

Work Package 6 – the local arena for combating poverty**Local report: Glasgow, United Kingdom**

Hayley Bennett

Daniel Clegg

University of Edinburgh,
School of Social and Political Science

FP7 project 'Combating Poverty in Europe: Re-organising Active Inclusion through Participatory and Integrated Modes of Multilevel Governance'

Grant Agreement no. 290488

Coordinating Organisation: Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg (CETRO)

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List of abbreviations

ESA: Employment Support Allowance

CHP: Community Health Care Partnership

CJS: Community Jobs Scotland

CPP: Community Planning Partnership

DWP: Department for Work and Pensions

GCC: Glasgow City Council

HMRC: Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs

JBG: Jobs and Business Glasgow

JCP: Jobcentre Plus

JSA: Jobseekers Allowance

NHS: National Health Service

TSO: Third Sector Organisation

1. Introduction

This is a story of a City council (GCC) in a traditionally strongly left-wing city where - notwithstanding some tensions around how far anti-poverty goals are mainstreamed in economic policy - there is a strong anti-poverty consensus among all local political parties and the representatives of (a very active) local civil society, as well as huge socio-economic problems to combat. However, given the UK's extremely centralised minimum income protection system, this City council has extremely limited powers and 'levers' in the field of anti-poverty policy compared to a UK government that is currently strongly right-wing. The City council is also reliant for its funding and support on a Scottish government (SG) that is currently nationalist and - in the context of a fast approaching referendum on Scottish independence - is rather ambivalent about anti-poverty policy, given on the one hand its desire to improve living conditions in Scotland, but on the other its simultaneous aversion to facilitating the successful local implementation of the Westminster government's anti-poverty measures. The result is that while there are a plethora of public and private, central and local, actors involved in the fight against poverty locally, the governance of local anti-poverty policy remains difficult and conflicting, despite some innovative structures for coordination of policy having been developed. The conflict between the central and sub-central tiers (as well as the fact that the local authority does not support the cost of benefits) has in some senses been productive, as it has led GCC (with the support of the SG) to focus very actively on the provision of advice and support to local benefit claimants to try and minimise the impact of UK policies (so called 'income maximisation' and 'mitigation' measures), and has thus involved an emphasis on realising rights and accessing services that has been less emphasised elsewhere in the UK and beyond. However, it has had distinctly negative consequences for the ability to coordinate and join up the efforts of actors combating poverty in two parallel and largely separate policy systems, the national (Jobcentre Plus/Work Programme providers) and the Scottish-local (SG-GCC and their partners in local civil society). The influence on local policy of EU initiatives has been quite limited, and while the ESF is a useful resource for stimulating local action, its local utilisation has been hampered by the rigidity of some of its rules and shaped by the complex politics caused by tensions between the UK and Scottish governments.

2. Local socio-economic factors

Glasgow is the largest city in Scotland. It is the 4th largest city in the United Kingdom and along with London, Birmingham, and Manchester, accounted for 23 per cent of the UK's total population in 2012 (CFC, 2013). The economic downturn affected the whole of the UK, with cities such as Glasgow experiencing major changes in employment levels and labour market opportunities. According to the Centre for Cities (CFC, 2013) the UK downturn can be divided into two halves. The first, between 2008 and 2009 saw a large contraction in GDP (4 per cent) and a sharp increase in unemployment. The second period, from 2009-2012, saw a "surprise stabilisation in unemployment and very weak economic growth of one percent per annum" (CFC, 2013, p.29). However, the impact of the recession on unemployment and local economics has varied across the UK. A number of cities have fared worse than others and there have been variations in recovery. Some large cities such as Leeds and Reading have recently started to record improvements in their local economies, whilst other such as Edinburgh, Birmingham, London and Manchester have had little or no change when the first half of the downturn (2008/09) is compared with the second (2009/2012). Cities such as Cardiff, Liverpool and Glasgow have seen a large relative fall. Whilst Glasgow (and Scotland more broadly) was not particularly affected by the first half of the downturn, in 2009/2012 it dropped noticeably from the 4th to the 28th in the ranking of UK cities and is currently facing a number of recession related labour market issues (CFC, 2013; CFC, 2011). These issues are compounding the issues of poverty, deprivation and inequality in a post-industrial city which has a history of unemployment and labour market detachment for many of its residents.

2.1 Population and growth

Whilst Glasgow is one of the UK's largest cities, in 2012 it was recorded as one of the UK's slowest-growing cities (CFC, 2013). From 2001-2011 there has been an overall increase in the population of Glasgow by 20,000 people. In total in 2011 there were 598,800 people resident in Glasgow, with over 420,000 people of working age. This increase in population reflects an increase in the working age population of approximately 40,000 people over the time period. There was also a decrease of 10,000 children aged 0-15 and a decrease of 10,000 people aged 65 and over. This has meant that over the ten year period the percentage of the population of working age has gradually increased from 66% to 70%. The percentage of the working age population which are young people aged 18-24 has remained constant at 17% and approximately 70,000 people (which overall is a consistent 12% of the population of the city).

Population estimates 2001-2011

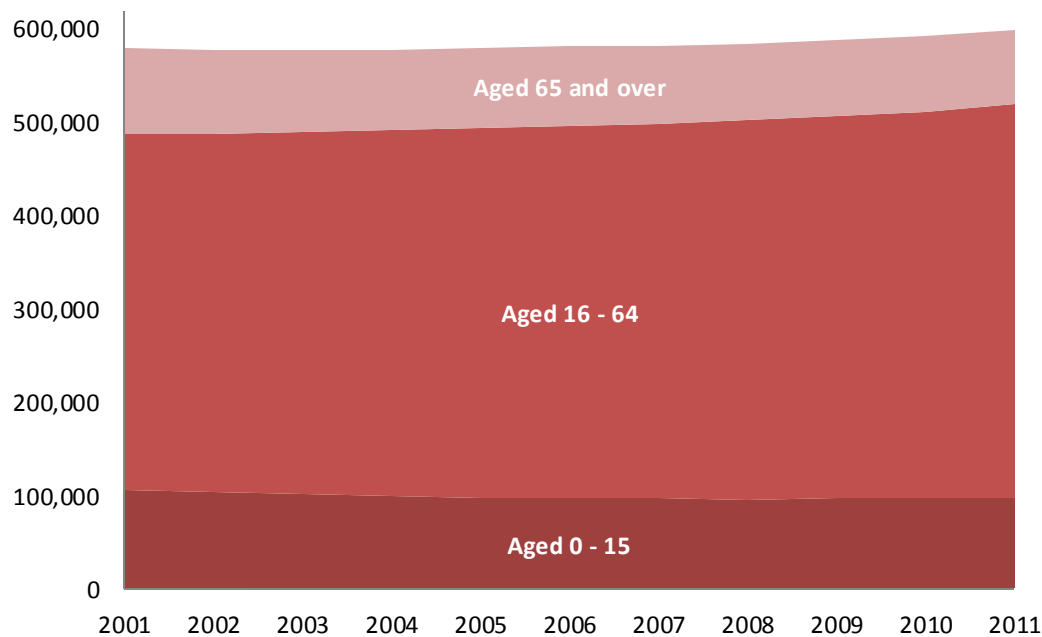


Figure 1: Population estimates 2001-2011

Data regarding ethnic composition of Glasgow's population is collected in a number of sources, the main being the census, the Scottish Household survey and the Annual Population Survey. Glasgow City Council Development and Regeneration Services department produced a report on the change in population and housing in Glasgow 2001-2010. This report demonstrated that there has been a slight change in the ethnic composition in Glasgow during this period. The majority (87.23%) of Glasgow's residents identify as White Scottish, British or Irish, this is a decrease from 92.76% in 2001. A further 4.2% of individuals were recorded as 'other white' in 2010, an increase from 1.79% in 2001. According to the GCC report, the rise in other white population is due to an increase in residents from other European countries. In 2001 the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) population was recorded as 31,510, representing 5.45% of the population of Glasgow City. By 2010 this had grown to 50,793, or 8.57% of the population. Pakistani residents comprise the majority of this BME group (GCC, 2012b). New data is due to be released later in 2013. It is anticipated that the forthcoming population and demographic data will demonstrate an increase in ethnic minority figures for the city including a growth in Roma and Asylum seeking numbers.

2.2 Local labour market

Since the onset of industrial decline throughout the UK (but specifically in the manufacturing sector during the 1980s and early 1990s) Glasgow has experienced an increase in long-term unemployment and inequality, and scored continually highly on deprivation indicators. Unemployment peaked in 1992 when the numbers of individuals claiming unemployment benefit in the city reached nearly 50,000. While this figure has reduced over time and there has been a concerted effort to increase employment levels in the city, issues around poverty and inequality remain. According to the 2012 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation Glasgow has almost half (46%) of Scotland's 5% most deprived neighbourhoods (GCC, 2013b, p.10). As such, prior to the economic recession in 2008 Glasgow

experienced a number of labour market issues and a persistently large number of individuals on out of work benefits such as Jobseekers Allowance and health related benefits (such as Incapacity Benefit which has now been replaced by Employment and Support Allowance). Furthermore, some of the pressures on the MIS and active inclusion policies have increased since then. It is not possible to estimate the cost of MIS provision in Glasgow as it is difficult to estimate the costs in the centralised benefit system for the city. This section therefore focuses solely on the statistical labour market data with no associated information on the costs associated with out of work benefit levels.

Based on the ONS Annual Population Survey it is estimated that 284,900 individuals were economically active in 2012, representing 67.8% of the working age population (aged 16-64). This figure is lower than Scotland (76.9%) and GB (76.0%). Of the economically active population 251,200 were in employment. The economic activity rate represents an estimate of the number of individuals which are engaged in the labour market, whether employed or seeking work. It excludes students and those receiving a state pension, health related benefits that exclude individuals from labour market participation, and individuals 'looking after the home' which includes young mothers on income support. The economic activity rate is available from 2005-2012. Of those considered economically active in December 2012, 246,500 were recorded as in employment (equating to 59.7% of the total working age population). The economic profile of Glasgow based on the distinction between economic activity and inactivity is displayed in figure 2 below.

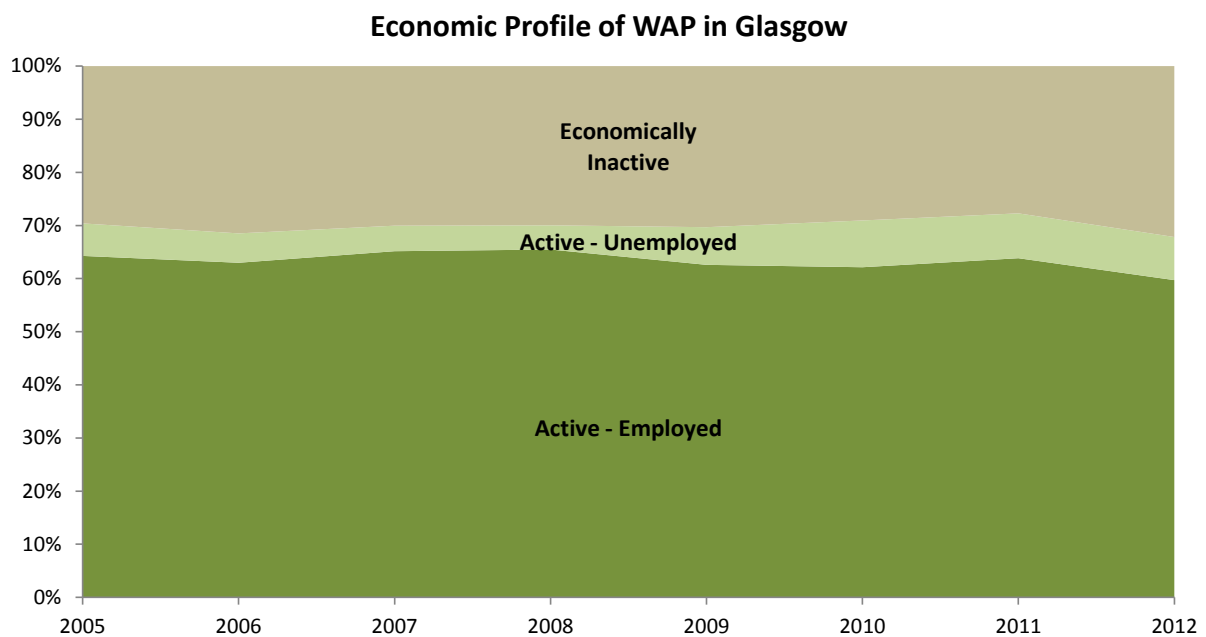


Figure 2: Economic profile of the working age population (WAP) in Glasgow

As visible in figure 3 the unemployment rate has risen from 6.5% in 2008 to approximately 12% of the economically active working age population by 2012. This represents a growth from 18,400 individuals in 2008 to over 33,000 by the end of 2012. If we use this figure as a proxy of the labour market between 2005 and 2012 we can see an increase in the unemployment figure from the economically active group.

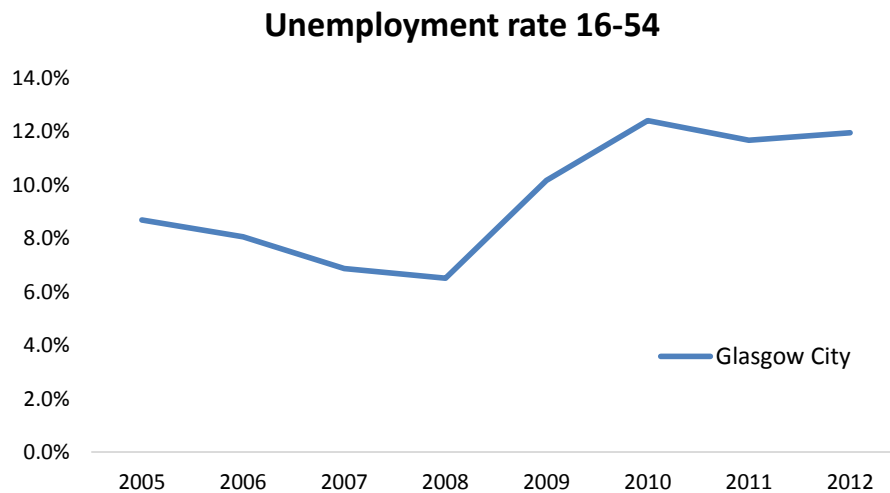


Figure 3: Unemployment rate

Whilst the number of young people has remained constant, the impact of the recession on this group has been marked. The changes that have occurred within the economically active group (the shift towards increased levels of unemployment) has been unevenly spread across the age groups. Overtime (as visible in figure 4) there has been a decrease in the employment rate for those aged 16-24. In 2005 50,600 individuals aged 16-24 (59.8% of the working age population for this group) were registered as economically active and in employment. By 2012 this figure had dropped substantially to 27,200 (only 34% of the working age population). At the same time there was an increase in the number of individuals from this age group registered as inactive (23,300 in 2005 to 39,900 in 2012), which suggests a large proportion of individuals aged 16-24 are registering or remaining in full-time education (and are thus considered as economically inactive) rather than entering the labour market. Of the working age population for the city 49.7% of young people are now registered as economically inactive (an increase from only 27.5% in 2005). In 2012 Glasgow had a much larger number of economically 'inactive' students (over 41,000 or 31% of the inactive population) compared to the figures for Scotland as a whole (23.3%).

For those aged 25-49 the employment rate has increased slightly from 70.4% to 73.1% and for those aged 50-64 there has been a slight decrease from 53.3% to 49.9% over the same period. An interesting outcome from the economically active statistics is the increase in the employment rate for those aged 65+ which has risen from 2.4% to 5.8% over this period, a rise from 1,900 individuals to 4,600 individuals.

Proportion of WAP In Employment by age group



Figure 4: Economic activity by age-group

The figure for economic inactivity in Glasgow is also larger than the figure for Scotland. In total 132,800 individuals in 2012 were considered economically inactive, representing 32.2% of the working age population. For Scotland and Great Britain the figure is lower than Glasgow’s at approximately 23%. As previously mentioned part of the increase in the economically inactive figure relates to the increase in those registered as full-time students aged 16-24. There has been a decrease in the number of individuals from those aged 25-49 dropping from 53,600 (nearly 25% of this age group in Glasgow) to 19.8%. This may be a response to the changes in health benefit categories which has moved some individuals from the inactive category to economic activity, as they are now required to look for work, or have been re-categorised into the jobseekers benefit claimant group.

Economic Inactivity by Age Group



Figure 5: Economic inactivity by age group

Information on current unemployment levels for the city is collected by the DWP claimant count system. This is based on the up-to-date claimant counts of those in receipt of Jobseekers allowance (JSA) from April 2003 to April 2013 and the information differs slightly from the Annual Population Surveys data on employment rates. The JSA Claimant count in April 2003 was reported as 17,275, of which 66% of claimants had been claiming for under 6 months. There was an overall decrease in total JSA claimants between 2003 and 2008, however since the 2008 crisis the figures have peaked at 25,290 in April 2011 before dropping to 23,475 in the most recent data from April 2013.

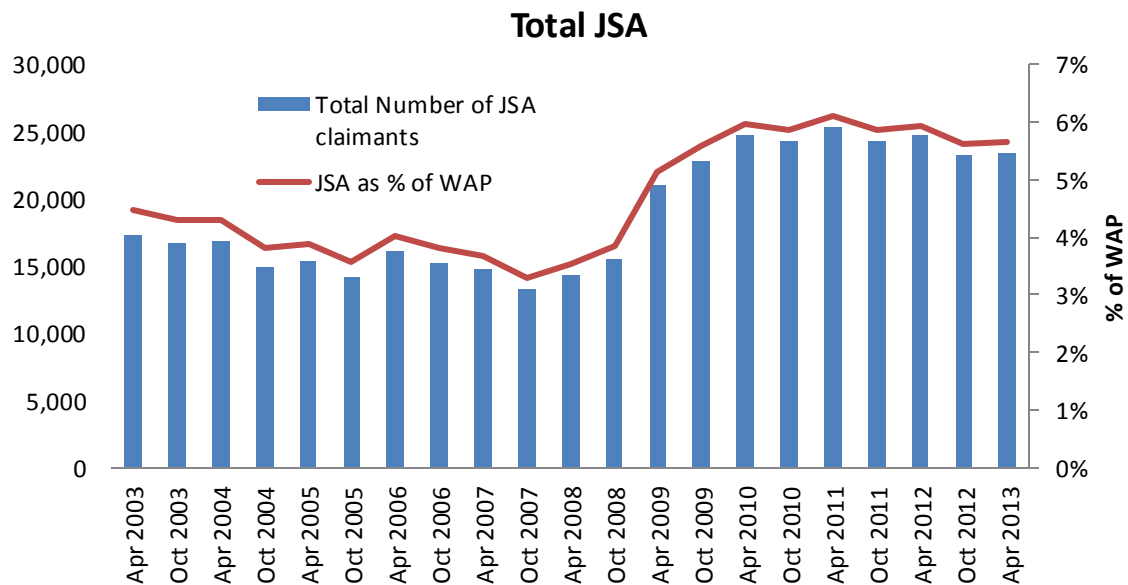


Figure 6: Total JSA claimants

As part of the change in claimant count there has also been a shift in the duration of JSA claimants including a rise in the proportion of people claimants for over 2 years. In 2003 this was approximately 6% of JSA claimants, but 15% by April 2013. In terms of individuals only 1010 were registered as long term unemployed and in receipt of JSA in April 2003. However, by April 2013 this number stood at 3620. Whilst 66% of claimants of JSA in April 2003 had been claiming for less than 6 months, this figure had declined gradually over the past ten years to now stand at only 51% by 2013. As such, not only has the number of JSA claimants increased, but there has also been an increase in the number of individuals claiming JSA for longer.

