the community, yes we need to be involving them more when things particularly impact on their own lives, but at the same time I do think there's almost this naïve view that the community should be involved in all decisions, should ... act in a strategic capacity ... because ... having talked to a lot of the

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[20] Following the example above many people believe that job creation activity is more strategic than other areas of development/regeneration work.

communities, individuals and groups, they expect us just to get on with it and say 'Look ... we like what you're doing or we don't like what you're doing, we wish you'd done it that way'. But I do think at times there is a danger of paying lip service to it"

It can be difficult to engage members of the public in strategic level work as the results of the work may only be seen over a long time period and spread over a wide area. People may only be interested in what is happening in their own area and when they do become involved in strategic partnerships practitioners may be concerned about parochialism.[21] As I will discuss below there are problems with the representativeness of the members of the public in (strategic and local level) partnerships. Many of the lay people who are representatives in strategic partnerships are local activists who are heavily involved in activities within their area (or interest group). Some activists appear to become involved in partnerships such as Local Strategic Partnerships with the prime motive of wanting to benefit their own area and/or organisations. This can create conflict in partnerships which have been established in order to adopt a strategic approach to activity within a particular district, the whole County or region.

The shift to governing through community which has been reported within the governmentality literature can be viewed in different ways. Whilst it could be seen as a boost for local people's involvement and activity some commentators suggest that it can be interpreted as "government creeping away from its responsibilities under the cloak of local empowerment" (Murdoch, 1997: p116). Policies are concerned with the devolution of responsibility from government to locally empowered communities. Within County Durham there are practitioners who think that local people are being asked to play a bigger part within development/regeneration and that they should accept the increased responsibility. Practitioners mention here, however, people's reluctance to become involved and question whether people are prepared to take on this level of responsibility. There is also a concern that people may need more support in order to take on a bigger role

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[21] It should be noted that parochialism is not an issue which solely surrounds the involvement of residents (or members of interest groups); public and private sector partners can also be parochial. Representatives of local authorities, for example, in partnerships are often mostly interested in the benefit from, or impact of, decisions or initiatives within their own areas.

within the development/regeneration process. The apparent increased responsibility may not, however, be all that it seems.

The new role for local people in governing - the emphasis in policy discourse on community - has led to claims that there is now governance rather than government. The distribution of power, however, requires critical examination. There may be a rhetoric of local empowerment and it may appear that responsibility is being handed over to local people, but significantly the concentration of power remains with government. As I have already described, from the governmentality perspective it can be argued that technologies of government, such as community appraisals, are employed in order to stimulate (or simulate) community involvement. My findings show that many residents and members of interest groups are not involved in development/regeneration activity. Those people who do become involved in consultation, and more particularly delivery, experience a number of issues. One of the main problems local activists reported was how their activities are restricted and controlled by the Government and other funders. In order to receive funding local organisations often have to demonstrate that their work will meet certain targets, or other requirements laid down by the funders. The organisations can struggle to find funding sources for some of the work they believe is necessary, or would like to see within their areas (or interest groups). There is also a lot of bureaucracy as organisations have to show that they will meet certain targets through the work they wish to undertake and then initiatives have to be monitored to ensure the desired outcomes are delivered.[22] As power appears to be being devolved to members of the public the bureaucracy increases in order to control their actions. The targets and bureaucracy can also be thought of as technologies of government and as with the community appraisals their utility is that they are attached to funding. These conditions associated with funding can lead to residents' organisations and interest groups being deterred from applying to certain funding streams and some people may be completely put off from becoming involved in local activity. Importantly, development/regeneration work which people want in their areas may not be undertaken, or may have to be changed to fit with government requirements.

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[22] The level of bureaucracy involved in funding is a problem for organisations from all of the sectors, but is a particular difficulty for local organisations who may not have the necessary skills or time needed to meet the requirements.

Technologies are used to make members of the public (communities) act as agents of government and whilst they activate communities they ensure that government retains control. A tension can be seen here as the controls exerted by government may be resulting in the local activity which is apparently desired not taking place. Given the level of control which is exerted by government the amount of responsibility which is really being handed over to local people can be questioned. When I asked John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council in interview, if the community is being given more responsibility he commented:

> "Well it's a bit perverse ... The possibility of more responsibility is dangled in front of them. They become enmeshed in some pretty demanding obligations, but whether actually ever sincerely the responsibility was up for them to have can be questioned, or whether it's all window dressing - to put a nice ... concealment in front of the same old powerful interests"

People may be involved with, or even taking on development/regeneration work, but they have to comply with the demands of government, meaning that government retains power. Although the rhetoric may indicate otherwise these findings suggest that the power within governance still lies with government. The notion of governing through community suggests that although members of the public (the community) are involved in governing government retains some control over their actions. As I argued earlier in the chapter depending on how local people's lack of involvement is viewed governing through community may not be an accurate description of what is occurring in County Durham. If the argument is taken that there has been a shift to governing through community it may be that government wishes to appear to be handing over responsibility to communities in order to exonerate itself from failure. The role local people can play in, and influence they can have on, development/regeneration may be questioned. However, John Ashby went on to argue in interview, whatever the reason behind their involvement, if local people are now able to play more of a role within development/regeneration the situation is at least better than when they had no involvement at all.

5.5.3 Who is involved?

It is not only the construction of communities that needs to be interrogated within notions of community involvement in governing, but also who is actually involved. The representativeness of the individual people and local organisations involved in development/regeneration work at both local and strategic levels is a big issue. The notion that a particular person or organisation can be deemed to be representative of a community is challenged by the difficulties surrounding how community is defined.[23] Communities may be defined (constructed) in particular ways for certain purposes. The definition of a geographical community may not match how different people who live in the area define their community and it cannot be assumed that people who live in the same area have similar interests. People may belong to many different communities simultaneously and communities of interest cut across geographical areas. Following from this understanding of community it can be argued that no one person or organisation could claim to be fully representative of a community. However, as individuals and representatives of local organisations are involved and are asked to become involved in development/regeneration work (and it would be practically impossible for everyone to be involved in everything) questions and concerns arise as to who is participating and how representative they are. There are difficulties surrounding recruiting and involving local representatives in partnerships.

Within County Durham I found that many of the organisations within the case study areas believe that they are representative of the local population. In the Dene Valley Keith Hodgson, a Parish Councillor, described the members of the Parish Council as representative of the community as despite becoming involved in the Council he claimed they are quite apathetic themselves. People who are not involved in the organisations may argue that they are not representative particularly if the organisation is involved in activities that they do not support. There are some organisations which argue that they are not (and could not be) representative of the local population. These organisations claim that they have legitimacy to act because they are the people who are prepared to get involved. They argue that if people disagree with what they are doing they should be willing to get involved, or at least

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[23] I discussed the issues surrounding the definition and construction of community in detail in Chapter Two and earlier in this chapter (section 5.3).

put their views forward in consultations. The people who are actively involved in a settlement (or interest group) may have different opinions to those who are not participating. Although attempts may be made, reaching the views of people who are not usually involved, is extremely difficult and may be practically impossible.

The particular issue that is being addressed by development/regeneration work may have an influence on who within a particular area becomes involved, as people have different interests and concerns. Paul Mitchell, LEADER+ Programme Co-ordinator (for the area including Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale) described in interview how there can be a difference in rural areas between the activities in which members of the indigenous population and incomers to the area are interested and become involved. Incomers are more likely to be active in strategic issues and programmes than members of the indigenous population who are more likely to participate when they can see that an issue directly affects their own lives. It cannot, however, be argued that there is an absolute distinction between the types of activities or organisations in which incomers and members of the indigenous population will become involved. A number of local organisations within Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale, for example, consist of members of both sections of the population. When organisations do involve mostly incomers they are sometimes charged with not representing the views of the indigenous population. There appeared to be more concern about the representativeness of local organisations in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale compared to the other case study areas and this may be owing to active socially entrepreneurial immigrants in the area and people more readily classifying themselves as incomers or locals.[24] As with other divisions that could be drawn within a population, if an organisation or initiative is dominated by a particular group of people such as incomers the views of others may be hidden or not have as much influence.

Some practitioners, who operate in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale, argue that as local organisations have become more established and professional and their voices are increasingly heard they claim to represent everyone in their area.

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[24] There are socially entrepreneurial immigrants in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale who are very active in local organisations. However, as I have already discussed (section 5.4) not everyone in the area lives up to the stereotype of being empowered activists.

When this occurs other people start to argue that the organisation does not represent their interests.   Middleton Plus is a well established and professional local development trust, which has been accused of not being representative of the local population.   The trust was awarded funding from LEADER+ in 2002 and in recognition of concerns about representativeness a condition of the funding was that they "do whatever [they] can to engage more of the community" (Interview: Paul Mitchell, LEADER+ Programme Co-ordinator).

During my research I found that it is often the same few people who are involved in many different local organisations or in representing their area (or interest group). These people are often referred to as the usual suspects by development/regeneration practitioners. Within strategic level work it is usually these same active people who become involved. The motive behind the involvement of some local representatives in strategic level work is questioned by some people. Members of residents' or interest groups may want to become involved in strategic level activity as they wish to put forward their views and want to have the opportunity to shape strategic policy. A different motivation for becoming involved can be seeking to gain advantage, particularly in terms of funding, for the representative's particular organisation, area or interest group.

As I have already discussed many members of the public are not involved in development/regeneration work. Government policy discourse suggests moves to widen engagement and get beyond the usual suspects (see, for example, DETR, 2001a; 2001b), but so far, at least within the context of County Durham, this largely appears to be rhetoric rather than reality. The process of engaging people takes time and community development activity may be necessary, but this is not always allowed for in programmes/initiatives, or at least not adequately. Criteria laid down by the Government and other funders may mean that organisations have to engage local people within very short timescales. In County Durham the Local Strategic Partnerships that qualify for Neighbourhood Renewal funding were required to have demonstrable community involvement in order to receive their funding. Peter Hanley OBE, Head of Local Strategic Partnerships Team (Durham and Tees Valley), Government Office for the North East described, in interview, how having

to engage the community quickly affected how the Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) developed:

> "... it was chicken and egg - we invented the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund [NRF] and we said that in the first year which was 2001/2 [those authorities with Neighbourhood Renewal funding had to develop Local Strategic Partnerships quickly] ... But obviously because it was the first year we also said well if you're struggling the main thing is to at least show that you've consulted with key partners. So the first year was a bit of an interim year. ... From our perspective we were quite anxious to get LSPs up and running and what we were saying was, well you know who all your key members will be, you must have some existing structures of community, even if the community network hasn't formed ... bring in those people as an interim measure as community representatives on the LSP in the knowledge that at some later date the community network will form ... It wasn't perfect. The main problem was that the LSP and NRF guidance came out first and was followed, somewhat belatedly, by the community empowerment provisions. In the perfect world community networks should have been established and ... empowered, brought up to speed and then the LSP process brought on stream, but ... it didn't happen like that so we just had to live with it"

Ideally community networks were to be developed underneath the Local Strategic Partnerships with representatives of the networks sitting on the main Local Strategic Partnership boards, but there was not enough time to set these up properly during the first year. The Government has provided funds (as detailed in Chapter Three section 3.5.1.1) to support the development of community involvement in the Local Strategic Partnerships, but this funding came too late in the process to be effective in the first year. Practitioners argue that such funding was necessary many months if not years before Local Strategic Partnerships were to begin operating.[25] The lack of time and resources to establish the involvement of residents and members of interest groups meant that District Councils who were leading on the development of Local Strategic Partnerships in County Durham had to ask the usual suspects to become involved and were encouraged to do this by Government officers. So the Local Strategic Partnerships were able to start work and be accredited by Government Office for the North East as local people's involvement was only developing. It has taken time for the networks to be designed and start work. The membership of the

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[25] Areas that do not qualify for Neighbourhood Renewal funding including the specific funding to support community involvement report that they are struggling to establish their Local Strategic Partnerships.

networks has altered and they are now comprised of representatives from different geographical areas and interest groups. The time it took to achieve the involvement of local people in the Local Strategic Partnerships means that the current representatives may not be the same as those who were involved early on.[26] The representatives who are involved only later in the process can feel as if the decisions have already been made and they have not had an opportunity to really influence what is happening.

Councillors are involved in Local Strategic Partnerships (and other partnerships at both local and strategic levels), but their position as representatives of an area's population is increasingly questioned. When I asked Kate Welch, Manager, Easington Action Team for Jobs, in interview, about community involvement in economic development/regeneration she commented:

> "One of the problems has been that the community, for want of a better word, has often been represented by the local councillors ... and that's not always a community voice"

Although councillors have been democratically elected it is argued by many people that councillors cannot be considered to be representative of local people. Particularly within the former coalmining areas it is often a certain type of person (male, middle-aged or older, often ex-miner) who will stand for election. Councillors' representativeness is also challenged by the low turnouts for voting in Council elections. Councillors are often active members in local partnerships in the case study areas, but a number of them reported mainly acting in a personal capacity. Although they do act as a conduit between the Council and local partnerships when necessary most of the time they claimed to be involved only as a local resident. Often councillors do not use their titles within the partnerships as funders wish to support activity which is led by people who are not councillors.

At a strategic level councillors are often involved alongside other local representatives. With recognition of the many different communities that exist

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[26] Additionally, as the direction to create Local Strategic Partnerships came down from Government practitioners will have started early work on developing the Local Strategic Partnerships without any community involvement.

within an area there is a desire to include people from communities of interest and perhaps representatives from smaller geographical communities. As I have already discussed, the people who become involved are frequently the usual suspects and just as there are concerns about the representativeness of councillors these people may be felt to be unrepresentative. There is a further issue, however, which Peter Richards, Executive Director, Groundwork East Durham, highlighted in interview:

> "… what you end up [with is] people who have an opinion, but they are absolutely not representative of the people who they are meant to be representing. They are unelected, unaccountable community activists who have their own particular idea about what should happen in their own settlement"

Accountability is a concern for some practitioners who are seeking to engage residents and members of interest groups. In a partnership some partners may be more accountable than others. Councillors are accountable to the electorate and if people are unhappy with their decisions they may not be re-elected. Although other local representatives may be voted into positions within their organisations this is not the same. Practitioners claim that accountability needs to be given further consideration and the situation needs to be managed as members of the public are increasingly incorporated into development/regeneration work.

There can be tensions and conflict between councillors and other local representatives. Councillors sometimes feel that their position is being threatened. As people are being asked to play a larger role in governing questions are being asked about what this means for local democracy:

> "… with the … increase in emphasis on community involvement and partnerships forming … decisions are no longer just being made by elected Members, they're being made by local partnerships … getting together … It's changing the way democracy's working and with the LSPs [Local Strategic Partnerships] … it's even more so … local people [are] getting involved in being representatives on LSPs. There's been a lot of … debate and the talk's still going on about … what does this mean for local democracy … having community representatives taking part in decision-making in addition to local elected Members?"
>
> <div align="right">Liz Charles
Community Support Officer
Durham County Council</div>

It is argued that there is a need for a balance between representative and participative democracy. As my findings show, however, few people are willing to become involved in local activity. Additionally, as I noted earlier, although emphasis is placed on community involvement in policy discourse and more people appear to be involved in governing, whether there has been a change in the balance of power needs to be considered in debates concerning a shift from government to governance. Government, as I detailed above, influences who is taking part in decision-making on behalf of the community (which local people are involved).

5.6   MULTI-INVOLVEMENT AND MULTIPLE POSITIONALITIES

The desire to increase the number of people who are involved in local activity and get past the usual suspects is not only driven by concerns about representativeness, but also to try and reduce the workload of activists. Whatever the motivation behind it, as I have discussed, widening participation is difficult for a number of reasons. The multiple involvement of certain people, or the usual suspects, in organisations can deter other people from becoming involved. Organisations may appear cliquey or exclusive to those who are on the outside. Being involved in many different organisations puts a lot of pressure on people's time; there are meetings and events to attend, papers to read and other work associated with implementing projects/initiatives to do. Within County Durham there are local activists who are concerned about the amount of time they devote to voluntary work and some people have reduced the number of organisations they are involved in. People are sometimes deterred from becoming involved in more organisations/activity. If people are over committed they have less time to give to each role/organisation and this can affect the operation of organisations and may be particularly problematic at times of crisis or when a lot of work is necessary in order to achieve success.

Rather than being worried about time pressure, in County Durham I found that people who are involved in different organisations, or who have a number of different roles associated with activity in a particular area, are more often concerned, or concerned to a greater degree, about how they manage their multiple positionalities. If the organisations an individual is involved in are rivals, in terms of the activities they are undertaking or owing to local politics, or clashes of

personalities between other people involved it can be very tricky. There may be conflicts of interest, which need to be declared. Councillors may be in particularly difficult positions. I noted in the previous section how councillors undertake their formal role, but also often act in a personal capacity within local organisations as funders may look more favourably on applications involving people who are not councillors. It is not only councillors who may face conflicts of interest. As well as people who have problems as they are involved in different residents' and interest groups, members of the private sector can be challenged on their involvement in development/regeneration activity. They may be accused of participating in order to further their own business (see also section 5.8.5). There are also issues surrounding people who are employed as practitioners within the development/regeneration field (see below). Although there are individuals who have multiple positionalities in this sense in all of my case study areas, in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale juggling different positions seems to be a bigger problem. This may be because in the other case study areas there is conflict and rivalry between organisations, but it appears to mainly to simmer in the background. In Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale some organisations are particularly vociferous, rivalry appears stronger and people seem to feel regularly compromised by their multiple positionalties.

Within County Durham I found that there are a number of development/regeneration practitioners who are involved in activity in a personal as well as a professional capacity. Practitioners are engaging in development/regeneration activity in their capacity as a local resident, or member of an interest group and this appears to be very significant in respect of notions of changes in governing. Practitioners have certain skills which other people may not have, for example in how to write funding applications, or to meet the requirements of funders, and these can be used to the benefit of local organisations they are involved in. They can also contribute knowledge or information from their day job that the organisations would not have available to them, or so readily available. The added expertise from practitioners within organisations can be central to success. Whilst I had expected socially entrepreneurial immigrants in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale to be playing a strong role in local activity, owing to the area's stereotype, I had not given consideration to the contribution practitioners may make within their own

settlement, district or interest group.[27]   My research showed that practitioners were acting in a personal capacity in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale, but also the more deprived ex-mining areas.

Although practitioners were contributing to local activity in all of the case study areas the actions of District Council officers in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale were apparently unique.   Teesdale District Council is a small authority with limited resources (both staff and financial) and often rather than undertaking activity itself it has had to operate as an enabler, working with other agencies and, significantly, local (often voluntary) groups in order to get things done (Interview: Tony Seaman, Director of Development Services, Teesdale District Council). Council officers, acting in their formal Council role, have encouraged members of the public to become involved in and undertake development/regeneration work and supported and stimulated the development of local partnerships.   They have also taken this a step further and contributed to this work as volunteers in their own time, which can be described as 'going native' and acting as local animateurs.   Tony Seaman, Director of Development Services, Teesdale District Council, has been central to this work.   He became involved in Middleton Plus through his Council role providing support, for example in putting funding bids together.   The organisation wanted someone from the Council to join and Tony Seaman became involved as an officer, but also as an individual.[28]   Middleton Plus is a charity and company and as a director and trustee his allegiance has to first be to Middleton Plus.   The skills he has from his role within the Council can be used to the benefit of Middleton Plus (and other local organisations):

> "I am brought in ... to chair meetings like ... the Middleton Plus sub-
> group that was set up to run the design of the Heritage Centre because
> there were a number of interested groups and ideas. I suppose it was
> useful to use me as a local authority person with that sort of area of
> expertise to chair a meeting. Again that is a skill that I can bring in
> perhaps to run things and stop things getting out of control. ... I must
> admit I do find the relationship difficult at times ... and feel close to

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[27] People employed in other professions also contribute important skills and expertise, but I am concentrating on development/regeneration practitioners owing to the significance this has for ideas around governing as I will discuss in more detail below.

[28] Tony Seaman commented, in interview, that it is important to have democratic accountability and so as with other similar organisations where Council officers are involved, an elected member is also involved.

saying I am going to pack it in, if I see them going down a particular avenue and route that I am not happy with. ... But it is probably better to stay on board and to try and influence people from within than from without"

<div align="right">

Tony Seaman
Director of Development Services
Teesdale District Council
Middleton Plus Management Committee[29]

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Managing the different positions is tricky, particularly when there is discord between the organisation and the Council or conflicts of interest arise. Other practitioners in the County argue that this kind of involvement by Council officers in local activity cannot be considered as a model which can be replicated in other areas. It is only believed to be possible in Teesdale as it is a small authority with a budget smaller than some Town Councils in County Durham and the issues being tackled are not as severe as in other places (Interview: John Ashby, Head of Economic Strategy, Durham County Council). It also could not be done without the dedication of the practitioners who have to give up their own time and be willing to try to juggle their positions.

On the management committee of Middleton Plus there are other local residents in addition to Tony Seaman who are involved in development/regeneration activity professionally. Bishop Auckland College is involved in Middleton Plus, the principal who is a local resident is the vice chairperson of Middleton Plus and through her College role is also a member of the County Durham Economic Partnership Executive Group. People who are involved in development/regeneration organisations/partnerships professionally have access to information which they may be able to transfer to local level organisations. Keith Hodgson is a Senior Development Executive at ONE NorthEast who is also a Parish Councillor in the Dene Valley. He is allowed this political involvement as the organisations are working at such different scales and there is no perceived conflict of interest (Keith Hodgson has not become involved in some other local activity in case conflicts of interest arise). When I initially asked Keith Hodgson, in interview, whether his job

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[29] It should be noted that since conducting this interview Tony Seaman has resigned as a member of Middleton Plus and some time after leaving Middleton Plus also retired from the Council.

helps him in his Parish Council role he said that he did not think so, but then went on to acknowledge that information he receives through work can help the Council:

> "... I'm aware of other initiatives that local organisations are involved in, so I may be able to say ... 'This takes place in Murton, why can't we do it?' So I've got probably a benefit in that I can access information, as a result of working for the Agency, yes ... also, I get to find out more about funding regimes. The Countryside Agency's Vital Villages [Programme] I was aware of that before anyone else at the Parish Council. So when things like that come up I can pass them onto the Parish Council"

Practitioners who are involved in local organisations completely independently of their job are often (although not always) more comfortable with their multiple positionalities and this is probably because the boundaries of their positions are less messy. It is easier to manage if practitioners are not acting professionally and personally in the same organisation, area or interest group. Some people find their multiple positionalities to be useful with experiences in different organisations and at different scales (village, district, county or regional) informing their understanding and opinions and influencing their activities. For reasons of accountability practitioners in certain jobs may be restricted from participating in development/regeneration in a personal capacity (particularly if it is in the same geographical area or field of interest as their employer operates). Some practitioners wish to become volunteers when they have retired, are free of any restrictions, or concerns about conflicts of interest, and have more available time.

My findings from County Durham suggest that further consideration needs to be given to ideas around governance and how it differs from government. Notions of governance imply that new actors are involved in governing. In County Durham local people are involved in development/regeneration activity, they are playing a part in governing, however, a number of the active residents are practitioners, they also have a role in government. The boundaries between people's different roles, between the different sectors involved in governance can be fuzzy. The example from Teesdale in particular suggests a blurring of state and civil society boundaries. People who have personal government contacts and inside information can be particularly influential in the work of local organisations. The same people are

active and powerful under governance as under government. In effect the same old powerful interests may just be wearing different hats.

5.7   INTEGRATING ECONOMIC AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The notion of integrating economic and community development can be interpreted in different ways owing to the contested definitions of economic and community development.[30] First, integration can refer to bringing together the different strands of development work, community development defined as activity including confidence building, and developing skills and/or local organisations and economic development defined as job creation or perhaps slightly wider activity. Second, integration may refer to bringing together different actors/organisations who are undertaking development work. Community development is sometimes defined as activity which is undertaken by residents and members of interest groups. In this way integration may refer to bringing together top-down (agency-led) and bottom-up (local people led) efforts.