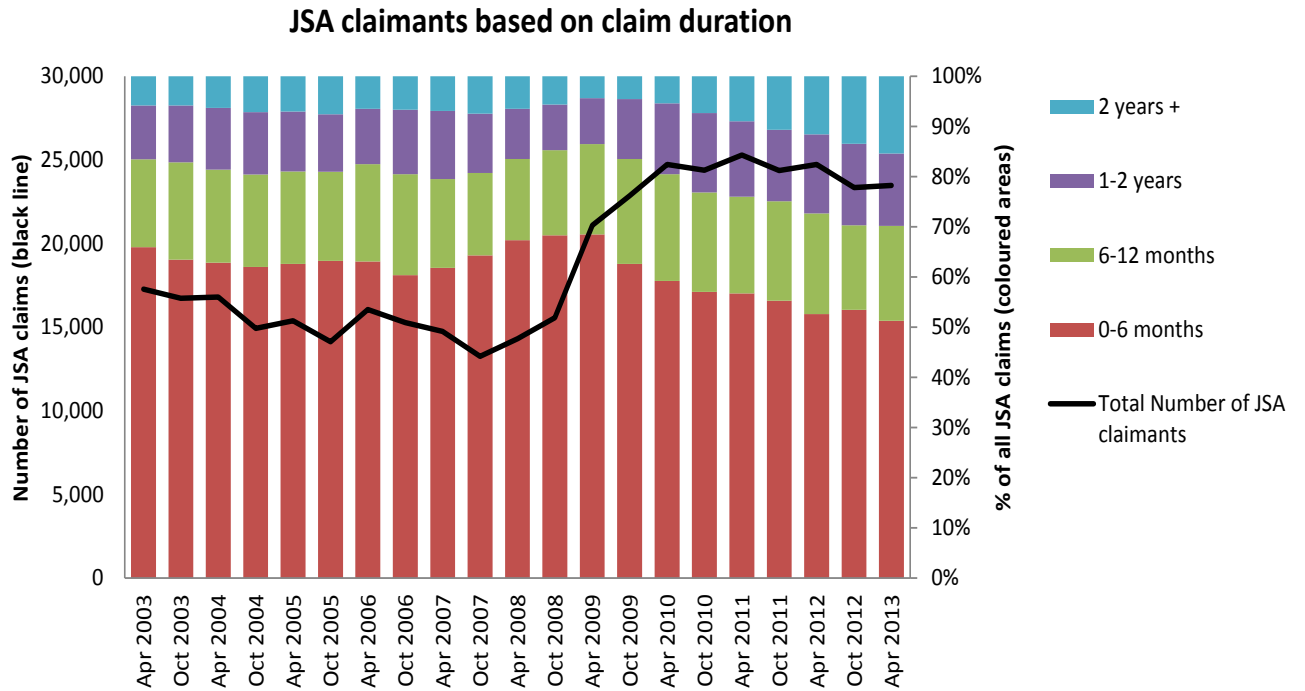


Figure 7 JSA claimants based on claim duration

Income Support (IS) data from 2001 to 2012 in figure 8 below suggests that there has been a huge decrease in the number of lone parents claiming social assistance during this period. Though IS is available to some other parents (i.e. not totally restricted to lone parents), the statistic has often been used to provide an indication of lone parent rates. However, the data most likely reflects changes to the benefit categories rather than a large decrease in the number of lone parents in receipt of benefit payments.

Income support claimants 2001-2012

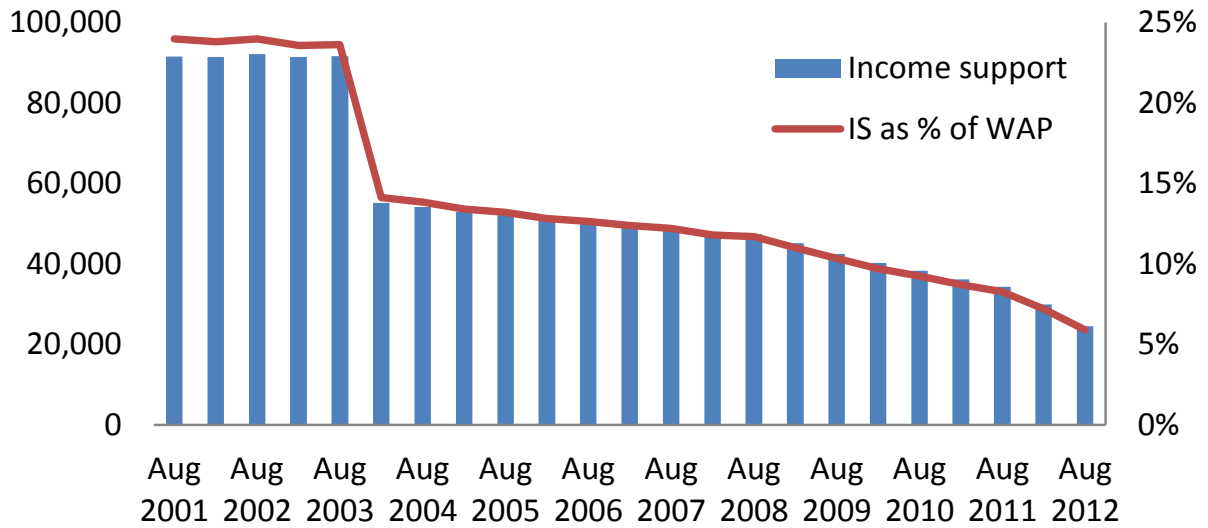


Figure 8: Income support claimants 2001-2012

Based on the information available from the DWP's claimant data it is possible to see and decline in the number of lone parents in receipt of benefit in Glasgow City between 2001 and 2012, dropping from 17,580 to 7,810 over this period.

Lone parent claimants 2001-2012

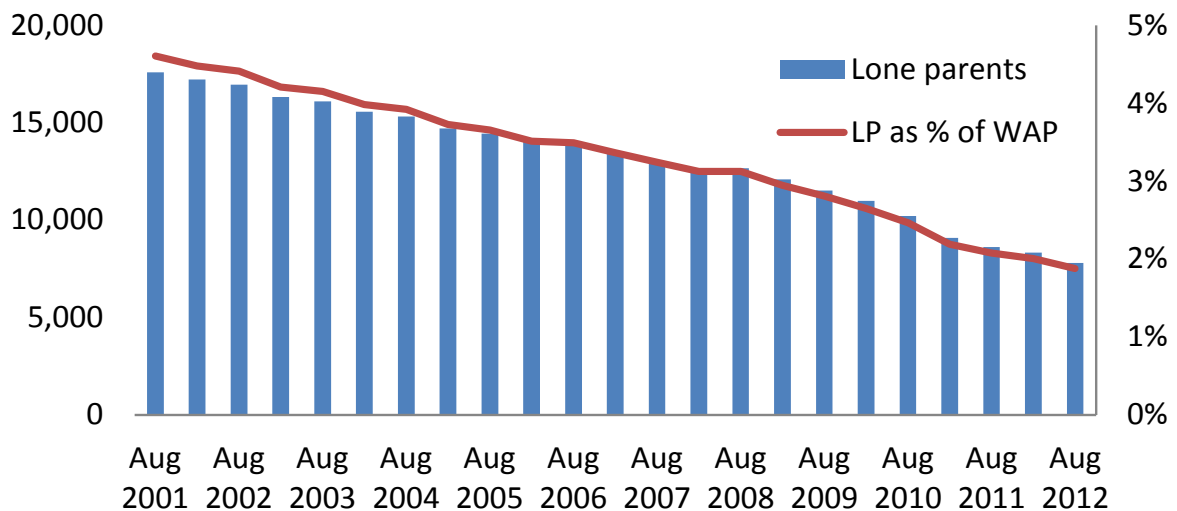
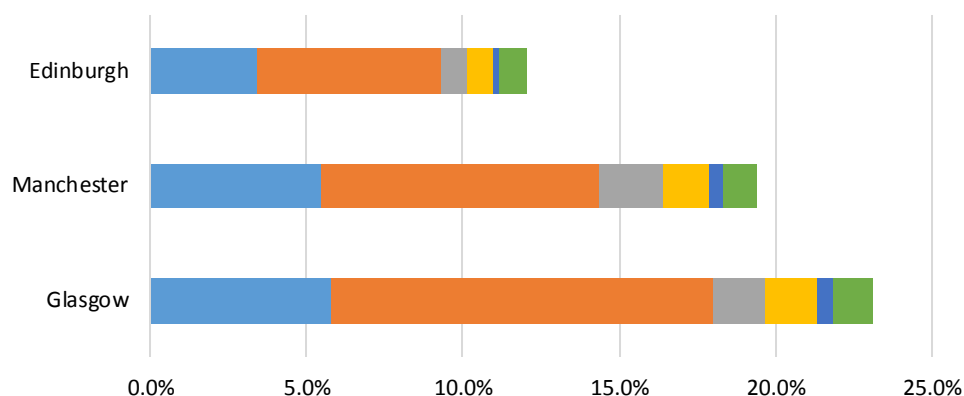


Figure 9: Lone parent claimant rate

Employment Support Allowance (ESA) was introduced in October 2008, and replaced Incapacity Benefit and Income Support paid on incapacity grounds for new customers only. From 2011 onwards applied to existing IB claimants as they are moved across onto ESA (Brown *et al*, 2011). As outlined above Glasgow has a high number of JSA claimants and this figure has grown in response to changes in the local labour market and economic conditions, it has also been affected by the reclassification of some health benefit claimants onto JSA (this is discussed in the national report). For Glasgow the activation of those in receipt of health benefits is more important than for other areas in Scotland as it has a high amount of individuals claiming out of work benefits due to health related issues. For example, in 2000, in Glasgow City 22.4% of males were claiming IB and 15.2% of females. By 2009, 15.2% of males and 11.7% of females were claiming IB/ESA. Despite the large reduction in the number of male and female working-age populations claiming IB/ESA, Glasgow still has a higher share of the working-age population in receipt of IB/ESA relative to Scotland (Brown *et al*, 2011).

It is worth considering the labour market profile of Glasgow through a comparison with other UK cities in order to understand the city-specific problems. As such the data for Manchester, a similar sized post-industrial city, and Edinburgh, the second largest city in Scotland are outlined in figure 10 below. Using the data from the ONS on the claimant count by group as a percentage of the working age population it is possible to see that Glasgow's labour market profile is not hugely different to Manchester's in terms of the percentage of job seekers, carers and lone parents. It does however have a much larger percentage of the working age population which are in receipt of out of work benefits based on health reasons as visible from the ESA and incapacity benefit data. Whilst the statistics for Glasgow are higher than those for Manchester in nearly all of the benefit groups, the total difference between the cities is not hugely dissimilar. However, compared to Edinburgh the difficult labour market situation in Glasgow is apparent. Glasgow has a larger percentage of the working age population in every benefit group. In terms of numbers this means that in Glasgow there are more than twice the numbers of individuals of working age in receipt of out of work benefits (96,990 compared to Edinburgh's 41,390). Collectively in Glasgow 23.3% of the working age population are out of the labour market in comparison to only 19.6% in Manchester and 12.2% in Edinburgh.

Percentage of working age population by claimant group (February 2013)



	Glasgow	Manchester	Edinburgh
Job seekers	5.8%	5.5%	3.4%
ESA and incapacity benefits	12.2%	8.9%	5.9%
Lone parents	1.7%	2.0%	0.8%
Carers	1.7%	1.5%	0.8%
Others on income related benefits	0.5%	0.5%	0.2%
Disabled	1.3%	1.1%	0.9%

Figure 10: Percentage of WAP by benefit group- Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester

2.3 Employment, jobs and inequality

Across the city there has been a reduction in the number of jobs. In the first year after the 2008 crash, across GB there was a slight contraction on net jobs growth of 0.5%, although just under 40% of cities experienced a net increase in total jobs. Similarly, in the same year across GB there was a net contraction of private sector jobs of one percent but this again was not reflected in all cities as 41% saw an increase in private sector service jobs in their economies. However, Glasgow was not one of the cities experiencing a growth. In 2009-2010, a year after the 2008 crash, Glasgow experienced a loss of approximately 28,800 or a 5.2% of private sector jobs. Glasgow was placed 61 out of 63 in terms of net total jobs growth between 2009 and 2010 (CFC, 2013, p.2). Again it was recorded in the bottom five cities in GB in terms of job growth, losing approximately 20,600 private sector service jobs (CFC, 2013). It appears that one of the problems facing Glasgow relates to demand for jobs outstripping available employment opportunities. Data from November 2012 reveals that for every job advertised in Jobcentre Plus in Glasgow there were 6.7 JSA claimants. This figure is much higher than the figure for Scotland (3.9) and Great Britain (3.4) (ONS, 2013).

Job losses appear to be compounded by the low start up and new jobs rate in the city. Glasgow does not appear in the top ten cities with the highest start-up rates in 2011, nor does it feature in the top ten UK cities with business stock per 10,000 population. This list was dominated by the South East of

England (and the worst ten dominated by the north of England plus Dundee). This suggests that whilst Glasgow has experienced some labour market and occupational restructuring prior to the economic recession of 2008, the city remains vulnerable to changes in the economy and compared to other major UK cities it is not competitive in terms of new business start-ups and business levels. Nevertheless, Glasgow features in the top ten cities with the highest percentage of high qualifications (percentage working age population with NVQ4 and above 2011) with 40.3%. Scottish cities performed well with three cities in this list (Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow).

The number of public sector jobs has noticeably declined in Glasgow since 2000. This pattern reflects a broader trend in the UK of a decreasing number of public sector jobs, particularly since 2009. In Scotland there has been a decline of public sector employment since 2000 when the figure stood at 297,000 jobs. By 2013 the figure stands at 247,900 representing a reduction of approximately 49,000 jobs over thirteen years. In 2000 there were 36,500 public sector jobs in Glasgow. By 2013 this had dropped to 18,800 (see figure 11). Glasgow had a high proportion of public sector employment. For comparison Edinburgh, the capital and seat of the Scottish Parliament and main offices of the Scottish Government has dropped from just over 20,000 to 18,000 over the same period.



Figure 11: Public sector jobs 2000-2013

Alongside the loss of jobs and slow start up rate recorded for the city, there are also issues of low pay and wage inequalities. Although working age poverty and low income figures are not recorded by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) and it is not available for the Local Authority level there is evidence to suggest that Glasgow has some issues regarding low pay and inequality. Whilst wage inequality and polarisation of pay and job quality in the labour market has increased across the UK since the 2008 recession, larger cities such as Glasgow have tended to demonstrate higher levels of inequality than medium-sized and smaller cities (Work Foundation, 2013). Furthermore, cities with the highest levels of disparity also had significant concentrations of claimants in specific neighbourhoods. For example

the 'worst' neighbourhood in Glasgow had over five times more claimants than the 'worst' neighbourhood in Crawley (in South East England). At the same time Glasgow was one of only four cities in the UK (along with Aberdeen, London, and Edinburgh) with neighbourhoods where no one claimed JSA in Nov 2012 (CfC Outlook, 2011, p.57). This suggests that there are levels of inequality and disparity within the city and that not only does the UK demonstrate spatial issues of inequality and poverty across regions and between rural and urban areas, but also that large cities such as Glasgow possess complex issues of inequality and wealth disparity. In fact, in UK studies of city inequalities Glasgow ranks as the city with the highest level of inequality (CfC Outlook, 2011, p.57).

Recent data suggests Glasgow may have some issues regarding pay inequalities. First whilst the 155,000 male full-time jobs in Glasgow provide a median hourly pay of £13.71, part-time employment for males is much lower, with the 24,000 part-time jobs paying £7.39 per hour. One of the main outcomes of the recession across the UK but particularly in Glasgow has been the impact on working hours with unemployment figures reduced because workers are taking part-time employment positions. The pay difference suggests that part-time employment may also involve an hourly pay decrease as well as a reduction in paid hours. There is also a gendered difference with the 121,000 female full-time jobs pay on average £12.21 per hour and the 77,000 part time positions paying only £8.75 per hour. Perhaps one of the reasons for the slightly higher pay for part-time females than part-time males relates to the number of public sector jobs which have tended to provide more part-time employment positions for females and slightly better pay than private sector part-time jobs for females (ONS, 2013).

In conclusion, compared to other UK cities Glasgow has some noticeable socio-economic problems in terms of unemployment figures and levels of inactivity. As discussed throughout this section the city has a history of high levels of claimants in receipt of health related benefits which in recent years have become activated in terms of their requirement to look for work. At the same time the city has persistently high levels of JSA claimants, and although these numbers have dropped since the 1990s, they have been steadily rising since the 2008 crisis. In response to post-industrial decline it has had experience of long term unemployment for many citizens throughout the 1990s and 2000's although figures had started to decrease before the onset of the 2008 crisis. As such there are complex and stubborn problems in Glasgow in terms of increasing economic activity and moving individuals into the labour market. This has been accompanied by recent recession-based impacts such as an increase in youth unemployment and long term unemployment across all JSA claimant groups. In recent years there has also been an increasing concern regarding levels of inequality in the city. This concern focuses not only on the inequality between those in work and those in receipt of out of work benefits, but more recently it has also included concerns regarding the impact of under-employment and part-time working on in-work poverty rates and income inequality more broadly. As such, the delivery of anti-poverty work in the city is both complex and pertinent.

3. The local political context and the local poverty debate

3.1 Left-wing politics and socialist history

Glasgow has a long and interesting political history. Due to its industrial base and large working-class population a strong socialist persuasion developed across the beginning of the 20th century, culminating in a number of political movements, public protests and factory strikes. The area in and around Glasgow, including the neighbouring industrial areas of Paisley and Greenock, gained a reputation during this period as 'Red Clydeside' - an impression which the area has somewhat retained (but which has arguably diluted along with the decline of manufacturing employment and organised labour movements). Although challenged by some (see Gall, 2005), Glasgow is often considered as the centre of Scottish Radicalism in terms of social reform and has contributed much to the political scene across the UK, particularly in terms of its strong left-wing politics and active political citizens in local, regional and national arenas. Post-war, Glasgow and the wider central Scotland area became strongly associated with the UK Labour Party, and the Scottish Labour Party (Smith, 1984; Hassan, 2004). In recent years the greater Glasgow area has also been strongly associated with the Scottish National Party (SNP) and as such the city contributes considerably to the wider political scene in Scotland, which is dominated by these two centre-left political parties. This stands in contrast to the UK political scene which is dominated by two parties, the UK Labour party occupying the centre-left and the Conservative party occupying the right. Since 2010 the Conservative led coalition government in Whitehall has introduced a series of welfare reforms and policy changes throughout the UK which are particularly right-wing in nature and therefore differ markedly to the political orientation of the city and the political debate in Scotland more generally. The political positions were discussed in detail in the national report.