Ideas around integration in terms of bringing together different strands of development activity are complicated by the increasingly broad definitions of economic and community development. In many cases it is difficult to define activity as economic or community development. The blurred definitions imply that there is already some integration and is related to the growing recognition that development should be a holistic process. Although there is a blurring some people do retain distinct definitions and the activities are often undertaken by different organisations, or are the responsibility of different departments and practitioners. There is a spectrum of views within County Durham as to the necessary relationship between economic and community development; whether one form of development is required in order for the other to be successful and whether they should be tackled at the same time, or if there is a particular order in which the activities should be undertaken - how they should fit together.

Some people, often community development practitioners, believe that development work has to be undertaken in order to equip people with skills to become involved

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[30] I discussed the different definitions of economic and community development in section 5.2.

in, or benefit from, wider development/regeneration activity, including economic development. This community development work may involve a variety of activity and can be considered to be different levels or stages. Confidence building may be believed to be necessary in order to raise aspirations and encourage people to become engaged in training or employment. Regeneration work often focuses on environmental improvements in the first stages as these visible changes improve people's quality of life and demonstrate that things can change. Following such work there may be more involvement from local residents and consequent success with initiatives with an economic focus as people believe it is worthwhile getting involved. Capacity building is a contentious area of work and some economic development professionals in particular are sceptical about its value. They believe that too much time can be spent doing preparatory work in places.

Other people believe that community development has to take place at the same time as, or in parallel with, economic development work, otherwise the empowered people will be disillusioned by a lack of economic opportunities, or they will be unable to benefit from economic development activity. Developing skills may involve training people for certain types of employment to enable them to benefit from job creation activity in the area, something which economic development has been criticised for not including, or considering, in the past. Recognising the importance of skills development is part of the increasingly people focused approach to economic development. There are also people who believe that economic development has to be undertaken, or at least started, before community development work. They argue that the economy has to be working in order for community development to be possible. This may refer to the need for job opportunities to be available to people in order for them to become interested in taking part in community development activity to improve their confidence or skills, or that the economic situation in an area has to improve before people will become involved in local activity.

There may be differences of opinion as to exactly how economic and community development should be undertaken in relation to each other, but it is now commonly agreed that in order to tackle economic problems other issues such as health and crime concerns have to be considered. In the past different strands of development

have been undertaken completely independently and the failure of previous attempts at development is now driving the desire for an integrated approach:

> "I think the stimulus has come from recognition over ... twenty years of regeneration activity that partial solutions don't work, or they only work partially. ... A lot of ... [previous work] was property led ... a lot of it initially and ... what we recognised, we still had major economic and social problems in some of our communities, and of course the position is changing constantly, ... it doesn't stay still, the economic and social climate changes, and we have ... multiple deprivation in some of these areas and they can only be tackled by tackling at the heart of the economic, social, health, educational problems within those communities, and that's not going to happen overnight either, ... you've got to get in there and try to tackle them, and ... that's why I think the basic objectives of what the [County Durham] Economic Strategy and what the Sub-Regional Strategies are trying to do, the focus on things like educational skills, are right. I think if we don't ... improve skills and education then people within these communities are always going to find it a struggle to get employment"
>
> Jim Darlington
> Director of Planning, Environment and Transport
> Government Office for the North East

The interconnectedness of problems is increasingly recognised. It is understood that in order to tackle certain problems, wider issues need to be addressed; for example, is skills development work necessary to ensure the success of job creation activity, or do childcare and/or transport need to be provided to allow people to take up training opportunities? The blurring of different strands of development activity and desire for an integrated approach to development/regeneration has engendered a need for joined-up working. Joining up refers both to pulling different strands of development activity together and to bringing the different actors and agencies involved in development together. Joined-up working can be can be associated with the rise of partnership working - partnerships involving agencies from different sectors (public, private, voluntary and community) and individual members of the public and(/or) undertaking activity which covers different aspects of development.[31]

Although there is a desire for joined-up working there can be problems which prevent it from taking place, or which mean that development activity is not

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[31] I discuss the rise of partnership working and issues related to working in partnership below (see section 5.8)

integrated as effectively as it might be. Economic and community development activity have not been integrated within the way that Durham County Council operates owing to the structure of the organisation:

> "Is there a joined-up nature in terms of front line delivery? ... No, there can't be, as long as we're organised in separate departments ... I'm only talking about the County Council so far, if you factor in the other things to do with economic regeneration, the other major partners, the District Councils, the health service, which is a major employer in our County, and some of the big private sector providers, then it becomes even more complex because you're factoring in more variables every time and the individual priorities which those public or private sector organisations have, and those do vary from time to time"
>
> Neil Charlton
> Deputy Director of Education
> Durham County Council
> Chair of Learning and Skills Working Group
> County Durham Economic Partnership

Different County Council departments have their own concerns and priorities. As Neil Charlton describes when other organisations are involved in partnership working they also have their own priorities and, significantly, aims and targets they have to meet which may be out of their direct control. Organisations, departments and practitioners are working within their own remits and constraints and this impedes joined-up delivery. This is not only applicable to delivery as joined-up policy and strategy-making is also affected by the concerns of different departments/organisations. Additionally, from a governance perspective when issues are interconnected and being tackled by different departments and/or organisations there can be a blurring of responsibility with regards to who has to deliver certain aspects of the work and there is the potential for scapegoating.

The County Durham Economic Partnership has responsibility for the economic well-being of the County. Whilst the majority of the Partnership's members recognise the importance of community development or social development work to achieving their economic aspirations they do not all believe that it is within the remit of the Partnership to undertake or fund such work. One of the restrictions on the Partnership becoming involved in community development activity is the requirements of funders. Funders have a significant influence on the types of

development/regeneration activity that can occur. Different funders support particular types of development/regeneration activity and set aims and targets which have to be met by organisations/partnerships that apply for funding. The performance of the organisations/partnerships in receipt of the funding is monitored in order to ensure that the targets are met. From a governmentality perspective targets can be interpreted as managerial technologies of government. Targets are employed by government so it can control the activities of distant agencies, their utility being that they are attached to funding and organisations have to seek out funding for their work (MacKinnon, 2000).

Established by Government, the Regional Development Agencies are major sources of funding for development/regeneration work in England. Each Agency produces a Regional Economic Strategy which must be approved by Government in order to receive its funding. The Agencies have to meet targets set by Government. In the North East of England the Regional Development Agency, ONE NorthEast has also established Sub-Regional Partnerships, of which the County Durham Economic Partnership is one.[32] The Sub-Regional Partnerships are asked to write their own strategy demonstrating how their activities will meet the aims of the Regional Economic Strategy and enable ONE NorthEast to meet Government targets. Through the use of targets which are passed down this institutional hierarchy Government is able to control the development/regeneration activity from the centre and ensure that national policy objectives are met. As targeting creates such central control the use of these managerial technologies of government is particularly interesting in terms of how it fits with the political rationality of neo-liberalism. "The logic of targeting clashes with the neo-liberal rhetoric of ... local autonomy ... [and] this can be viewed as a tension between technical and programmatic aspects of government" (MacKinnon, 2000: p308).[33]

In its early days ONE NorthEast was seen as a bridge between economic and community development. However, the focus of the Agency tightened when the Government set economic targets. Further to this, as I noted in Chapter Three,

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[32] I discuss Regional Development Agencies and the Sub-Regional Partnerships in Chapter Three (section 3.5.2.1).
[33] Sometimes agencies may have a certain amount of influence over the level/detail of targets (see MacKinnon, 2000), but I have not researched this in the County Durham context.

following the June 2001 general election the Regional Development Agencies were taken under the control of the Department of Trade and Industry. This was a move which a number of people believed would spell the end of community development activity being funded by the Agencies. Following these changes some practitioners in County Durham have detected a change in the types of activity ONE NorthEast are willing to support, but others argue that there has been no change. ONE NorthEast has to meet the targets set by Government, but practitioners at the regional and sub-regional level are not passive within this process and by presenting activity in certain ways they can fund activity which may appear to be outside of the Agency's remit:

> "As ever there are tensions and difficulties in that a number of initiatives that the community might want to see happening don't readily lend themselves to delivering hard economic outputs. The trick there is to articulate the outputs that those important projects do deliver, in such a way as we can demonstrate, in the longer term, that economic outputs can be delivered. It might not necessarily immediately hit the core Tier 3 outputs, but in the longer term hopefully they will lead to economic development improvement" [34]
>
> Rick Martin
> Community Manager (South)
> ONE NorthEast

Government's targets are translated by practitioners in order to fit development/regeneration activity which is seen as locally important/necessary. Community development activity which can be shown to have future economic benefit can, therefore, be funded by ONE NorthEast. This suggests that the central control Government exerts through the employment of targets can be resisted at the local level. The operation of governmental technologies may not be smooth. Such resistance is not adequately addressed within the governmentality literature. Neo-Foucauldian approaches place too much emphasis on "the coherence and effectiveness of political projects" (MacKinnon, 2000: p309).

The development/regeneration work undertaken further down the institutional hierarchy within local organisations is also affected by the availability of funding

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[34] Tier 3 targets are part of a three tier performance monitoring framework, established by Government and used to measure the economic performance of regions. The Regional Development Agencies' funding is tied to this framework (see ONE, 2002b).

and requirements of funders. Within Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale much of the work Middleton Plus has recently been involved in has been focused around tourism. There has been conflict within the local area as other residents argue that more work should be done to provide facilities for people who live in the Dale rather than visitors. Whilst tourism is not the only area of activity members of Middleton Plus wish to be involved in the temporary focus has been driven by where the money is. As I have already highlighted, the bureaucracy within the funding system and necessity to meet targets can hinder and deter members of the public undertaking development/regeneration activity (section 5.5.2). These findings further demonstrate a contradiction between the apparent desire for local people to be playing a stronger role within governing and the technologies employed by government.

Development/regeneration activity led by residents and interest groups may be limited as there may be more money available for certain areas of work such as tourism. Local organisations are, however, able to negotiate their way through the funding system in order to get backing for certain projects. Again, presentation is key and not only terms of how they demonstrate future project outcomes. Organisations often have to apply for money from a number of funders and they may emphasise different aspects of projects within the applications in order to demonstrate how their work meets the aims of funders:

> "... we have expertise in actually going ... to obtain funding from different bodies, and you have to appeal to them in different ways ... the motives of each funding body, each funding pocket, pot, might be different and so you've got to appeal to those motives. So we can have one project which you'd go to one particular body and say 'Well this ... will regenerate tourism' but that same project if you were going to another funding body you'd pick on another aspect of the project"
>
> Bill Oldfield
> Chairman
> Teesdale Marketing

Strategic level organisations also have to apply to different funders for projects. Although in some ways this increases their workload (a particular issue for small strategic and local organisations) it can be helpful. At a local and strategic level, programmes of development/regeneration activity - such as the Settlement Renewal

Initiatives in Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley - may be devised in order to allow the holistic approach believed to be necessary. Funding for individual aspects of the work may, however, be sourced from different organisations.

Within County Durham a new countywide strategic partnership has been developing - the County Durham Strategic Partnership (CDSP) - which will provide a steer for all aspects of regeneration or well-being. The formation of the Partnership brings the opportunity to take a holistic approach to development/regeneration - allowing the integration of economic and community development. When I talked to Kevin Donkin, Senior Economic Development Officer, Durham County Council, about the Council's economic and community development activity he commented:

> "In the past [economic and community development were working quite separately] ... because the whole thing evolved you know nobody sat down and worked out an ideal process, it all just grew incrementally, and it's only now that we've got this opportunity to take stock and put things onto a more rational sort of basis and you know the new agenda that the ... Government has set for local authorities has really informed that process, it's given us the responsibilities, the powers as well to pursue that. ... The ability to [integrate economic and community development] ... has been given to us from a higher level. I think it's something we would have always liked to have done, but there wasn't always a legislative framework for it. It was the 2000 Local Government Act that really provided us with the, not just the stimulus, but the authority to create this all encompassing partnership"

A new power to promote economic, social and environmental well-being in their areas was given to local councils in the 2000 Local Government Act. Councils are also required to work with local partners to produce a community strategy. Within County Durham there is a new framework of partnerships to undertake this work. Local Strategic Partnerships have been forming within the Districts and at the county (sub-regional) level there is the development of the County Durham Strategic Partnership. Significantly, through the Local Strategic Partnership local residents and members of interest groups are involved in strategic policy-making.[35] There are four thematic partnerships which lead on different areas of work for the County Durham Strategic Partnership, the County Durham Economic Partnership being one

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[35] Although I should refer back here to the criticism I have already made with regard to the involvement of local people in Local Strategic Partnerships (section 5.5.3).

of these (the others are the County Durham Environment Partnership, the Strategic Partnership for Education and Lifelong Learning, the County Durham Strong, Healthy and Safe Communities Partnership). The County Durham Strategic Partnership is only just evolving and the extent to which a holistic approach can truly be taken to well-being (including development/regeneration) will depend on how the partnerships work together. The County Durham Strategic Partnership may provide a strategic steer, but responsibility for delivery and much of the decision-making falls to the different partnerships. Some of the Partnerships had strategies in place before the County Durham Strategic Partnership was formed and they each have their own sources of funding (which have their own requirements/conditions). Within each partnership the members also have their own priorities and concerns which will influence activity. The responsibility for economic and community development largely rests with different partnerships and how well they are integrated will depend on the operation of the County Durham Strategic Partnership. There is a need for future examination and consideration of the working of the County Durham Strategic Partnership as although the work is being undertaken in a structure of partnerships, rather than independently working organisations, there is the potential for a new kind of silo working to develop. The County Durham Strategic Partnership has produced a vision document (CDSP, 2003).

Rather than referring to different strands of development activity, as I noted earlier, integrating economic and community development may also be interpreted as pulling together the efforts of agencies and local people; integrating top-down and bottom-up development activity. As I have discussed, members of the public are increasingly being asked to play a role in development/regeneration. There are numerous opinions as to what this role can and should be. A big issue is how much influence lay people should have on strategic level activity and practitioners at a strategic level have on local level activity. Some people believe that local residents should lead on the development/regeneration activity that occurs within their areas, although there are problems associated with encouraging involvement and people having the necessary skills for the work. There is the question of how the desires of people within an area and any activity they are undertaking fits with the decisions being taken and work being undertaken at a strategic level. People are being asked to take part in strategic level decision-making and deliver some of the work in their

area. Notions of community involvement open up issues surrounding the definition of community, problems of representativeness and the obstacles people may face when participating in strategic work. Local people are increasingly working with public sector agencies and the private sector in partnerships. Working in partnership is a mechanism for bringing together the different actors and different strands of activity which can both be associated with the integration of economic and community development.

5.8 PARTNERSHIP

5.8.1 Partnership working: history and recent emphasis

As I discussed in Chapter Two, it can be argued that the shift to partnership working is symptomatic of the rise of governance. There is a plethora of partnerships within County Durham operating at different levels from those which are village partnerships, to district- and county-wide partnerships, some of which have a role as a sub-regional body (such as the County Durham Economic Partnership). Just about every organisation which is engaging in economic and community development or regeneration activity is working in partnership. Partnership working has become, almost without question, the only way in which to work. The emergence of partnership working is not, however, universally agreed upon.

Some practitioners argue that they have always worked in partnership:

> "Partnership working has been around since Adam was a lad - it's the way we've always worked; it's not new"
>
> Peter Hanley OBE
> Head of Local Strategic Partnerships Team (Durham and Tees Valley)
> Government Office for the North East

Other practitioners argue that partnership working is a more recent phenomenon. The emergence of partnership working arguably occurred under the Thatcher Government in the early 1980s when people in the region realised that the private sector needed to be involved alongside the public sector in development/regeneration:

> "Maggie [Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher] ... in the early '80s said ... look after yourself basically ... and I think the region began to recognise that ... it was a government that wasn't necessarily going to come and help them and I think there was beginning to come together some elements of partnership ... activity. ... At the regional level we got ... people coming together to pull together packages for inward investment, which turned out to be very successful, in that area. You can look back and say that the partnerships formed between the private and public sector back in the '80s, which paid real dividends"
>
> Jim Darlington
> Director of Planning, Environment and Transport
> Government Office for the North East

These were early public-private partnerships. However, it is in the last five to seven years that the real buzz around partnership working has developed. Partnerships are no longer just between the public and private sector the significant difference is the involvement of local people. Residents and members of interest groups are involved in strategic and local level partnerships. The new place for members of the public (communities) in partnerships can be associated with the emphasis being placed on local people's involvement in governing and the apparent shift in governmentality to governing through community. Employing a governmentality perspective partnerships can be interpreted as technologies of government used in order to stimulate local people's involvement in governing and arguably share governmental responsibilities.[36] Working in partnership is often a condition of funding. Such a requirement for partnership working enables government to fuel the development of partnerships. Following this government can influence the activities of partnerships from a distance. One example is the development of Local Strategic Partnerships which need to be in place before an area can receive Neighbourhood Renewal funding and like many partnerships there must be demonstrable community involvement (although as I have discussed this involvement can be questioned). Local partnerships are being formed in various ways. Some partnerships are established as a result of agency intervention, for example Settlement Renewal Initiatives.[37] Bob Hope, Director of Regeneration, Wear Valley District Council,

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[36] I discuss the interpretation of partnership as a technology of government in Chapter Two. Based on my findings from County Durham in Chapter Five I have already critically examined the notion that there has been a shift in governmentality and whether government is seeking to share its responsibilities.

[37] The Settlement Renewal Initiatives and associated partnerships are detailed in Chapter Four.

described, in interview, the development of the Dene Valley Community Partnership which was part of the Settlement Renewal Initiative:

> "The partnership was, as I said, at the early stage very much agency dominated in order to get the thing established, but in the five years the partnership became and the projects became more community-based ... when the formal SRI [Settlement Renewal Initiative] partnership was dissolved, the Council were content enough to suggest that, and recommend that, the Community Partnership which had sprung up almost alongside the formal partnership was the formal mechanism to continue the regeneration process forward ... quite clearly they have taken over, which is ideal"

It is often intended for partnerships initiated by agencies to continue development/regeneration work in the area when the intense agency work and support ceases. In Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley the partnerships developed during the Settlement Renewal Initiatives have persisted. However, as I have already noted in the case of Wingate/Station Town where the Settlement Renewal Initiative ceased several years ago the partnership has dwindled in membership. Without the same level of agency support it is unable to do as much work. As I noted earlier, within Teesdale partnerships are being stimulated by the District Council. These may not be associated with specific funding, but the Council wishes to encourage local residents and interest groups to form partnerships in order to achieve development/regeneration aspirations. Local partnerships are also developing as individual organisations (residents' and interest groups) recognise that by joining together to work in partnership they have a stronger chance of receiving funding for their activities.

Partnership working has increased recently within County Durham, but some people argue that this method of working was occurring in the County before it became so widely significant. The socio-economic history of the County lies behind its early adoption of partnership working. Task forces, an example of partnership working, were created in response to the mass unemployment occurring in one industry towns. The severity of the problems spurred people into action. The breadth of issues demanded that organisations with their different remits and expertise came together so, for example, skills needs could be tackled and new industry attracted to the areas. It was important to ensure everyone was working to a common strategy.

Kevin Donkin, Senior Economic Development Officer, Durham County Council, described, in interview, how partnership working is not new to the County:

> "We were doing this before it became the only [laughs] the only show in town as it were. A lot of these processes, we established models which have been adopted regionally, certainly, nationally in some cases. If you look at the Sub-Regional Partnership model that is something ONE NorthEast just took Durham County Council's approach and called it their own and sold it to the other sub-regional areas. We were doing this a decade ago and some of the earliest partnerships in the country were set up, the Consett Task Force, or Derwentside Task Force, set up in the wake of the closure of Consett steelworks, that was one of the first partnerships in the country"

The early experience of partnership working and processes which have been established in County Durham have been drawn on by agencies and transferred to other areas. The Sub-Regional Partnership model used by ONE NorthEast was based on the already existing County Durham Economic (Development) Partnership. Partnership models have also been transferred within the County. Wear Valley District Council have used the development of the Dene Valley Community Partnership as a model for creating partnerships throughout the District. The success of some of the more recent partnerships in the County can be at least partly attributed to previous experience (see section 5.8.4).

5.8.2 *Number of partnerships*

There has been a large increase in the number of partnerships in County Durham owing to the emphasis placed on partnership working. As different funding streams and Government programmes have required it new partnerships have been formed. The proliferation of partnerships is problematic for practitioners working in development/regeneration as the amount of time they devote to partnership work has spiralled and they start to suffer from partnership fatigue. On many occasions the same practitioners are sat around a partnership table discussing the same projects as they have done previously the only difference being that the partnership has a different name and is concerned with a different funding stream. Within partnerships, particularly those operating at a strategic level, there is often a hierarchy of working groups and sub-groups which feed into a main partnership board. Whilst this may allow people with a particular interest or specialism to

discuss certain thematic or geographical issues and may mean that people who are not concerned with a particular issue do not have to be involved it can mean that people and organisations are donating more time and resources to partnership working. There is a concern amongst many people to reduce the number of partnerships and associated working groups to try to avoid duplication of effort. Within County Durham there have been moves to rationalise partnership working, by merging some of the working groups. The County Durham Economic Partnership learning and skills working group has, for example, merged with other County Durham learning and skills partnership groups. Streams of funding which are the responsibility of different partnerships are discussed together in the one working group. In addition to reducing the number of meetings this also facilitates decision-making on projects which require funding from different sources. Whilst further down the hierarchy in the County Durham Economic Partnership changes have been made to groups there has been a need to introduce a new Executive Group to the partnership. The Executive Group involves elected Members and was added for reasons of accountability as the Partnership took over responsibility for the Single Programme funding from ONE NorthEast.

The new Local Strategic Partnerships are intended to rationalise partnership working, but currently they have only really further complicated the partnership environment in County Durham. A major problem here is the relationship between partnerships and funding and that Government has initiated many of the partnerships:

> "The big dilemma in regeneration or neighbourhood renewal over recent years has been that Government itself has probably been as guilty as anyone of launching too many initiatives - there are so many different pots of money made available right across the piece by Government departments. ... A lot of those initiatives have required partnerships to form. So you've got this plethora of initiatives and plethora of partnerships and really one of the guiding principles behind LSPs [Local Strategic Partnerships] is for the LSP to, in the medium term, try and review the initiatives that it has operating in the area, the partnerships that it has operating in the area and try to rationalise them. I mean that's a very challenging task and obviously often the response is, 'Well, we can't merge with anybody because Government set us up'. ... So we're all allegedly working towards this objective of reducing partnerships and initiatives. Unfortunately it doesn't stop ministers doing their own thing.

> So you can be sitting in an LSP and somebody'll suddenly announce
> they've just been awarded some money by a Government department to
> do something and you think, 'Oh God ... how's that happened' "
>
> Peter Hanley OBE
> Head of Local Strategic Partnerships Team (Durham and Tees Valley)
> Government Office for the North East

Local Strategic Partnerships are in their early stages so it remains to be seen whether in the medium term the number of partnerships can be reduced. As new initiatives and partnerships are launched they each produce their own strategies or action plans. Within County Durham there are strategies which cover areas of varying scale from local village plans to district, county and regional strategies. Making sure all of the strategies and decisions made within the partnerships nest together and are not contradictory is of particular concern. Priorities which are determined at a district level within Local Strategic Partnerships may not fit with the countywide strategic approach which is being adopted in partnerships such as the County Durham Economic Partnership and there needs to be a way of resolving this. The creation of Sub-Regional Partnerships by ONE NorthEast creates another tier in the partnership hierarchy which does not exist in other regions. As the Local Strategic Partnerships become increasingly important their representation within county level partnerships also has to be considered. Local Strategic Partnerships are represented within the County Durham Strategic Partnership. In the County Durham Economic Partnership District Councils currently represent the Local Strategic Partnerships, but in time this may need to change. The growing number of partnerships does not only affect practitioners. The involvement of local people is increasingly expected within strategic level partnerships and this adds to the workload of the few volunteers who are willing to participate in development/regeneration work. Particularly when local partnerships are only just being formed, becoming involved in Local Strategic Partnership structures, for example, is an added strain and not something people necessarily anticipated being asked to do (Interview: Liz Charles and Craig Morgan, Community Support Officers, Durham County Council).

Partnership working is not only an approach to long term strategy making and delivery, but partnership or task forces are also created in order to tackle issues which may suddenly arise and/or target support in problematic areas. Within County Durham as I have already described early partnership working was a

response to major problems. When the Consett Task Force was created in County Durham it attracted a lot of attention and a large amount of funding from central government. Setting up a task force or partnership has, however, now become the immediate response to crises such as a large job losses. It is seen as a failure of local agencies if such action is not taken and in effect this has diluted the concept (Interview: Kevin Donkin, Senior Economic Development Officer, Durham County Council).

5.8.3 Advantages/disadvantages and tensions in partnership working

As I have already described partnerships have increased in number as they have become a condition of funding, but this way of working is commonly supported and recognised as being beneficial. Practitioners argue that partnership working is advantageous for a number of reasons. The interconnected nature of economic, social and environmental issues/problems and the consequent need for organisations to work together is now widely recognised. No one organisation can successfully undertake development/regeneration work on its own. Individual organisations do no have the remit to cover all of the necessary areas of work. In addition to partnerships which are formed to allow an approach to development covering all of the different strands of work, there are also partnerships, or sub-groups within partnerships, which are focused on certain spheres of activity such as learning and skills. By joining together organisations (and individuals) can share their knowledge, expertise and experience. They can also pool financial resources to enable larger projects and initiatives to go ahead than organisations could fund on their own. By working in partnership organisations can ensure that they are working to the same agenda and there is no duplication of effort. They can also identify and address any gaps within their work. Working in partnership produces a synergy.

It is not only public sector organisations who are involved in partnerships, but the holistic approach to development/regeneration also includes the involvement of different sectors. Members of the private and voluntary sectors and what is

commonly referred to as the community sector as well as individual members of the public are also involved.[38]

Pulling together the skills, knowledge and efforts of the different sectors is seen as crucial for successful development/regeneration. The involvement of local people is increasingly expected by government and is particularly important in development/regeneration partnerships. By involving residents and members of interest groups in partnerships agencies can draw on their local knowledge. Representatives of other sectors (particularly the public sector) also argue that it is a way of regulating the aspirations of members of the public who can gain an understanding of the development/regeneration process and see what it is possible to achieve. The engagement and support of local people is significant in the success of development/regeneration activity. Government wants people not only to be involved in decision-making processes, but also in the delivery of development/regeneration. Partnerships of local residents and interest groups are forming with and without agency intervention. The advantages of partnership working are much the same for residents and interest groups as for public sector agencies. Additionally, local organisations within an area may form partnerships because by joining together they may have a stronger voice.

Partnership working does have disadvantages and there are tensions which have to be overcome or negotiated. Every organisation has its own concerns and priorities. When working in partnership it is useful to know the agendas of the other people/organisations around the table and understand the pressures they are facing, for example the targets they have to meet. When partners realise what each other has to achieve individually working together can be more effective. Partnership working can take considerably longer than organisations working on their own and can result in delays in decision-making and delivery. The amount of effort involved and number of partnerships which exist can lead to partnership fatigue as I noted above. When partnerships operate by way of consensus negotiating cannot only take time, but activity may be affected:

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[38] I detailed the distinction between the voluntary and community sector in Chapter Two (section 2.3.1).

"I think in the spirit of compromise sometimes you run the risk of diluting what you're trying to do, to such an extent to please everybody, it becomes less effective. So a consensus partnership ... the ultimate decisions can be a bit bland"

David McKnight
Teesdale Market Towns Co-ordinator

In the process of satisfying everyone within a partnership project ideas may have to be tempered down. The agreed activity may not be as innovative or risky, for example. There can be disagreement as to where resources should go in terms of geographical areas or different strands of development. There is often parochialism in partnerships, which can affect the targeting of development/regeneration activity. It may be argued by some partners that strategically it is better to target work in a particular area or small number of areas, rather than spreading the resources more thinly. Other partners may disagree with this approach if it is going to affect the amount of resources going to the particular area they represent. The County Durham Economic Partnership has been establishing a programme of town centre renewal work. It is a strategic partnership which aims to adopt a countywide approach, making decisions as to where resources should be allocated for the good of the County as a whole, where the money should be invested to see the most economic benefit. The original town centre renewal programme was rejected by the Executive Group of the Partnership as it did not have the support of the District Council elected Members. To be politically acceptable the programme had to be restructured to cover all of the Districts and include all of the twelve main town centres in the County. Parochialism can also be a problem in district-wide and smaller area partnerships. Mark Lloyd, Director of Economic Development and Planning, Durham County Council and Chair of the County Durham Economic Partnership Officer Steering Group, argued in interview that parochialism has to be managed within partnership relationships, effective partnership working involves partners helping colleagues to see past self interests for the greater good. I discuss some other tensions or difficulties within partnership working in the following sections.

5.8.4 Success

The success of partnerships may refer to their achievements, longevity or smooth operation. In all of my case study areas the success of local partnerships was

commonly attributed to the people involved. People have devoted a lot of time and effort and often overcome setbacks before seeing projects come to fruition. In some partnerships the drive or contribution of particular individuals was deemed to be central to what had been achieved. People may have valuable skills or knowledge; the involvement of practitioners acting in a personal capacity may contribute to success as I noted above. The commitment and effort of particular people is also significant to the work of strategic partnerships. When there is a change in personnel in partner organisations the partnership can be affected. Clashes of personality between individuals involved or rivalry between organisations can be detrimental to local and strategic partnerships.

Previous experience in partnership working can also be an important factor in success. As I noted above, partnership working was happening in County Durham before its rise in popularity and significance. In the areas of the County where early partnerships were formed more recent partnership working has been facilitated. In Easington the East Durham Task Force (see Chapter Three sections 3.4.3.1 and 3.5.3.1) has been in many ways succeeded by the East Durham Local Strategic Partnership:

> "I think it's inevitable that any authority that had a pre-existing partnership, you know it obviously had more to build on and I think East Durham had this tradition of partnership working through the East Durham Task Force, because ... the County and the District came together to run that and involved a wide range of partners. ... It was an easier transition for them to move on to an LSP [Local Strategic Partnership], whereas Wear Valley ... probably had to ... more or less start from scratch"
>
> Peter Hanley OBE
> Head of Local Strategic Partnerships Team (Durham and Tees Valley)
> Government Office for the North East

It is acknowledged that the history of partnership working in the District has contributed to the early success of the East Durham Local Strategic Partnership. A recent evaluation of Local Strategic Partnerships claims that:

> "[t]he history of partnership working is crucial, providing experience of joint working, practice in collaborative skills, interorganisational understanding, and a base of membership from which the LSP [Local

Strategic Partnership] can move forward. ... The East Durham Task Force ... [is] a powerful [example] of an LSP building on pre-existing capacity"

(Richings *et al.*, 2004: p13)

Organisations in East Durham have been working together for a long time and structures for partnership working were already in place and could just be built on meaning the Local Strategic Partnership could start work relatively quickly. In other districts of the County where there is not such a strong history of partnership working it has been a bigger challenge to establish the Local Strategic Partnerships as more groundwork has been required.

Organisations such as Durham County Council who were involved in early partnership working have been able to carry forward valuable experiences and build on relationships when forming the countywide partnerships. As I noted previously, models of partnership working have been transferred within the County and outside.

5.8.5 Involvement of different sectors in partnership working

Members of the public, private, voluntary and community sectors are all involved in partnership working. Organisations and individuals from the different sectors bring to partnerships a range of skills, expertise and opinions. The participation of different sectors is often believed to add legitimacy to the work being undertaken. As I have already detailed, the shift to partnership working is argued to indicate a change in governing style from government to governance. From a governmentality perspective the involvement of members of the public (the community) is believed to be particularly significant, indicating a change in governmentality to governing through community. Partnerships can be interpreted as technologies of government used in order to stimulate local people's involvement in governing. My research shows a number of issues surrounding the recruitment and experiences of different sectors in partnerships and reports of shifts in governing need to be considered in the light of such evidence.

Public sector organisations, particularly local government, dominate strategic partnerships. There are usually more partners from the public sector than any other sector in the partnerships. Local government agencies often have a strong position

in the partnerships as in addition to acting as any other partner they have often been responsible for initiating the development of the partnership and provide services such as fulfilling the secretariat role. Formally Durham County Council provides the secretariat for the County Durham Economic Partnership, a number of Council officers also describe the Council as having a leadership role within the Partnership. It is argued that Durham County Council has a countywide view, has a range of specialist resources it can contribute, is a large organisation which is used to handling substantial amounts of funding and can negotiate with other large organisations such as the Regional Development Agency (ONE NorthEast). The District Councils have taken the lead in developing Local Strategic Partnerships. Public sector organisations are frequently in control of the funding. The contribution of partners, what each brings to the partnership table, affects the relationships within partnerships and, importantly, the balance of power. Partners who control funding have a particularly powerful position and their opinions carry a lot of influence. Within the County Durham Economic Partnership, for example, people really take note of what ONE NorthEast has to say (Interview: Kevin Donkin, Senior Economic Development Officer, Durham County Council). In theory everyone within a partnership such as the County Durham Economic Partnership is equal, but in practice some partners are more powerful.

Public sector organisations are often involved in local partnerships, either through initiating them, as in the case of the Settlement Renewal Initiative partnerships, or by request as in the case of Middleton Plus. Again the pubic sector partners have powerful positions through the provision of funding, or vital support such as secretariat functions. Public sector partners can facilitate relationships between the local partnership and public sector organisations and may provide bank rolling facilities to allow partnerships with limited funds to undertake large projects. The withdrawal of public sector partners or support from local partnerships can be detrimental if it is not properly managed. Exit strategies are developed for Settlement Renewal Initiative partnerships in an attempt to ensure the residents and interest groups can continue the work without the targeted agency support.[39]

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[39] Additionally, people who are employed as development/regeneration professionals, most often in the public sector, but are involved in local partnerships in a personal capacity can make particularly noteworthy contributions and influence success (see section 5.6).

Private sector involvement is a problem for local and strategic level partnerships in County Durham. This comes as little surprise as the difficulties surrounding the engagement of the private sector in partnerships is reported in the academic literature. Private sector organisations may not have the resources in terms of time and available staff to dedicate to partnership working. They may be reluctant to become involved in a partnership if they cannot see a benefit - particularly a tangible benefit - to their own organisation. It can be difficult to engage private sector organisations in consultation let alone ask them to become members of partnerships. In County Durham the problem of engaging the private sector in strategic and local partnerships is exacerbated by the rural nature and economic state of the County. In ex-mining areas there is little private sector activity, meaning few organisations who could possibly be engaged. In Wingate/Station Town there is more economic activity than the Dene Valley, but there was practically no private sector involvement in the local partnerships. Where there are private sector organisations in rural areas they are often very small and there is little spare capacity for becoming involved in partnerships concerned with development/regeneration work. In Teesdale there are more private sector organisations that are engaged in local partnerships. Teesdale Marketing is a partnership consisting largely of representatives of the private sector and they undertake development/regeneration activity. During the course of my research in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale a business forum was established (as the existing Chamber of Commerce was largely inactive). In partnerships such as Middleton Plus some partners are members of the private sector, but this is usually through their work, their 'day job', and their involvement in the partnership is not directly related to this, for example they are representing another local organisation. When people who are involved in partnerships are members of the private sector, whether or not they are acting in their private sector role, conflicts of interest can arise. When people who own a business within an area become involved in development/regeneration activity in the same place their motives are sometimes questioned. Other people argue that local business people are only involved in order to improve their own prospects.

In strategic partnerships the private sector is often represented through organisations such as the Chamber of Commerce. There are concerns about the representativeness of organisations such as the Chamber of Commerce, and individual business

involvement is often desired. There are further issues around representativeness with individual business involvement, however, as how can individual businesses be deemed representative of the whole private sector. Additionally, larger companies may be able to release staff to become involved, but how are smaller businesses or single person enterprises who cannot afford to do so to be represented. Durham County Council has used a business sounding board in order to gain the opinions of business people.[40] People from different businesses in the County were brought together for a meeting in which they set the agenda and structure, but through which the County Council could gather their views. Many business people do not want to be involved in the detailed strategy and project work and continuous meetings of partnership working. The County Durham Economic Partnership has been trying to improve employer representation, but it remains an important issue. An arrangement akin to the business sounding board used by the County Council and other organisations may be a way in which employer representation can be pursued by the Partnership. Although being involved in a sounding board would be less onerous than attending many partnership meetings it would require some commitment of time and resources.

Private sector representatives who do become involved in partnership working have to learn new skills and get used to a different style of working to that which they are normally accustomed. Bill Oldfield is a local businessman in Barnard Castle who is Chairman of Teesdale Marketing and represents this organisation on the Teesdale Market Towns Partnership, when I asked him in interview about working in partnership with members of other sectors he commented:

> "No it's not easy it's a whole new environment for me, and it's not easy no, but that doesn't mean it shouldn't happen. But you have to learn new skills of diplomacy and ... getting what you want in slightly different ways, or trying to contribute, or try and achieve aims and it's not just a matter of getting what you want"

Private sector partners may be unfamiliar with working in a committee style and speaking through a chairperson, for example. They may not be used to

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[40] The business sounding board was used for the Best Value Review of Durham County Council's Economic Development Service.

compromising on what they want to see happen. Members of the private sector can also be frustrated by the bureaucracy involved in partnership working and the length of time it takes to make decisions and act on them. The bureaucracy and processes involved in development/regeneration work associated with utilising public funding may also be new to private sector partners and can add to further frustration with progress.

Organisations from the voluntary sector are commonly involved in local partnerships. They may work with public sector organisations in order to establish local partnerships or may offer, or be called in, to provide support and guidance. It is often voluntary sector organisations who provide community development work such as training people in secretariat skills, or who identify funding sources and help partnerships to submit applications. Voluntary sector organisations may also manage employees on behalf of local partnerships. Durham Rural Community Council is a voluntary organisation which operates across County Durham. It manages the play and parenting officer and community transport manager for the Dene Valley Community Partnership and also manages employees in similar organisations in Teesdale.

I found in County Durham that within strategic partnerships, at least where there is a primary concern with economic development, there is little representation of the voluntary sector. Within the County Durham Economic Partnership, for example, a number of voluntary sector organisations are involved in the Partnership working groups, but there is only one representative in the officer steering group. The role of the voluntary sector in strategic level economic development/regeneration partnerships is queried by some public sector practitioners. When I talked to Mark Lloyd, Director of Economic Development and Planning, Durham County Council and Chair of the County Durham Economic Partnership Officer Steering Group, about the voluntary sector representation in the Partnership, which at the time was being reviewed, he commented:

> "We seem to have this mantra that you need the voluntary and the community sector engaged - why? What are they going to do against the priorities laid out in the County Durham and the Regional Economic Strategy? ... If I was sitting in a partnership that was talking more about

> social cohesion, tackling inequalities in our County, making sure that we have strong, healthy and safe communities without doubt I can see the role of the voluntary and community sector, but when we are talking about job creation, wealth, education and skills, given the fragility of the voluntary and community sector in County Durham it's not so clear how they can make a tangible contribution to the economic goals"

Grouping the voluntary and community sectors together Mark Lloyd questions the contribution they can make to the work of the County Durham Economic Partnership. He argued, in the interview, that the voluntary sector needed to be involved in the Partnership, but it was only necessary to increase their level of engagement if their contribution could be articulated more clearly. Whilst voluntary organisations are seen to have a role in community development some practitioners are uncertain about how they can contribute to achieving economic aspirations and targets. As I have already noted, some members of the County Durham Economic Partnership do not believe that it is within the Partnership's remit to undertake community development work even though it is increasingly recognised that a holistic approach to development/regeneration is required. Other people do see a stronger role for the voluntary sector in the Partnership and argue that the work they undertake can (or is necessary to) help to improve the economy of the County.

There are similar problems surrounding the representation of the voluntary sector in partnerships as with the private sector It is a diverse sector and one organisation cannot be argued to be representative of all of the others. In County Durham there is a network of voluntary sector organisations called One Voice and it is a rotating representative from this network that sits on the County Durham Economic Partnership board. Voluntary sector organisations are often small and can struggle to be involved in partnerships in terms of having the necessary staff time to devote to them. Strategic partnerships in particular often send information out for partners to respond to in between meetings which can be a strain on voluntary sector partners and if they do not have time to respond this can be misinterpreted as a lack of interest. There is a lack of understanding between the sectors with regards to their different sizes, and capacities (Interview: Leigh Vallance, Director, Durham Rural Community Council). The limited time and also financial resources voluntary sector organisations can contribute to partnerships affects their position and influence:

> "… you're never really seen as an equal partner. … Sometimes you can't contribute on the same level in terms of financial input, but also you can't contribute at the same level in terms of time input because you simply haven't got it, so it is very difficult to be an equal player and I think … it's quite clear.   I mean people can do their best to accommodate you and involve you, but at the end of the day your power and influence is affected by … how big the purse is behind you"
>
> Leigh Vallance
> Director
> Durham Rural Community Council

The feeling of representatives of voluntary sector organisations of being subordinate reinforces the argument that organisations are not all equals within partnerships. The balance of power is weighted towards partners who contribute the most funding and these are usually from the public sector. This is significant in terms of claims of a shift from government to governance, which I will return to below.

Earlier in the chapter I discussed the involvement of local people in development/regeneration work and as this work is usually undertaken in partnership I have already detailed some of the issues pertaining to their experience of this type of working so I will only summarise them here. Local partnerships, as I have previously noted, are either formed by people of their own accord or are established through agency intervention. Within my case study areas local partnerships often included some representation from members of other sectors, or the partnership worked closely with the public sector, for example on funding applications. The involvement of residents and members of interest groups in strategic partnerships is more problematic.   Engaging local people in strategic partnerships can be particularly difficult as, aside from other problems with encouraging people to participate, there is often a belief that the work being undertaken is not relevant to their lives. There are numerous concerns about the representativeness of the people who do become involved and there are efforts to try to engage people who are not the usual suspects. Partners from other sectors can argue that members of residents' groups and interest groups are parochial, but they may also be parochial themselves. It can take a long time to establish involvement of members of residents' groups and interest groups in partnerships as in the case of forming the community networks for Local Strategic Partnerships in County Durham. Government and other funders do not always allow the necessary time for partnerships to establish the involvement of

residents and members of interest groups which can mean people are late to participate or it is only the usual suspects who are involved. Lay people who are involved in partnerships face a number of practical difficulties. They can feel excluded through the use of jargon by other members of the partnership. People who are new to the field of development/regeneration may not understand technical terms. They may not have a detailed knowledge of the structure of other organisations involved, Government programmes or funding packages. Partnership meetings may also be held at a time which clashes with people undertaking their usual employment which influences who can be involved. The County Durham Strategic Partnership and Wear Valley Local Strategic Partnership have changed their meeting times in order to accommodate the residents' and interest group representatives, but in East Durham the meetings continue to be during the 'normal' working day. Being involved in a partnership can be a huge time commitment which people are not paid for and may be in addition to normal employment. Within Wear Valley the community network representatives on the Local Strategic Partnership have had problems with the amount of paperwork they receive only a short time before board meetings. The representatives are supposed to be able to discuss work of the Local Strategic Partnership in a full community network meeting and members of the network then consult on issues within their own organisations and feedback, but there has not been sufficient time for this to take place. It is often local authorities who undertake the secretariat role in the Local Strategic Partnerships and they can be under a lot of pressure if they do not have the staff resources to cope with the increasing number of partnerships.

The motivations behind individuals/organisations becoming involved in partnerships vary. Residents and members of interest groups may join local partnerships in order to shape development/regeneration work which is occurring in a particular area or to stimulate activity and generate improvements themselves. As I noted above, members of the private sector can be accused of being involved in local development/regeneration partnerships in order to improve their own business prospects. Within strategic partnerships partners may be involved because they want to have the opportunity to shape the direction of policy whether this is at a district (or perhaps smaller), county or regional level. It also the case that partners may want to be involved in order to ensure the geographical area they are concerned with

benefits from development/regeneration activity. Organisations from the public, voluntary and community sectors may want to be involved to ensure that their organisation is in a good position to receive funding for development/regeneration activity they wish to undertake.

Different sectors are now involved in governing through partnership working which has given rise to claims of a shift from government to governance. My evidence from County Durham shows that there are problems with the engagement of particularly the private sector and local residents and members of interest groups in partnerships. Significantly, when individuals and organisations from different sectors are involved in partnerships they do not all have equal power and influence. The public sector plays a dominant role within partnerships suggesting that although more people may be involved in governing the balance of power still lies with those who were powerful under government. This is not to argue that local people are not shaping development/regeneration activity as on occasions they can have an important role in directing strategic partnerships. Residents and members of interest groups lead on activity in local partnerships, but the public sector often influences their work, for example through the control of funding, and organisations from the public sector may be members of the partnerships.

5.9 SUMMARY

The evidence presented in this chapter shows the different understandings of economic and community development and regeneration and how these have changed. In recent years a more holistic approach to development has been promoted. Definitions of community vary. Geographical definitions are dominant, although there is increasing recognition of the need to include communities of interest in development/regeneration. Local people are involved in a spectrum of activities from consultation to delivery. Whilst some residents are leading on development/regeneration activity within their local area the majority of the population are inactive citizens. When members of the public do participate there can be practical issues surrounding their involvement and concerns with representativeness - particularly as those who become involved are often the usual suspects. Local activists may be members of many organisations and significantly

some activists are also practitioners. There are moves towards the integration of economic and community development, in terms of both the bringing together of different strands of activity and of different actors/agencies. The structure of organisations and government/funding requirements can restrict the integration of different strands of development/regeneration although in County Durham there is evidence that people are overcoming some obstacles. Partnership working is key to integration and the history of partnership working in the County has facilitated the development of recent partnerships. There is wide support for partnership working, although there are recognised drawbacks. Organisations from different sectors are working together, but the balance of power within partnerships is not equal. The evidence in County Durham questions notions of a new governmentality of governing through community and of a shift to governance, particularly in terms of power relationships. A full summary of the main findings of the thesis is included in the following chapter.

Conclusions

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One (section 1.2) I set out the aims of the research. Within this thesis I have identified the nature and scope of current economic development and community development policies and activities in County Durham. I have identified the role played by members of communities (local people) in development policy-making and delivery in County Durham and how different actors/organisations see a role for members of communities. I have also examined the integration of economic and community development in rural County Durham, both in terms of different strands of development activity and the involvement of different actors/agencies. In doing this I have drawn upon debates in the academic literature concerning governance and governmentality and my findings contribute to these debates (see below). The final aim refers to identifying policy/practice issues surrounding the integration of economic and community development and informing Durham County Council and its partners of these issues. In the course of the research I have produced a number of reports for Durham County Council and the next task will be to present the findings relating to policy/practice to the Council and its partners.[1]

In this final chapter I summarise the main findings of the research. Following this I discuss the limitations of the work and detail problems/issues I encountered during the research which have not been noted in previous chapters. I then set out the theoretical implications of the research commenting on the usefulness of the governance and governmentality perspectives in the context of this work and areas which need to be considered in the development of these theoretical perspectives. As this research is concerned with development/regeneration policy and practice the

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[1] I anticipate that this will involve both a verbal presentation and written report.

findings will be of interest, and potentially of use, to Durham County Council and its partners. Having detailed the theoretical implications I outline the policy/practice implications of the work. It is important to recognise, however, the limits to policy change. In the final section I make suggestions for future work including extending the work in County Durham and ideas for comparisons with other areas of the country. I also recommend further empirical investigation of claims of a shift from government to governance and of a new governmentality of governing through community and highlight work which should be undertaken within the governmentality literature in order to develop the perspective.

6.2   SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

Community development is becoming increasingly central to development policies and practice. A broad definition of community development has become prominent recently in which community development is viewed as activity undertaken in order to give people the necessary skills and confidence to enable them to become engaged in development activity, contribute to policy formulation and for those who are interested to play a role in delivery. What constitutes community development is, however, contested and within County Durham different definitions can be identified.

Although some people (often non-practitioners, but also some practitioners) refer to economic development as strictly job creation activity, it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish economic and community development activity. The blurring of economic and community development is the result of recognition that a holistic approach to development is necessary. Change in the types of activity pursued under the name of economic development can be seen through the evolution of the County Durham Economic Partnership's strategy. Learning and skills activity is now a key priority in economic development policy both at a county and national level. The Government sets targets which from a governmentality perspective can be viewed as a managerial technology used in order to stimulate learning activity.