The city's political and administrative organisation has been in place since the late 1800s. Created in 1996 the city's unitary authority (known as Glasgow City Council - GCC) currently has responsibility for the provision of public services such as museums, public parks, education, refuse collection, social work and some transport issues within the boundaries of the city. It is one of 32 Local Authorities in Scotland, all of which have responsibility for the collection of council tax from their residents and the provision of housing benefit and council tax benefit to those residents which qualify for assistance (a further discussion on GCC's responsibilities and activities is in section 4.4). GCC has historically been dominated by the Scottish Labour Party although in recent years there has been some competition for traditional Labour Party seats from the Scottish National Party (SNP). This is a trend occurring in a number of former Labour strong-holds across Scotland (McCrone, 2012). Excluding Glasgow First (which is a city based political group formed in 2012 by a group of previous Labour Party councillors), the main political parties involved in GCC are associated to or factions of the major parties from across Scotland and/or the UK (predominately Labour and SNP). Subsequently some policies and local activity in the city cannot be easily differentiated from the positions and initiatives of the main parties in Scotland in terms of political position.

Between 2007 and 2012 there was a decline in support for the Scottish Labour Party in some wards within Glasgow. In 2007 over 81,000 people in Glasgow voted for Labour councillors, whereas in 2012 this had dropped to 67,000 (although there was also a much lower overall turn out in 2012 than previous election years). This decline has tended to be linked to an increase in seats won by the SNP. Although the results of the 2007 election led to a win for the Scottish Labour Party with 45 seats (with

40 needed for a majority), this was a 26 seat decline from 2003 and reflected a general increase in popularity of the SNP. The SNP were the second party in the 2007 local elections recording 22 seats, an increase of 19 from 2003. The other parties to gain seats in 2003 included the Liberal Democrats with five seats, the Scottish Greens (a new party in 2007) also with five seats, the Conservatives recorded one seat and Solidarity, (a new left-wing party), recorded one seat. The city therefore is clearly dominated by the Scottish Labour party, and is a target for the growing SNP in both their political challenge for the city and for support in Scotland more broadly. It also has a strong link to a range of left-wing political groups and factions and support for local right-wing candidates in council elections is low.

3.2 Political control in GCC

Glasgow City Council operates as a municipal city of 21 council wards. The City Council includes 79 elected Members, representing 21 multi-member wards of 3 or 4 members. The Leader of the Council is elected as the leader of the largest political grouping of councillors and the post does not have executive or administrative powers. As such it is not an equivalent of a mayoral position as is sometimes the case in other European cities. Typical mayoral duties are fulfilled by an elected Provost, and unlike cities such as London where the mayor has decision making powers, in Glasgow the role is ceremonial and has no administrative functions in terms of policy and service provision. The local authority has two parts, the elected members and political role, and the employed officers who are involved in administrative roles. As with all local authorities in the UK employees of the city council are not directly associated to the political interests of the elected members. The most recent elections took place in 2012 and there are currently 6 political groups represented in GCC.

<i>Party name</i>	<i>Number of councillors</i>
<i>Glasgow First</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Scottish Green Party</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Scottish Labour Party</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Scottish Liberal Democrats</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Scottish National Party (SNP)</i>	<i>27</i>

Table 1: GCC 2012 election result
Source: GCC, 2013a

3.3 Financial Situation: Austerity and reform

Glasgow City Council does not have a specified budget for the provision on MIS and welfare services as the responsibility for these policy areas and social assistance programmes lies with the DWP and the UK government (see section 4.1). As discussed later in this report, GCC does provide some activation programmes and some MIS and income maximisation support, however as the funding does not come directly from the Scottish or UK government for these specific activities (i.e. it is not 'ring-fenced funding') it is not possible to differentiate and compare within the Council's official accounts the total amount of funding spent annually on MIS provision. Therefore it is not possible to provide information on annual differences and the impact of the 2008 economic crisis on council funded

services or funding for welfare provision as this information is not recorded. However, it is possible to identify changes in the funding provided to the council from the Scottish Government and identify areas which may have been affected by the austerity programme and economic downturn in the UK.

As discussed in detail in the national report, in 2010 the incoming UK coalition government introduced an austerity programme throughout the UK. The austerity programme, and the associated budgets that have followed, outlined a decrease in funding and financial support across all central government departments and reduced budgets and grants for local authorities. This included a reduction in the funding (known as the block grant) provided by the UK Treasury to the Scottish Government. The reduced grant has led to claims by the Scottish Government that up to 12.3 per cent of the budget will be cut up to 2014 (Scottish Government, 2011c). Whilst the Scottish Government claims that they have received a substantially reduced budget from the UK Treasury, the cuts and reduction in spending throughout England have been comparatively more. Since 2010 English Local authorities have experienced a huge decline in funding from central government; approximately £10 billion in real terms from 2011/12 to 2014/15 (LGA, 2013). Local Authorities in England continue to be targets of UK government austerity measures and many are unable to raise alternative income through fees or council tax and are reducing service provision (Berman and Parry, 2010). There is huge concern that further cuts will make significant changes to local authority service provision in England with evidence that spending cuts are “larger, absolutely and proportionally, in urban and poorer parts of England than in more affluent rural and suburban districts. It also means cuts are larger in London and the northern regions of England than in southern regions” (Crawford and Philips, 2012, p.124). There are concerns that deprived communities and those which require the most support during the current economic climate are affected the most by the cuts to English Local Authorities (Hastings *et al*, 2012). The Scottish Government has sought to reduce the impact of the austerity programme on Scottish Local Authorities and arguably, the cuts in Scotland have not been as severe as in England. For example, the Scottish Government has protected some services from any cuts or changes to their funding budgets such as NHS Scotland. However, UK departments which manage and operate within Scotland (such as the DWP) have experienced reduced service budgets affecting both staff numbers and the provision of benefits and support managed by this department.

This appears to have had two effects on GCC. First, although the organisation has been somewhat protected by the reduced budgets to local authorities as it receives its government grant from the Scottish Government, not the UK Government, it has seen a reduction in direct funding. GCC, like all 32 Local Authorities in Scotland, is funded by the Scottish Government through a system called Aggregate External Finance (AEF). AEF is the total grant provided by central government to local authorities. It comprises three elements: General Revenue Grant (GRG), Non Domestic Rate Income (NDRI) and Ring-fenced Grants. GRG is the principal grant received by local authorities and is determined by the total level of grant available and an individual authority's need to spend (often based on previous annual budgets and a formula based on population characteristics and requirements). NDRI is collected by all authorities and placed in a national 'pool' which is then redistributed among authorities. Whilst NDRI is raised from a range of sources the number is predominately associated with business rates and taxation from industry premises. In previous years, redistribution was based on authorities' resident populations. However, from 2011/12 redistributed amounts are based on each authority's estimated collection levels (Audit Scotland, 2012, p.7). Finally, ring-fenced grants are provided for a specific service area or initiative and the funding provided for these activities cannot be moved and spent elsewhere (i.e. the local authority does not have any

discretion on this type of grant). Ring-fenced grants featured heavily in the previous Labour Administrations who sought to direct funding towards particular targets (such as health and sports provisions in schools or specific neighbourhoods for regeneration or community development work). They are used less by the SNP administration in Holyrood.

The impact of the recession and austerity measures can be seen in the reduction in Grant Settlement from the Scottish Government to GCC. Prior to the 2008 recession GCC (and most Local Authorities) received an annual increase in the grant received each year. For example, in 2008/2009 it was an increase of 4.7% on the previous year. Since then GCC has continually experienced a year on year decrease in the settlement grant. From 2009/2010 to 2010/2011 GCC received a 1.5% decrease; this was the largest decrease of all Scottish LAs. Notably, the grant decrease was not experienced by all LA's in Scotland. Only Glasgow, Edinburgh, and West Dunbartonshire experienced a grant decrease in 2010/2011. All other LAs in Scotland experienced an increase in government grant settlement. From 2010 to 2012 GCC received a further decrease of 3.5% in the government grant settlement, a slightly greater reduction than the -2.6% average across Scottish Authorities. A decrease of 0.5% was recorded in the following year and in 2013/2014 the grant settlement the decrease was noticeably larger (-11.2%) on the year before. Once again this reduction in grant was more than the Scottish average in this year (which was -8.9%). As such, Glasgow City Council has received a decreasing grant settlement since 2009 and although clearly linked to the reduction in public sector funding across the UK, GCC has experienced greater year on year decreases than other local authorities in Scotland. In response GCC has implemented a service reform programme in order to continue to deliver public services in the city within the limits of the reduced grant settlement (GCC, 2006; GCC, 2009a; GCC, 2010).

Whether the reduction in grant settlement has caused some disagreement between GCC and the Scottish Government is not clear from the interviews. However, it appears that there has been some tension between what the council generates and what it receives back from the Scottish Government with regards to NDRI. It is outlined in the GCC published and publically available accounts and financial fact sheets the amount of money the city raises and receives with regards to the grant. The documents state that it raises much more than it receives back from the settlement (both prior to and since the onset of the recession and austerity programme). The following table outlines the GCC claims regarding the national pool and grant settlement¹.

Received from pool							
Accounting year	2004/2005	2005/2006	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012

¹ The calculation methodology for the amount to be distributed to each council has changed for 2011 to 2012. There has been a compensating reduction to the General Revenue Grant paid by the Scottish Government to match the overall cash paid by the Scottish Government to that in the Local Government Finance Settlement. (GCC, 2012b)

£ in millions	-63	-66	-76	-70	-59	-64	-1
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Table 2: GCC monies received from pool

Source: GCC 2006; GCC 2007; GCC, 2008; GCC, 2009a;GCC 2010;

The relationship between local authorities and the Scottish government is important. There are relatively few executive agencies in Scotland (compared to the UK) which are operated and controlled by the Scottish Government. As such, the Scottish Government which provides the funding for local authorities can use them as a 'delivery arm' and exercise some control over the priorities and activities of local government organisations. Local authorities (through an umbrella organisation called COSLA) negotiate the funding and grant requirements through a Concordat. The Scottish Government claims that Local Authorities have been given greater control over their finances as they have introduced a reduction in ring-fenced funding. They have stated that:

"Under the Concordat, agreed with local authorities, councils also have more freedom and flexibility particularly as we have reduced ring fenced funding streams and councils may keep their own efficiency savings to re-invest in services. The Scottish Government will therefore monitor performance to make sure that our shared national priorities are achieved" (Scottish Government 2010, no page number).

The concordat with the Scottish Government regarding the capital grant is accompanied by the Single Outcome Agreements whereby the Scottish Government outline priorities for local governments. Single Outcome Agreements are agreements between the Scottish Government and Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) which set out how each will work towards improving outcomes for the local people in a way that reflects local circumstances and priorities, within the context of the Government's National Outcomes and Purpose. The Scottish Government and COSLA agreed that new Single Outcome Agreements between the Scottish Government and CPPs would be established in 2013 (Scottish Government, 2013c).

Second, whilst the Scottish Government has sought to mitigate the effects of the UK austerity programme on the public sector in Scotland, the SNP party in control of Holyrood has introduced policies which impact on local authority income. The main policy introduced by the SNP government was the Council Tax Freeze which means that GCC has been unable to increase revenues from increasing council tax. Council Tax is an amount paid to the local authority by each household every year, the amount paid varies and is based on historical 'banding' of homes based on their value (i.e. it is not income based but there is some assumption about ability to pay based on the value of the home). Council tax has been frozen in Scotland since the SNP came to power in 2007 and introduced the policy as part of its efforts to reduce spending for individuals households (although GCC introduced the policy for one year in 2006). The SNP government claim that the freeze assists those struggling in the current economic climate and protects Scottish residents from UK cuts to council tax benefit (Scottish Government, 2012). The policy is heavily criticised by political opponents in Scotland with claims that it benefits wealthier households most and that local authorities are unable to continue to offer services due to funding shortages (Bell, 2011). The debate has continued for a number of years with Scottish Labour arguing that the freeze (and the continuation of universal benefits more generally) does not benefit those in need. Similar arguments have been put forward by Unison (the

Union of public sector workers) who contends that the council tax freeze is not assisting households as public services have suffered from income reduction and households haven't saved money as rents have risen beyond the council tax rate. They argue that social housing rents have not been frozen and as such that the policy is regressive and does not benefit those affected the most by welfare reform and UK government cuts. Their view is that the freeze detracts money from other services and that local authorities have introduced or increased charges for services to make up the shortfall from the inability to raise council tax at a time when the overall grant is decreasing (Watson, 2013).

In practice the council tax freeze is negotiated and managed through an agreement between the Scottish Government and COSLA as part of the budgetary agreements for Local Authorities (Scottish Government, 2013b). As part of the Concordat between councils and the Scottish Government, authorities are rewarded financially for maintaining the freeze. The council tax freeze is part of an agreement that council funding (the grant) is conditional on objectives set out by the Scottish Government, in recent years this has mainly focussed on the council tax freeze but it has also involved other SNP priorities such as teacher employment numbers. Political opponents have therefore argued that it not only prioritises SNP objectives over local political aims but it also centralises power and reduces the fiscal autonomy of councils (Midwinter, 2011).

Whilst GCC introduced its own council tax freeze in 2005/2006 (prior to the economic crisis and before the SNP introduced it across the country), the council has since argued that the change in economic situation and the extended freeze causes difficulties for the service delivery. Speaking in 2010 the Leader of GCC called for the council tax freeze to be dropped because the policy was unsuitable to the context in which the council was required to make £180m savings and at a time of 'unprecedented' cuts (Local Government Chronicle, 2010, no page number). Arguably, both organisational concerns and a political rivalry affect the position adopted by GCC. However, one senior civil society respondent also discussed the problems regarding the council tax position as indicative of a wider approach to managing finances during public funding austerity.

"Local authority budgets have been cut but they aren't allowed to raise money from council tax because of the freeze commitment...I don't know of any Scottish government commitment, I guess it's difficult because they don't have taxation powers, but even their views of greater taxation powers aren't progressive really. I don't know of them targeting people at the top and taking more money from them" (senior civil society respondent).

As discussed throughout this report the UK austerity programme and welfare reform agenda of the UK national government also affects GCC finances. The main area is the provision of council tax and housing benefit (responsibilities of the local authority) and the impact of DWP and benefit reform on the individuals involved. The council has also made adjustments to the provision of services and resources expended on reacting to and reorganising in response to the UK government's welfare reform programme which has affected a large number of Glasgow residents in receipt of social support.

Due to a number of financial changes outlined above GCC, like all authorities in the UK, has introduced a service reform programme and organisational development strategy in an attempt to reduce costs and operate within the new budget requirements. Named, 'The Tomorrow's Office Service Reform Programme' it has involved a number of cost cutting features such as a voluntary redundancy programme (through which nearly 3000 employees have self-nominated) and a reduction programme aimed at reducing over £30million in 2009-2010. Overall the council made £115million in efficiency savings between 2010 and 2012 (GCC, 2009a). The local authority is continuing to experience organisational change and implement reforms to service provision at the same time as reacting to wider welfare reform and labour market issues in the city.

3.4 Politics of poverty

The political landscape in Glasgow (and arguably Scotland more broadly) is associated with left-wing policies and political debates regarding welfare have tended to be positioned and competed solely within the left of the political. This stands in great contrast to the UK level political debate on these issues where there has been a tendency in recent years to shift the policy area from the centre-left, to the centre-right and now quite firmly towards right-wing views on welfare provision and the role of state support.

The politics in Glasgow cannot be cleanly differentiated from the political activity occurring at the Scottish level (and also at the UK level). In terms of the political position on anti-poverty the political parties in Glasgow are similar to the Scottish level parties. Throughout the 2000's the Scottish Labour Party (which was ruling in a coalition at the Scottish Executive) was closely aligned to the UK Labour Party (which was in power in Whitehall from 1997-2010) in terms of its stance towards poverty alleviation, full employment, and the introduction of the national minimum wage (NMW) in the 1990s. In recent years Scottish Labour has become slightly more distinct in terms of its stance on poverty and continues to promote a campaign to reduce fuel poverty, child poverty, and pensioner poverty. The Scottish Labour Party 2012 manifesto focussed on poverty alleviation through education and employment, with numerous references to the problems of unemployment and low skills. The Scottish Labour Party (and the UK Labour Party) continue to emphasise an aim for full employment and that the route out of poverty is an employment based solution. For example, there is specific emphasis on the National Minimum Wage (NMW) and Labour's commitment to enforce the NMW to employers. Within the manifesto there was a dedication to ending poverty in Scotland. The focus on poverty is weighted towards issues of child poverty and fuel poverty (a particularly acute problem in Glasgow). Working age poverty, particularly in-work poverty is discussed primarily in terms of the need to encourage tax credit uptake, and the idea to establish an anti-poverty unit for Scotland (Scottish Labour Party, 2012).

Whilst the Scottish Labour party remains the predominant political power in Glasgow and across many parts of Scotland, since 2007 the Scottish National Party (SNP) has emerged as a strong opposition party (as mentioned in section 3.1). Since 2011 the SNP have had the overall majority in the Scottish Parliament and offer political competition in many traditional Labour Party wards in Glasgow. At the Scottish level the SNP have continued to emphasise a left of centre position on some aspects of social welfare and public service provision. For example, during 2008 the (SNP led) Scottish Government announced its new Framework to Tackle Poverty and presented a Local Income Tax Bill to the Scottish

Parliament (proposals that were initially advanced by the Scottish Socialist Party). In relation to poverty the SNP promoted a campaign in 2009 to raise awareness of poverty issues in Scotland, called 'Get Fair Scotland' (SNP, 2009).

The most publicised case in which the SNP competed with Scottish Labour on issues of welfare provision was the SNP's win in the Glasgow East By-Election for a Member of Parliament for the UK government in 2008. The seat was previously considered the 3rd safest Labour party seat in Scotland and the upset occurred at a time when the Labour Party were in power in both Holyrood and Whitehall. The Glasgow East area had rates of income poverty which exceeded 50 per cent. It became the site of a Conservative Party speech on the problems of welfare dependency by Ian Duncan Smith (the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions who is now spearheading the UK government's welfare reform agenda). Candidates were put forward by all the prominent political parties such as the SNP, Scottish Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrats, as well as from a number of left-wing parties such as the Scottish Socialist Party and Solidarity (a party supported by the Socialist Workers Party). Analysis of the election campaigns suggested that the by-election was not just about the election of a MP for this locality, but formed part of a larger dialogue across the UK on welfare dependency and reform, and a political taster of the impact on the Labour Party of the SNP (see Mooney *et al.*, 2008). Of all the parties involved the SNP campaigned strongly on welfare reform, poverty and deprivation, and other policies associated with the more historical and traditional Labour Party position. Accordingly it was the perception that the SNP introduced and advocated policies which the majority of Labour supporters would support (see Mooney *et al.*, 2008). With regards to social policy the election was an insight into the discourse and stance of the main political parties in the UK on issues of poverty and welfare reform (Mooney *et al.*, 2008; Mooney, 2009). Arguably therefore it is possible to contend that both the SNP and the Labour Party occupy and compete on welfare and anti-poverty policies in terms of the left-wing position in Glasgow and Scotland more broadly.

However, the SNP Government has been accused of neglecting social policy issues such as inequality and poverty in its political debates and policy propositions (Mooney *et al.*, 2008). Criticism has centred on the view that the SNP are not promoting a different economic model than the ones on offer by the Labour Party, and to some extent by the UK political parties. For example, the SNP government in Holyrood has introduced a welfare reform working group to look at welfare reform policies enacted by the UK Government which affect Scottish citizens and the delivery of services by Scottish based organisations and agencies. However, one respondent felt that the purpose of this group was not as an alternative model to managing welfare and society but as a way in which Scotland can demonstrate its ability to manage its own welfare system as part of the wider national independence campaign.