Some people use the term regeneration as a synonym for development, but a new understanding of, and approach to, regeneration is developing in the County.

Development practitioners (and some lay people) now see regeneration as a broader activity arguing that it will only be successful if it is a holistic process combining economic, social and environmental aspects and involving members of the public (often referred to as the community). There has been reversal from regeneration being viewed as a subset of economic development, to economic development being seen as a subset of regeneration, which also includes other aspects such as community development. If regeneration is to be successful economic and community development need to be integrated.

Recognition that community is a cultural construct means that the definition of community as it is employed in notions of governing needs to be interrogated. I found in County Durham that people's definitions of community most often referred to geographical communities. Some definitions suggest that people in geographical communities have the same interests, but this is a dangerous assumption to make. The difficulty of defining community is a particular problem for practitioners who are expected to involve the community in development/regeneration work. The expectation or requirement by government that the community will be involved in development/regeneration work can be interpreted as part of a new governmentality of governing through community. From a governmentality perspective, in order for communities to be involved in governing they need to be identified. It can be argued that community appraisals are technologies of government used in order to bring communities into existence. By making community appraisals an integral part of the funding process government is making communities visible and defining them in particular ways in order that they can be governed. People are having to identify with communities which may not match their own perception of their community in order to receive funding. Interventions such as community appraisals are altering definitions of community. Local groups are also realising the possible funding benefits of joining together. People/organisations in individual villages that residents' perceive (or have in the past perceived) to be distinct geographical communities, are joining together and using new wider definitions of community in order to match funding guidelines. Although definitions may change the sense of community is not as easy to generate, as in the case of the Dene Valley.

Communities of interest are mentioned far less frequently in relation to development/regeneration activity. From a governmentality perspective the geographical definitions of communities are a critical part of policy as it is easier to make them visible and enable them to be worked on (Raco, 2003). Recently, however, different forms of community have been recognised and communities of interest which may not be congruous with administrative areas are included within government policy. In County Durham interest groups are involved in development/regeneration work and have been identified as policy tools which can be employed in achieving specific policy goals. Adopting approaches which consider the plethora of communities which may exist in one place, however, makes it harder to develop communities as agents of government.

Notions of governing through community do not refer (or make little reference to) the possibility of people not being engaged in processes of governing. Government discourse assumes that communities can be identified and harnessed as agents of government, but not everyone conforms to the model of active citizens that government promotes. In County Durham my empirical work has shown that many people are not engaged in local development/regeneration work. Prior to undertaking the empirical work the socio-economic histories of, and cultures associated with, the case study areas suggested that there may be a difference in the level of local activity. In Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley I expected the level of activity to be affected by the legacy of a dependency culture generated by the coalmining industry. There was evidence of a dependency culture in these areas and a lack of engagement related to a belief that the areas would not change. By way of contrast Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale has a stereotype of a high level of local activity associated with the number of socially entrepreneurial immigrants who have settled there. I found that the local population does not entirely conform to its stereotype, however, as many people do not participate in development/regeneration work. There is local activity in all of the case study areas, but many members of the population are not engaged. The evidence suggests some differences in the underlying causes of the lack of engagement. Additionally there may be other reasons why people are not involved, for example barriers to participation such as absence of childcare. The example of County Durham shows that rural areas are not homogeneous and, importantly, that they cannot be assumed

to have natural communities which are ideal for governing through community. The lack of engagement is significant for notions of a change of governmentality to governing through community. Two different arguments can be developed from the evidence. The first argument assumes that government is genuinely trying to engage local people, whereas the second suggests it is not. Local people (communities) who are not engaged can be objects of government policy, but not the subjects of policy. In order to govern through community communities have to become agents of government. Governmental technologies may be employed in order to make communities (mostly geographical communities) visible, but they are not succeeding in making everyone identify with being an active citizen. It is only a small proportion of people who are active. The idea that active communities will deliver (are delivering) particular development/regeneration goals is problematic in areas where people do not want, or are not able, to become engaged. It may be, therefore, that government is trying to govern through community, but its approach (the technologies being employed) is not entirely working or is not working everywhere. My evidence from County Durham suggests that most people do not want to be involved in development/regeneration work, they are not interested in becoming involved in processes of self-government. The differences between places within the County in terms of their cultures and socio-economic histories may in some ways be significant in terms of the reason why people are not participating, but the outcome is the same - local people are disengaged. In other parts of the country such as the south east of England there may be a more active civil society. In these areas the notion that there has been a shift in governmentality to governing through community may be more accurate, but in County Durham and places like it the evidence suggests this is more questionable. Significantly it may be in areas where most work is needed that there is the most pressure on local people to be involved and government is least able to engage them. Alternatively it can be argued that people's lack of engagement is central to the approach being taken by government. Government may not really desire local activism as it has the potential to disrupt the activity government is seeking to implement. Rather, government is using notions of community involvement as a shield, by claiming that the community has responsibility: if initiatives fail it can be presented as the community's fault.

So some people living within the case study areas do not want to become involved in development/regeneration work and others do not have the time or argue that people who are employed by agencies should be undertaking the work. Other people, however, do believe that they have a role to play either in terms of consultation and influencing activity or in taking the lead and driving development/regeneration processes from the bottom-up. Emphasis on local people's involvement in government policy can be described as symptomatic of a shift to governing through community. It can be argued that through the use of community appraisals and targets, which can be described as governmental technologies, government identifies communities and stimulates their involvement in development/regeneration activity. The utility of these technologies is that they are integral to the funding process. In order for funding to be granted to development/regeneration partnerships, for example, there often has to be demonstrable community involvement. Practitioners within County Durham recognise that they have to work within the requirements of Government and other funding bodies, but a number of them argue that the emphasis on community within policy is problematic. There are claims that involving members of the public is a lengthy and fraught process which can hinder progress in development/regeneration. Practitioners recognise, and have to work around and with, the problems of engaging people. The reluctance of local people to become involved and problems associated with involvement lead to a belief that the idea and assumption within policy approaches that members of the public (referred to as the community) should and can always be involved is a naïve one. Strategic level work is particularly problematic as people are often less interested in activity which does not directly affect the area in which they live and parochialism can cause problems for practitioners trying to adopt a district, county or region wide approach.

The shift to governing through community reported by governmentality theorists has been associated by some commentators (for example, Murdoch, 1997) with government retreating from its responsibilities. Policies concern decentralisation and the empowerment of local people. A number of practitioners in County Durham believe that members of the public are being given a greater role to play within development/regeneration and they should be willing to take on this responsibility (they comment on problems with engaging people). What is significant about the new arrangements is the distribution of power. Although there is a rhetoric of

empowerment and it may appear that local people are being given greater responsibility and a role in governance the concentration of power remains with government. Technologies such as community appraisals may be employed in order to activate communities, but other technologies, for example targets attached to funding, are employed in order to direct their actions and to ensure the objectives of government are delivered. Members of the public who become involved in consultation and more particularly the delivery of development/regeneration face many problems and feel constrained by the control government exerts over their activity. People may be deterred all together from becoming involved or from applying for particular streams of funding which have rigorous targets or bureaucratic processes attached to them. Activity residents and members of interest groups may wish to see happen, or undertake, may be restricted by government controls. There is a tension here in that controls exerted by government may be restricting the very community involvement and activity that is apparently desired. As was argued by a senior Durham County Council officer, although local people may have less influence over what happens than the rhetoric surrounding community involvement may suggest arguably the current situation surrounding the their role within development/regeneration is better than the complete absence of the community in earlier policy/work.

Notions of community involvement in governing necessitate questions not only about the construction of communities, but who is actually involved. Representativeness is a huge issue which surrounds the involvement of members of the public in development/regeneration. Who can claim to legitimately represent communities is complicated by problems surrounding defining community (the construction of community) and the plethora of communities which may exist in a particular geographical area. Organisations which undertake work within geographical areas often claim they are representative of the local population, but people outside of the group may disagree. Other organisations argue that they cannot claim to be representative of everyone who lives in a particular area, but that they are the people who are willing to get involved giving them some legitimacy to act. Those who are willing to become involved may have different opinions to those who are not engaged, but getting round this problem of representativeness is extremely difficult (if not impossible). The specific issues concerned may influence

which members or groups within an area are more likely to become active. In areas such as Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale the opinions and interests of incomers may contrast with those of the indigenous population. Individuals from the two groups may become involved in different types of activity possibly leading to the views of the other group being neglected or obscured. When local organisations become more professional in their activities they may be deemed to be less representative of the wider population.

It is often the same individuals who are involved in a number of different local organisations or in representing the residents/members of interest groups. These individuals are commonly referred to as the usual suspects. At a strategic level it is often people who are already local activists who become involved - community representatives (as they are referred to) may be requested from certain organisations, for example. Government has been trying to get past these individuals and engage others, but this is very difficult given the reluctance of some people to become involved and the barriers to participation. The process involved in engaging and selecting local representatives can be problematic. Strategic organisations may have to involve residents and members of interest groups within short timescales in order to meet deadlines set by funders. They may be forced to involve the usual suspects who can be engaged quickly. In County Durham the community representatives for Local Strategic Partnerships had to be recruited quickly if the Local Strategic Partnership qualified for Neighbourhood Renewal funding and District Councils who were leading the process had to contact the usual suspects. The Local Strategic Partnerships began work as the community networks were only just developing. The composition of community networks and their representatives on Local Strategic Partnership boards has changed over time, but a feeling of the deal already being done may be felt amongst at least some of the representatives who, coming later to the process, may have less influence over decisions.

Councillors have traditionally taken the position of representatives of their local authority areas. Increasingly, however, there is a feeling that councillors, despite being elected by the public, cannot be considered representative. It is argued, particularly with regard to the former mining areas, that there is a stereotype of the kind of individuals who will stand for election to be local councillors. Partnerships

often seek to involve other residents and members of interest groups alongside councillors and funders prefer to support local activity which is not led by councillors. Such developments are stimulating debate as to what it means for local democracy (issues concern the balance between participative and representative forms of democracy). There are issues around the involvement of members of the public who are not formally elected, particularly in strategic level work, as these representatives are not accountable in the same way as councillors.

Aside from seeking to get beyond usual suspects in order to increase representativeness there is a concern to increase the number of people participating so to reduce the workload of those who are already involved. Broadening participation, for what ever reason, is hindered by some people's reluctance or lack of interest in getting involved and more practical barriers. A specific issue here is that the presence of usual suspects can make some organisations appear cliquey and exclusive to outsiders. Some local activists in County Durham are concerned about the amount of time they devote to numerous organisations, but what appeared to be of greater concern was the management of their multiple positionalities. It can be particularly difficult for individuals to juggle their different positions if they are a member of rival organisations and conflicts of interest can arise. Councillors reported acting in their formal role at a local level, but also often in a personal capacity particularly in respect of being named on residents'/interest groups' funding applications in order to satisfy funding requirements.

The involvement of development/regeneration practitioners on a personal level within local activity appears to be particularly significant. People who are involved in development/regeneration work professionally have particular skills, knowledge and expertise that they can contribute or transfer to local organisations and which may be instrumental in the organisations' success. I expected socially entrepreneurial immigrants in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale to be contributing to local activity, but had not considered the incidence of practitioners acting in a personal capacity and the influence this may have. It was not only evident in Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale, but in other areas too including the more deprived ex-mining areas. What was unique in Teesdale was the activities of the District Council as its officers have 'gone native' acting as local

animateurs stimulating and supporting local level activity including partnership formation. Such an animateur model is, however, thought not to be replicable. Council officers have used this approach owing to the small size of the authority. It is argued that it is only possible because it is a small authority and the problems in the area are not as severe as in other places. Some practitioners were more comfortable in their double roles than others (even find them useful), which may be dependent on, or a consequence of, how much their roles were seen to overlap. The personal involvement of practitioners in certain roles, for example senior County Council officers, may be restricted for reasons of accountability. These findings are instructive in consideration of claims that there has been a shift from government to governance (and notions of governing through community). The evidence in County Durham suggests that rather than there being many new actors involved it is the same people who are powerful under governance as under government. Some of these people, however, are acting under a different guise, as members of communities, in effect it can be argued that it is the same powerful interests, but they are just wearing different 'hats'.

The notion of integrating economic and community development can be interpreted in two ways. It may refer to the pulling together of either different strands of development activity or development activity undertaken by agencies (top-down) and local people (known as the community - bottom-up). The increasingly blurred definitions of economic and community development imply that some integration of different strands of activity is already taking place and relates to the idea that both types of activity are required if development/regeneration is to be successful. Despite the blurring of definitions economic and community development are still seen as separate endeavours by some people and they fall under the remit of different practitioners, departments and organisations. There is a spectrum of views as to how economic and community development are necessarily related and whether they should be undertaken at the same time or in a particular sequence.

The desire for an integrated approach to development/regeneration stems from the realisation that partial solutions do not work; in order to successfully tackle economic problems social issues need to be considered and local people need to be involved. In turn this has stimulated a desire for joined-up working both in terms of

different issues being tackled together and different agencies and actors working together which can be associated with the development of partnership working. Joining-up the different strands of economic and community development is hindered and prevented in a number of different ways. The departmental structure of organisations such as Durham County Council can prevent joined-up delivery. Each department has its own priorities and concerns. When other organisations are factored in within the context of partnership working the situation becomes even more complex. The County Durham Economic Partnership, which is responsible for the economic well-being of the County, recognises the importance of community development for delivering its economic aspirations, but it is not seen within this partnership's remit to deliver such activity. The work the Partnership undertakes is largely influenced by the requirements of funders. Employing a governmentality perspective, targets - managerial technologies of government - are used by funders to control the activities that organisations such as the County Durham Economic Partnership can carry out. The Regional Development Agency, ONE NorthEast, has devolved responsibility to Sub-Regional Partnerships such as the County Durham Economic Partnership, but ONE NorthEast and central government still retain some control. From central government downwards in the institutional hierarchy targets, tied to funding, are used to control activity. It can be argued that the centralising effects of targeting clash with the key principles of liberalism, highlighting conflict between the technical and programmatic elements of government (MacKinnon, 2000). The Regional Development Agencies were initially anticipated to be a bridge between economic and community development activity, but the setting of economic targets by the Government led to a concern that community development activity would not be supported. However, the evidence from County Durham suggests that local level presentation (and interpretation) of activity can allow initiatives which may not readily appear to be conducive to the delivery of economic outputs to be supported. The negotiation of targets in this way can be interpreted as resistance to the governmental technologies. The governmentality literature does not adequately deal with such resistance. The effectiveness of political projects is over-emphasised in neo-Foucauldian approaches (MacKinnon, 2000; see O'Malley *et al.*, 1997).

Further down the institutional hierarchy local level organisations' activity can be constrained by what funding bodies are willing to support. Again, careful

presentation of initiatives in funding applications helps. Various aspects of initiatives are played up and down in funding applications in order to satisfy the requirements of different funders. Programmes, organised at a strategic or local level, incorporating different strands of development activity in an area allow a holistic approach.

The new County Durham Strategic Partnership is to provide a strategic steer for all aspects of regeneration or well-being (including economic and community development) and should influence the work of the County Council and partners. Government has given Durham County Council the stimulus and authority to pull together such a partnership and for the first time bring the different strands of activity together. The Partnership is pulling together the work of other partnerships within the County such as the County Durham Economic Partnership. The County Durham Strategic Partnership is currently in its early stages and what will be significant is the extent to which the partnerships can work together and a holistic approach be taken. Although at a strategic level there may be consideration of economic and (so called) community issues responsibility for these falls to different partnerships (these separate partnerships do a lot of decision-making and are concerned with delivery). Some of the partnerships have their own strategies already agreed and they have specific sources of funding which have requirements attached. Within each partnership individual agencies and organisations also have their own concerns. What will need to be observed and considered in the future is how effectively the partnerships can work together as there is the potential for a different kind of silo working to develop.

The other side to integrating economic and community development is pulling together the activities of agencies and members of the public; integrating top-down and bottom-up efforts. A key concern is where the dialogue takes place between agency driven activity and activity driven by local people, how much influence lay people have on strategic level activity and agencies have on local level activity and how the two fit together. Public sector agencies and local people/organisations are increasingly working together, alongside the private sector, in partnerships.

The shift to partnership working it can be argued marks the rise of governance. Within County Durham partnership working is now seen to be the only way in which to undertake the majority of development/regeneration work. It brings together different strands of development work and actors from different sectors. There are differences of opinion as to when partnership working emerged in the County. Some practitioners argue that there has always been partnership working and others believe it started with the necessity to involve the private sector in activity under the Thatcher government. The real buzz around partnership, however, has grown over the last five to seven years. What is particularly significant about the recent emphasis on partnership working is the involvement of members of the public (referred to as the community). Members of the public are engaged in local and strategic level partnerships and their involvement can be related to the emphasis being placed on community within development/regeneration policy/activity. Taking a governmentality perspective partnerships can be viewed as technologies of government employed within a new governmentality of governing through community. Government stimulates and ensures the development of partnerships, by making them a condition of funding, for example the need to develop a Local Strategic Partnership in order to receive Neighbourhood Renewal funding. In order to meet with requirements/guidelines attached to partnerships (or their funding) local residents and members of interest groups (in other words members of communities) have to be involved. The development of local partnerships is occurring in a number of different ways. Partnerships are being formed through top-down intervention and often with the intention that local people will ultimately take responsibility and continue the work. As I have described, within Teesdale local partnerships are being developed and supported by the District Council independently of specific programmes with attached funding in order for the Council to achieve its aspirations. Partnerships are also developing within the County as members of different residents' and interest groups recognise that they need to join together in order to secure funding for their area (or activities).

Although partnership working in County Durham has increased in recent years the history of this approach predates its recent popularity. The socio-economic history of County Durham is significant in its early adoption and experience of partnership working (as I discussed in Chapters Three and Five). Task forces were established

in order to tackle the mass unemployment which occurred in one industry towns. The breadth of problems demanded that organisations with different remits came together. County Durham was the first in the region to establish a county level economic partnership. The early experience of partnership working has contributed to the success of more recent partnerships. Models of partnership working within the County have been transferred to other areas.

The number of partnerships within County Durham has increased as a result of the emphasis on partnership working, as different funding streams and government programmes have required their development. Practitioners suffer from partnership fatigue as they attend different meetings, discussing the same projects and meeting the same people. Strategic level partnerships often have different tiers and working groups which feed into them. Attempts are being made in the County by the County Durham Economic Partnership and associated partnerships to rationalise the number of working groups and meetings. Local Strategic Partnerships are supposed to contribute to the rationalisation of partnerships, but at least during this initial period that is not the case. Nesting the strategies of the number of partnerships being developed from the local to the regional level is a particular issue of concern. It is argued that the proliferation of partnerships (and task forces) has now diluted the concept as people see it as a failure if a partnership or task force is not set up in response to a particular problem/crisis.

Practitioners argue that working in partnership is advantageous. This is related to recognition of the interconnected nature of economic, social and environmental problems and that development/regeneration need to be tackled in a holistic way. Multiple deprivation needs to be tackled by multiple organisations. No one organisation has the resources, skills or remit to successfully undertake the work on its own. The holistic approach to development/regeneration covers not only different strands of activity, but also involving organisations from the different sectors - the partnership approach has support from all of the sectors. The participation of local residents and members of interest groups is emphasised by government and is seen as particularly important. There are, however, a number of disadvantages to working in partnership. These include delays in decision-making

and delivery of activity and the possibility of dilution of ideas in order to satisfy the requirements and concerns of all partners.

The success of partnerships at a strategic and local level is often influenced by the involvement of particular personalities. As I have already noted, previous experience of partnership working can be significant. In particular parts of the County where there was early partnership working more recent partnerships have been facilitated, for example the experience of the East Durham Task Force has helped the development and success of the East Durham Local Strategic Partnership.

Different sectors are involved in partnerships to various extents and face different experiences. Public sector organisations have a strong position within strategic partnerships. They are often in control of funding and undertake secretariat roles. Relationships within partnerships are affected by what partners bring to the table. When partners are in control of funding their opinions are particularly influential and they have a great deal of power. Public sector agencies are often represented on local partnerships in order to provide advice and support or because they are involved in funding the organisation and again they can have a powerful influence.

The involvement of private sector organisations is problematic at a strategic and local level. It is often reported in academic literature that it is hard to engage the private sector in partnership working. In County Durham this is exacerbated by the rural nature and economic state of the County. In ex-mining areas there is often little private sector activity. Where there is private sector activity in the rural areas the organisations are often small and cannot afford to donate the time and resources to development/regeneration work. Representative organisations such as Chambers of Commerce are often involved in partnerships rather than private sector organisations directly, but there are concerns about the representativeness of these. Attempts have been made within the County Durham Economic Partnership to increase the involvement of businesses, but this remains an issue. Those private sector partners who are involved have to learn new skills for partnership working, for example working in committee style, and can be frustrated by the processes involved. In Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale there is greater involvement of the private sector in local activity. However, in local partnerships

the involvement of private sector organisations can be questioned as people can be sceptical about the motivations behind their participation.

Voluntary sector organisations are often involved in local partnerships, providing support and guidance. At a strategic level, at least in terms of economic development partnerships, their representation is less. The contribution they can make to economic development is questioned by some practitioners. It is difficult for one organisation to represent such a diverse sector and there are problems again as they are often small organisations in terms of having the resources to allow involvement.

Residents and members of local interest groups develop partnerships themselves or take over partnerships initiated by agencies. These local partnerships are often driven by particular personalities and local politics can affect how well partnerships in a particular area work together. The involvement of local people in strategic level partnerships is problematic for a number of reasons which includes concerns about generating engagement and representativeness. Aside from this parochialism can be a problem. It takes time to establish the involvement of residents and members of local groups in partnerships and this is not always paid enough consideration within requirements as laid down by Government and other funders. Local representatives face practical difficulties in strategic partnerships, for example with the timing of meetings and jargon used. In terms of including the opinions of residents and members of interest groups in Local Strategic Partnerships there have been problems over communication and representatives involved in community networks having time to consult with the local population over issues and decisions.

There are different motivations for being involved in partnership working. At a strategic level whilst some organisations want to be involved in order to influence the strategic direction of policy in the District, County or region, others may only be involved in order to be in a better position to gain funding for their own organisation.

The dominant role of the public sector within partnerships suggests that although there may be more actors involved in development/regeneration there has been little

change in the balance of power. This is not to argue that local people who are involved in strategic partnerships are not influencing activity because on occasions they play an important role, but power and control still largely remain with government. Residents (and members of interest groups) are leading partnerships in their own areas, but government also retains a significant role in, and has great influence on, these.

6.3   REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Having detailed the findings it is essential that I critically reflect on the research process. No research results are independent of the methods employed to get the evidence. I discussed the methodology in Chapter Four and acknowledged some of the problems/issues encountered during the research. At this point it is important to consider the limitations of the methods employed (those which were not discussed in Chapter Four) and how different approaches may have affected the research findings. Aspects of the research process which could be improved in future work can also be identified.

The collaborative nature of the research has been extremely fruitful in terms of gaining access to grey literature and key actors and to observe partnership working. It is, however, important to be aware of effects the collaboration may have had on the research. As I noted in Chapter Four, senior Council officers involved in the research endeavoured not to contaminate the study in terms of directing who I spoke to and the partnerships I researched. People outside the County Council in other organisations and the case study areas did occasionally have concerns about confidentiality and the Council being given private or controversial information about the organisation or people's opinions. I was mostly able to overcome this concern by reassuring them of my independence from the Council, but there may be information which was withheld from my research as a result of the collaboration with the Council. Overall I feel that the enhanced access and information I gained from the collaboration has been central to the research findings and probably outweighs anything which may have been withheld.

The research was instigated by the Economic Development and Planning Department which undoubtedly had some influence on the direction and focus of the research. The Department is primarily concerned with economic development activity although it should be noted that it is in this department that early regeneration work by the Council was carried out.[2] The research is concerned with both economic and community development, but the relationship with the Economic Development and Planning Department meant that the research was initially designed and developed in conjunction with practitioners whose perspective stems from working in economic development. More research was undertaken within the Economic Development and Planning Department than any other of the County Council. Access was more readily gained within this department and interviews easily arranged. The community development work occurs in a number of different Council departments including the Community Support Unit. During the research it became apparent that the Community Support Unit officers had not been aware of, and felt excluded from, the work. I interviewed officers from the Community Support Unit (and other departments), observed them in different partnerships and had access to documents they produced including the community development strategy the Unit has been developing for the Council. There was an uneasy relationship between the departments and from this lack of communication a suggestion of silo working - a reflection on the integration of economic and community development work within Durham County Council.[3] The level of involvement with the Economic Development and Planning Department should be acknowledged and it recognised that the research may have been led in different directions if the collaboration had been with the Community Support Unit (or another department), and different officers had been involved in the supervision and formulation of the research project.[4] It should be noted that in terms of researching organisations outside the County Council the Economic Development and Planning

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[2] The Corporate Policy Team which has been leading on the County Durham Strategic Partnership work also falls under the banner of the Economic Development and Planning Department and the management of its director.

[3] Additionally, officers from the Community Support Unit were uneasy about Economic Development and Planning Department officers seeing interview transcripts (as I noted in Chapter Four section 4.2.4.2) further suggesting problematic relationships between the departments in the Council.

[4] As I discussed in Chapter Four the Economic Development and Planning Department officers who were involved in supervision did not completely steer the research, but undoubtedly they did have an influence in terms of the approach, the choice of case studies and helped in facilitating access to certain organisations/partnerships.

Department officers involved in the research were supportive in, and concerned with, including a wide variety of organisations and local residents'/interest groups in the research and were keen for me to investigate different types of development/activities. As discussed above the collaboration with the County Council may have influenced the research in terms of affecting the involvement of other organisations and actors, and the Economic Development and Planning Department has a particularly influential position in relation to other organisations and local groups. It plays a leading role in a number of partnerships in the County which are concerned with important funding streams for development and regeneration work. Some research participants were concerned about the involvement of Durham County Council officers in the supervision of the research (seeing interim reports and evidence), but I managed to allay most fears and do not think the research was detrimentally affected.

The collaborative nature of the project raised a number of issues and an important one of these yet to have been discussed is ownership. "[T]he involvement of other people in the research design, facilitation and examination of the results renders the lines of ownership [in a collaborative project] a little less clear-cut than in a non-collaborative research project" (Macmillan and Scott, 2003: p102). Macmillan and Scott (2003) distinguish between *de jure* ownership which remains with the researcher and *de facto* ownership which relates to the claims which can be made over the research and can be affected by a number of different factors, a significant one being time. It took time for me to establish a feeing of real ownership of the research as the project aims and to a certain extent methodology (based on case studies and observation at County Hall) had been agreed before I became involved in the research. The County Council officers involved (and academic supervisors) were more knowledgeable about the project aims and research setting.[5] As the work progressed I adopted revised aims (Chapter One section 1.2) to take the research in the direction I wanted to follow and my knowledge of the research setting increased.

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[5] However, as I have already discussed the County Council officers involved in the research were keen not to contaminate the research and for me to direct the research process.

As I was the only person actually undertaking the fieldwork and evaluating the evidence I became the most informed stakeholder in the research.[6]

There is potential in a collaborative project for there to be tensions between the needs and expectations of the researcher and the collaborating organisation. Durham County Council has been very open in terms of the direction and approach the research has taken. The Council expects the research to provide policy/practice recommendations, but aside from the need for these to address issues surrounding the integration of economic and community development it has placed no demands as to the particular aspects these may cover. Of course, there is a possibility that when the research is fed back to the Council and its partners, particularly the County Durham Economic Partnership, they may feel that the research does not meet their expectations, but I do not anticipate there to be any major problems in this respect. I have endeavoured to include County Council officers at all stages of the research and to keep them up-to-date with progress and the direction the research has taken.

There is a further issue in terms of expectations which concerns the involvement of organisations and actors outside of the formal collaborating organisation. Many organisations in the case study areas allowed me to observe them and gave up a lot of their time and resources for the research. As I discussed in Chapter Four, some people/organisations appeared to believe that their involvement in the research may be of benefit to them in terms of their relationship with the County Council or in getting their opinions or experiences recognised. In some instances organisations have also indicated or hinted that they are expecting the research to provide them with an evaluation of their organisation or work. As I cannot guarantee that the research will be of direct benefit to any particular organisation and it was not the intention of the research to provide in-depth analysis of the different organisations I took time to explain the purpose of the research to participants and tried to re-emphasise this when there was an apparent conflict of expectations. I will feed back the research findings to all participants in the form of a document or presentation and although I have tried to avoid such an occurrence it is possible that the research

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[6] As I discussed in Chapter Four, I spent time at the beginning of the research project becoming more familiar with the research setting and undertook observation at Durham County Council's County Hall from the early stages of the work.

may not meet the expectations of some organisations. It is also possible that individual organisations may not agree with all of the findings and recommendations and this will need to be managed.

Central to the design of the research was the comparison of different case study areas within the County. Undertaking a tri-partite analysis allowed me to explore the significance of place within the integration of economic and community development. County Durham has different types of rural areas which vary in their environments and socio-economic histories. The selection of case studies was based on being able to compare ex-coalmining and a more typically rural (if such a term can be used) agricultural area. It was believed that different areas may face different issues in development/regeneration activity and the variation may be significant in attempts to integrate economic and community development, thereby being an issue policy makers would need to consider in their approach in the County. Importantly the case study approach allowed me to highlight where there were also similarities between the areas so I was also able to identify factors which did not vary according to place as well as those which did. Undertaking work in three areas did bring with it inevitable constraints mostly with regard to time, for example not being able to attend meetings which occurred at the same time in the different areas. Fortunately this did not occur too often and by requesting the paperwork for meetings I was able to keep up-to-date with what was occurring in different areas and organisations. Observing meetings rather than only reading the associated documents has been significant to the research findings, if too many clashes of meetings or events had occurred it would have been problematic in terms of the comparative research approach and the research findings may have been different. An alternative approach would have been to conduct an in-depth analysis of economic and community development within one area. This would have been advantageous in terms of the amount of time I would have been able to spend in the area and would have allowed a more detailed approach, but would not have allowed the significance of place to be considered.

I chose to employ observation methods in order to study the issues in the case study areas. I could have adopted a different approach, for example asking people to document their experiences of partnership working after each meeting over a period

of time perhaps including who they spoke to, how they felt about different partners, whether anything was constraining the activities of the partnership. However, actually being there and observing the groups I believe has been central to the research findings. Not all discussion and interactions are recorded in documents such as minutes of meetings, which is one reason why I decided not to rely entirely upon documentary sources. If people had been left to record events for the research it would have been difficult to gauge how honest they had been and whether anything else had occurred which I may have believed to be significant, but they felt to be irrelevant.

Although I undertook observation in each of the areas, in addition to interviews and documentary research, I could have adopted a more ethnographic approach and actually lived in each of the case study areas for a period of time such as the approach adopted by Bennett *et al.* (2000). Such an approach would have been advantageous allowing me to find out more about life in the areas, and become a more familiar face within the local populations. Being seen living within the area may have allowed me to gain more trust and credibility amongst the local population. In turn I may have been given access to more information or possible research settings. The main reason for not undertaking this approach was the financial constraint on the project. Although I did not live in the case study areas, as I discussed in Chapter Four, I tried to spend a lot of time in the field in order to become a familiar face and gain trust. In addition to attending meetings I spent time talking to people involved in the organisations outside of formal interview situations. I also attended local events and used facilities/services in the area. As I spent more time in the areas I started to 'blend in' and gain more trust and access which was beneficial for the research.[7] Whether I lived in the areas or not I would never be accepted as a local. Acknowledgement must be given, as in any social science research, of the effect of the researcher on what they are researching. My presence at meetings will have affected them, as I noted in Chapter Four, and by undertaking interviews I have also influenced the research participants. I tried not to participate

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[7] Developing contacts in each of the case study areas did take longer than I had anticipated. I did not discover some of the more interesting contacts and groups until later in the research process (giving me less time to observe and study them), but I cannot be sure that I would have found or made these contacts any sooner if I had been living in the areas.

in what I was observing, particularly when for instance asked to give my opinion in meetings, but it must be recognised that I will have affected what I observed.

I have discussed how the collaborative nature of the research and the approach taken, including observation of meetings, facilitated access to key actors within county level organisations and in the case study areas. One of the main problems I encountered during the research was in accessing members of the public who were not involved in local activity. One of the most significant issues identified by the research was that there are only very few local people who are active in development/regeneration work - most of the public are disengaged. I wanted to interview people who were not involved in local activity as well as those who were in order to find out why they were not involved, were not active citizens. I was able to arrange interviews with people who were participating in activity relatively easily. On many occasions potential interviewees recognised me from meetings and knew of my research interest and I could often request interviews in person after events I had observed. In terms of finding people who were not involved in local activity I was reluctant to approach people in the case study areas by cold calling in the street or at their homes. I asked people in organisations within the case study areas to suggest people (friends/neighbours) who they believed were not involved in local activity and I could ask to interview. This raised two problems. First, people who were not involved in local activity were less likely to be interested in the research or willing to devote their time to it. Second, people who were suggested were often involved in local activity at least in a small way, they were members of local organisations (if not the most active members, or in organisations I had not observed or was not aware of) or had been involved in consultations. Although I did interview people who were not the most active residents in the case study areas I cannot claim to have reached those who are the most disengaged.

The policy environment changes rapidly. As I noted in Chapter Four, in order to keep abreast of what was occurring in the case study areas and at a county level during the writing up stages of the work I continued to receive papers for meetings and occasionally observed meetings I felt to be of particular significance for the

research which I believe was a useful strategy.[8] Owing to the number of interviews I undertook (and the timescale of the research) I did not conduct formal follow-up interviews or send every interviewee a copy of the interview transcript to comment on. Such strategies are recommended and given a longer time period I would have liked to employ them, but I did not want to sacrifice the number of different people and organisations I included in the research. If there were issues I wanted to clarify following interviews, or new developments I wished to consider during the writing up stages of the research, I contacted research participants and held informal discussions.

6.4   CONCLUSIONS

6.4.1 Theoretical implications

There has been an increase in partnership working, involving the public, private, voluntary and community sectors, within development/regeneration activity in County Durham. In this context the concept of networked governance is a useful one in understanding the plethora of actors and agencies involved. Notions of a shift from government to a new governance, suggest that there is a greater number of actors involved. My evidence shows that in County Durham there may be a few more people involved in governance compared to government, but on the whole it is the same people who are active. Some of the individuals who were involved in government are now acting under a different guise, or wearing different 'hats', for example the public sector employees who are also active local residents. In terms of local people's participation it is largely the usual suspects who are involved and there is a number of reasons for this. Members of the public may not be interested in participating (or may not believe that participating will create change). There are also practical barriers to local people's engagement in partnership working. The same people who were excluded previously are excluded now. It is erroneous to suggest, therefore, that there is mass participative democracy and a much larger number of actors involved in governance compared to government. How different governance and government actually are is arguably questionable and can be further

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[8] In some instances it was difficult to maintain contact with groups because they removed me from mailing lists or I was not sure if I was receiving all of the information.

cast into doubt when considering power relationships. The same people who were powerful under government are active and powerful within governance. Additionally, the dominance of the public sector within partnerships in terms of the number of actors and the role public sector organisations play indicates that there has not been a shift in the balance of power within governance. Power and control still largely remain with government.

The governmentality literature has been criticised for its use of complex theoretical language (MacKinnon, 2000; see Curtis, 1995; Frankel, 1997). Whilst the language may be complex the governmentality approach does appear, as MacKinnon (2000; 2002) argues, to offer important insights for research on local governance.[9] The concepts of governmental technologies and practices help in understanding how the state is able to "monitor and steer the activities of local institutions" (MacKinnon, 2000: p311). Understanding community appraisals and targets as governmental technologies has been central to the analysis in this research. One of the most important findings from my research concerns the reception and operation of governmental technologies at the local level. As I described in Chapter Five, development/regeneration work is being presented in certain ways and targets interpreted in particular ways by local actors in order to demonstrate that governmental targets are being met. Such a finding suggests that the operation of governmental technologies is not necessarily smooth. A number of commentators have argued that the possibility of contestation and resistance is not easily accommodated within the governmentality literature (Curtis, 1995; Frankel, 1997; O'Malley *et al.*, 1997; Bevir, 1999; MacKinnon, 2000). The governmentality approach is criticised for its view of governmental programmes as coherent, downplaying the agency of individuals and institutions. Local institutions and actors should be considered as they can affect the influence of governmental agendas in specific contexts (Bevir, 1999; Murdoch, 2000; MacKinnon, 2002) an argument which is supported by my research. As MacKinnon (2000: p311) concludes, the governmentality approach provides "a framework for examining how governmental programmes and technologies are received and experienced by sub-national institutions", but currently this issue is not adequately addressed in the

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[9] According to MacKinnon (2000: p311; 2002: p321) the insights are not, however, "necessarily exclusive" to (neo-)Foucauldian theory.

governmentality literature. By highlighting the significance of the agency of local institutions in the implementation of targets (governmental technologies) at the local level in development/regeneration work in County Durham my research is hopefully a small contribution to research within this neglected area.

In Chapter Two I discussed how community is a socio-cultural construct and what, or rather who, constitutes the community should be central in research concerning a shift from government to governance and notions of a new governmentality of governing through community.[10] My research has shown that in terms of community involvement in governance the community is a small number of people, those who are willing to become involved. Additionally, a number of the active members of communities have, either currently or previously, a role within government. As I have already discussed, these findings cast doubt as to how different government and governance are. Following this the suggestion that there is a new governmentality of governing through community must also be questioned.

The governmentality approach can be used to explain how the community is constructed in particular ways by government through the use of governmental technologies such as community appraisals. My research shows that in County Durham the definitions of community are being influenced by the actions of government. It may be easier to develop geographical communities as agents of government, but there are different types of community and communities of interest are, at least starting to be, incorporated within development/regeneration work. Local people are active in development/regeneration work and in some ways government is increasing this activity, but this is not to the extent which may be expected owing to commentaries of a shift to governing through community. Within County Durham many people are not active citizens and this is problematic from a governmentality perspective. The possibility, or incidence, of people not becoming engaged in processes of governing is not addressed within the governmentality literature. There is an assumption in notions of governing through community that there are active citizens. A number of suggestions can be made as to why so many people are not engaged: is it because people are completely eliminated or alienated

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[10] The concept of community has often been employed rhetorically within the governmentality literature.

from the political process; are people satisfied with the system of representative democracy (do they feel that there is no need for participative democracy)? Detailed examination of this issue is necessary and was outside the focus of this research, but my findings suggest that to a certain extent people are excluded from governance and some people do claim to be satisfied with current processes. Further to this, as my research shows from the cases of the ex-coalmining areas in County Durham, when people are multiply socially excluded and multiply disadvantaged many feel that there is no real point in becoming involved in local governance. Additionally, as I have also highlighted, there are practical barriers to engagement/participation. The reasons for people's lack of engagement may vary, which may be significant in terms of policy (see below). In terms of theory recognition that many people are not active citizens is a significant qualification to suggestions of a new governmentality of governing through community (at least within the context of County Durham). People not becoming engaged in local activity can be interpreted as a form of resistance to a governmentality of governing through community. As such it provides further support for the argument that agency, in this case of the people who constitute communities, needs to be accommodated within the governmentality approach. Recognising people's lack of involvement suggests two different arguments in terms of the claims that there has been a shift in governmentality. It can be argued that there are genuine attempts by government to govern through community, but the approach is not working, or at least as the example of County Durham shows it is not working everywhere. My research suggests that intra-region differences are having little influence here and that attempts at governing through community are not working throughout the County; it may be that in other parts of the country a different story can be told. An important issue here is that development/regeneration work may be most needed in areas where local people are least likely to become engaged. A second, quite different, argument is that people's disengagement may be part of the new governmentality. Government may not actually want local activism, but by appearing to hand over responsibility to communities, for example for development/regeneration work, it can exonerate itself from the failure of initiatives. This suggests that in other parts of the country a similar story would be found with regard to a lack involvement by members of the public despite notions of a shift to governing through community.

A further point needs to be made with regard to the rural focus of the work. As the governmentality approach has been developed within urban based literature rural research has the potential to assess the "wider applicability" of, and offer new insights to, the approach (Woods and Goodwin, 2003: p258). The incidence of many people not being active citizens within my rural based research is particularly significant. It is often assumed, as I discussed in Chapter Two, that rural areas have natural communities. In policy documents (such as the 1995 Rural White Paper) rural areas are portrayed/constructed as having communities consisting of skilled individuals who want to become involved in local activity (DoE and MAFF, 1995; Murdoch, 1997; see also DETR and MAFF 2000). It needs to be recognised that there are differences between areas which are classified as rural, the coalfields being an important example of this. My case study research was designed in order to compare different rural areas and I anticipated differences between the ex-coalmining areas of Wingate/Station Town and the Dene Valley and the agricultural area of Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale. Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale is described by some people as a 'real' rural area and has a local stereotype of having an active and empowered local population. I found there to be problems with a lack of engagement in this area as well as the ex-coalmining areas. In Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale local activity has achieved a great deal, but again it is a small number of people who are involved, many whom have different roles (and some a connection with government). Although rural areas may be constructed as consisting of communities which can be interpreted as ideal for acting as agents of government, in reality, and if people's disengagement is not considered to be part of the governmentality, the notion that government is, or can be successful at, governing through community can be questioned by these findings.

Following my experience of conducting this rural focused research I also feel the need to briefly reflect on the category rural. I briefly discussed in Chapter Two the contested nature of the concept and I found it to be a difficult category to handle/manage within the research. The ex-coalfield areas of County Durham (as in other places) are now categorised as rural, although sometimes distinguished as 'industrial rural' as opposed to 'real rural'. They suffer from a mixture of problems, both those more commonly associated with rural areas, for example physical isolation, and those typically thought of as urban problems (see Coalfields Task

Force, 1998). In County Durham there are some differences in the level of deprivation and problems faced by the 'industrial rural' and 'real rural' areas. However, in terms of the claims of a shift from government to governance and notions of a change in governmentality the issues highlighted in this research were common to both types of rural area.

6.4.2 Policy/practice implications

There are several implications/suggestions for policy/practice arising from the research findings. Before turning to these I want to discuss an issue I came across during the research process which I would argue is significant in integrating different strands of development activity (including economic and community development) and in pulling together the efforts of different actors and organisations. As I detailed in Chapter Four as part of my case study area selection I attempted to construct a matrix of all of the economic and community development activity being undertaken in the County, but discovered that this information was not readily available. This poses a number of questions around how decisions are made as to the types of activity which are required in particular places and on the targeting of areas. In order to undertake an integrated approach to economic and community development I would argue there needs to be knowledge of what is occurring and has previously occurred in areas and where there are gaps which need to be addressed. As there is ongoing and has been previous development work - the areas are not a blank canvas - if this information became available it could be employed in the design and targeting of future initiatives. Current activity/efforts could also be integrated both in terms of bringing different organisations/actors together and identifying if additional activity is required. It can be argued that it is practically impossible to gather information on every activity which could be considered economic and community development or regeneration work particularly as the definitions of which, as I have discussed in this thesis, are contested/slippery and there are many different organisations/actors involved. However, if organisations could record/map their activity and the work of organisations they are funding and this could be pooled it would be a useful resource within the County. A constraint on gathering the information is the availability of resources, including time. Durham County Council had to abandon databases which contained the information as they

did not contain the financial information that concerned funders. Officers are keenly aware of the benefits that would come from mapping activity, the coverage of funding streams and initiatives. I would argue that this work should be undertaken and supported by partners. The County Durham Strategic Partnership is perhaps best placed in the County to undertake this work, but in order for it to be possible there needs to be recognition of its value amongst all partners and support in terms of funding.

The operation of partnerships significantly affects local people's (community) involvement in governance. At a strategic level partnerships are now having to involve residents and members of interest groups to meet the requirements of Government and other funders or new partnerships which involve local people are developing. Time is needed to establish this involvement, however. Resources are required before local representatives need to be in place in the partnerships. This is often not catered for in the timescales of new initiatives resulting in the engagement of the usual suspects or local people coming later to the process. This can result in local representatives feeling that they have not been able to influence crucial early decisions. As I discussed in Chapter Five, representativeness is a huge problem in terms of the involvement of residents and members of interest groups and it is practically impossible to find people who are deemed representative. Organisations are seeking to get past the usual suspects, but this is hindered by available time and problems with engaging other people. There are questions over the representativeness of democratically elected councillors and the accountability of other elected local representatives which need to be considered. If government genuinely wants local people to be involved in partnerships it needs to consider this in the design and timescale of the programmes and provide the necessary financial resources. Further thought needs to be given as to how local people can and should be represented. It may be that partnerships or projects need to be funded for a year zero, before outcomes are expected, in order to give time for structures to be developed. Local people could then be involved before financial decisions, for example, are made. Some partnerships in County Durham, such as the Local Strategic Partnerships, have representatives from local organisations in addition to local councillors, which may be one way in which to try to resolve concerns over representativeness (although it is likely that this could never be solved to everyone's

satisfaction). Unless efforts are made on these issues (so called) community involvement will continue to be charged with being tokenism.

I found that local residents (and members of interest groups) also faced problems with the jargon (discourses) used in development/regeneration partnerships, and can lack confidence in the meetings which are often conducted in a local authority style. These are problems which are well documented in the literature and partners can take steps to solve them if they are recognised. Practitioners may be able to support local people in their involvement by providing help with interpreting technical documents. Extra meetings could be considered, at least during the development of partnerships, to build the capacity of local people and ensure they feel confident with the topics, and particularly any technical details being discussed. It may also be possible to change the style and structure of meetings so all partners are able to participate without feeling intimidated by formal procedure. Timing is also an issue both in terms of the time of meetings and representatives of local organisations (or individual members of the public) being able to attend them given their day jobs and other commitments and the timing of communications. Minutes and other papers for meetings often arrive with little time for local representatives to read them and share the information/consult with other people within their organisations/area/interest group before meetings. Local authorities often undertake the secretariat role and their staff are under a lot of pressure as the number of partnerships increases (see below).

Difficulty in engaging the private sector is also a well known problem in partnership working and a particular problem in rural areas where there may be little economic activity or only small companies. Private sector organisations often do not have the capacity to commit staff time to partnership working. As I noted in Chapter Five, Durham County Council have used a business sounding board in order to involve the private sector without demanding a large time commitment. If such a group was established it could be called upon by different partnerships and increase private sector participation in a way which may be more appealing to that sector. My findings also suggest that private sector representatives, like local residents, may be daunted by the jargon used in development/regeneration partnerships and the committee style of meetings with their unfamiliar formalities such as speaking

through the chairperson. Again, they may benefit from a change in the structure or organisation of meetings and support from practitioners.

The proliferation of partnership working is increasing the workload of practitioners in addition to requiring input by the private sector and members of the public. In County Durham there has been work to rationalise the partnerships concerned with economic development, particularly their associated working groups. In the past different partnerships have operated for the different funding streams. Rationalising the partnerships reduces the number of meetings and allows decisions to be made on projects/initiatives which require support from different funding streams. Additionally, reducing the number of partnerships practitioners are involved with may allow some resources to be invested in building relationships with local people and members of the private sector and supporting their involvement in partnerships.

Local partnerships which have been supported by public or voluntary sector organisations, for example as they are being established or through the provision of secretariat support, can be seriously affected if support is removed. Progress of partnerships' work slows down and, at least some work, may cease if people do not feel comfortable or able to continue without the support. The membership of partnerships may decrease. Support for local partnerships needs to be phased out carefully, so local people feel confident to continue and still have contacts they can call on for help. Local partnerships cannot be expected to work at the rate they did with agency help when it is removed. It should be noted, however, that some key activists in County Durham have remained committed when support has been removed and they will persist in order to achieve their goals.

The activity funders are willing to support, their targets and requirements are central to what development/regeneration work occurs (the types of development/regeneration work, where it occurs and how long for). Groups can be deterred from applying for particular streams of funding owing to the demands of funders (the difficulty and amount of bureaucracy) and some local activity may be completely prevented. This suggests that funders really need to look at what they are asking of applicants if they genuinely want local people to undertake development/regeneration work. Although accountability is necessary in the

distribution of public money, making the bureaucracy attached to funding commensurate with the amount of money applied for may mean fewer local groups are discouraged from making applications for projects. Fewer demands on applicants would also help practitioners working at the local level. As this research has shown, however, individuals and organisations are working around Government and other funders' requirements in some cases in order to achieve support for work they wish to see happen. Organisations may be able to influence the level of targets or negotiate what work can be undertaken in some ways. Control from the centre of government is a major influence and an important constraint/limiting factor on policy change at the local level (see below). Local organisations in any sector need to be given the power by, for example, central government and its bodies at a regional level, to undertake work which is supported and desired at the local level.