"I think the SNP policy seems to be we'll be slightly more competent than 'evil' Westminster. But not divert too much off the path. Almost a no change position, we'll keep you where you are whilst Westminster will take you where you don't want to go" (Civil society respondent).

As such, the consensus on the need to address poverty and the left-wing political position proclaimed by both major parties is currently somewhat interjected by the on-going referendum and independence campaign which has overshadowed welfare policy.

3.4.1 Anti-poverty strategies in Glasgow

As outlined above there are clearly wider debates around poverty and welfare which involve and use Glasgow as part of the wider political activity in Scotland and in the UK. Within the backdrop of the wider political context local political actors and organisations appear to demonstrate a commitment to addressing issues of poverty and deprivation in the city.

The Scottish Labour representatives in GCC appear to adopt a strong commitment to addressing poverty and unemployment in the city. For example, GCC introduced a 'Living Wage' pay rates for all GCC employees in 2011. The Living Wage campaign seeks to increase the NMW or encourage employers to pay their employees a 'living rate', currently set at £7.54 per hour (the NMW is currently £6.19 per hour). The Living Wage campaign is prominent in Glasgow and is closely aligned to the cities 'Poverty Alliance' group and the Scottish Low Pay Unit². These groups are discussed in more detail in section 4. Glasgow was the first Local Authority in Scotland to adopt the Living Wage and importantly it appears to insist that this be a priority for future council work and associated contracts. The Living Wage campaign and the Council's decision to adopt it its pay structure was mentioned by some respondents, all of which spoke about it in a positive light. Some positioned their positive views on the Living Wage within the context of welfare reform and the current economic climate. For example:

"Lots of inequality groups are very badly affected by the changes that have come about since the recession, so the fact that more people are in part-time work, that so many people in low-paid work [and] are claiming benefits, the fact that you know employers will pay the NMW but not a living wage. The NHS now pays a living wage and the council as well, there's definitely a desire to move towards a living wage. Basically people are trapped in a cycle of poverty. Benefits are not enough to live on, if you are moving into employment unless it is well paid and you have good conditions that mean you can combine with family responsibilities and caring responsibilities it is not necessarily going to lift you out of poverty" (senior employee/ corporate board member public sector organisation).

No local respondents disagreed with the move towards public sector organisations adopting a Living Wage and across Scotland there has been political support from most parties. The Scottish Green Party, the Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish National Party all had manifesto commitments to deliver the Living Wage for public sector employees in 2011 (Park, 2012). Some Scottish Labour MSPs have sought to ensure that all public sector contracting stipulates a Living Wage agreement for all employees involved, although there is some difficulty enacting this requisite due to EU procurement legislation. Further information about the Living Wage in Scotland can be found at Park (2012).

This aspect of work from the local authority is linked to the strong involvement of civil society groups in the local political debate. This includes a range of large third sector organisations such as Save the Children, One Parent Families Scotland, and Oxfam to name but a few. One particular organisation, the Poverty Alliance, is extremely active in Glasgow and Scotland more broadly in regards to the Living Wage campaign and other anti-poverty work. It is involved in the EAPN and is a communicator for

² The Low Pay Unit closed in 2010 due to funding shortages from neighbouring local authorities.

ideas from the European-level, such as promoting participatory approaches to tackling poverty. It appears that the participatory approach for understanding poverty has strong support in Glasgow from civil society organisations with Glasgow experiencing change in terms of the ways in which issues of poverty are researched and discussed by political actors and agencies tasked with reducing poverty in the city. A number of initiatives and organisations are strongly committed to the participatory approach, such as the Poverty Truth Commission (discussed in further detail below and in section 8).

It is visible to see the effect of this work on the central and established practices for policy development and service delivery design in the city. For example, many of the ideas have started to infiltrate and affect the way GCC addresses poverty and who is invited to the table to discuss these issues. In recent years that has been a clear commitment from the Council to address issues of poverty and work towards assisting those experiencing poverty in the city. The driver for this approach appeared to be from the Leader's Office and the Labour Manifesto, although from the interviews there also appeared to be an influential role of third sector organisations and local individuals pushing poverty to the forefront of the debate (the local arrangement is discussed in section 4) as part of the broader move towards the participatory approach.

In 2013 the Council established a Poverty Leadership Panel to discuss poverty issues on a city-wide basis and to provide leadership, and to advise on the development a city wide anti-poverty strategy. Membership of the Panel is drawn from people across Glasgow, and in some cases, Scotland. The Panel is co-chaired by the Leader of the Council and a person with direct experience of living in poverty. Partnership working is a central feature of the panel which seeks to make practical recommendations and support people living in poverty alongside, "Improving co-ordination and co-operation between organisations working to address poverty locally" (GCC, 2013, p.5). There are a range of organisations involved in the Poverty Leadership Panel from the public, private, and third sector and 25 individuals which directly sit on the panel. Some of these individuals are elected councillors and directors of GCC departments, others are representatives from local third sector organisations, and directors of health agencies. There are also some representatives who are experiencing poverty and were involved in the Poverty Truth Commission work.

The Poverty Leadership Panel produced a 'Tackling Poverty Together Report' which identified five inter-related themes as a focus for this work. These five themes provide the framework for an Action Plan which will coordinate activities to address issues around poverty in the city. These themes are: *Attitudinal Change; Child Poverty; Credit and Debt; Welfare Reform; and Work and Worth*. Representatives from relevant organisations, and people with direct experience of poverty have been identified to form working groups and are starting to develop action points around each theme. The Tackling Poverty Together Report highlighted five core messages which it believed, if adequately addressed, would make the city's efforts to tackle poverty much more effective. These messages are:

- **Dignity** has to be at the heart of any framework. Poverty is a denial of human rights and needs to be addressed as such.
- **People struggling against poverty** need to be seen as part of the solution. If poverty is to be adequately addressed in Glasgow, the knowledge and expertise of those struggling against it on a daily basis needs to be far more effectively harnessed.

- More effective **coordination** of anti-poverty work across the city. There is a great deal of good practice already underway but it is often poorly reported and badly integrated both within and across partners.
- Public sector **spending must be targeted** on tackling poverty and inequality. The fact that public sector spending in Glasgow is under extreme pressure makes it even more critical that available resources are used to tackle poverty.
- **Welfare reform** necessitates action now. (GCC, 2013c, no page number)

An interesting aspect of this work is the involvement of those experiencing poverty in the city and their presence in addressing some of the strategic and practical issues. For example, the Council has identified funding to employ 'Tackling Poverty Assistants' to help with the administration of this work. They state that they, "will recruit individuals who may not necessarily have much work experience, but who have personal experience of unemployment and social exclusion. Part of their job will be to talk to local people about their experiences and to feed this into the Action Plan" (GCC, 2013, p. 7). The commitment to poverty alleviation by the Leader's Office was praised by other actors.

The Poverty Leadership Panel had only recently been introduced at the time of undertaking interviews for this research. As such, the impact of the panel and the work that is outlined in the early drafts of the panel's reports is unknown and there is little empirical data to provide an indication of how this participatory approach to understanding and tackling poverty works at the local level and what outcomes it has brought to the city. That being said, many interview respondents praised the initial idea and the establishment of the panel and anticipated positive outcomes.

The incorporation of more participatory approaches into the main GCC approach to conceptualising and understanding poverty sits in contrast to the approach to poverty and welfare provision of the UK government (see national report). Whilst arguably it is an issue advocated by influential local actors and these individuals have moved the approach into the main arenas at the city level, it may also be an indication of a European influence and support of participatory approaches which have permeated through the Poverty Alliance and the Poverty Truth Commission³. The Poverty Truth Commission was a two year project bringing together Scotland's civic leaders with individuals using the tag line, 'Nothing about us without us is for us.' It was designed and led by Faith in Scotland which is a charity supported by the Church of Scotland and involved creating a dialogue and facilitating meetings between a range of organisations and individuals involved in anti-poverty work or experiencing poverty (further detail can be found at <http://www.povertytruthcommission.org>). A participatory project by the Poverty Alliance (based in Glasgow but working across Scotland) operated a project in 2010 called 'Stick your labels'. The work was part of an 'Evidence Participation Change' project and took place over 6 months to look at issues of stigma and discrimination in regards to people living in poverty and it also involved people with direct experience of poverty working alongside

³ The PTC did not receive any EU funding and was led by local actors but it did receive an EU award

representatives from local and national government and TSOs. Further information on this project can be found at <http://povertyalliance.org>.

3.4.2 Economic development strategy

Poverty is also addressed in Glasgow through an economic perspective. Glasgow has a longer and more detailed history in tackling poverty and deprivation through this approach than the more recent participatory poverty method, and it remains a dominant ideology for anti-poverty work. This approach focuses predominately on employability and activation measures which are framed within the context of economic development, job creation and inward investment. It is evident from many of the strategies and policy documents that there is a view that poverty can be addressed by supporting improvements in the local economy and creating more jobs. In this sense the city has a number of economic development strategies and agencies (although recently, due to the decline of regeneration funding throughout the UK these have reorganised and reduced in size) and the council takes a prominent role in this area of work. Glasgow has often been considered as well advanced and innovative in regards to the strategic approach to managing economic development, regeneration and city-wide employment strategies. Much of this work is led by GCC and other public sector partners.

There are a variety of reasons why GCC and local public actors take a prominent role in regeneration and employability activities. First, a number of institutional realignments and economic development activities during the 1980s and 1990s remained strongly associated with the local authority which was active in the redevelopment of the city during this time. One reason for this was the high unemployment levels for the city during this period. As discussed in more detail in section 4.4 economic growth and job creation initiatives have been delivered primarily through local government departments and Arm's Length External Organisations (ALEO). This differs from most parts of the UK where regeneration and economic development agencies have been created (and latterly destroyed) which have been arranged as government executives and regional agencies and have operated separately from the local authorities (see Boyle and Hughes, 1994; GEC, 2011).

Second, during the late 1990s and 2000s the UK government and latterly the devolved Scottish Government invested and supported the creation of economic strategies and employment initiatives by Local Authorities and relevant local actors. The influence of the UK Labour Party and their commitment to regeneration and economic development funding during the 1990s and 2000's is visible to see across the city where there has been redevelopment of former industrial sites. Major redevelopment and regeneration of inner city areas, former manufacturing areas and neighbourhoods with high levels of deprivation and unemployment were key economic ideas in the UK Labour Party's strategy to increase employment and reduce poverty in post-industrial cities (Tallon, 2010). The redevelopment of former manufacturing areas into business space and new residential developments was a key part of the Labour Party's strategy to assist failing local economies. As Glasgow was a Labour city and an area requiring post-industrial redevelopment regeneration schemes and the redevelopment of deprived areas has been a major focus for GCC and local public sector actors over the past 20 years (see Tiesdell, 2010).

Third, job creation has been a major focus of economic development and regeneration strategies for the city over the past ten years. Since the onset of industrial decline local political actors have sought

to encourage job creation in order to replace some of the employment opportunities lost since the decline of the shipyards. As such, the need to attract businesses and encourage business start-ups that create employment has been voiced by the council and the strategic partnerships throughout the city. At the same time, the city has sought to attract a number of businesses such as call centres and increase the retail and service occupations in the city. The aim has been to create a shopping and consumption based city centre to increase the number of visitors to Glasgow and to increase the number of service occupations. There are a range of organisations involved in economic development in the city such as the Glasgow City Centre forum, Glasgow Economic Forum (which produces the framework for development across the city), City Advisory Panel, Glasgow Economic Partnership, Glasgow Economic Commission, Glasgow Economic Leadership, and the Glasgow Social Economy Partnership. Of these the Glasgow Economic Forum is the most influential and previously involved partnering with GCC, Scottish Enterprise, local businesses, higher education organisations, Chamber of Commerce, and other local stakeholders (some of which were abolished in 2010). The Economic strategy and associated action plans have some links to the European Employment Strategy.

Glasgow is hosting the Commonwealth Games sports even in 2014 and with funding from the Scottish Government and local agencies such as GCC it is undertaking a number of capital build and regeneration activities in preparation for the sporting event. This includes building new stadiums and arenas as well as developing new transport links, residential areas and tourist services. For some local actors this is an opportunity for the city to regenerate the east end of the city and in the process create jobs in construction, development and in any new businesses that establish in this area. Others (particularly politicians) have emphasised the impact of the event on the health of the city, increased tourist numbers and the overall improvement in well-being to residents in the city, as discussed throughout this report economic development efforts such as these are arguably one of the 'levers' through which political actors and local agencies can be directly involved in economic development work and affect employment (if not always poverty) levels in the city. Much investment is directed towards job creation in relation to the Commonwealth Games with claims from Nicola Sturgeon (the Deputy First Minister of the Scottish Parliament and MSP for Glasgow Southside), "The 2014 Commonwealth Games will be a huge boost to our economy and will provide a springboard for regeneration in some of our most deprived communities right here in Glasgow" (Scottish Government, 2013d, no page number). Urban regeneration approaches such as this (which were undoubtedly a popular approach until the economic crash in 2008) have received criticisms for the emphasis on what is sometimes referred to as 'civic boosterism' (whereby events are used to temporarily improve the image of a city often for inward investment) and have more critically been called 'Urban Propaganda Projects' (Boyle, 1997; Boyle 1999).

This economic approach posits that in order to reduce poverty in the city, there needs to be an increase in employment opportunities and jobs. The increase in jobs will not only increase the employment level of the city, but it will also reduce poverty levels. Whilst this remains an aspect of poverty relief and economic development pursued by some organisations within the city, this model has led to recent tensions and criticisms from those involved in anti-poverty work who see the economic development agenda as not only separate to anti-poverty work, but in some cases a catalyst of social inequality within the city. Critics of this approach to economic recovery have highlighted how regeneration efforts in Glasgow have focussed too heavily on market-led processes (Paton, Mooney, and McKee, 2012; Mooney, 2004). In this sense the approach adopted by GCC does not differ from the main parties approach by the Scottish Labour Party and SNP.

“There’s a huge level of emphasis on employment and bringing jobs in to the city and making the city more attractive and I think so much of that is based around a desire to address the issues of inequality within the city. I think I’m not convinced quite a lot of the time that it is successful in doing that, I think it often continues with a model of trickle out economics or social policy from my own perspective if you are going to tackle the issue of unemployment in the city, then the issue is not about creating so many new jobs, the issue is about creating so many new jobs which are accessible to those who don’t currently have jobs” (senior civic society leader).

Some argue that many jobs created do not benefit those currently experiencing poverty, i.e. there is no match-up between job creation and those out of work with many issues hindering their entrance to work as demonstrated above. Whilst some of the efforts of GCC over the years have sought to link those furthest from the labour to employers (see section 4.4), it is evident that there is little official discussions of wage inequality (outside of the work of the Living Wage campaign which has been predominately successful with public sector organisations). It appears to be a common understanding that there was little that the local actors could do to mitigate against wage disparity other than seek to up-skill the local population.

“I think that the approach to poverty has really not moved on that much unfortunately. I think there are lot of policies to tackle inequality and the gap, but there is a disconnect between the economic strategies in Scotland and the aspiration to tackle inequality. There’s not really still a commitment to tackle the structural inequality” (Senior public sector employee).

3.5 Local political convergence

Whilst the economic development approach has been criticised from civil society groups, many of the respondents stated that there was no difference of opinion from the two main parties in Glasgow regarding how local actors can address issues of poverty. Most stated that the SNP (minority party in GCC) rarely criticised or commented on the Labour administration’s approach to addressing poverty and that the city remained dominated by this position. At the Scottish level there also appeared to be little difference between the parties and there was no criticism of the Glasgow approach by SNP politicians outside of the city, despite much political competition between the SNP and Scottish Labour in Scottish politics more generally and in particular about devolution and Scottish control of the welfare system. As such, within this political sphere there are no competing voices in terms of anti-poverty measures and ways to reduce poverty within the city. Moreover, whilst the anti-poverty strategy did involve a range of organisations and political position, all respondents felt that the major political parties adopted the same dominant economic development view towards addressing poverty.

There are some competing views regarding poverty and how to address it. Whilst these are not (yet) ideas presented by the official political parties some of these voices have impacted on the recent anti-poverty work of the council and other partner agencies. They play an important role in the discourse of poverty alleviation in the city through both formal networks and lobbying positions. They are also

key partners in the delivery of some of the council-led strategies for addressing poverty and as such are vital components of the political landscape in the city.

“I think that really from 2008 onwards the bubble has substantially burst around that social-economic development model and the city is just beginning to wake up to the fact that it needs an employment strategy that is written in 2013 rather than one written in 2012, but in actual fact is substantially influenced by an approach from 2008. The city has been very focussed around the commonwealth games, now that might have been a model that would have brought greater rewards had the 2008 conditions still be in operation” (Senior civil society leader).

These views come from civil society or third sector organisations chiefly Oxfam and Glasgow Caledonian’s report called *Our Economy*, and in the last year on the work by the Jimmy Reid Foundation called *the Common Weal*, part of the larger referendum and constitutional debate taking place in Scotland (Jimmy Reid Foundation, no date). They offer some competing narratives on how to reduce poverty in Glasgow and Scotland more broadly. Both of these agendas focus on society more broadly and on possibility of designing and delivering a different kind of welfare and society yet both organisations are Glasgow based and work with a number of local organisations such as the Universities and civil society groups. Their work is viewed as the competing voice to the main approaches to economic development adopted by the council (and the SNP government), and also as a response to the overall austerity measures and welfare reforms of the UK government.

As discussed throughout the report there are some negotiations and tensions which exist between the design and administration of conflicting and parallel approaches to poverty alleviation. This political dialogue between the official political party approach to economic development and poverty reduction is accompanied at the local level by actors advocating for different welfare models, and where this is not possible, gaining some influence and change on minor local strategies. From this research it appears that a number of different types of local organisations were able to come together on particular issues or at a particular time to work together and influence each other’s models. It would not be fair to say that these conflicting views worked harmoniously in the city and there was some tension at times between individuals involved in anti-poverty work that advocate for a whole-scale shift in social and economic values, and those in more pragmatic roles who try to do what they can with the levers at hand. Much of these tensions were discussed by respondents in terms of levers – both access to and appropriate use of. As one respondent stated:

“I also think that and it’s kind of one of the huge challenges around civic boosters and strategy in general, because in a way that there is a desire to make the city appear more attractive to potential investors, you have a temptation to try and sweep under the carpet some of the problems you have as a city because they are problems which don’t you an attractive place for people to invest” (senior civil society leader).

As such, there is much more disagreement between local civil society and political parties over the broader economic strategy than over the narrower anti-poverty policy work. Whilst they have been

able to come together and work together on anti-poverty strategies, the civil society actors lean towards the need to create (and embed the anti-poverty work) in 'alternative economic strategy' whilst the political parties in Scotland and the GCC are continuing with a relatively orthodox position. Whilst the main political parties appear committed to reducing poverty and incorporating participatory approaches to managing some of the issues surrounding poverty, this hasn't been mainstreamed into the dominant approach to economic development which retains a 'trickle down' logic or a presumption that job creation will equal poverty reduction. Arguably therefore the push to the left evident in previous political election discourse operates within strict limits or boundaries set by a consensus over the general economic strategy.