Although community involvement in governance is required and desired by government many people are not active citizens and this is a huge problem for practitioners who are trying to engage local people in development/regeneration work. There may be numerous reasons why people are not engaged, as I outlined in the previous section. My research findings show that there are problems with disengagement in all of the areas, but they also suggest that place may be a significant factor in terms of tackling this issue. The socio-economic history, policy history and cultures in the case study areas underlie people's reluctance to become involved in activity. Policy makers and strategists need to be aware of the significance of place in this regard. Approaches to stimulating people's involvement in activity may need to be locally specific. In parts of County Durham which were designated as Category D areas there may need to be a great deal of visible change and activity by public sector organisations in order to instil confidence in residents that the area can change. Capacity building work may be required to enable people to have a strong influence on the changes. As I have discussed, people's lack of engagement in the different rural areas of County Durham challenges the conceptions and constructions of rural areas as having self-reliant communities that are willing and able to become involved in and undertake development/regeneration work. For local people (or more local people) to become active in these areas confidence and capacity building type work needs to be done and practical barriers to involvement such as lack of transport or childcare may need to be overcome. The

research would need to be extended to include urban areas to consider how the nature of this work may vary between urban and rural areas.

Local activity is being stimulated and enhanced by practitioners working in a personal capacity outside of their day jobs as residents or members on interest groups. The influence and potential of practitioners (including retired practitioners) contributing to local development/regeneration activity in a personal capacity should be investigated further. In Teesdale District Council officers have gone 'native' in order to stimulate activity. It was argued by some practitioners that this approach is only possible owing to the problems not being as severe as in other parts of the County, the small scale of the local authority and its small budget. For these reasons it is claimed that it is not replicable although I would argue that that lessons may be learnt from the experience in Teesdale. Practitioners in Teesdale participated in activity in their own time because they believed in the local organisations and saw them as a vehicle for delivering what the Council also wanted to achieve. Formal involvement may be as beneficial if members of the public sector have flexible working hours and can dedicate time to local groups outside of usual working hours. Encouraging practitioners to use their skills in their local area whether or not they work in the same place would appear to be beneficial. The line between practitioners acting professionally and personally does, however, need to be clear if conflicts of interest are to be avoided.

Practitioners can feel that their efforts are constrained by the need to involve local people in everything they do and, particularly given the problems associated with generating involvement, they do not believe that it is always necessary. Local organisations on the other hand can feel constrained in their activities by funding requirements as I have discussed and can feel excluded from strategic work. How much influence members of the public should have on top-down work and the public/private (formal) sectors on bottom-up efforts is important in efforts towards integration, but is a difficult issue to resolve.

My research has shown how the definitions of community can be affected by governmental technologies such as community appraisals. There is increasing recognition of the plethora of communities, however, and the problems of

representativeness of so called community representatives. When designing mechanisms for involving local people, particularly in strategic level work there is an issue as to how geographical communities should be defined. Whether, for example, community representatives should represent the whole county, district, or smaller geographical areas. Determining the appropriate size of areas for community representatives to represent, at least on some occasions, for particular issues, or in certain places, may need to be locally determined rather than specified by, for example, central government.

Integrating the different strands of development work is hindered by the departmental structure of institutions such as local authorities, particularly, in County Durham, the County Council. Officers from different departments may work together in formulating policy/strategies, but (at least some) officers argue that the departmental structure prevents the frontline delivery of economic and community development being completely integrated. There is a need for a closer working relationship between officers working on community and economic development. Given the support for a holistic approach to development/regeneration, however, bringing these two departments into one, would not be the whole solution. All of the County Council departments need to work closely together, officers need to be aware of initiatives happening under the direction of other departments and be able to play a role in discussions and decisions. The departmental structure and lack of joined-up working within central government is also a significant influence. Government and other funders influence what work can be undertaken, although as my research has shown individuals and organisations at a local level can work around some apparent constraints.

In the same way that institutions have departmental structures new wider partnerships such as the County Durham Strategic Partnership consist of a network of different partnerships which each take responsibility for different strands of work. Although the Partnership brings different sectors and organisations together there is the potential for silo working to occur. The nesting of strategies is also an issue and is significant both in terms of different organisations and actors coming together and integrating different strands of development/regeneration activity. Organisations have their own strategies, targets and goals and in partnership working are asked to

contribute and sign up to others. Within the County Durham Strategic Partnership some of the different theme partnerships existed before the County Durham Strategic Partnership and had their own strategies before work was undertaken to produce an integrated vision for the well-being of the County. Making sure strategies are not contradictory is a concern. This is particularly the case within hierarchies of partnerships. In County Durham there have been issues, for example, as to how the Local Strategic Partnership strategies fit with the County Durham Economic Partnership strategy. There is a possibility that decisions taken in countywide partnerships may contradict or not fit alongside those taken in Local Strategic Partnerships creating conflict. The level at which decisions are, and should be, taken needs consideration and relates to the influence top-down and bottom-up actors/work have on each other. As partnerships in the County develop, strategies evolve and decisions are made those involved need to ensure different strands of development/regeneration work and different organisations are working towards the same, or complementary, goals.

As I have described, there is general agreement that development/regeneration should be holistic. There are, however, differences of opinion amongst practitioners and lay people as to how community and economic development should be undertaken in relation to each other, whether they should be simultaneous or approached in a particular order. My findings suggest that the work required and necessary approach in a particular place will be dependent on previous development/regeneration work and the role local people played in this, and the socio-economic history and culture of the area.

Many of the areas of policy and practice I have highlighted as needing to be addressed are recognised by policy makers and practitioners working within County Durham. The control exerted by central government (and other funders) limits the changes which can be made to policy and practice within the County. Although my research findings highlight the significance of local level agency, the way in which local actors (both practitioners working across the County and members of the public) can work around and within the constraints such as targets set by government, there are problems which cannot be overcome unless they are addressed at a higher level. Organisations have to work within the timescales of

government and implement initiatives sent down from different government departments (which are not joined-up themselves).

6.5   FUTURE WORK IDEAS

Following this research further areas of empirical work can be identified and, importantly, the findings suggest the need for future work with regard to the theoretical perspectives employed.   My findings require further support and explication from studies on the integration of economic and community development in other areas.   Similar studies in different parts of the UK would put the County Durham research into context and allow the identification of any wider (for example national) trends.   The rural focus of the research also poses questions as to how the research findings may differ if similar research was conducted in urban areas - comparative studies could be undertaken within County Durham and other parts of the UK.

Within County Durham the developing Local Strategic Partnerships and County Durham Strategic Partnership will undoubtedly have an influence on the integration of economic and community development.   Questions for further investigation of these partnerships include: whether or not they lead to a more holistic approach to development/regeneration   in   terms   of   both   policy-making   and implementation/delivery; whether they lead to a rationalisation of partnerships within the County; and what issues arise surrounding the bringing together of different strategies and how these are resolved.   The current research period has not allowed for in-depth investigation of these interesting areas.

There is a need for further empirical investigation of claims of a shift from government to governance and of a new governmentality.   Such research needs to go beyond the analysis of documents.   Analysis of official discourse needs to be supplemented by investigation of the policy process and what actually occurs on the ground in order to discover the differences between rhetoric and reality.   The multi-method approach employed in this research has been central to the findings which have questioned notions of a new governance and governing through community. Who actually constitutes the community needs to be the subject of future research.

The role of practitioners acting in a personal and professional capacity within local level activity should be considered. Empirical work could include the mapping of involvement to show the multiple positionalities of actors and also the level of involvement of individuals in different organisations and results from different areas compared to demonstrate any trends.

Further research is required within the governmentality literature on the effects of agency on governmental programmes and technologies and the possibility of resistance; how central control is influenced, modified or negotiated by the actions of local institutions and individuals. In the context of the integration of economic and community development work could consider whether people in other areas are presenting the work they want to do in particular ways in order to meet targets set by government.

Claims of a new governmentality of governing through community require further investigation. Notions of governing through community assume that there are active communities, but my evidence shows that many people are not involved in local activity. Research in areas where there may be a more active civil society such as the south east of England would provide a useful comparison for my research findings. If government is genuinely trying to involve local people (or communities) in governing, are inactive citizens (or communities) affecting the success of the mode of governmentality in different parts of the country? The current state is perhaps a transition phase and further work may be required on the processes of transition. Research should also consider, however, the suggestion that people's lack of engagement may be desired (or even relied upon) by government as a part of the governmentality.

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Project Description Handout

The following text was included in the project description handout given to research participants.

What the study aims to do

This is a collaborative research project between the Department of Geography, University of Durham and the Economic Development and Planning Department of Durham County Council. The overall aim of the research is to determine better arrangements for integrating 'top-down' strategic economic development and 'bottom-up' community development approaches to greater effect within the regeneration process in rural County Durham. Current mechanisms for combining economic and community development and the extent to which these could be improved will be explored. It is hoped that the research will inform policy and provide specific recommendations for Durham County Council to pursue with partners.

Why this work is important

Many people are excluded from the, often short-term, benefits of formal sector economic regeneration. To address such limitations there is a perceived need to link up these efforts with community economic development approaches. In recent years, changes in policy have resulted in new relationships between different levels of government and the development of partnerships in local areas between the public, private and voluntary/community sectors. There remain, however, problems with community involvement in partnership working and the translation of community needs into policy and practice. This research is focused on different areas of rural County Durham in order to address the significant variation between

the social and economic problems of settlements in, for example, the agricultural and ex-coal mining areas.

Questions the research will try to answer

The research will attempt to answer questions including:

- Which organisations are involved in tackling rural regeneration in County Durham?
- How do these organisations work together to tackle rural regeneration?
- How can the methods of combining economic and community development be improved?

What the research will involve

The research will involve detailed study of a number of economic regeneration projects in 3 case study areas. These are chosen to allow comparison of different projects and settlements within East, West and central County Durham. The case study research will last for 12 months. The research will involve interviews with people involved in the projects and members of the communities, attending relevant meetings and analysing documents. What is learnt from these detailed examinations will be used to provide recommendations as to how the public, private and community sectors can more effectively work together in economic regeneration activity.

How the study is organised

The research is being undertaken by a full-time research postgraduate in the Department of Geography, University of Durham. The research is supervised by 2 academics in the same Department: Professor Ray Hudson and Dr. Joe Painter. Both of the supervisors have extensive experience of researching economic and community development. Support is also provided by a wider advisory group which meets every few months.

How the research is funded

An Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) PhD studentship award funds the research, along with a smaller top-up grant from Durham County Council. The research began in October 2000 and is due for completion in September 2003.

For more details

For more information please contact Alison Scott, the project researcher

- at the Department of Geography, University of Durham on 0191 374 7303, or

- by email <u>A.L.Scott@durham.ac.uk</u>, or

- by writing to Alison Scott, Department of Geography, University of Durham, Science Laboratories, South Road, DURHAM, DH1 3LE.

List of Interviews

This appendix details all of the formal interviews. The first section lists interviews conducted with representatives of organisations operating at a regional, county or sub-county/district scale. These interviews focused on the work of the organisations and larger strategic partnerships in the County. Some of these interviews included discussions about particular case study areas. The following sections show the interviews which were primarily concerned with the case study areas. Again, there is some cross-over as a number of the interviewees work in organisations that operate across wider areas and are involved in strategic level partnerships. A list of the taped discussions is also provided.

Region/County/District

Jim Darlington	Government Office for the North East
Peter Hanley OBE	Government Office for the North East
Rick Martin	ONE NorthEast
Glyn Bateman	Countryside Agency
Mark Lloyd	Durham County Council
John Ashby	Durham County Council
Bob Ward	Durham County Council
Giles Dann	Durham County Council
Kevin Donkin	Durham County Council
Neil Charlton	Durham County Council
Peter Brookes	Durham County Council
Liz Charles/Craig Morgan	Durham County Council
Cllr Brian Walker	Durham County Council

Paul Mitchell	LEADER+ (Programme Co-ordinator)
Michael Jones	Business Link County Durham
John Pearson	Derwentside District Council
Janet Johnson/Graham Sewell	Sedgefield Borough Business Service
Leigh Vallance	Durham Rural Community Council
Peter Richards	Groundwork East Durham
Bryan Scott	Groundwork West Durham

Wingate/Station Town

Cllr Len O'Donnell	Durham County Council / Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Partnership / Wingate and Station Town Family Centre
John Smith	District of Easington
Tony Forster	District of Easington
Carol Jones	District of Easington
Kate Welch	Easington Action Team for Jobs
Cllr Mrs Joan Freak	District of Easington / Hutton Henry Parish Council / Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Partnership / Wingate and Station Town Family Centre / other local organisations
Alison Nutter	Wingate and Station Town Family Centre (Head of Centre)
Maureen Lenehan	Wingate Parish Council / Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Partnership / other local organisations
Joan Goodwin	Hutton Henry Parish Council / Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Partnership / other local organisations

Alf Pickering	Wingate, Station Town and Hutton Henry Partnership / Wingate and District Community Association / other local organisations
Margaret Smith	Wingate Community Centre Warden / Wingate and District Community Association
Non-participants (anonymous)	Local residents

Dene Valley

Cllr Phil Graham	Durham County Council
Bob Hope	Wear Valley District Council
Abby Thompson	Wear Valley District Council
Cllr Chris Foote-Wood	Wear Valley District Council / Dene Valley Parish Council / Dene Valley Community Partnership
Margaret Ingledew	Wear Valley District Council / Dene Valley Parish Council / Dene Valley Community Partnership / other local organisations
Keith Hodgson	Dene Valley Parish Council / ONE NorthEast
PC Scott Crowhurst	Durham Constabulary
Graham Pugh	Groundwork West Durham
Denise Sygrove	Dene Valley Community Partnership
Allyson Lowther	Dene Valley Community Partnership
Dave Hope	Dene Valley Community Transport Limited
Owen Humphrey	Action For Young Adults
Non-participants (anonymous)	Local residents / private sector

Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale

Cllr Alan Scott	Durham County Council / Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services
Tony Seaman	Teesdale District Council / Middleton Plus / Teesdale Marketing
Phil Hughes	Teesdale District Council / ONE NorthEast / Bowes Parish Council / Teesdale Citizens' Advice Bureau / other local organisations
David McKnight	Teesdale Market Towns Partnership (Healthcheck Co-ordinator)
Ann Johnstone/Trevor Carter	Teesdale Village Halls Consortium
John Miller	Middleton Parish Council / Middleton Plus
Judith Mashiter	Middleton Plus
Diane Spark	Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services
Richard Betton	Teesdale District Council / Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services / Middleton Plus / other organisations
Bill Oldfield	Teesdale Marketing / private sector
Julian Robinson	Middleton-in-Teesdale Community School Association / other local organisations
Hugh Becker	Norman Richardson House Middleton-in-Teesdale (not for profit local project) / other organisations
Ewan Boyd	Langdon Beck Youth Hostel / Forest and Frith Parish Council
Mr and Mrs Howson	Middleton Crafts (community-based craft retail association)

Non-participant (Mr Vallack)   Local resident

Recorded Discussions

Discussions were taped in meetings of the following groups:

Wingate Catholic Women's Guild

Dene Valley Evergreens (Craft and Culture Club) - in two separate meetings

Auckland Park Mothers and Toddlers

Observation

This appendix contains a list of the organisations (including their different working groups) I observed and events I attended during the course of the research. The list is divided into County level activities and those which relate to each case study area.

County

Durham County Council	Predominantly the Economic Policy Team of the Economic Development and Planning Department
County Durham Economic Partnership	Economic Forum Executive Group Officer Steering Group Economic Regeneration Working Group
East and West Durham Rural Priority Areas' Rural Development Programme Partnership	Joint Steering Committee Core Officer Working Group
County Durham Strategic Partnership	
Durham Rural Community Council	Annual General Meeting

Wingate/Station Town

Wingate, Station Town and Hutton
Henry Partnership

Wingate, Station Town and Hutton
Henry CARE (environmental) Group
Wingate, Station Town and Hutton
Henry Health Forum

Wingate and Station Town Family Centre	Management Committee
Wingate Community Centre	Official opening
Wingate Parish Council	Play scheme
Wingate Catholic Women's Guild	
Wingate Women's Institute	
East Durham Local Strategic Partnership	Local Strategic Partnership (full board)
	Community Network

Dene Valley

Dene Valley Community Partnership	Management Committee
	Management Committee training
	Dene Valley Community Transport
	Choices for Children Steering Group
	Dene Valley Evergreen's (Craft and Culture Club)
Dene Valley community appraisal event	
Dene Valley Sure Start	
Dene Valley Residents' Action Group	
Dene Valley Parish Council	
Auckland Park Mothers and Toddlers	
Wear Valley Local Strategic Partnership	Local Strategic Partnership (full board)
	Community Network
Bishop Auckland College	Annual Public Meeting

Middleton-in-Teesdale and Upper Teesdale

Middleton Plus	Community Forum
	Management Committee
	Away Days
	Business Team
Teesdale Market Towns Partnership	Partnership meetings
	Healthcheck consultation event
Launch of the Durham Market Towns Initiative	
Teesdale Marketing Limited	
Upper Teesdale Agricultural Support Services	Annual General Meeting
Middleton local business meeting	Meeting to establish a business forum
Middleton Carnival	
Teesdale Local Strategic Partnership	'Visioning' event
	Meeting to establish a Community Network
LEADER+	County Durham Local Action Group

This list is not exhaustive. I also attended a variety of one off meetings, events and conferences within the County, for example *Connecting Communities* a conference organised by Groundwork Trusts and a Durham conference on Neighbourhood Renewal at which a key speaker was Joe Montgomery, Director General of the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit.

Interview Transcription

This appendix provides some further details on the transcription process in the research and includes an example interview transcript. Transcription is a lengthy and time consuming process. Owing to the large number of interviews conducted (alongside participant observation work) I did have some help with transcription which is acknowledged in the thesis.[1] Most of the interviews were transcribed verbatim. I did produce some summary transcripts and if I wanted to quote from these I fully transcribed the relevant sections. As I detailed in Chapter Four section 4.2.2, full transcripts had to be sent to some interviewees in order to get permission to use the evidence. Other people asked to see any quotations which were selected for inclusion in the thesis. A small number of interviews were not transcribed (owing to time and because they had not been particularly fruitful/relevant), but notes taken during the interviews were used and sections transcribed if necessary.

As I was not undertaking detailed discourse analysis features such as pauses were not included in transcripts. Square brackets at the beginning and ends of lines were used to indicate overlap of speech. Square brackets were used to indicate actions or summarise discussions. Words which were not clear on tape were enclosed in round brackets and words particularly emphasised were italicised. Before using any quotations in the thesis the sections of interview were listened to again on tape in case of any significant nuances and to check punctuation. In quotations used in the thesis duplicated words are not included.

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[1] Durham County Council provided a small amount of help with the transcription of one interview and I took care when arranging this to ensure that it was not a contentious interview and access to the transcript was not given to any other officer.

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

Interview with Keith Hodgson, Senior Development Executive, ONE NorthEast, and Dene Valley Parish Councillor, 29 July 2002 at County Hall, Durham.[2]

AS   Alison Scott

KH   Keith Hodgson

Acronyms used:

DTI   Department of Trade and Industry

LSP   Local Strategic Partnership

NRF   Neighbourhood Renewal Fund

RDC   Rural Development Commission

RDP   Rural Development Programme

RES   Regional Economic Strategy

SRB   Single Regeneration Budget

SRI   Settlement Renewal Initiative

Numbers indicate tape counter. Transcribed in the format discussed above.

TAPE ONE SIDE A

000

AS   Can we start with the Dene Valley?

KH   Fine Yea I mean I've bumped into you at different meetings at different levels all over the place. I've found it really curious.

[short discussion about seeing each other at different meetings]

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[2] Keith Hodgson granted permission for this transcript to be reproduced.

AS   OK if we start with general things what do you think are the key issues affecting the area?

KH   Now, we're talking in the rural context aren't we or is it just general?

AS   Just in the Dene Valley.

KH   Well I think it's apathy really, I think the general feeling is that those in authority just don't don't aren't committed and that the Dene Valley just isn't important.   I think that er that sums it up and consequently people aren't interested to get involved.

AS   Right.   Is it the same in each of the little villages or are there variations between?

KH   It all depends on personalities, it is all very much, you know it is a microcosm the Dene Valley, everyone (must) know everyone and there's so many jealousies around the little villages that make up Dene Valley, so one one particular person can take the lead opinion in that community.   So say for instance in Auckland Park, which is one part of Dene Valley, it just takes one person's opinion to be voiced and that becomes the opinion of that little erm hamlet.

AS   Hmmn Are there any tensions between the villages?

KH   Cor I'll say Yes major, I don't know why, but it goes back a long way and I think it's jealousies you know and resentment, if one part of the Dene Valley is perceived to be getting you know some investment, you know the others are jealous of them.   As a result one part doesn't want to co-operate with another part. (petty erm petty jealousy)

AS   Do you consider it to be an urban or rural area?

KH   Oh rural.

AS Does that make any difference to the problems that it has?

KH Yes because erm you know it is access to services is the problem. Bishop Auckland is the service centre and it's you know outside of Dene Valley, its connections with you know the main services are outside of the you community. It is not very far away, but you know it's perceived to be a barrier.

AS What about the fact that it is an ex-mining area?

KH Well, typically it it shares a lot of erm issues with other areas you know like Willington, it being an ex-mining community, but it's such a long time ago since Dene Valley had any industry, the employment base has been gone for a long time, so the decline and the level of disadvantage is tolerated it's accepted, you know people have accepted it now. There is no you know there's resentment that it has gone back a bit, (it is operating(/ed) at the whole level), whereas differences in East Durham for example, in Horden or Easington, the collieries, there is still a fairly recent memory of colliery life and erm and people don't have to look back so far to know what the benefits were, whereas in the Dene Valley, we are probably into the third generation or more of families who have never experienced that level of economic activity. But people aren't employed locally and the benefits aren't shared out locally.

050

AS You said a bit about it there actually in Durham, but is there anything else that you can think of about how the area compares to other parts of the County?

KH I suppose it has connection with the you know former coalfield like you have in East Durham erm but there are areas in the North Pennines, such as Nenthead, where the industry left a long, long time ago and the population just drifted away with the with the employment. I think the I think the population (today) in Dene Valley has got to its lowest point, about 2 500 population, I'm not sure what it was erm but there doesn't seem to be any reason why the

population lives there. In some other places like Nenthead and what have you the the reasons for living there are, no longer exist, but people just persist in living in their home area on a family-tied basis, their family have lived there so they continue to live there and that's the reason. So I wonder whether or not society is becoming less mobile in some respects, talking about you know we are in a mobile society, but it is not always the case. When the when the pits were being opened up in the nineteenth century, there was an influx of people from all over the rest of the country to come to work in County Durham in the pits, so there was some mobility (very difficult), whereas now the pits that were in Dene Valley have closed, people still you know find a reason to live there, it's curious. You would think they would move (but not)

AS   What about within the region, how does it compare?

KH   I suppose it's typical with some of the south east Northumberland coalfield erm former mining villages. Similarly you have got your new towns that have opened up to provide employment and housing and all the rest of the services. Some of these mining villages still cling on erm and persist.

AS   What would you say are strengths and weaknesses of the community then?

KH   I would have said some sort of social cohesion, although you can see that's breaking down round the edges, social cohesion I suppose. I think the family life that people had in the past when there was employment, these people cling to that and they don't want to let go. There's still a strong sense of community through through family, through chi you know growing up in the area.

AS   What about the weaknesses?

KH   Er the resistance is to accept change I think. The attitude is that er the Council should do something about it, ( ) an attitude of 'Why doesn't somebody do something about it', that means the Council and inevitably the Council are the one organisation that the local people look to for support for everything, for a lead.

AS   How would you like to see things change?

KH   I would like to see people work together more closely, I'd like see more
     volunteers show show an interest, I would like to see more enthusiasm, I would
     like to see people break have a break from the past and look forward. When
     you when you're a newcomer and you talk to people in the area you talk about
     the past and what happened in the past and how things have changed and
     deteriorated and the loss the loss of jobs, loss of houses and loss of values.

AS   What would you say the community spirit is like?

KH   Erm it's not great, if you go back to the '77 Silver Jubilee celebration, you
     could say this across the country, there was more interest in in doing
     something as a community, as a street, I don't think that is there any more, but
     that's not peculiar to Dene Valley. There is too much negative, people find it
     too easy to criticise.

AS   Just before we go any further, when we talk about community, how do how do
     you think of it how would you define it?

KH   The neighbourhood level, talking about a few streets in in Dene Valley terms it
     would be Auckland Park or ...., that would be my view, my definition of
     community. You couldn't call Dene Valley as an entity, as one community,
     there are factions (in the circle).

114

AS   So when you talk about it at neighbourhood level would you include
     businesses and residents or ?

KH   I don't erm I know there are businesses in the Dene Valley, but you know they
     have such a low profile to be almost out of the frame, they are not leaders.
     You now some of the shops in Spencer Street they operate out of boarded-up

shop fronts, there is no window, they have been put out, so to protect them they board it up, it's strange isn't it?

AS   They might not even know they are there then.

KH   Exactly, when I first came to the area within within the in the Rural Development Commission, I was in the area and someone said 'Oh yes there are businesses but some of them operate with boarded-up windows and doors so you think they are closed'. The local people know they are open, it really keeps a low profile doesn't it.

[laughing]

KH   Not really here

AS   Can you tell me how the Parish Council was started.

KH   Chris Foote-Wood started the Parish Council, he was the driving force.

AS   So it was his idea?

KH   He er he has always wanted to have another level of government you know which was local, which was concerned with Dene Valley and er he has been trying to establish a Parish Council for a number of years.

AS   So were you actually involved with setting it up?

KH   Not really no, Chris did all the leg work, he arranged to call at everyone's er house and seek signatures on a petition, so he has done all that, so he made application for the Parish Council and once you've got the go ahead, you know elections (were called), he canvassed opinions and interest and that's where I got involved.

AS   Why was one needed?

KH   Well I think one is needed to give a voice to the locality, it hasn't got a high profile, I don't think it's considered to be a priority within the District or within the County. I thought the Parish was an opportunity to raise the profile of the of the area and they canvass support within the district and county levels. It is going to be a long business to er to raise that profile. What most Parish Councils that have been in existence you know are accepted, (perceived) to have been there, whereas the Parish Council in Dene Valley is a new one, expectations may have been raised among local residents and they expect to see results immediately or within at least in a matter of months, but I don't think that is possible. It should go back to er people's interests and the people who are on the Parish Council are not exactly a dynamic bunch of people, I have to say this and be recorded. To be honest, these people who have volunteered their time to commit some effort to develop things I would expect, but it is not exactly dynamic. I like to jump in with the ideas but there is no-one to back me up in a lot of cases, so its er 'Oh I haven't fed the pigeons so I will have to go early'.

KH   Such like

163

AS   What would you say are the aims of the Council?

KH   Well you now this is an issue for me, each at the beginning of each year we set the precept, we agree to a figure and I say 'OK, what does that buy us?' I ask Chris the question and put him on the spot, 'What's that buy us, why do we vote (in an extra) amount of money?', when we have got some in the bank already, 'rainy day money'. I say no let's have a shopping list, let's have some ideas that we are going to follow through with, so I can't answer that really, the Chair very much sets the agenda, erm I can press as hard or as often as I can but he need to er we need to have a Chairman working with us.

AS   What do you think is the role of the Council within the community?

KH   Well the Council should provide a lead and a voice for local residents. Local residents you know, know well the problems but they may not know how to seek some improvement, hopefully the Parish Council should be able to open doors at the at the right level and try and influence change. We can approach local authorities such as the District and County Council and argue the case and try to achieve some prioritisation and that's a long drawn out affair, we can't just demand something and have it happen, so we have to work you know work with the County, work with the District and try to get somewhere, get some investment.

AS   What sort of issues does it have a role in tackling?

KH   Public services, the environment, I would like to say the economy but I think that's it's too early days yet, but I would like to think that we could have a role in job creation but I think at the moment we are concerned more with public services and the environment, public services such as just transport and facilities. It has taken us this long, we are in our second year now, and taken us this long to get the Chairman to erm agree to go for grants from the Countryside Agency, do a Parish Plan you know. I keep chip chipping away but he has got other things, he has got a lot on, he can only do so much, but at the same time he won't let go and delegate or arrange for sub-groups to be set up, he likes to do it all himself. It has been hard trying to persuade him to er generate more activity, within the Parish Council there isn't sufficient volunteer time to dedicate to any further activities. People are content just to go to the meetings and raise problems raise issues and maybe make decisions on what we should ask the District and the County to do, but when it comes to taking on work themselves, they tend to step back and let others show more interest.

209

AS   At the moment do you have a plan or a strategy of what you are going to do or are doing?

KH   No, no but we are applying for a Parish Plan grant.

AS   And that's the Countryside Agency?

KH   Countryside Agency Vital Villages programme.   They have successfully applied for a transport grant, so we are looking at that now, but I wanted to going back to the action plan, I wanted to find out what the issues were, what we should prioritise and how best to tackle it, the Parish Plan is the best way to do that.

AS   Right. So there's a transport?

KH   There are transport grants that I am sure we've secured.

AS   So what was it that Chris is wanting to do that isn't, what other activities (are there)?

KH   It's not really clear and that is the problem, I want to make it clear what the Parish Council is about, I want to have an agenda and I want every meeting to be focussed on this agenda, as to how much progress we make and I want to see us measure our progress so that we can inform residents, your Parish Council has been doing this for two years and we have made this progress. Erm we seem to be working on a, things happen crises occur, members of the public complain and we react, but it seems to be the way we've managed the Parish Council up to now.

AS   So the kind of things that the people come to the public speaking bit?]

KH   [Yes, they have an issue, blows up, and we deal with it, so it is very reactive. We've developed working relations with the Districts and more so with the County, and you know we have met with the Chief Executive and the Leader and the Head of Environment and they have agreed to work with the Parish Council and to support our priorities as far as they can, so we've made some progress there, we feel that they have listened to us and they agree with what

we want to achieve and they will hopefully try to find resource to er to invest in the area, but but no promises.

AS   So at the moment you are not doing any kind of monitoring of your own activity?

KH   No.

AS   Where do the ideas come for projects or things that you want to do?

250

KH   The problems are all around us, you know the environment has deteriorated, the allotments are an issue, there are five sites, and the Parish Council have to manage those sites, and that's a problem. There are nine members on the Parish Council but er invariably half don't appear at meetings, so we are disadvantaged in that regard, it (relates) to your first question; people's interest.

AS   So why did you want to become a Parish Councillor?

KH   I wanted to try and effect some change and some improvement within the area, I wanted to er give some energy you know into the Parish Council. I knew I could produce ideas and I knew that I could advise on grants and initiatives, that er the Parish could get involved in so I wanted to stimulate the debate and er it is going to take a lot of work.

AS   Do you have a sort of specific role on the Council?

KH   Yes, devil's advocate!

[laughing]

KH   Not really, I am on the planning sub-committee, there is now an allotment committee, but I am not on that, but there has only been a handful of us, we are all involved in the debates.

AS   Are there any other sub-committees?

KH   No, just the planning and the allotments, they are the only two other committees.

AS   Would you say that the people who are councillors are representative of the communities?

KH   Yes, I would actually (in that) I see a fair cross-section of apathy from the councillors who attend, you know not what I expected. I often wonder why they got involved at times; I wonder you know why they wanted to become a Parish Councillor, they don't seem to you know have issues why they are not pushing things. (   ) some ideas that they wanted to push, they will have an opinion but you have to draw it out. It is hard work on the Parish Council.

AS   Does the Council work with any other organisations?

KH   Erm there's the Community Partnership and we have as one of our councillors the chair of the Community Partnership, Margaret Ingledew, she is on the Parish Council, but when you say work *with*, we don't have any shared work.

AS   So it is not being involved in the Community Partnership or anything?

KH   No, not really, we would like to be but I don't think we have been accepted by the Partnership as an organisation that could help. The Partnership has had successful applications for grants and have developed their own resource centre, so they have been quite busy and they have had funds to provide activities, develop activities, so they have got a distinct role, I don't think they quite feel the need to involve the Parish Council while they are still attracting funds from other organisations.

AS   Right. How do you think the Parish Council could help them or (achieve ....)?

KH   Well like erm like the Vital Villages programme, the Community Partnership can't access those funds, (   ) Town or Parish Council, so we could work with Community Partnership by accessing grants and working with Partnership to deliver deliver projects.

315

AS   Have your worked with any other local Parish Councils?

KH   Almost, [laughing] we almost got together with Tow Law Town Council to erm to find out a bit more about the allotment responsibilities, 'cos Tow Law found out at the same time as Dene Valley Parish found out that they would be responsible for managing the allotments in each area, and we almost got together with the Wear Valley Council to try and organise that workload, but communications didn't quite workout. It is difficult, I am working full-time, Chris seems to be involved with lots of different things as chairman, erm it is difficult to find venues, er people's time to come together to er do things.

AS   Were you involved with the Settlement Renewal Initiative?

KH   I was, in me er previous role in the Rural Development Commission.

AS   Oh right so you were involved]

KH   [I was case officer for Dene Valley in regards to project appraisal.

AS   So were you involved with the residents?

KH   No, no. I didn't live in the area at the time aha the plot thickens. When Dene Valley was awarded its SRI status, I lived in Willington, it wasn't until some years later that I moved into the area.

AS   What advantages do you think it brought to the area?

KH   It's hard to measure. It must have raised it's profile to a certain extent, how long that's lived I don't know, Dene Valley was an identified settlement for these SRI funds so it has generated some activity over a period, it would have been recognised suppose within the District Council as a priority area. But of course that period has finished now, the funds have er been allocated to the next villages, but having said that the successor organisation to the Settlement Renewal Initiative is the Partnership, is the Community Partnership, so it continues the work of the SRI, taking it further. So you could say that the SRI has been successful in that it has got a successor body established and it has attracted funds to flow into the area.

AS   Do you think it has any economic benefits?

KH   It's almost impossible to measure that. It's debatable whether jobs have been safeguarded as a result of the investment, we've had some housing investment, erm I don't know how to answer that, I can't say really, nothing substantial, nothing significant.

AS   Are there any disadvantages from the SRI?

372

KH   Yes, I think it raised expectations among local residents and I think because maybe the benefits you know they weren't seen that it has probably hardened people's opinion or confirmed people's attitudes in the negative, in that nothing ever happens around here, nothing changes. You know the ordinary person who lives in Dene Valley, such as an SRI and the Community Partnership, they only see the leaflets that might come round and the newsletters that might come round, and if they are not interested (well people just put it in the bin). How close it touches people, I'm not sure, unless you are a volunteer and get involved, for most people and the general public, probably not noticed. Things like the the new streetscape in Spencer Street and at Close

House, people probably thought well the Council have done that, the Council did do that but it was supported by funds from Europe and via the RDC and others that was brought about by the SRI. People probably thought that the Council's finally got round to doing it, the projects probably weren't recognised by the local public by the local residents as having been generated by the Initiative.

AS   So what did your job entail within the SRI, what did you actually do?

KH   I was the case officer and I basically appraised the recommended the project applications that came through for RDC funds and I would attend some of the meetings that took place within the SRI community house. I tried to erm generate some interest erm in a new village hall or community centre, so there was some interest there in looking at erm what they could do to either re-furbish the existing community buildings or even look at erm a new build.

AS   Would you say that's been achieved now (One Stop Shop)?

KH   I suppose it has, although the One Stop Shop doesn't erm doesn't satisfy the recreational side of things, it is geared up more for training and meetings, public events, erm as opposed to an all-singing, all-dancing community centre such as you see in East Durham, they have got these massive community resource centres where they have got sports sports facilities in addition to the business side of things.

422

AS   Like the Glebe Centre?

KH   Yes. And in a way they took advantage a pub, premises being made available that was central to the Valley, in some people's minds it was central erm in the village, but it was an expensive option. I don't know the details of that.

AS   What lessons do you think have been learnt from the SRI?

KH   Hmmn. You need to needed to draw in more interest from residents who could contribute their time, but not just residents but also the business any business sector interest and erm I'm not sure whether or not their their action plan was realistic, with hindsight their action plan probably was a wish list. It was a well-intentioned erm action plan and er I mean this was a long time before community partnerships came came into common use, so I think they were trail-blazing to a certain extent. But in a way in Dene Valley there is such a low activity rate, it would be a generation er before you could see any major changes, I think you need to put SRIs in place into settlements that haven't quite gone down too far in the in that downward spiral, because it is going to take so much longer to pull up and reverse that trend. I think it was the settlement size is quite small.

AS   Was there any community activity before the SRI?

KH   I don't know really, the erm the Community Association in Close House, well the building probably tells a story there and that is the answer, probably not a lot, you know the building in Close House, it is pretty dilapidated, I suppose that erm reflects the level of activity through the villages. It has seen better days.

AS   Is that something that the Association sort of got together as such did they open that building?

KH   It's an old building, it is quite old, I don't know that much about it but erm it is not an appropriate building for that settlement, it's it's too big, not an appropriate building for size and it is just uneconomic, and I don't think (it invites people) people don't feel welcome in it I think because it's so dilapidated, run down. I don't think there was a lot of community activity in the past, I don't think there was, not a lot of organised activity whether there was at street level I don't know. I know when they were trying to set up a mother and toddler group in the early days of the SRI they couldn't, or they struggled to find number to to run it, they were only getting two or three kiddies to come to it, plus the parents. Erm so I mean that's pretty basic isn't

it, if you can't get a mother and toddler group going you are struggling, to then build on that and introduce new activities. Get a mother and toddler group into any any community, involvement and you get ideas, other things start to happen, people are meeting. You need a certain level of er synergy to get things happening, there was a certain lack of interest.

509

AS   How does the new housing activity (fit in) the demolition (thing)?

KH   Are you going back to Category D, the loss of housing after the er pits closed?

AS   I was thinking about the ...]

KH   [the Brockhill Court development?

AS   No the one opposite where the Community House used to be, where the (demolished houses)

KH   There are bungalows now, I think they put new bungalows in, I'm not sure, I think there is some infill, not a lot, (   ) Brockhill Court, Close House side is the biggest housing development in a long time in a number of years.

AS   Is that relatively recent?

KH   Within ten years.

AS   Moving onto the Partnership then, were you kind of involved in the Partnership?

KH   No, not at all.

AS   So I as soon as finished with the RDC your sort of involvement

KH   My work within the RDC changed, I took on responsibility for Northumberland so my area of interest was out of County Durham for a time so I wasn't aware of of the latter part of the SRI and the development of the Community Partnership, that happened while I was on other duties.

AS   Why do you think the Partnership has been successful in sort of sustaining itself?

KH   (One is grants).

AS   And what would you like, or how would you like to see it develop?

KH   Well I would love to see it open up erm you know and show an interest in the Parish Council activities, you know there are people who are working or volunteering on the Community Partnership, I would like to think that you know that we could share some interests and work with them on some projects. We don't need to be on their committees and they don't need to be on our Parish Council for us to work together, we could have an informal arrangement and I would like to see us sharing ideas and contributing to er the common aim in the Dene Valley.

AS   Would you say that the people who are involved in the Partnership are representative of the community?

KH   I don't know really I don't know enough about the Partnership, I have only been to one Partnership event and that was the opening of the One Stop Shop.

TAPE ONE SIDE B

000

KH   (for the party have political differences between and personalities as well, but we are not going to come together, not now)

AS   Do you represent a particular Party or is that how it works or?

KH   Well, we were drawn into the Parish Council by Chris who opened up the opportunity for me to to go for the election, but it was under the Liberal Democrat Party nomination. If I hadn't got the Liberal Democrat Party's nomination I'd have had to pay the election expenses myself and I didn't think erm well it was (politicised), you know there were Labour candidates on one side and Liberals on the other side and I realised that I wouldn't get a look in if I just went as an independent. I agreed with Chris to join his Party to go er to go into the election, and it worked and it worked. I think eight out of nine are from the Liberal Democrat Party; the Labour candidates just didn't get elected.

AS   How many people stood(/were up) for election?

KH   About twenty, twenty-one yeah. And most were from the two parties. So Chris' strategy worked, it got me on.

AS   As a local resident do you find out a lot about what the Partnership are doing?

KH   No, erm no not at all. It's curious that you the Dene Valley is split up in so many little bits and pieces, not one type of settlement form(ed), we are all over the place and where I live, which is on the Auckland Park side, we are bisected by the by-pass, so we are on the town side, we're nearest to the town of Bishop Auckland, you have got the by-pass and then you have got the rest of Auckland Park and then you have got a gap and Close House and Coundon Grange, split up all over so we are the most peripheral in the Dene Valley and we seem to not get the leaflets and the newsletters. And the Parish Council doesn't seem to get them either. We don't seem to be on their mailing list, so it's as basic as that, there is not that much co-operation. The Parish Council tried to apply for membership of the Partnership, but we were refused, the comments were that the Partnership didn't want to have local government organisations on board within their constitution.

AS   But would you be allowed to join as er]

KH   [As an individual yes, I could have done. I think what we were trying to get we were trying to open the door a bit to try to find out what their work was and I think ultimately we would like to have a slot on the agenda, where the Community Partnership tell us about what they are doing. We are as far away from that as ever, you know.

AS   Have you considered joining the Partnership as well as the Council?

KH   Not really, no, time, I haven't got the time.

AS   Let's move onto ONE NorthEast then

KH   I know even less about that.

[laughing]

AS   What is your sort of role what does your job entail?

KH   I supposed it falls under the banner of advice and guidance, but from Thursday I am going to accommodate monitoring er activity, so I am going to be taking more more of a role of looking at projects looking at programmes, (erm you more value for money   )

AS   And did you say to me the other day you only cover part of the region?

KH   Yes, the south. From Thursday just County Durham. But we'll have dedicated officers looking at Tees Valley er you know in the team.

049

AS   What do you see is the role of ONE NorthEast in terms of economic development?

KH   The Agency is supposed to you know show a strategic lead and co-ordinate economic development and often through partnerships with other groups and organisations.

AS   What comes under the banner of economic development?

KH   You know there is so much activity you know.   The Regional Economic Strategy there's so much activity that we have an interest in, job creation is on the top of that list and skills development, workforce development, they are the two most important aspects of er of economic development, but there is other things you know like inward investment. (But we) are a lot of branches within the Agency, there are lots of different teams that focus on different aspects.

AS   What do you specifically focus on?

KH   Erm the Local Strategic Partnerships.

AS   What about its role in terms of community development?

KH   Ah yes, what about its role?

[laughing]

KH   I think certain people you know have got it into their minds that the Agency *doesn't* have a role in community development, so they think that the social agenda lies with Government Office and we are on the other side looking after economic development. *But* there is an ongoing debate about how far you can separate economic development from social regeneration, and some argue that you *can't* separate that, that you have got to work with the social agenda to achieve the economic benefit.

AS   Who is it that's sort of having the debate is it within the Agency?

KH   Oh throughout the Agency I would say, yes.

AS   Is that a national thing, as well?

KH   Well I would guess so, yes, I would guess so. I look at some of the websites of other RDAs and just looking at the you know the way they describe their role, you can see that there is still a social agenda and you can still see social regeneration within their work. Erm so you know I am sure that there is an issue there in other RDAs as well, in fact I have read comments in other RDA's literature which argues the case for social regeneration as part of economic development, you know the argument is ongoing. I think when the RDAs were set up with a remit on regeneration and physical regeneration, and then the Government introduced NRF funding, to be managed by Government Offices, that seemed to give some sort of split or an indication of a split. But we still managed the Single Regeneration Budget, and that has still got another five or six years of activity left. It is very much involved with community regeneration.

AS   Where do sort of personally fall on the debate?

KH   Oh I am on the side of social inclusion, we have a role on both sides, it isn't just about creating jobs. But we have got to empower community, we have got to try and see that communities are empowered to you know have a voice and to be active and to be a partner.

103

AS   When you undertake erm economic development or community development, how should they be?]

KH   [What do you mean when we undertake because we don't actually undertake it, we don't have delivery, we have others doing the delivery. So we have the Rural Development Programme, SRB partnerships, they are at the delivery end.

AS   Right.   So if we think about the delivery end for a moment, then implementation should community development and economic development be done at the same time?

KH   Yea well, looking at er SRB schemes they are, some schemes have got a focus on on social regeneration and there will be a mix of projects within that scheme, there will be a a focus on people, generally speaking, and that could involve training for jobs, so job creation job creation is important as an output for the programme, one of the key outputs. There would be a whole raft of erm of projects within a within a SRB programme in an area you know that covers all sorts of activities. There are thousands of projects going on that's funded through the SRB, thousands.

AS   Is community development needed before so economic development activity can take place?

KH   Probably [laughs] probably. It depends on very much on the locality and er the opportunities available in each locality, you may in some circumstances have a workforce that have lost their jobs and they need retraining, so in that case it's an economic focus, in some situations you may find that people haven't worked and they need to have achieved you know certain vocational and certain training input to be able to find work for the first time in some cases.

AS   Are there any differences between erm rural and urban areas within the work of ONE NorthEast?

KH   I am sure there are, erm in urban areas we have got so many more you now numbers, higher numbers, a lot more activity taking place because of the population level, whereas in the rural areas you've got lower population levels, lower activities, lower rates of activity. Generally in the urban areas you will have better access to services, better access to the job, training and leisure facilities and all the rest of it. Whereas in rural areas it is always an issue to find easy access. Some of the issues are the same, if you are without a job in an urban area and you are without a job in a rural area, you have no income.

So you can overcome that, but if you've got an income, in an urban area I would say you have got an advantage in that you can access a lot more in the way of service provision. Lower numbers in an area means that you haven't got the critical mass to do things and that's a difficulty. Like the crèche in Dene Valley, if you can't get more than two or three people you won't get it off the ground.

AS   Would you say that rural and urban areas have an equal status?

KH   No I don't think so, no I think urban areas have got a higher profile, they have got a bigger identity, stronger identity. Rural areas are scattered (   ), a rural area might be known by its geographical area name as opposed to the town or city name (rural with urban so I think er it's right to say that)

162

AS   Have you (noticed) change since it came under control of DTI?

KH   (   ) I haven't noticed any particular change, but having said that we've created a lot of change since the RDA was set up, we have had to cope with an enormous amount of change, they restructured the Agency since April '99, four organisations have come together and tried to fit into one new organisation and carry with it the programmes of the you know the legacy programmes that they were managing before and at the same time they were trying to set up new arrangements, so internally there were a lot of change an awful lot of change a massive amount of change. So the DTI came along, in my case I haven't noticed it being a driver of any particular change.

AS   Has that had any impact on the debates you were talking about, whether it was involved in social regeneration?

KH   No, no.

AS   Under erm RES 6 accelerating renaissance objective, does that include more activity than just physical regeneration work?

KH   Oh yes, well, I would say that most of the SRB activity would fall under RES 6, but you know it's a mix. When you look at erm when SRB schemes provide us with their quarterly claims, they have to erm describe their outputs on a recognised schedule, within those schedules there's a section under each RES activity, what you know what outputs have been achieved. Most of them probably fall under RES 6, but you there is a sprinkling of outputs (   ) across all six areas. We have tried to encourage the programme to meet all six RES objectives.

AS   So how does it work with you influencing programmes does it work like it does with the RDP partnership (work)?

KH   Yes I suppose so yes that's right, looking at the Local Strategic Partnerships at the moment they are emerging, they have just got started, like Derwentside and Wear Valley and Teesdale, they are just getting off the ground so what they are doing at the moment is very much concentrating on structure. Erm and that is very much for them determined, hopefully once they have become established (and) they want to look at the delivering initiatives, I am hoping to have a bigger role to play in providing that aspect and guidance. But now that they are looking at structures, how do they set up networks and all the rest of it, I think it is up to them to make those decisions, I think they have to er have to grow organically if they can. I am taking an interest as an observer at the moment; I don't think I don't think I am providing a great deal of input at the moment.