4. Actors involved in fighting poverty at local level

4.1 Public actors

The UK Government departments have the responsibility for the main tools for delivering welfare support and anti-poverty measures. This includes the main provision of (cash) benefits and financial support, and the provision and management of the tax credit system. The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) is the administering agency for out-of-work payments, benefits and a range of other social support payments. Pensions, Disability and Carers services and support are also the responsibility of the DWP. The DWP also has responsibility for the provision of employment services such as the public employment service, Jobcentre Plus (JCP) and for the contracting of welfare-to-work programmes in all localities across the UK. The devolved governments and local authorities do not have any power or legislative responsibility in the design and delivery of the DWP national activation programmes such as the current 'Work Programme' (discussed in section 7). As outlined in the national report, JCP is the front-line administrative department for the provision of benefit payments in all localities across the UK. It has one main office in Glasgow and 24 smaller offices throughout the city.

Individuals in Glasgow who are in receipt of out of work benefits (such as Jobseekers Allowance and the health related benefits) will visit a local JCP office to 'sign-on' and arrange benefit payment. Individuals in receipt of benefit payments will enter into a contract with the JCP in which they confirm that they are actively seeking work. JCP ensures that individuals are maintaining their commitments and has the power to sanction and remove benefit payments from individuals. It also has responsibility for monitoring an individual's claim and for transferring the individuals onto welfare-to-work programmes at specific points (for example a young person claiming JSA will transfer to the Work Programme after 9 months). These responsibilities are part of the national framework for managing unemployment and minimum income provisions and are standard across the UK. As discussed in more detail in section 7 in Glasgow there is also a working relationship between JCP and the local actors. JCP is involved in referring individuals to the local employment programmes and it is a member of the board for the local employability partnership discussed in section 4.2.

National public actors are responsible for the other main aspect of minimum income provision. Tax credits, child tax credits and other tax related benefits are also reserved matters and are administered through the HM Revenue and Customs agency (HMRC), which is ultimately under the control of the UK Treasury Department. Individuals contact these national offices directly and not through local organisations. Local authorities do not have any influence over tax credit amounts or other tax related benefits; neither does Job Centre Plus or the DWP. The national framework and benefit rates for housing are not devolved decisions and strict boundaries and frameworks are provided by the DWP and the Treasury. Further detail is provided in the national report.

4.2 Scottish Government

The Scottish Government does not have any devolved powers in terms of the main welfare state provisions such as benefits and eligibilities for out-of-work support. It does have a number of levers

and opportunities to assist those in poverty through other budget areas. To date direct support for those in poverty has been linked to health and care budgets, as well as education and child welfare departments. Individuals in Scotland can therefore receive some different minimum income payments on top of or replacing the UK national provisions. These are discussed in more detail in the national report. The Scottish Government also provides the following:

- National entitlement scheme provides free bus travel and subsidised trains and subway travel for people aged 60 or over, registered disabled and young people aged 16-18
- Fee waiver for further education courses if you are a Scottish student or mature student from the UK who has lived in Scotland for three years or more.
- All parents of three and four year-olds are entitled to 5 free half day (2½ hour) places in a nursery per week
- The Education Maintenance Allowance Scheme (a Scottish Government initiative administered by Glasgow City Council Corporate Services). An EMA is a weekly allowance payable to eligible students aged 16-16 who have achieved 100% attendance per week at school. It is payable on a 2 weekly basis. Household with an income of £0-£20,351 and one dependent child can receive £30 per week. A household with an income of £0-£22,403 and 2 dependent children can also receive an award of £30 per week.

The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) abolished the discretionary social fund and transferred funding for Community Care Grants and Crisis Loans for living expenses to the Scottish Government in 2013. Local Authorities administer the fund although the Scottish Government has added to the DWP's guidance and provided a standard application form, a guide for decision makers and model documentation, a national training programme, funding for a dedicated Development Officer in order to promote consistency and support implementation (Scottish Government, 2013e, no page number). The fund will be split between Community Care and Crisis Grants. A grant can be awarded in case of crisis to meet expenses that have arisen as a result of an emergency or disaster in order to avoid serious damage or serious risk to the health or safety of the applicant or their family. It can also be used for the support of independent living for individuals who have experienced a period of health related care. The scheme pays out grants or assistance in kind (cash, fuel cards, food vouchers, travel warrants, loaded store card for e.g. white goods/furniture). Applicants should be aged 16 or over and should normally be entitled to Income Support, income-based Jobseeker's Allowance, income-related Employment and Support Allowance, Savings Pension Credit, Guaranteed Pension Credit or payment on account of one of them in order to be eligible for a Crisis Grant. There is no qualifying period for receipt of these benefits (Scottish Government, 2013f, no page number).

The Scottish Government also has a number of devolved powers which enable it to provide local levels of support in the broader poverty and activation agenda. To date this has predominately focussed on youth unemployment, and the provision of training and education. These are both devolved issues and therefore the Scottish Government is able to enact some influence and create its own policies under these broad policy banners. It has also been able to operate a number of policies and programmes through its regeneration budgets and objectives and the associated housing policies. Whilst it may not have control or influence over the cash benefit rates, rules and allowances for those seeking support from the welfare state, it is able to introduce and enact some local influence in the provision of services and support in order to increase economic development, or to directly influence the well-being of people experiencing poverty.

With regards to youth employment the Scottish Government has initiated a number of schemes in response to the 2008 financial crisis and the impact on employment levels in Scotland. It commissioned a youth employment programme called Action for Jobs, emphasised and provided funding for modern apprenticeships and has recently created a Minister for Youth Employment. These schemes have involved both European funding and Scottish Government funding. For example, the £50 million Youth Employment Scotland Fund was comprised of £25 million from the Scottish Government and European Social Fund, and it was delivered by match-funding from £25 million worth of in-kind support from employers and local councils (it is delivered through local authorities and discussed in section 7.2). Whilst unable to affect the UK level employment and economic development policies, the Scottish Government provide funding for a range of initiatives in Scotland through their enterprise and business policy responsibilities. It announced a £37.85 million SME Growth Programme to support businesses to grow and create employment opportunities (for people of all ages) which was made up of £15.1 million cash from the European Regional Development Fund matched by £22.75 million worth of support from Scottish Enterprise and Business Gateway (Scottish Government, 2011c; Scottish government 2013, no page number).

They predominately operate these schemes through non-executive agencies such as Skills Development Scotland (SDS) and Scottish Enterprise. SDS is a non-departmental public body which was formed in 2008 to cover skills, training and careers. It also provides funding for local employability programmes, particularly training elements of activation programmes. SDS is the main agency through which the Scottish Government provides funding for employability and skills (although much of this spending is directed towards further and higher education organisations and specific training and careers services). Between 2011-2015 SDS receives approximately £180m per year from the Scottish Government as part of their spending on employability skills and lifelong learning (Scottish Government, 2011c, p.111). Most of this work is associated with the provision of training and education, although some of the schemes are specifically responding to labour market issues and closely resemble human development activation schemes and job creation programmes.

Scottish Enterprise is a non-departmental public body which delivers the Scottish Government's Economic Strategy. It does not have a direct responsibility for issue of poverty and employment but it is tasked with increasing private sector investment, employment opportunities, and business growth. It is also heavily involved commercial development in large regeneration schemes and has responsibility for some aspects of skills and training development for business growth. This work is considered part of the Scottish Government's attempt to tackle inequality. One of Scottish Enterprise's targets is, *'To increase overall income and the proportion of income and services we need earned by the three lowest income deciles'* (Scottish Enterprise, 2013, p.37)

Despite the centralization of the welfare state and the associated policy areas the Scottish Government has a number of working groups which operate in order to manage and understand the delivery of welfare. These groups often involve local and non-public sector actors and umbrella groups and some of these are discussed in more detail throughout this report. At a policy level the Scottish Government has a formal policy making forum based on employability issues. The Scottish Employability Forum adopts a strategic view to employment issues in Scotland and sits over a National

Delivery Group where local agencies, Skills Development Scotland and Jobcentre Plus communicate ideas and share working information. There are then three forums working on specific matters such as the third sector forum, the health and employment forum and the local employability partnership. In Scotland each local area has an Employability Partnership and in Glasgow this is led by GCC. Collectively, therefore, whilst issues of activation and MIS are reserved matters, in Scotland there are a number of forums and policy groups dedicated to understanding policy and interpreting and delivering local schemes. Representatives from organisations based in and operating in Glasgow are heavily involved in these forums and structures.

4.3 Health board-NHS

The National Health Service (NHS) is a UK wide institution for the provision of health and social care. It is separated into a number of health boards and institutional arrangements. In Scotland the top-level organisation is NHS Scotland which is comprised of a number of local health boards. For Glasgow this is the Greater Glasgow and Clyde Health Board⁴. The NHS provides a range of free services which are universal (such as free GP visits, hospital stays and medical treatment). Unlike in England where there is a charge, NHS prescriptions and eye tests are free of charge to all patients in Scotland. There are also services which are free for those in receipt of particular benefits.

Outside of these direct service provisions for low-income households the Glasgow NHS board is involved in a range of local anti-poverty activity. The city has an active health board which focuses on poverty alleviation and is involved in a number of the employability and public service partnerships. The local view is that health agencies and the services they provide are integral to alleviating poverty in the city.

There is a well-established relationship between poverty and ill health. People experiencing poverty are less likely to live long, healthy lives; and experience of ill health, in turn, also increases the likelihood of people moving into poverty. It is a vicious cycle which needs to be broken. (Glasgow Plan for Action, GCC, 2013, p.4)

The health board approaches the issue of poverty in terms of the equality agenda and how the provision of services affects particular equality groups. The prism through which the health board engages in the anti-poverty work is that of equality legislation. From this perspective the health board has established a number of processes which link their work to the employability and financial advice services and in recent years they have also contributed to the contract for the council's GAIN network (discussed in section 7).

"[The health partnerships] are funding the voluntary sector to deliver some of these services so that we are absolutely sure that we can ask health staff to make that referral and that we are not basically overloading the voluntary sector and so on, and so on. So actually building proper referral pathways". (Senior employee at NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde)

⁴ To date the NHS in Scotland has been exempt from funding cuts and grant reductions from the Scottish Government.

Respondents recognised the role that Health bodies and partnerships played in tackling poverty at a city level above and beyond the provision of free prescriptions and .

“...there is actually a strong desire to work on this issue collaboratively....as part of the wider set of policy issues around preventative spend...if you can find ways of building community based solutions with local people you [can also] reduce the cost of acute health care” (Senior civil society leader).

One of the mechanisms in place in Glasgow through which the NHS is involved directly in anti-poverty work through the Community Health Partnerships (CHPs). Created in 2010 the partnerships provide a range of local health based support in the city. In recent years the CHPs have been involved in the provision of the broader anti-poverty remit and health employees also provide some sign-posting and referrals to the local organisations dedicated to providing anti-poverty support (this is discussed in more detail in section 5 and 8). The CHP boundaries are aligned with Social Work and Community Planning (see section 5).

4.4 Local Government (GCC)

Glasgow City Council is the local authority for the city of Glasgow. It is a unitary authority and has a range of responsibilities and departments. Poverty in Glasgow is addressed in a number of ways and via a number of departments and service areas in GCC. Some of these provisions are linked to the UK framework. For example, Local Authorities administer and manage the provision of Council Tax benefit and Housing benefit. GCC is also able to set council tax reduction eligibility criteria for some groups and in recent years has been made responsible for the provision of discretionary housing payments for individuals affected by the UK. GCC has overall responsibility for issues of homelessness and housing benefit but it no longer provides and manages social housing which has been transferred to local Housing Associations and is discussed in section 4.7.

The council also provides some ‘passported benefits’ such as free school lunches for children from particular social-economic situations. This assistance is usually managed by the Education department with recipients fulfilling predetermined eligibility criteria (usually based on the household’s socio-economic position and/or receipt of DWP benefits).

- Subsidised and free travel in Strathclyde for disabled and elderly passengers as part of the National Entitlement Scheme
- Kinship care allowance of £50 per week per child (but cannot be claimed at the same time as Child Tax Credits).
- Clothing Grants are available to eligible students who attend Primary, Secondary and Additional Support Needs Establishments within Glasgow City Council. The grant is £47 for each child.
- Students who are eligible for Free School Meals are given the cash equivalent of £1.15 per day to spend on a meal. Children who attend Nurseries are also entitled, provided that they are in receipt of one of the qualifying benefits listed below.

Eligibility	Clothing Grant	Free Meals
Income support or income-based JSA	YES	YES
WTC and the yearly income for your household (before tax) is less than *£15,000 but is *£6,420 or above for the tax year 2011/2012	YES	NO
WTC and the yearly income for your household (before tax) is less than *£6,420 for the tax year 2011/2012	YES	YES
Housing Benefit or CTB (see note below)	YES	NO
CTC only and the yearly income for your household (before tax) is less than *£15,860	NO	YES
Income-related ESA	NO	YES
Asylum seekers receiving support under part V1 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999	YES	YES
Note: If you receive Housing Benefit or CTB and CTC only (and your yearly income before tax is less than *£15,860), or you receive income-related ESA, you will be entitled to the clothing grant and free school meals.		

Table 3: Free school meal and clothing grant eligibility

Source: GCC 2013f

The passported benefits and support outlined in table 3 are managed and provided by GCC. However, the provision of such support is complex in terms of the regulatory and funding functions with regards to which level of government (local, regional or UK national) ultimately governs this provision. Many local authorities provide a clothing grant for pupils within their education systems or resident in their locality. However, not all local authorities provide the clothing grant and the funding for this provision comes from the Local Authorities own financing. This is because the design of the provision, the criteria and the value are not prescribed in legislation. Accordingly, “the criteria set may be fully or partly in line with eligibility for Free School Meals, however, it may also link to other references within the existing welfare system” (DWP, 2012, p.174).

Regarding free school meals the provision provided by GCC meets the eligibility criteria for all LA’s across Scotland. The provision of free school meals to children from households which meet particular eligibility criteria is a legal requirement for all local authorities in the UK and funding for Scottish local authorities is provided through the grant settlement negotiation with the Scottish Government outlined in section 3.3. Local authorities are also under a duty to promote the uptake and benefits of school meals more generally but specifically free school meals to those who are eligible. According to data from the Scottish Government 21,432 pupils received free school meals from Glasgow City Council in the school year 2012-2013 (Scottish Government, 2013g). The national eligibility criteria for the provision of free school meals is often expanded by local authorities through local initiatives and schemes once they have fulfilled the legal requirements. After a pilot period in a number of areas in Scotland (Glasgow was one of these areas) legislation was passed in 2010 giving local authorities the power to provide free school meals to all or some children in primary grades 1–3 throughout Scotland, although some local authorities claim that they cannot afford to do this without extra funding. As of September 2013 all primary school children in infant classes in England also receive a free school meal regardless of income through a new UK Government scheme. According to the Department for

Education the Scottish Government will be provided with £60m (the Scottish share of the scheme) and it is up to the Scottish Government as to whether a similar initiative will be rolled out in Scotland. Whilst this is an area of contention in terms of funding, the Scottish Government claims that school lunches are now provided free to primary 1–3 (children aged 5, 6 and 7) children in the most deprived communities (DWP, 2012). However, Glasgow does not offer all P1-P3 children free school meals (i.e. non-means tested). GCC has claimed that in order to fund this initiative the council would have to cut spending from other areas as currently the Scottish Government does not provide additional funding for this policy. According to an article in the Glasgow Evening Times the education spokesperson for GCC equated the cost of providing free school meals to all children in P1-P3 to cutting 95 teachers or 200 pupil support assistants to pay for the scheme (Evening Times, 2013a). Since the launch of the English scheme the Labour leader of GCC claimed that the council should receive £7 million from the Scottish Government to deliver this initiative, whilst previously the SNP councillor for an area in Glasgow claimed that it would cost £2.9m (Evening Times, 2013b). The provision of free school meals to children within Scotland is therefore particularly politicised with the SNP supporting universalism and the Labour led council opting for a targeted support due to funding pressures.

Most of the provisions outlined within table 3 fit within a broader scheme of poverty reduction adopted by the council. As mentioned in section 3.4 there has been a recent emphasis on tackling poverty through making the issue central to the work of GCC. This has occurred for a number of reasons and has culminated in the council's introduction of a new anti-poverty strategy which aims to incorporate all the current activities and passported benefits offered by the council with new initiatives and activities to tackle poverty in the city. This work is led by the Leader's Office and it is presently in an early stage of development. The intention is to affect service delivery and activities in a range of departments and to be incorporated into the Community Planning Partnership process (discussed in section 5.1). Whilst this format and the overarching strategy is new both in terms of the participatory approach and also in terms of the coverage of a number of activities taking place within the council, many activities concerning poverty reduction have existed and developed over a number of years. First, GCC focuses on poverty reduction through the provision of benefit maximisation support and advice for those in receipt of benefits or in the processes of appealing a benefit decision to one of the UK agencies. The focus is on financial inclusion a concept underpinned by ideas of benefit maximisation and support for individuals to claim all of their entitlements from national and UK level organisations. This provision is arranged through a Financial Inclusion Strategy which involves the Social Work Department, Benefits and Housing Department, and the Financial Inclusion team.

Second, as previously mentioned a dominant approach towards an overall reduction in poverty and deprivation in the city focuses on job creation, regeneration and economic development. Delivered through a large Development and Regeneration Directorate the aim is to provide more job opportunities and regenerate the city. Although economic development may be considered as an indirect approach to reducing poverty by some, it is considered part of the required components to increasing employment in the city by the Labour led administration of Glasgow City Council. Correspondingly, poverty is also directly addressed through an emphasis on moving an individual into employment through activation programmes, employability referrals and training schemes. GCC has a long history of providing its own activation and employment support services outside of the UK led welfare-to-work and employment support programmes. This being said, there are at times overlaps and interactions with DWP policies for example, the main part of the organisation involved in the

delivery and design of activation services, Glasgow Works, was previously involved in the DWP's City Strategy programme in 2007.

GCC has developed a number of 'employability' programmes and projects in Glasgow and to assist individuals in entering the labour market. These programmes rarely (if ever) link up with the provision of benefits and although there is some communication and partnership working with the JCP in terms of advertising options and directing jobseekers towards support, there is no administrative tie between individuals claiming a benefit and receiving support from GCC employability initiatives. In some cases for particular schemes (depending on the funding source) an individual may leave the benefits register (for example on a sponsored temporary employment programme). These schemes are predominately run through the DRS. In 2010/2011 the department spent approximately £173m; the majority was spent on Housing Improvement (£110,478,000) and approximately £17,620,000 on Economic and Social Initiatives.

The social services department of GCC has a limited role in the provision of MIS and activation services. In the UK social service departments are predominately involved in the ensuring that local authorities meet their legislative requirements for the provision of care for children, vulnerable adults and those involved in the criminal justice system. Whilst it remains involved in the GAIN network and the provision of income maximisation support outlined in section 7.1, it has a limited role and relationship in activation services funded by the Department for Regeneration Services, and in the UK centralist welfare-to-work programmes. GCC social work service department does offer a multi-agency employability service which provides employability services to those already in contact with the social work department. This service offers support and sign-posting to some of the other GCC provision including the activation and employment support funded and managed by the DRS. There are also representatives from the social service department in CPP partnerships and it was stated that the social service department will be involved in the work of the poverty leadership panel.

4.5 Commercial private actors

Respondents noted that there were few commercial or private actors involved in the provision of anti-poverty or activation work in the city. Commercial or private organisation is defined here as an organisation which is profit making, may have shareholders, and operate through a traditional private sector model. Commercial actors in this policy area have tended to be profit making. In this research the definition of commercial actors would exclude social enterprises which are considered third sector organisations and discussed in section 4.6. When asked respondents were limited in their knowledge of the role of commercial actors in anti-poverty work, instead referring to organisations such as pay-day loans and pawn broker businesses as examples of commercial actors which specifically target those in poverty, but arguably are not aimed at reducing poverty levels within the city. They may not be viewed by local organisations and actors as commercial actors which help support the provision of minimum income levels or reduce poverty; the two main aims of this research. There is no one single reason for why commercial actors are not involved in any of the GCC led or Scottish Government funded anti-poverty work. According to respondents from GCC there is no rule that prohibits commercial actors from competing for any of the employment or activation work which is contracted out or commissioned to other organisations. However, there are a number of possible reasons why

the role of commercial actors in locally managed programmes is limited. First, arguably one reason for the lack of commercial actors in anti-poverty work in the city is due to the saturation of and large number of non-commercial actors already developed and active within the city such as third sector organisations (see section 4.6 for further details). This could limit the attractiveness as a market-place for commercial actors to start-up or move to the city and compete with established public and third sector delivery and support organisations.

Second, the type of activities funded by local programmes do not easily lend themselves to 'profit-making'. This means that commercial actors may not be involved in some of the public funded work due to the way in which it is commissioned. Some programmes and initiatives continue to be funded through a typical commissioning system whereby organisations are reimbursed for their expenditure during service delivery. In this system there is little room for profit making and across the UK it is rare that commercial actors will be commissioned to provide services and be paid in this way. The way in which third sector organisations are commissioned to deliver activities and programmes is covered in detail in NAO (2005) report, *'Working with the Third Sector.'*

Third, in some areas of welfare provision (such as social housing) the transfer of public services to organisations outside of the public sector took place in parallel to government policies to increase the role of the third sector (rather than the private sector). In part this was because the marketisation of some public services took place under a Labour led UK and Scottish governments which also advocated for third sector ownership and activity in order to distance the reforms from earlier privatisation and free market policies of the Conservative governments of the 1980s and early 1990s (see Newman, 2001). Finally, as outlined in section 3, Glasgow's left-wing heritage has to some extent led to a genuine interest in the development of a highly active and well established local social policy sector involving cooperatives, social enterprises and charities. As such, collectively commercial actors have limited involvement in local anti-poverty and activation provision in Glasgow.

There are however some caveats to this statement. First, commercial actors such as local businesses and employers are often engaged in the employability programmes in terms of advertising employment positions or work exclusively with a particular programme. From the interviews it appeared that local actors were keen to build the involvement of commercial employers into the public funded initiatives. Similarly, commercial business umbrella groups were often involved in strategic working groups and on the boards of the main local activation organisations discussed later in this section. Second, in recent years some council led employment programmes received funding from corporate social responsibility budgets from large businesses such as the investment bank JP Morgan to part-fund employability schemes (these are often arranged through national relationships and may also occur in other localities). Relative to the large amount of employability work taking place in the city, the financial input from these commercial actors was very low. Third, the only exception to this is in terms of training providers where a large number of specialist training providers throughout the UK are private sector organisations and some are involved in specific training provision to those working within the ALEOs on activation programmes, or directly to service users. The privatisation of training has a long history across the UK dating back to the early 1980s and within this policy area the majority of organisations are private actors (see Simpson, 2009). Due to these reasons

(and some tensions outlined in section 7.3) the role of commercial actors in the provision of anti-poverty and MIS in Glasgow is limited.

Whilst commercial actors may have very little interest in the local activities, they are however heavily involved in the provision of the UK contracted national employment programmes, currently The Work Programme. Since 2010 the DWP contracted welfare-to-work programmes are predominately delivered by private sector organisations. Some third sector organisations are involved in delivery throughout the UK but in Glasgow two main contract holders are currently private sector organisations; Working Links and Ingeus Deloitte. These organisations both hold contracts for the provision of the Work Programme across Scotland and compete on targets and results. The exact details of this service provision (known as the Customer Journey) is not publically available and varies across the UK and in each contract competition. In Scotland both organisations sub-contract some aspect of the contract to local third sector organisations (although only a very small part of their operations), but the percentage of business or number of referrals transferred to other organisations is not available to the public. GCC was not involved in the design of the Work Programme or the service delivery bids from the two winning organisations (although it did communicate with each bidder). It is not involved in the delivery of the programme.

In practice the local JCP delivers the benefits and initial sign-on processes, before transferring individuals into the Work Programme at specific points in an individual's claim duration (for example, a JSA claimant aged 18-25 will be transferred to the Work Programme after 9 months, but a JSA claimant who has been transferred from a previous health benefit such as Incapacity Benefit are mandated onto the Work Programme after 3 months). These organisations are contracted to the DWP and work with individuals referred from the JCP but they do not report directly to JCP, GCC or any other local agencies. Unlike earlier welfare-to-work programmes which involved using contracts to cover JCP districts and/or city boundaries, these two organisations are contracted to deliver employment support across Scotland and each will have designed a business strategy based on expected numbers of unemployed service users across the whole contract area. As such they have a large presence in the city due to the large numbers of JSA and ESA claimants located here. Moving individuals into work in Glasgow is a major target for these organisations as both of these organisations work on a payments-by-results method and therefore their income and business model is dependent on moving individuals in Glasgow into work.

Contracted welfare-to-work providers have some interpretation for sanctioning and required activation activities for benefit receipt. In most cases whilst on a welfare-to-work programme the benefit claimant is obliged to be looking for work and undertaking tasks to move towards the labour market in order to continue to receive benefit payments. In some cases claimants must undertake work related activities and mandatory work experience programmes (work-for-your benefit) in order to continue benefit receipt. In some welfare-to-work programmes the contracted organisation takes over the responsibility for the provision of employment services and of some benefit payments (such as Jobseekers Allowance) for claimants. Not all welfare-to-work contractors take over the responsibility of benefit payments, but some programmes (such as The Work Programme) have been based on the principle that any money saved in benefit payments can be retained by the contracted organisation that moved the individual into employment. More widespread reforms to the

administration of benefits are expected in 2013 as the future plans for the introduction of the Universal Credit will be administered through the contracted welfare-to-work providers (DWP.2013; see National Report, section 2.1.1).

Consequently, most respondents felt that out-with the DWP's contractualist programmes there was not any interest from private sector organisations in delivering GCC's activation programmes, and there were not any established or suitably embedded private sector organisations in the area which could deliver the services required. Apart from the areas discussed above respondents could not name any commercial actors involved in the work that they do.

4.6 Third Sector Organisations

There are a number of third sector organisations (TSOs) in Glasgow involved in the delivery of support services and initiatives aimed at reducing poverty and deprivation within the city. In this research TSOs include a range of organisational types but generally refers to organisations which are not clearly part of the public sector or operating commercially as private sector organisations do. This includes charities and community based groups, organisations comprised of voluntary employees, and since the early 2000s organisations such as social enterprises (the definition of a social enterprise is much debated but they tend to be organisations which adopt a business model to work on social issues and are often registered charities).

Due to the debates regarding the definitions of TSOs and the difficulties in monitoring and mapping the number of TSOs (and the types) which exist there is no clear and definitive number of TSOs in Glasgow. For example, focussing on Scotland, Smallbone *et al.*, (2001) note that in 1998 whilst the UK's Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) estimated that approximately 450 social enterprises were trading in the whole of the UK, Community Enterprise in Strathclyde (a support service for social enterprises) estimated that in lowland Scotland alone there were 3,700 community enterprises in 1997. Depending on the definition, Communities Scotland (2002) identified between 10,000 and 44,000 social enterprises active in Scotland, and shortly afterwards Dacombe and Bach (2009) suggested that there were 45,000 formally-organised third sector organisations contributing £4.7 billion to Scotland's GDP. As such it is very difficult to find one database or piece of research which has mapped and recorded the number of TSOs active in the city and the areas in which they are involved.

The most recent information regarding the third sector in Glasgow is available from Glasgow Social Enterprise Network (GSEN). According to GSEN there are 2,300 charities that are currently operating in Glasgow. This includes 34 credit unions and 68 housing associations. Collectively these organisations own 49,070 housing units, operate with 1,631 staff, and command a total income of £916 million. Glasgow also contains a substantial concentration of large social enterprises. Glasgow's 10 largest social enterprises in terms of income collectively command an estimated turnover of £250.7 million (GSEN, 2012). As briefly touched upon in the previous section, the development of the third sector was a large policy area between 1997 and 2010 in both the UK and Scottish Governments. Some TSOs in the city are extremely large organisations with substantial turnovers. They are predominately involved in the provision of welfare services such as employment support, social housing, and care.

Either operating as social enterprises or arm's length organisations (ALEOs) of the council they are predominately involved in the provision of out-sourced public services and initiatives (and discussed in more detail later in this section).

Arguably, the large amount of activity of the third sector in Glasgow is not accidental. There have been great efforts by the council, the Scottish Government and for a while the UK Government during the late 1990s and 2000s to increase the number of organisations in the social economy and to increase their role in the provision of public services (see Carmel and Harlock, 2008). A number of commentators (Carmel and Harlock, 2008; Alcock 2010; Billis, 2010; Macmillan, 2010) have previously contended that the increased role for TSOs in public service delivery throughout the UK was associated with the previous Labour government's agenda to 'modernize' public services as part of their broader public service reform programme (Bennett, 2011).

This involved the development of the sector's role in shaping and delivering public services, an emphasis on the role of TSOs in the delivery of public services, and an endorsement of TSOs across a wide range of policy areas. This included the publication of a major review (HM Treasury, 2002) to explore the "value added" aspects of the third sector. The UK government also sought to increase partnership working (across government and within the sector) and published a Third Sector Action plan in 2006 which called for departments to consider investing in the capacity of the sector and facilitate the involvement of the broadest possible range of suppliers in commissioning exercises (McDonald *et al.*, 2007). Notably, the government also formed The Office of the Third Sector (OFTS⁵) in 2006 to ensure that the increase in public service out-sourcing across policy areas was underpinned by TSO involvement (Macmillan, 2010). With the increase in public service contracting to organisations outside of the public sector the Labour government developed policies and programmes aimed specifically at developing and funding TSOs to organisationally adapt to the requirements of public service markets, service delivery programmes and competitive contracting systems. According to Carmel and Harlock (2008) and Macmillan (2010) the availability of financial resources and support (including small grants and capacity building funds) was an attempt by the government to ensure that TSOs were able to compete against private sector contractors to secure the contracts to deliver public services. For example the Capacity Building Programme was introduced (Home Office, 2004) to encourage TSOs to become more organisationally capable of delivering services and to adopt specific business-derived quality systems; to set up and then achieve performance targets; to replace volunteers with paid staff; and to ensure that both staff and board members were trained to standards acceptable to government and other funders (Cairns *et al.*, 2005; Kelly, 2007; Carmel and Harlock, 2008).

One possible further reason why Glasgow (and to some extent Scotland) has such a large number of TSOs which play a prominent role in the provision of welfare support and social and economic initiatives is due to the role of UK employment funding along with European funding such as ESF and ERDF throughout the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. This is particularly the case in terms of employment and physical regeneration organisations which thrived from European and UK government funded initiatives during the 1980s and 1990s (Bennett, 2013). This included creating TSOs or commissioning

⁵ The OFTS was replaced in May 2011 by the coalition government by the Office for Civil Society

charities and non-public organisations with funding for the creation of temporary employment programmes during periods of high unemployment or in areas of deprivation. Often these programmes were funded by UK central government employment support sources and matchfunded with EU funding which was available in Scotland through the EU Objective 1 status. Consequently Scotland (and Glasgow in particular) was able to access a range of funding sources and initiatives which enabled the growth of a number of TSOs in this policy area (for further details see Brown and Fairley, 1989). Glasgow's regeneration agencies have also supported locally-based community organisations for a number of years as part of their efforts to regenerate and revitalise areas of the city experiencing de-industrialisation.

There are three large and notable employment and regeneration TSOs which are involved in the provision of employability services and/or anti-poverty work in terms of activating and moving individuals into the labour market. They can also receive funding from Scottish Government and UK government sources for the delivery of specific local schemes. They are central actors in most of the employability and activation work taking place across the city.

The first is 'Glasgow Works'. It is an Arm's Length External Organisation (ALEO) which was created in the 1990s using EU Objective 1 funding and finance from GCC. As an ALEO it is influenced and controlled by decisions made by the council and others within GCC, but it operates as an independent organisation in terms of its activities and day to day operations. It has delivered and received funding from the Scottish Government, Skills Development Scotland and Scottish Enterprise to improve and increase the employability of individuals in Glasgow and deliver economic development initiatives throughout the city. The organisation is a key actor in the delivery of Glasgow's Economic Strategies. For a period of time it was engaged in the creation and delivery of Intermediate Labour Market Programmes and Temporary Employment Programmes. In 2007 Glasgow Works became the organisation associated with Glasgow's City Strategy Pathfinder, one of fifteen established by the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) in the UK. The strategy was developed by Glasgow's Welfare to Work Forum and in May 2007, DWP announced the success of the bid and allocated some £13m of funding over the four years until March 2011. The Glasgow Works strategy also incorporates the employability elements of 'A Step Change for Glasgow and Glasgow Community Plan 2005-2010' (Glasgow Works, 2013) which are part of the strategy for Glasgow.

The second is 'Jobs and Business Glasgow.' This is a new agency created in 2013 by the amalgamation of a number of smaller regeneration agencies into the existing Glasgow's Regeneration Agency (GRA). The former regeneration agencies were active throughout the late 1990s and 2000s in economic development and regeneration projects aimed at increasing employment opportunities in specific areas in Glasgow. Jobs and Business Glasgow (JBG) focuses on moving individuals into employment and the new agency (comprising of 21 offices throughout the city and over 500 employees) receives approximately £27million from the City Council in order to achieve this. As a registered charity it also accesses funding such as the Big Lottery Fund for smaller or specific employment support projects. The organisation is embedded in the local institutional networks and delivers programmes in association and on behalf of GCC, Glasgow Community Planning Partnership, Skills Development Scotland, JCP, and NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde. It also receives funding from the European Social Fund, and the European Regional Development Fund (JBG, 2013a). The makeup of the funding and

the way it is used depends on the programme and commissioned project that either organisation is delivering at a specific time. However, both receive core funding from GCC. In 2012/2013 JBG reported a total income of £30 million and managed 48 projects (JBG, 2013b).

Both organisations offer a variety of activation services and unlike the Welfare-to-work system, there is a reduced emphasis on work-first, job-ready courses (although this approach still factors in some of the programmes and projects that the ALEOs deliver). Both organisations have historically focused on the provision of training and job placement with an emphasis more recently on job matching and work experience with Glasgow employers. Whilst there is a work-first element to some of the provision on offer, both agencies have in the past been involved in job creation programmes and temporary employment initiatives, particularly in regeneration projects. They are currently involved in the delivery of a GCC scheme to provide young people with apprenticeship and the 'Glasgow Guarantee' job guarantee schemes and in an employment system targeting Glasgow residents in the preparation and delivery of the Commonwealth Sports Games in 2014. Advice and information about entitlements is also included in the work these organisations do and there is some overlap in terms of the provision of training and work related courses (such as CV preparation) and a sign-posting relationship exists between agencies (this is discussed in more detail in section 6). Glasgow Works and JBG (or the former Glasgow Regeneration Agency) work alongside and with other organisations based in Glasgow. Much of the relationship and involvement depends on specific projects and one-off events. For example, whilst working with a TSO on one employment programme, they may compete against them for EU funding for other activities.

The activities of these two TSOs are not officially linked into the UK level systems of JCP and DWP contracted programmes. In terms of strategic planning the ALEOs are linked to and communicate with the JCP but there is no formal arrangement with the JCP service delivery system (compared to the welfare-to-work provision). There is no administrative connection between the direct payments of benefits to claimants and attendance or involvement in activation programmes run through these organisations. It is unclear as to whether this arrangement occurs in other areas in the UK as it is notoriously difficult to conduct empirical research with JCP at the local level. Also, as the interaction with local agencies is out-with the national and main employment and activation work that JCP was created to deliver, local partnership arrangements and information is not readily available on-line or in the public domain. In Glasgow it may be the case that the informal relationships have developed through the long-term interaction of local public sector officials with some recognition of the DWP's city-strategy initiative during the 2000's which aimed to join-up local services (at this time JCP and local actors were also involved in the national welfare-to-work programmes either through delivery partnerships or in terms of policy, evaluation and local objectives) (see Bennett 2012; Damm, 2012). It may therefore be the case that other cities which were involved in the city strategy initiative also have local relations and connections to individuals within JCP that allows for the alignment or informal connection between JCP activity and local strategies. As such, it may arguably be the case that the current arrangements in Glasgow are historical remnants of previous policy initiatives and/or the work of local political and administrative individuals. From the empirical data collected in the interviews it appears that it is a combination of both.

“That all came through the Glasgow Works programme which was another government initiative which was about developing formal local partnerships on employability. Again that partnership was in place and was working very well” (Corporate Board member, public sector organisation).

The Wise Group is a registered charity (and considered as a social enterprise) based in Glasgow which was created in the early 1980s to provide temporary employment programmes to individuals (predominately men) experiencing difficulty gaining employment. The organisation provided temporary employment funded by GCC and EU funding for the creation of jobs which regeneration and improved much of the housing stock and community spaces within the most deprived parts of the city. These programmes were a response to the high unemployment in the city and the on-going transformation of the city's industrial base. The Wise Group grew throughout the 1990s and 2000s as a delivery organisation for the UK Labour government's welfare-to-work programmes in Glasgow and competed against many of the commercial private organisations such as those which now deliver the Work Programme in the city. The Wise Group was also involved in a number of local employment programmes such as those commissioned by Glasgow Works and the city council, and local partnerships with criminal justice organisations to deliver support to ex-offenders to move into the labour market. In 2010 it recorded over 500 employees and a turnover of £20 million. The organisation did not win the bid to deliver the Work Programme in Glasgow and is currently experiencing a considerable decline in size and income but it remains an important actor in the third sector in both Glasgow and Scotland and it receives some work from GCC to deliver in-work support for those who have gained employment from one of GCC's employability programmes.

There are many other third sector organisations providing basic and individual support to those in poverty, or specialised support for particular situations. One of the main organisations is Glasgow Citizen's Advice Bureau (CAB). Glasgow's CAB provides advice to citizens regarding benefits, debts, legal support, housing issues and employment legislation. The Glasgow CAB office is part of a much larger national organisation and it is a member of the Scottish Association of Citizens' Advice Bureau. In Glasgow it plays a prominent role in supporting those in poverty or experiencing difficulties, particularly with regards to income maximisation and benefit appeals processes.

There are also neighbourhood groups, community groups, and faith groups which operate in local communities and neighbourhoods to alleviate poverty for residents. These can be crudely split into two groups. Those organisations involved in the provision of financial advice and income maximisation work, such as the Citizens Advice Bureaux's, debt advice organisations and financial planning support. These organisations are often formally involved in the council's GAIN network (discussed in section 7) and with the work of agencies which focus on referral mechanisms. In the second group, organisations which provide reactionary and immediate support for those experiencing poverty. These organisations tend to be community and voluntary sector organisations such as charities or church groups which provide food, furniture, and clothing. Many of the respondents spoke about the growth of food banks and emergency care and attributed this work to this group of local organisations which respond to local neighbourhood needs.