AS   What is the remit of the Agency within the LSPs?

KH   (look in here don't know) [referring to notes] They are all different. Each LSP you know is different and they will determine locally you know how and what they want to hear from the Agency. I mean there was a I think in Derwentside I think it was Derwentside they asked me if I would contribute to

a sub-group looking at funding funding regimes and provide advice on that which I am happy to do. [looking for information] To be there to provide any advice, if I am going to more than one Local Strategic Partnership and I am asked the question 'Well what does the partnership do in Teesdale under this section?' I will say the Teesdale does this or Derwentside does the other, I am not say which is the best, they have got to determine what sits best in the local context.

233

AS   How do the LSP fit with what is already happening within each (place)?

KH   What do you mean in terms of programme activities?

AS   Yea ( ).

KH   I know well in Tees Valley the Partnerships have been in existence longer, Middlesbrough Partnership, Stockton Renaissance, they tend to have been in existence before LSPs were introduced by the Government so they have already had partnerships, they just absorb the LSP framework and carry on. Erm an they would be involved in all levels of activity you know including SRB schemes and Sure Start schemes and what have you Government initiatives, so they would already have a role in advising or influencing programmes that were you know being delivered locally. In a way they were already active as a partnership, so it means that NRF money coming into an area for those partnerships, they didn't have to have an argument about how to prioritise so they were able to accommodate these programmes more readily than say Derwentside has as a as a newly emerging partnership.

AS   How does the Agency work with the community?

KH   It doesn't, it is not it's not a local delivery organisation, so it doesn't have that role. Erm it operates at a strategic level, or at least that is the plan, at the moment we have got legacy programmes, one of those programmes is the

Community Investment Fund and erm you manage the programme at the level where you are negotiating with the applicant the applicant makes applications and you consider it and decide; offer them money, pay it out. Whereas with partnerships that is another intermediate level that we put in between, so we are moving away from direct delivery and moving towards a more strategic level of activity. Going back to the Dene Valley, it is almost saying let's not just (be selective here), or reactive about different things, let's choose where we want to invest our time and invest it. I am trying to say yes, let's have an action plan, I am trying to introduce some strategic thinking into the Council, so that is what the Agency is doing by working with local partnerships.

AS   Are you involved in a lot of partnership working?

KH   What do you mean by a lot?

[laughing]

KH   As much as I can, I have got involvement with Derwentside, (not yet the City of Durham), Chester-le-Street, Teesdale and Wear Valley partnerships, so that is my workload on the LSP side.

AS   But you are also involved in things like the RDP?]

KH   [Yes.

AS   Why is there such emphasis on partnership working?

KH   It is seen as the best way to achieve results, through a consensus, through prioritisation, you know taking on board opinions of partners so that the budgets of these other organisations can also be can also be influenced. The budget that ONE NorthEast has is tiny compared with the budgets of other players such as you know health, so we like to think that the Agency can influence these other budgets to invest in the priorities that we that are set out in the Regional Economic Strategy. So it is an influencing role very much so.

AS   Are there any disadvantages to partnership working?

KH   Need agreement don't you. One person can't make the decision so I suppose there is a process of seeking agreement and consensus to be achieved so maybe it isn't as quick to react.

300

AS   How long has partnership working been seen as the thing to do?

KH   Well, ever since I started with the RDC back in 1992, partnership has been the buzz word and perceived to be the best way forward. Before that I don't know because I didn't work in economic development or regeneration.

AS   Have you any idea where it came from?

[laughing]

KH   ( ) I don't know, I mean I know that in the in the RDC they had been encouraging partnerships for a number of years and the Rural Development Partnership, but it was an administrative programme that was set up to encourage partnerships to come together to erm manage the distribution of funds (you know intervention funds). I think that come into being in the early '80s, I think that is as far back as I can trace it, before that I don't think partnerships were a way forward, so probably from the early to mid '80s.

AS   In the Dene Valley what sort of economic development is needed, or is it needed?

KH   Well I don't know whether we can make that jump to economic development, I think we might have to stimulate more awareness first of all among residents, we need people to get on board with the idea of self-help, become more vocal and become more active in general.

AS   Why is that needed?

KH   People can come together (and) if people become more active and raise that awareness, they will stimulate demand, they will want things, they will want a higher quality of life, they will become aware of the fact that they haven't got it and they will want it, then they will want to find the means to achieve it. Normally with you communities people don't normally get involved until something threatens them or something threatens to be stopped or taken away, that's when people come together as a rule isn't it, when you get your protests and people get petitions raised, there is something happening that affects them.

AS   So what would you say is the role in community in economic development?

KH   The role of the community? The community have to you know have to find a way of coming together to agree on what their priorities are, whether that is additional housing in an area or whether it's better public transport. The community needs to find a way to agree and find consensus, and if that means more jobs in the area, that is what their top priority is, then that is their input – is to identify what the issues are and to press for the achievement of those priorities. All these partnerships that are set up are supposed to serve the community aren't they, the community almost. Partnerships should be answerable to the community in a way, you are talking about almost local governance, people should expect you know if they have become involved and are a partner in economic development and if they can make their own contributions of time and interest and going to meetings raise an interest generally, then the partnership should be able to report back to them and say yes we have achieved this on your behalf. That the training facilities have been set up, and here's the transport scheme to get you there.

368

AS   What about the role of members of the community in things like the Parish Council and the local partnerships that have been set up?

KH   I would like to think ultimately that people you know residents can come to the Parish Council and the Partnership and try to advocate what they want and try to help the Parish Council help the Partnership to determine priorities, to give a focus to their activities. The Parish Council and the Partnership don't have all the ideas, you know we can't work in isolation.

AS   Do you think that organisations at that level should be involved in things like job creation?

KH   Yes, if they can yes, if there is resource there to, yes if there is sufficient involvement yes, why not?

AS   So when you were talking at the beginning about the Parish Council having an economic role?

KH   Hmmn you know the Parish Council could initiate projects that would help provide an economic role, they could er survey you know the local area as to what jobs people could do, what skills they have got in the area, what er availability of jobs they could find and from that information they could then try to er you know change things, so the Parish Council could, as any organisation could, could get involved as a player, have some role.

AS   Do you think it will ever be a case where the Partnership or the Parish Council could generate its own jobs?

KH   Could I see it in Dene Valley? Probably not in my lifetime, it's a new it's a new organisation in Dene Valley; we have quite a long way to go. It happens at other Parish areas, other Parishes have got staff, Ferryhill is a Town Council and they employ staff to manage the er open spaces and grass cutting and I think they have some housing management function, so they must be er they have got a workforce. So they do have staff, our staff is a part-time clerk for the Council and that is all we have on the payroll.

416

AS   What about community businesses what role do they have in regeneration?

KH   Community businesses, you know that's great if we could stimulate community businesses across the area erm from people showing an interest, and for one finding an idea, looking for a niche to supply service or whatever, that would be tremendous opportunity. We just, ( ) there is something missing like a catalyst, some empowerment, people you know if we were given them opportunities to develop social enterprise it would be great, people would be picking up skills, becoming employable, they could move on from that point, other people could come in. Going back to numbers in Dene Valley, I don't know whether we have the numbers of people to support a community enterprise, (if there are give it a go). The role of the Parish Council could be to explore that opportunity in the area.

AS   Is there anything like that at all anywhere?]

KH   [I'm not aware of any.

AS   Right. Is it within that kind of development, is that to kind of a role (of) community development for the Parish Council?

KH   I think the Parish Council could introduce ideas, could research and could initially fund some sort of development work as a catalyst, yea, I think they could get involved; it is entirely possible if there's a will and if there's sufficient interest, you know that role could be fulfilled by the Parish Council without a doubt. I mean the Parish, it could demonstrate the opportunities, that would be the role of the Parish Council

AS   Does it have a role in giving people skills?

KH   No (no not at all), its very early days of the Parish Council finding its way, very much so.

AS   Is there potential for that?

KH   Oh there is ultimately yes, I think we need another election to find a new blood
first.

AS   When does the election take place?

KH   Er next May. I would like to think that er that could stimulate more interest for
individuals to put up for the Council, people with ideas and the time and the
energy.

AS   Just before I ask you the last few questions, you've used economic
development,   community   development,   and   regeneration   quite
interchangeably?

KH   I know, I know.

AS   Do you see them as different at all?

477

KH   There is a blur isn't there, I mean economic development tends to be jobs and
training, it's achieving qualifications and what have you, and community's the
softer edge, softer side of things where people may be learning new skills, but
maybe not always be recognised with a qualification, but nevertheless they
could from from learning new skills they could then take on a role within their
community as a leader, which would probably have a better impact than some
job creation schemes, (because I think it) it would endure longer. Because
sometimes I think when you measure job creation, you are measuring at the
point in time where the job has been created and filled, you wonder whether or
not in a years time that job still exists, sometimes when you create community
leaders and that's a role for life sometimes, people have then decided to
commit themselves to representing their community.

AS   So does regeneration cover both of those?

KH Yes, I think it does, in community regeneration you can have job creation, some of those jobs might be project leaders, project workers jobs, on the harder economic development side it is about jobs created in firms, so there is a you know a mix and match.

AS Is there any difference between regeneration and development?

KH And development, you mean physical development, that's the other side of regeneration where you are looking at capital works where you are building offices or building structures, so there you are providing opportunities for organisations to fill. Those organisations could be community organisations, like the volunteer bureau, or it could be a commercial organisation.

AS So would you see economic development and economic regeneration as ( )?

KH For me I don't I don't define a difference, I don't reckon a great difference, I'm all for breaking down artificial they're artificial in my opinion I'm all for breaking down (and) taking things out of pigeonholes.

AS How is working at the community level or in the community partnerships different to the more formal partnerships like the the RDP one?

539

KH So you are talking about the Dene Valley experience, ( ) with the RDP. Such er you are so much closer at the community level, you are so much closer to the personal issues almost, the individuals who are involved. At the RDP you are much more remote from that, you you're arms length, you are further back. So I suppose at the community level I think you have to probably justify your arguments more keenly. I think at the community level you are more likely to be challenged as well, so if you have got a crackpot idea, somebody will tell you it's a crackpot idea, I think at RDP level there is more scope for people to make suggestions that are maybe more experimental.

AS   Why do you think that is?

KH   I think the RDP is there to allow risks to be taken with a view that the risk may
work, it may fail, you have got to be prepared to fail, whereas I think at the
local level people are less tolerant of risk taking.

AS   Aside from the Parish Council are you involved in any other groups or (   ) ?

KH   Not that I remember no, not any more. I used to be involved with Teesdale
Village Halls Consortium, I was erm I was representing the RDC at the time,
but I really took it er took it on board with a great deal of interest

TAPE TWO SIDE A

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KH   .... there was most things out of hours, (it) didn't have to go, there was a view
held that you were responsible nine to five for your job, but if it was held
outside of work hours, you didn't have to go to it. But I took an interest in the
Teesdale Village Halls Consortium (as) it set up just at the time I got involved,
I was helping to advise on the er applications for funding, European Union
funded it for the first few years er and I had an interest in community
buildings, I was responsible in the RDC for the village hall budget, village hall
programme, so that fell into my remit. So when the Consortium became
established I was invited to join their steering group and it was a fascinating er
development, and that was a true community partnership because the people
who who were involved were all volunteers, they were all a chairman or held a
position on on a village hall committee right through the Teesdale area and erm
and funds were freed up from from the Objective 5b programme. (   ) then had
to get organised to spend it, so (they) became a management committee
straight away and had responsibility for the money, (they) had to be
accountable to the Government Office and of course they raised expectations
within the District, so they had er they had to get focussed pretty quick and it
became a very successful programme. They were able to secure the first

tranche of European money and the second, and I think a third before they found erm success with the Lottery, the National Lottery came into fund, a co-ordinator, so the function was able to erm expand. So it started out as a programme where the village halls or community centre's infrastructure was being strengthened, some places where they didn't have a hall, they were able to provide funds to build a new one, and others would refurbish or redevelop with a view to expanding activity in each of these villages. In Teesdale they have a lot of far flung villages spread out all over the place erm and each village hall provide(d) an er important facility. From that point they have had about five or six years of developing the the infrastructure and now they are looking at developing initiatives within those halls, they are looking at training erm training courses for young people at the moment.

AS   So are you still involved with them now?

KH   No I'm not involved now but I take an interest [laughs] from afar. I made good friends with people and so I still get together with them from time to time. The only reason I'm not involved with them is because erm you know the RDC is part of the Agency, so the role of village hall programme went to the Countryside Agency and I went the other way, so so my role disappeared. I think the person who took on that role at the Countryside Agency er couldn't show the same level of commitment as I was able to and then not long afterwards I think the Countryside Agency withdrew from that programme, so they didn't make the same funds available. Er so that was a watershed, so I wasn't able to continue in my official capacity anyway, I still kept in touch, I still went to the functions, if there was a do I would go. Erm but I kept an interest in all of the halls that were under development and I was invited back to the opening ( ), they have all said that they wished I could have continued because I was really interested and you know it was a great time. It is always fascinating how a community organisation was able to deliver that programme so effectively and and fairly, I think they had something like about thirty-odd community buildings in the District that qualified for the help and they have made a tremendous difference, over a period. And of course now they are looking at what goes on inside the halls and how to stimulate demand and

interest within their communities and I think now they are looking at more of an economic focus by erm providing training. I think the RDP have a couple of applications for erm developing a training function across the Consortium, I don't know a great a great deal about that though. I think the LSP have put some money in.

AS   Why do you think they were so (successful or) able to do it?

KH   Well there was a massive amount of interest, they were really keen, people turned up for meetings for one which is great and er they wanted to be fair, they wanted to do the job properly, er it was an exciting opportunity for a rural district like Teesdale, to have that opportunity was remarkable. They had the support of the local authority as well, so Tony Seaman, was the local authority representative on on the Consortium and he was authorised to give his time and support the administrative function, so Tony would keep the records, there were minutes and what have you, at least until they appointed a paid worker. So for quite you know quite a number of years it operated without any staff employed by the Consortium, it was able to erm use Teesdale Teesdale District Council's staff. So there was a lot of enthusiasm and of course it was seen as a one-off opportunity, that was what they were minded, they thought this is our supply of money, it may just get turned off at any moment so let's make good use of it, so they did really did take opportunity really well. And they involved you know, they were able to manage the programme and involved all of the village halls at the same time, they reported through their annual general meetings and er they invited representatives by election or by nomination. And they were able to as well have good communications with the village hall, the Teesdale Mercury I think provided a free slot for for the Consortium, so that was that was useful. I think individually the steering group were able to report back to their committees er and faithfully did so and er generated a lot of activity. In that sense my role was advice and guidance at that time as well. So I'm hoping when the LSPs get up and running and they are looking at managing initiatives, I can start to play a much more influential role, whereas at the moment they are just talking about how to set up and be an organisation. I have to be careful because you know if I get too involved in the LSPs I won't

have time to be doing my day job, you know which is monitoring programmes now or from Thursday will be. I will have to be careful how I balance my workload in my involvement with local partnerships.

082

AS   So you are supposed to be involved as part of your job that you have got?

KH   Yes (got to balance it out), currently I have got the south of the region to cover, but from Thursday I am working solely in County Durham, there will there will be others at Tees Valley, we will have to see how the work goes and pans out.

AS   Does your erm job with ONE NorthEast then help with your Parish Council role?

KH   Erm I don't erm I don't think so, I'm aware of other initiatives that local organisations are involved in, so I may be able to say oh 'This takes place in Murton, why can't we do it?' So I've got probably a benefit in that I can access information, as a result of working for the Agency, yes ( ) also, I get to find out more about funding regimes. The Countryside Countryside Agency's Vital Villages I was aware of that before anyone else at the Parish Council. So when things like that come up I can pass them onto Parish Council.

AS   Do you ever find it difficult to balance your role with ONE NorthEast and the Parish Council, do they ever conflict?

KH   No, no. The Parish Council is such a tiny little area that I have no conflict of interest. There would be no decision that came across my desk that could you know that could erm advantage the Dene Valley as a result of my influence; we don't operate at that level. At the Weardale, Wear Valley LSP, I am a local resident, but I am representing the Agency and if I could suggest or give advice I would do anyway, but it would be the same advice I would give to other LSPs in other parts. I could have got interested in say for instance the Bishop

Auckland Town Centre Partnership, that's just set up in Bishop Auckland, er but I think I might have had more of a conflict opportunity, there is SRB money involved in Bishop Auckland and I think I might have been too close to programme activities. ( )

AS   So did that put you off getting involved in that?

KH   Erm yes, you know, I thought about that and as it turns out I might end up monitoring Bishop Auckland's scheme, so I couldn't be seen to be that er close to it.

AS   Do people on the Council welcome and want to use the the knowledge that you have from your day job?

KH   Oh the Chair certainly does, yes, oh yes.

AS   OK how long have you lived in the area?

KH   Six year, six years in the Dene Valley area.

AS   But you have lived in (the County)]

KH   [(I have lived here) all my life.

AS   You worked for the RDC (since '92   )?

KH   Yes, from '92 to '99 with the RDC.

AS   And then ONE NorthEast?

KH   Yes.

AS   Just so I have got an idea of your regeneration work experience.

KH   It has been varied because I have worked in Northumberland as well and that's another different area, there's a whole lot of issues there. And I really talk about remoteness, you know the Durham example you know withers away compared to Northumberland, you live in some of the remote outlying areas and you talk about distance between communities, its unbelievable. And the numbers of people as well, you have got a massive rural area where the population is so very thinly spread and it makes County Durham look congested it really does.

AS   Can you think of anything else going on in the Dene Valley that could be of interest to me?

KH   There is just not enough going on in the Dene Valley, that's the problem, that's my issue that there is not enough activity, erm you know we need to be involved, finding ways to involve people, we need to be stimulating interest, we need to be er trying to co-opt people into the Parish Council's work, for one as an energy, as a resource and two for their ideas. It is all very well reacting to people when they complain, but I would like to think that we could start to be more pro-active and look to develop things. I think people who came onto the Parish Council didn't appreciate what they were letting themselves in for, it was a new experience for some people and I think they weren't prepared when they came on to the Parish Council I don't think they were prepared sufficiently for what the what they were facing.

AS   Is there anybody within the area that you think I should talk to ( )?

KH   Who have you seen, have you seen Chris?

AS   Yes.

KH   What about Margaret Ingledew?

AS   Yes.

KH   Hmmn I can't think of anyone else. How about people from the District Council?

AS   Bob]

KH   [Bob Hope. What area, is it just the Dene Valley at the moment that one of your ?

AS   Yes, just the one in Wear Valley, Wingate/Station Town (Middleton)

KH   The original SRI

AS   (Yea Middleton-in-Teesdale.) Were you involved in Wingate as well as Dene Valley?

KH   Erm not so much, but all of the areas that they decided to target, the difficult areas they wouldn't have been targeted otherwise. There was also a perception that whatever money you were going to put into money you were going to invest in Wingate and Station Town would never be enough and it would never be (going/coming) in for long enough, it is like a bottomless pit. That can't be fair because in true partnership and true influence from other budget managers to target their resources, that's the right way forward. It is to get people to agree to combine er resources and to achieve tangible results. I think they did the best they could, it was a five year period and they had a project manager, (what do you call him)

AS   David Gibson

KH   David Gibson and he went off to Stoke ( ) their SRB project and that has just finished ( ) so David Gibson did really well out of it, he got a good career track out of it [laughs] no doubt he used the experience. There are different ways of looking at outputs and how to measure achievement, from the area or from the people.

AS   Is he a local person?

KH   I don't think so. I don't think so. That's the other thing, how many people who get these jobs are local, invariably they come from outside and then when the programme has finished they go elsewhere, you know they seek, they chase the funding round all over the place But only try, onward and upward.

AS   Can you think of anybody in the Dene Valley who is not involved in say like the Parish Council or the Partnership who would be willing to talk to me?

KH   I can think of one very negative person, but you wouldn't want (to talk to them). The people you end up talking to in Dene Valley end up being so negative about their circumstances, it would be a challenge.

AS   Just kind of for me going in I meet people through organisations, I don't really want to stop people on the street as such I would like to get a more general view]

KH   [There is one chap, I don't know whether he is on the Partnership or not, I have got his name at the office, he is a walker, Bob you call him, I think he is in the Ramblers' Association, he has retired but he is interested, he has helped the Parish Council out with its footpaths programme, he might be an interesting person to talk to, I get his details pass them onto you Alison I've got his business card (work). He was involved with some sort of metal work industry he managed, and I was asking him if he would consider running a class for young people just to learn metalwork skills, he was saying it might be an opportunity for the college to get involved - and I thought it was a good suggestion. I've got his business card he can certainly articulate his views.

AS   Is that something that the Parish Council would look to do, (put on) the classes or?

KH   Erm I would suggest the Partnership might be better placed for that, more direct delivery vehicle if they could (not sure they could) accommodate the

room, at the One Stop Shop, or even the Parish Council could get the transport for the tech, (collaborate) that's what I have been trying to say to them, let's collaborate, let's talk to each other, let's jointly do something and build some bridges.

[laughs]

KH   We have got a new Parish clerk, Julia has left she's going to start a teacher training course in September, so we have appointed someone else. I wasn't able to go to the interviews, they held them during the day and I couldn't get the time off, so we have got a new (   ) hopefully with some new ideas for the Parish Council.

[Discussion about contacting the former Parish clerk for a possible interview]

221

AS   Does the Parish Council work on consensus?

KH   Oh yea Oh yes, Chris likes to think that people can agree with the decisions, then we like to carry the decisions er unanimously if we can, it's the thing to do. [sensitive information removed] [Chris] has had an interest in Dene Valley for years and years and actually when I was working at the RDC I came across some papers with a file and the file was letters written by Chris Foote-Wood trying to impress on the RDC the need for regeneration in the Dene Valley. I read all his arguments, history, Category D status and all the rest and I think I that's where I got my interests. I read the file Chris Foote-Wood, Category D. So I may never have heard of Dene Valley, you never know, but where I live now is on the fringe and because they have built the by-pass where they have, it erm we are pretty much on the periphery, we are not really that involved, people tend to er regard Bishop Auckland as their area and as well they are building new houses er next to us on the Bishop Auckland side Bracks Farm development, so I think we are going to form more of an alliance with them new development. That's something that me and Bob have argued about, I

didn't think it was a great place to build a whole bunch of houses, we needed that open space, I thought there was a strong case for building on brownfield sites and regenerating somewhere you know the town side of Bishop Auckland, but Bob's view is that by investing in housing, that attracts jobs and I think I don't think that works, I am not convinced anyway, I think you have to have the jobs in place first and then that stimulates the demand for housing and services. ( ) important thing anyway the Council decided to grant planning permission.

END OF FORMAL INTERVIEW

DISCUSSION AT END OF INTERVIEW ON TAPE

AS   It is interesting as you have two sides

KH   I have been involved in lots of different bits and pieces, it's all very interesting, I wouldn't be involved in it if I wasn't able to find some interest in it. I did start to go to some East Durham partnership meetings some years ago, Murton, and Easington and what have you. I think that is because I was working I was interested in Groundwork activities, Groundwork East and Groundwork West, I thought they were a good organisation, they worked with young people and the environment and they supported businesses, and erm I think they were a lead organisation in East Durham. I went to some of the meetings and they were very well attended, very well attended I think because the pits had just closed and people were still angry about it and they wanted to see some changes made and jobs introduced and improvements in the environment and there was a lot to argue about. When I went to the meetings you know there would be a thousand and they would all have their say and there was er you know a lot of anger. I think the problem was though that (cannot get consensus) it was too much heat, too much erm too much emotional involvement, I don't think people could agree ( ) so I think the problem was took a long time for structures to settle down. When I read reports now from East Durham, you know there are pages and pages of paper you know (still a lot of emotion). But erm a lot of investment from the agencies, English

Partnerships as well, put an awful lot of money into factory building and clearing the spoil heaps.

AS   Do you attend that LSP?

KH   No Rick does that one Rick Martin does that one. I think he has been involved from his earlier days with SRB in East Durham, ( ) he has already got er contacts.

AS   So I must ask referencing the tape are you happy for me to do that just to you?

KH   Oh fine, not a problem.

290

END