Due to the range of organisations which exist and operate in a number of policy and delivery fields, Glasgow also has a number of forums, collaborations and partnerships which exist to ensure that service delivery is 'joined-up' and resources are maximised. For example, the Glasgow Third Sector Interface has been established to provide a more coherent and effective mechanism to support the Third Sector in Glasgow. Key functions include supporting voluntary and social enterprise organisations operating in Glasgow and to connect the third sector to the community planning process. Similar but more vocal campaign organisations exist such as the Scottish Campaign Against Welfare Reform (SCOWER) which has over 60 organisational members from across Scotland (and many are based or work in Glasgow) which unite over particular issues and campaign on behalf of the group of TSOs.

Third sector organisations are involved in service delivery and support through a number of governance arrangements. Noticeably for the delivery of the main support services this often includes via formal contracts with public agencies. For example, each year Glasgow City Council alone purchases more than £340m of care services on behalf of the citizens of Glasgow (from public, private and third sector organisations). There are in the region of 230 providers delivering this care, including social enterprises (GSEN, 2012). Similarly, it is anticipated that the move towards Self Directed Support where individuals purchase their own care services will involve a number of third sector organisations as the Scottish Government has developed a £70m Change Fund to enable NHS Boards and local authorities to work with social enterprises to redesign services for Scotland's growing, older population (GSEN, 2012).

In terms of the marketised welfare services where organisations compete to secure a contract advertised by a public sector agency (such as care, some social and health care services, welfare-to-work, some local activation services) the delivery organisation is in most cases providing the service based on a formal and legally binding contract. This means that all TSOs (and commercial actors) involved in the delivery of services in this policy area will be working to a formal contract which has often been tendered for in a competitive market (or quasi-market). It is not possible to provide data on the number of contracts between GCC and non-public organisations across these policy areas. Similarly, it is not possible to state that all TSOs involved in service delivery in Glasgow are arranged under formal contracts. In some areas this will not be the case and as outlined previously, some work continues to be commissioned to TSOs. For example, the Wise Group which currently delivers an activation support programme is formally contracted to GCC and competed with JBG to secure this contract to support individuals which have found employment via the other GCC activation programmes. Similarly, respondents stated that the organisations involved in providing local advice and legal support work in the GAIN network (all of which are TSOs) will be governed by formal contracts to provide the advice service on behalf of GCC and its partners. As such, the governance arrangements between GCC and local TSOs remains complex with different departments, funders and programmes operating slightly different arrangements to provide services and formalise relationships. That said, it is possible to note that there has been a shift more broadly across the public sector to formalise through contracts, tendering and open competitions the provision of welfare and public services by non-public actors.

In conclusion there are a large variety of TSOs working in Glasgow on service provision of anti-poverty projects. They vary in size and purpose ranging from local community based support using volunteers to large social enterprises with multi-million pound turnovers. The governance arrangements are complex, some work with public agencies through historical informal agreements and established relationships, whilst others are involved in competitive open tendering (often against private sector organisations or other public sector agencies) to deliver services previously delivered directly by the public sector. Policy areas such as regeneration, housing, and employment support are often associated with the growth of TSOs in Glasgow during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s although recent market based changes to health and social care provision may also become operating spaces for TSOs in the city. Welfare and advice services often work in partnership between public organisations and TSOs through contractual arrangements and service agreements. At the same time there are hundreds of VCOs (voluntary and community organisations) in the city providing day to day and neighbourhood specific advice, support and anti-poverty services. Consequently, to date no mapping information exists for the exact number of TSOs involved in these policy areas or the pattern of governance arrangements between different types of TSOs and in the separate yet overlapping policy areas involved in anti-poverty and MIS provision.

4.7 Housing associations

Housing associations are among the largest social enterprises in the city. These are large and professionally managed enterprises, with an average annual turnover from letting of £2.3 million that play an important role in the regeneration of Glasgow's communities. Most housing associations have also taken an active role in making lives better for their tenants and going beyond their role of improving, developing or managing housing in the city. Several have developed successful social enterprise activity around landscaping, recycling and social care, and social enterprise is recognised as increasingly important. Representatives from Glasgow Housing Association (GHA), the largest in the city are involved in the Poverty Leadership Panel, the economic development strategies and a number of local welfare forums.

4.8 Research and policy organisations

In terms of the issues of poverty, activation and the provision of employment support services Glasgow appears to have a well-established professional policy-making and research sector. Whilst these organisations do not directly deliver services and cash payments to individuals experiencing poverty, they do provide information and research which affects local decision making regarding poverty policies and strategies. The main organisation for the production of Glasgow specific research on issues of deprivation, poverty, health and employment is the Glasgow Centre for Population Health funded by the council and the Greater Glasgow and Clyde Health Board. GCC also has active research and evaluation activities in terms of its own employment and activation programmes and those in the ALEOs. The information produced by these organisations is often fed into the work of the local GCC and decision making actors and heavily influences the priorities and agendas for the Community Planning Partnership and other target and outcome based organisations.

5. Local governance structure of MIS

The provision of MIS in Glasgow is multi-agency and involves multiple levels of government. As outlined in the UK national report the provision and administration of social security payments and benefit support is a reserved (i.e. not devolved) matter and remains within the responsibility of the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP), which is part of the UK civil service. This means that benefit rates, administrative processes, eligibility and entitlements, and benefit categorisation takes place at the UK level and through the UK parliament. There is little local differentiation and issues such as tax and welfare support are reserved matters and cannot be altered at the Scottish Parliament or within GCC. JCP and its actions are not influenced by the local council elected representatives, and in Scotland they are also not influenced by the Scottish Government or elected members. The funding for activation programmes, benefits and tax credits derives from the UK treasury and through the DWP or HMRC which are UK agencies. There are no local income schemes operating in Glasgow which involve the transfer of cash payments to benefit claimants (including any of the three groups).

There are however some programmes in Glasgow which assist jobseekers into employment and many agencies involved in supporting those in receipt of benefits and/or experiencing poverty. Furthermore, agencies and local organisations are increasingly involved in partnership working and joint strategic service design in order to assist those in poverty through the provision of advice, sign-posting and referring to relevant organisations, and designing organisational activities which meet the needs of service users. For GCC and its associated partners and ALEOs, there is an element of negotiation and steering required when designing and accessing funding for local activation programmes and anti-poverty initiatives. Some of these negotiations are technical and administrative whilst others derive from historical and political features of local-central relations.

Services for residents within the city are often affected by the availability of funding sources and existing provision and programmes managed by other levels of government. Consequently local actors (particular GCC) draw on a range of 'levers' in order to provide services in the city. Partnership working is a particular lever used in order to access funding, expertise and resources from other organisations and in order to design services which are appropriate to those experiencing poverty. The main formal governance arrangement for partnership working in the city this is the Community Planning Partnership (CPP).

5.1 The Community Planning Partnership

The Community Planning Partnership in Glasgow was discussed by all respondents as one of the main ways in which local actors are involved in the design and delivery of support for those in poverty. The Local Government in Scotland Act 2003 set out guidance to local authorities to facilitate the creation of Community Planning Partnerships to coordinate the planning and delivery of services across the locality. The CPP in Glasgow was established in 2004 and provides an agreed framework whereby public agencies work with communities, businesses, and TSOs to coordinate the delivery of public services. The partners involved deliver the priorities for the Glasgow area as set out in Glasgow's Single Outcome Agreement. Glasgow's new Single Outcome Agreement for 2013 outlines a small number of key priorities and outcomes that aim to 'deliver better services for the people of Glasgow'. The SOA represents a ten year *Plan for place* that sets out the additional value that Glasgow's Community

Planning partners can achieve by planning, resourcing and delivering services together with local communities.

The CPP Single Outcome agreement highlights a number of areas and issues associated with poverty and the three groups which are the centre of this research. In February 2012, Glasgow Community Planning Partnership established a short-term Tackling Poverty Working Group comprising of CPP representatives and people who struggle against poverty on a daily basis. The Working Group was chaired a representative of Glasgow's Third Sector Forum. The Working Group produced a report which was approved by GCPP early in 2013. It is this report which has shaped the direction of the Poverty Leadership Panel's work. Each CPP has nominated an individuals to act as a 'changemaker' for the Poverty Leadership Panel Work. (GCC, 2013a). The CPP has developed a 'Tackling Poverty Together Framework' and a Financial Inclusion Strategy. The strategy aims to coordinate advice services in Glasgow to ensure that city residents have access to appropriate advice and services on banking, credit and debt, particularly attempting to limit the influence of loan sharks and other predatory financial providers. The CPP has an important role in the provision and management of services in the city.

There is also an emphasis on the issues of in-work poverty in the SOA. This is in very early days and as yet there are no details regarding how exactly partners will address the issue in the city, although some emphasis will be directed to income maximisation work and the provision of in-work employment support by organisations which work in employment support for those out of the labour market.

"One way that we might address this could be via a focus on targeted, co-ordinated assistance aimed at those in employment on low income or those who are 'under-employed'. This group of potentially vulnerable people could be offered a range of services such as monetary advice and budgeting assistance, employability support services, and signposting to other forms of support where appropriate (e.g. Credit Unions, or food banks). We can work to ensure that residents are accessing all available services and that they are confident to do so – i.e. there is maximum promotion and uptake of readily available support across the city" (GCC, 2013b, p.26).

One respondent stated that the strength of the CPP was as a forum for partnership working and communication rather than idea generation or the direct delivery of services. The partnership was seen as a way in which organisations can work together on administrative and technical issues but also to align strategies and philosophies about how to deliver services in the city.

"I think that what the CPP at its best is as the place where different partners interface with one another about how they can genuinely do stuff together and if it's to achieve that role, than that's obviously a pretty seminal place to think about tackling poverty" (Member of CPP).

The respondent from Glasgow Housing Association praised the work of the CPP and the energy involved from partners for addressing issues of poverty. Particular support was given to the participatory elements introduced into this area of work through the Poverty Truth Commission and

Poverty Leadership Panel. Similarly, the respondent from Glasgow Health Board was supportive of these areas of work, the increase in the participatory doctrine and the work of the Poverty Alliance and the ways in which organisations were being culturally transformed as part of the efforts to maximise the impact of the service provided by local partners. This appears to be at the heart of the anti-poverty work in the CPP. For example, the Poverty Leadership Panel states that:

“The challenge facing Glasgow’s public, private and third sector partners, particularly in the current context, is to ensure that Glasgow’s unacceptable levels of poverty and inequality are addressed effectively. This will only be achieved by partners working together with those experiencing poverty, towards a shared vision” (GCC, 2013, p.2).

Partnership working at the local level between agencies appears to be a lever through which the city actors can attempt to alleviate poverty despite their limitations in terms of affecting UK national schemes and minimum income levels. One of the major aspects of the approach across the city is the role of some third sector organisations (such as the Poverty Alliance and Poverty Truth Commission discussed in sections 3.4 and 8.2) in both the provision of services and the design and spirit of the recent anti-poverty strategies and action plan associated with the poverty leadership panel. This has arguably led to a more prominent participatory element in the approach to creating and developing the poverty leadership panel and anti-poverty work.

It is perhaps not surprising that there are different views regarding the strengths and benefits of the CPP process from different actors. This appears to link to the previous distinctions discussed in section 3.4 regarding civil society views on creating a new economic model, and local public sector actors attempting to offer pragmatic solutions within the existing boundaries. Furthermore, some difference in opinion in such complex partnership working arrangements reflects the, ‘eclectic mix of public, private, voluntary and community agencies [that] make up the mix of local governance agencies responsible for service delivery’ (McGarvey, 2011, p.162).

Many respondents talked about the benefit of good working relationships and partnerships and attributed many local initiatives to the work of local actors working together. Some of these relationships had developed over a long time to the stage where organisations, funding and policy could come together to address local need. There appeared to be a consensus amongst respondents about the benefits of multi-agency working for anti-poverty and employment support work.

“I think it’s been a long slow process of people working together looking at the role of the health services and what they can do differently, looking at the best partnerships, looking at the areas that work well and how they can be replicated. It’s probably been going on for a good ten years I would say” (senior employee of Greater Glasgow and Clyde Health Board)

“I do think the multi-agency approach is the way to go, it’s not just about co-locations saying right we are working in the same office. It’s not about that. It’s about identifying a client journey and identifying the most appropriate agencies to support them, irrespective of who that agency may be. And being very clear that your role is to do x and move that person onto y. You don’t hold onto them, you are not

the only organisation who does the best for clients, you're not the only client-centred organisation. It is a real frustration for me when organisations think they are the best to work with that client. I think quite often clients kept by that rather than a genuine client centred approach which is play to your strengths and move people along" (senior employee, public sector).

A noteworthy aspect of the approach adopted in the city was the broader idea of levers and poverty support through organisational behaviour, in particular, employment, recruitment and service provision. There was a desire to use as a lever against poverty the power that organisations had and reorganise in order to ensure that those in poverty received support in a broader set of ways. For example, GCC claims that in order to alleviate poverty, "Public sector service delivery is more responsive to the needs of people living in poverty" (GCC, 2013, p15). One respondent goes further:

"Undoubtedly we live in a very centralised power structure, but, the city council has an annual budget of 2 billion a year, the health board has an annual comparable budget, blue line services have half a billion pounds a year the third sector collectively has a budget of about a billion pounds a year. In actual fact that is a lot of money if you are really determined to make a difference. And I think that there's at times an almost too much paralysis of what as to what are the levers of power that we don't have rather than actually asking what are the levers for power we do have" (Member of CPP)

It is not possible to confirm the exact numbers outlined by the respondent but it is possible to understand the point being made that local public and third sector actors have large budgets at their disposal to deliver the services that they are tasked to provide and those which they decide to provide. It appears that the respondent was emphasising the importance of looking at the larger budgets and responsibilities of these organisations and whether it is possible to re-prioritise the spending within these budgets.

In fact, the approach by the health service through adopting socio-economic factors as an equality issue meant that service reform was design to support those in poverty in a range of ways. This included the way employees are recruited and supported in work and the creation of apprenticeships and employment opportunities. However, it also involved retraining staff to discuss socio-economic issues with patients, provide referral services to financial support and employability services and ensure that all service changes included an impact assessment including the impact on those from poorer situations.

Outside of the anti-poverty work the local actors were heavily involved in the provision of employment and activation support measures for many individuals within the city. Employability forms a major part of the SOA, although attention is specifically directed towards young people. Whilst local activation programmes form part of the broader remit of the CPP, GCC's Economic Development department, ALEOs and partners often work independently from the CPPs. Pre-recession much of this support had been aimed at those furthest away from the labour market, in particular those in receipt of health benefits and in need of longer term support to move closer to the labour market, if not directly into it. As employment and activation support is centralised, local actors used a range of resources to

design and deliver services in this area, many of which were or continue to be supported by EU funds (see section 8 for further details). Local activation programmes are predominately funded by GCC, the Scottish Government, and EU funding sources. There are also a number of third sector organisations operating within Glasgow who access funding to support those in poverty from UK charitable sources such as the Big Lottery Fund, Comic Relief and Children in Need, as well as a range of less well-known sources of funding and charitable groups. As discussed in section 4.6 third sector organisations form a large part of service provision for those in poverty in Glasgow.

Cooperation between levels of government and local activities is an important characteristic of Glasgow's provision of employment support. Not only does the GCC have to negotiate the provision of the JCP and the Work Programme providers, but also the Scottish Government's priorities and Scottish programmes. As one respondent stated:

"I think there are significant downsides to having the split between national welfare, employment policy and the local expectations and obligations around tackling poverty because we end up trying to combat the effects of policies which we have no control of" (Senior employee at a public sector organisation).

Others argued that whilst centralisation and a lack of control on some of the main levers for managing poverty and welfare provision, the local actors did have enough control of their own organisations to make a difference in the city. The main response to these difficulties was to form partnerships with local agencies and there appeared to be an established and well developed partnership approach in employability provision.

The Community Planning Partnership arrangement and the thematic parts of Glasgow's Single Outcome Agreement are established governance structures within the working and activities of the council. It is currently too early to discuss how and in what ways the poverty panel work and the anti-poverty strategy will interact and unite with the CPP objectives and work streams. However a number of respondents indicated that there would be interactions and joint-working. At this point it is difficult to identify the role of the range of third sector organisation in the various strategy and delivery aspects of the poverty panel and if there will be some overlap or interaction with the current third sector involvement in the CPP. The current mandate for TSOs in the CPP is one of partnership and involvement in strategy and delivery. There is a third sector representative in GCC CPP meetings and decision making processes. From the interviews it appears that the Poverty Leadership Panel will involve a greater role of TSOs in both the strategy and the delivery of anti-poverty services. However, as yet it is not possible to give great detail into how.

6. Local minimum income provision

MIS is a reserved matter. This means that needs, rights and duties are largely defined by the UK government and formal regulation of MIS is undertaken at this level. As these issues are not devolved to local governments or the Scottish government there is no difference in terms of benefit amounts and eligibility (for specific detail on the national regulation please refer to the National Report). Across the UK some groups are excluded from MIS support (such as asylum seekers). This does not differ in local settings and local governments cannot modify this criteria. Local authorities and local jobcentre plus agencies may have the right to enforce a sanction on an individual who has met the national criteria outlined by the DWP or HMRC. However, there is very little room for differentiation and interpretation. As such the national regulation and documents for sanctions are the same as those discussed in the national report. Local governments are not able to add local sanctions to national regulation and they are not part of the policy making process surrounding the use of and the eligibility for sanctioning in the provision of welfare services. Front-line staff therefore are not provided with discretion in their application of sanctioning policies.

Similarly, as the main agencies are centralised there is little local differentiation and interpretation in terms of the main employment support benefits and tax credits. Front line advisors and organisations do not have discretionary powers. However, recently some local interpretation and regulation has been introduced in the provision of housing benefit, although this remains within national frameworks and legal obligations set by the UK government and DWP. For example, since the introduction of welfare reforms to housing benefit payments and the benefit cap in 2013, local authorities have gained more influence in regards to the criteria for the provision of the discretionary housing payments (DHP) and emergency support funding. As the system remains centralised there is no formal system for user groups or local decision makers such as councillors or community representatives to engage with the design and decision-making processes of the activation services provided by JCP and contracted welfare-to-work providers. One area where the local actors have some influence on poverty levels and experiences of poverty is through the provision of passported benefits. GCC provides free school meals, subsidised support for individual's attending job interviews and some free childcare for lone parents attending into-work interviews.

6.1 Income maximisation

As local actors, (and specifically GCC) are not involved in the provision and design of the main MIS programmes they have historically adopted a position where the main support it can provide citizens regarding their income levels is through the provision of advice and assistance regarding their eligibilities to claim from the DWP and HMRC. There are around 199,000 recipients of DWP benefits in Glasgow, including 101,000 people of working age. 64,600 families in the City receive Tax Credits to boost their incomes GWSF (2013, p.1). Resources are therefore directed towards funding financial advice and income maximisation services which focus on providing individuals with support to navigate and claim payments from the national schemes. There are arguably two main purposes for local authorities and local actors to adopt an income maximisation approach. The first is because as it is not responsible for the costs of these benefits payments income maximisation is a straight forward way to assist individuals receive their entitlements. The second is that income maximisation in Glasgow is also considered as an income for the local economy on the whole (GCVS, 2010; RAS, 2010).

This approach has historically formed part of GCC's finance department and the social work department's efforts to assist residents in need and remains within the broad remit of the work of these departments. It has also featured heavily as a strategy across Scotland for dealing with issues of poverty and unemployment for the past two decades (Scott and Mooney, 2009). It is also an approach which is popular with third sector organisations such as the aforementioned Citizens Advice Bureaux (CAB) and a number of local actors (as part of their recent joined-up working and referral efforts) are also involved in directing those in need towards income maximisation schemes and support organisations. Local actors align with and cooperate with the individual's claimants to access funding and resources which will improve local communities. There have been substantial efforts in Glasgow to improve this area of support over recent years with Housing Associations, and NHS Greater Glasgow collaborating with GCC as part of the financial inclusion strategy.

There are a range of services provided to residents depending on their situation. Social Work users are provided with welfare and benefit advice from the Social Work department of GCC. Glasgow City Council 'Welfare Rights and Money Advice Service' (WRMAS) and welfare rights officers are based in local social work offices throughout the city. WRMAS has two main purposes. One is to provide the information to front-line users, the other is to ensure that the employees of the council are well trained in providing advice and information to service users. This involves the provision of training events covering Income Support, Pension Credits, Attendance Allowance, Disability Living Allowance, Incapacity Benefit, Social Fund, Housing Benefit, Council Tax Benefit, Immigration and Asylum, and Money Advice. Furthermore the WRMAS represents residents of Glasgow at Social Security Appeal Tribunals. The WRMAS claims that annual representation at appeal tribunals, "generates or protects in the region of £7m in benefits" (GCC, 2013b, no page number). GCC employs a number of Welfare Rights Officers who can represent Glasgow residents at appeal tribunals with the DWP. This is a free service for appellants from a specialist team of welfare support employees. GCC reported in 2013 that last year this department represented 4,217 appeals by Glasgow residents (GCC, 2013b, no page number). The Welfare Rights team also works with Glasgow Housing Association to prevent the eviction of vulnerable people within the city.

Additional to the Social Work Team is an Appeals Team and support staff funded and supported by a Scottish Charity, Rights Advice Scotland (RAS). RAS has a number of offices in cities and localities across Glasgow and works with welfare and benefit officers to ensure that they are trained and up to date with benefit and welfare changes. In some cases these staff will work with the service user, but in most cases they are support staff and trainers for the front-line employees employed by GCC. RAS also provide free benefits training to Social Work department and organisations from the voluntary sector (RAS, 2013). To appeal against a benefit decision the appellant is required to formally contact the DWP and not a local JCP office of GCC (although GCC advises individuals to gain assistance with the appeals process from the early stages). The appeals process can take several months to be resolved. Claimants can represent themselves, however in Glasgow much support is provided by the GCC and other organisations (such as CAB) to assist the claims process and to appear at the oral hearings.

Whilst income maximisation has been a long-standing approach adopted by Glasgow City council and the local third sector organisations, it remains a valuable aspect of the work that local actors do to reduce poverty in the city. It is a key part of the anti-poverty strategy discussed in section 3.4. Collectively therefore much of the work and resources provided by the council to assist those in

poverty are directed to supporting individuals access the most available to them from the national MIS schemes and agencies. Although local actors have little influence and discretion on national MIS schemes they use local resources to gain from and appeal to the national schemes. This is an interesting feature of the central-local relations in the UK system in terms of local support for those in poverty.

This somewhat 'challenging' relationship between local actors and the national systems has arguably increased in recent years and tensions have grown regarding the coalition government's welfare reform agenda. The wide-reaching reforms introduced since 2010 as part of the overall austerity drive and a redefining of welfare in the UK (see the national report) have led to a number of changes to the ways in which local actors understand, manage and collaborate with the national systems. These challenges are particularly acute in Glasgow where it is anticipated that, "the full package of Welfare Reform measures will reduce benefit payments in Glasgow by around £115 million per annum, with far-reaching implications for jobs and the city economy" GWSF (2013, p.1). GCC has therefore introduced a number of organisational systems to understand the impact of welfare reform on the organisation, and on the service users. This has predominately affected the social work, housing and financial inclusion teams but there has also been an impact on (and more expected) the employment and activation schemes. Similarly respondents from GHA and civil society groups expressed concern regarding the impact of welfare reform on individuals in receipt of both out of work benefits, and tax credits.

One of the main focuses of the work of the GCC and its partners in tackling poverty in the city appears to be a reactive response to try to mitigate against changes that they perceive to be negative to the reduction of poverty in the city. Arguably, most of these efforts were directed at understanding and lessening the worst effects of UK national policy. Perhaps it is to be expected that local actors are critical of the provisions from the DWP and HMRC as they are not directly responsible for making these payments and do not have any decision making duties in these areas. However, all the respondents demonstrated an intense concern about the type of reforms and the implications for the city which, as outlined in section two, has a large number of individuals in receipt of both JSA and the health related benefits such as the Employment Support Allowance and Disability Allowance. It is anticipated that Glasgow will experience the biggest impact of welfare reform for Scotland. The welfare reforms are estimated to result in a loss of almost £270m a year, equivalent to £650 a year for every adult of working age in the city. "The overall scale of the financial loss in Glasgow — is second only in Britain to Birmingham (£419m), which has a substantially larger population" (Scottish Parliament, 2013, p.10-11).

The work of the Poverty Leadership Panel (discussed in section 3.4) will be part of an action plan that brings together and frames much of the work by public actors and partners across the city. The goals in the Action Plan are that, "All benefit recipients understand the personal impact of welfare reforms; the burden of welfare reforms for those living in poverty is publicised, as well as mitigated; people challenging decisions about their benefit entitlements are appropriately supported; families' disposable incomes are maximised" (GCC, 2013, p.12). Whilst there is some interaction between employability services and income maximisation, there was a view by some that income maximisation was too dominant in anti-poverty work. As one respondent stated:

“There’re a number of ways of approaching poverty- benefit maximisation is one, and quite often people forget that employability is also a route out of poverty” (senior employee in ALEO).

6.2 Welfare reform

Concerns also focused on the impact of sanctioning on poverty levels, and much anxiety was attributed to on the reforms to housing benefit. The council’s anti-poverty strategy includes a section on welfare reform and the local health board respondent raised serious concerns about the impact of welfare reform on patients. Nearly all of the public sector organisations involved in anti-poverty work are currently involved in both internal and partnership based working groups to understand the reforms and the impact they will have on the way that organisations work together and provide services.

There appears to be a major tension based on the UK government’s welfare reform agenda and the impact at the local level. This is implicit in the work in the anti-poverty strategy and a number of respondents discussed mitigating the impact of welfare reform ideas on those experiencing poverty, particularly in terms of stigma and vilification. As a senior employee involved in the local anti-poverty work and the participatory work discussed:

“The other issue is about stigma surrounding poverty, which again really is a consequence of welfare reform. That really has been part of the approach to almost change public opinion against a social security system towards a more welfarist approach. So the impact on people is an increase in stigma, that’s another big strand of that work” (senior employee public sector).

On the one hand the reforms target and impact on individuals, which many respondents felt increased the number of people in poverty, and the extent of poverty experienced. On the other hand, the reforms and the associated cuts to public service funding and provision across all local authority and public sector agencies meant that the organisations involved in service provision were also undergoing transformation and reform. Thus there was sometimes a complex and confusing discussion regarding who the ‘victim’ of the cuts is, and who should shoulder the responsibility. As one respondent involved in the anti-poverty work noted:

“The great challenge that we face around welfare cuts, I don’t know if I’m prepared any longer to talk about welfare reform, is that there is a danger that the lens through which we see that is organisational so, the problem for the city council for example around cuts is it is going to have some much more demand in its services that it is able to offer, and that’s it’s crises, but is actual fact, there is another crisis that people are now needing to access services in a way that they weren’t before. A real anti-poverty strategy is concerned with the impact on people rather than the impact on public sector partners, or TSO partners.” (Member of CPP).

The council, as an organisation, was attempting to mitigate the impact of the cuts whilst at the same time implementing wholesale reforms to its service provision and ways of organizing. At the same time many of the users of these services were impacted by national DWP managed cuts and therefore they were looking for more help from local agencies. This issue appeared to be most prominent in

regards to the relationship between the council and third sector organisations who had in recent years received less funding for service provision than previously, but also received more individuals requiring assistance. Respondents from the council spoke about the need to bring more things in-house and less contracted to external organisations as part of the organisational reform process, and as such many third sector organisations felt that they were not able to access funding for their poverty alleviation and development work. One respondent from the third sector discussed the added local tensions regarding financial income to support individuals in poverty during the austerity cuts and reduced public funding for welfare support.

“The council wanting to show how effective it is at dealing with its own problems. They do a lot of good stuff, but by doing it they are cutting the funding the third sector which perhaps has more experience or could do it better. It’s about sometimes it’s about protecting their own jobs, to keep their own staff and use them to achieve the outcomes or we could pay someone else and have to make redundancies...It causes competitiveness rather than cohesion. On the policy front there’s a lot of will to work together, but actually everyone is doing their own thing and protecting themselves. It is sad and its quite dog eat dog” (Senior employee third sector organisation).

Local actors also noted that the impact of reforms had led to an increase in the demand for the advice and income maximisation services, as well as extra pressures for local organisations involved in appeals and rights work. There had therefore been extra coordination between actors to continue to fund these services with NHS Greater Glasgow and Glasgow Housing Association both contributing to the costs for running the city’s advice network (discussed in section 7). More notably respondents discussed the changes to welfare reform in terms of the greater impact on poverty. They viewed the income maximisation services as experiencing a shift away from what was once a way to increase a household income as much as possible for the residents, to a situation where it is about providing support to protect them from as many cuts and as much poverty as possible. For example, one senior respondent from a local public sector organisation felt that, *“It’s probably a recognition that we are moving away from actually increasing people’s income to making sure that they lose less income, at least have support to cope with it. So we are in a different world really” (senior employee at a local public sector organisation).*

There are a number of services and support systems which have increased since the onset of the recession, these predominately centre on the issue of debt. Many are public sector led and funded directly by GCC. From the interviews it appears that the issue of debt is considered central to the issue of poverty for many of the organisations involved and it is a key focus of the new anti-poverty strategies. Many respondents talked about welfare reform in association with debt and financial support advice. All talked about the work done by these organizations, often third sector organisations, which receive some local government funding for supporting individuals to appeal welfare reform decisions. Concerns were raised about these advice agencies becoming overstretched and struggling to manage an increasing workload. It appears that the welfare reform agenda represented an issue for local agencies and their work was focused on trying to mitigate against the worst aspects of welfare reform. Respondents talked about the shift from income maximisation and providing financial support to individuals to ensure that they had received all they were entitled to, to

appeals and money management advice to ensure that individuals could manage on the decreasing amounts of benefit support.

The respondent from one of the city's housing associations voiced a particular concern about the impact of changes to housing benefit at the UK level whereby rents are paid directly to tenants rather than the housing association. Respondents discussed the impact this would have on both the business model of the organisation (as it was anticipated that rent collection would be more difficult) and the impact on individuals who may lose their homes if they are unable to balance their income. As such there was an increased need for local services to provide money management advice to service users and join up the advice from all agencies involved in providing income and support to those in the most vulnerable socio-economic position through a new programme called 'Housing Options' which is shortly to be introduced in a one-stop-shop model with a specific emphasis on managing housing choices.

7. Minimum income systems and active inclusion policies

As outlined in section four at the local level there are a range of organisations involved in the provision of MIS and activation programmes. This has led to an arrangement whereby local actors negotiate and design services around the ever-changing priorities and policy design of Scottish and UK government agencies. Consequently there is a complex arrangement where local services are influenced and respond to both the administrative and political changes in agencies and programmes out of their control. There are a number of small projects, programmes and activities taking place between partners which change ever 3-5 years depending on funding arrangements and local needs. They are not all covered here. Instead this section focuses on some of the main activities that have, in some form or another, operated locally over the past ten years.

7.1 Financial advice and sign-posting

One way in which local actors respond to the impact of Scottish and UK policies at the local level is through providing financial advice (discussed in section 6). Whilst this has previously been discussed in terms of income maximisation to increase the minimum incomes received by residents, there are also local arrangements and networks through which MIS is coordinated at the local level. For those who are not Social Work service users welfare rights and money advice is available through the Glasgow Advice & Information Network (GAIN). GAIN is a gateway service which provides access and contact details to a range of public sector or third sector organisations. It lists all the relevant public and third sector organisations and redirects citizens from the Council managed support towards the specialist organisations. The website and network operates as a gateway to the information and support available across the city and in effect mirrors the façade of a one stop-shop (although none of the organisations involved are directly involved in the provision of benefits, for example JCP). The support and advice is not limited to benefit take-up or income maximisation through benefit and tax credits as most of the 67 organisations listed in the GAIN network cover a range of issues. These organisations predominately offer free services covering debt, housing, benefits and financial advice to those in need. Support is accessed through a free phone line which can only be accessed in Glasgow. Although GAIN is an independent organisation, it is funded by Glasgow City Council and there have been financial contributions to the network from NHS Greater Glasgow and Glasgow Housing Associations (who also refer service users to the network for income maximisation and financial inclusion support). Many of the organisations involved in providing GAIN services are directly funded by other public service funding, some GCC funding, and other charitable resources. However, they are formally contracted by GCC and other actors to provide the financial support to their service users. This network is not only a key part of the partnership working approach taking place throughout the city (see section 5), but it is also part of the progressive and pragmatic approach to addressing poverty which many actors in Glasgow are trying to create and embed in service delivery.

Similar efforts are visible in activation work through the work of Glasgow Works (discussed in section four) and the partners associated with the projects and schemes operating through this organisation. Whilst these programmes change regularly overtime, some of the main connections and collaborative working approach has been embedded with local actors (an example of an activation scheme is discussed in more detail in section eight).

Whilst joined-up working is evident at the local level there appears to be some disconnect between the local activation and employment provisions and those from the UK agencies. Specifically, there is an uncoupling between the work of the DWP contracted Work Programme providers and the local activation and employment support activities funded by the Scottish Government and ESF. Furthermore, there is also some distance between the work designed by the Scottish Government and the local agencies' policy and programme design efforts to tackling poverty in the city. These two layers of tensions are discussed in more detail below.

7.2 Scottish Government policies

Some of the work of the Scottish government was discussed in section 4.2. It was briefly mentioned here that the Scottish Government funds a range of activation measures which operate outside of the UK schemes. The Scottish Government contracts some of this provision to third sector organisations to deliver. For example, the Scottish government has contracted the SCVO (a third sector umbrella group) to deliver a job creation programme called Community Jobs Scotland through a collection of TSOs. The SCVO, works across a number of LA's in Scotland, but is based and operates such schemes predominately in Glasgow where there are higher rates of youth unemployment.

Community Jobs Scotland is a Scottish Government programme which originated out of the Future Jobs Fund (FJF) idea whereby organisations were provided with financial support to employ young people on temporary contracts (for further information on the FJF please see the national report). The FJF programme was a UK Labour party programme from 2009 and was abolished after the 2010 election by the coalition government. The CJS adopts the same model as the FJF and is funded out of the Scottish Government's training budget. Whilst only briefly touched upon here, this is an interesting aspect of the devolved responsibilities and an example of how the Scottish Government can design policies and programmes which have previously been part of a reserved policy area. As one respondent involved in the programme noted:

"The fact that technically Scottish Government doesn't have a remit for employment because it is a reserved rather than a devolved matter. So, despite the fact that have a minister for Youth Employment, which is a statement that we are going to do something about employment, they can't be seen to be spending on an employment programme. So despite the fact that it is a job creation programme which can only ever be an employment programme really, it has to be written about and technically described as a training programme" (respondent from a third sector organisation) .

This programme operates outside of local actor's strategies and partnerships, and also outside of the UK national programme. Similar programmes aimed at youth employment have also been introduced by the Scottish Government and delivered through local authorities, although respondents felt that they were not aligned with the existing work that local actors had designed and implemented. As such, there was some discussion of replication, confusion and policy 'one up- manship.' These tensions are discussed again later in this report.

7.3 Local and national relationship: Activation programmes

When asked, nearly all respondents noted that they had not communicated or worked with Work Programme providers in their anti-poverty work. Only one organisation had recently started working with the Work Programme providers in order to gain information about the support that users were receiving on the programme and to build communication between agencies. No respondents considered the Work Programme providers integral to the anti-poverty work they were involved in and few mentioned them in terms of partnership working and joined-up strategic development for service delivery in the city. This was true across both main approaches to addressing poverty in the city, both in terms of the regeneration and economic development approach and the civil society dominated poverty centred participatory work (these were discussed in more detail in section 3). For example, The Work Programme providers were not involved in the formal CPPs or the work of the GCC and they were not involved in the specific poverty work such as the Poverty Truth Commission and Poverty Alliance or the council's Anti-Poverty Strategy. These organisations were clearly outside of the local activities and efforts to reduce poverty in the city, despite their position as the organisation (along with JCP) through which the formal systems of activation and benefit provision are joined up for individuals claimants. There appears to be a number of reasons for this disconnect between activities. As discussed below these include both technical and administrative issues as well as political and ideological factors.

First, perhaps as evidence of a negative aspect of the local-UK relations and the way in which welfare provision and decisions are viewed as particularly 'non-local.' In terms of accessing local provision for financial advice and income maximisation support respondents talked about how the Work Programme providers could not access the financial services and employment support services funded by the Scottish Government or the EU funded services delivered or associated with the council. As one senior public sector respondent involved in the provision of local activation programmes stated:

"This has been a difficult discussion over the last two years about how you fit the local provision in alongside the Work Programme. And it's an interesting study in how you get policy to work or not work together. There's an absolute rule from, well more or less an absolute operational rule from the Scottish Government that you can't mix ESF and the Work Programme, so you can't help somebody to be a beneficiary of both". (Senior employee in public sector organisation).

The design of the Work Programme by the DWP has created a local level tension in terms of joined-up provision and the use of EU funding. Respondents stated that the issue relates to the design of the Work Programme which respondents described as an all-encompassing programme providing whatever support the mandated individuals require from their Work Programme provider. As such, the provider, driven by the need to achieve results and receive outcome payments, provides the required support for the individual to move into the labour market whatever this may be. This was an underpinning principle of the programme when it was design and contracted out by the DWP in 2010. As such, in the Scottish context this has created a space in which the Scottish Government has stated that EU funding cannot be used to supplement the Work Programme service users because the provider has the overall responsibility for all types of support required by their customers. According to one respondent the Scottish Government has advised Local Authorities that EU funding rules

require 'additionality' - evidence that the design of support goes beyond the state's responsibilities- and this is therefore not possible for the all-encompassing Work Programme.

"Basically from our position in terms of ESF we cannot discuss a logical argument that would stand up to audit that we can prove additionality, you see because the Work Programme is supposed to be fully-funded, and the customer groups are clearly defined so for those customer groups there can't be any additionality, because it is fully funded and the Work Programme provides whatever they need" (senior employee in third sector organisation).

As such, local activation and support programmes have been redirected towards individuals who are not eligible for the Work Programme. The local JCP office refers individuals onto GCC provision (referrals also come from the financial advice networks and other partners) until the individual becomes eligible for Work Programme provision. Once an individual is enrolled on the Work Programme they are no longer eligible for local activation schemes and financial support projects. Similarly, once an individual leaves the Work Programme and returns to the Jobcentre after their 2 year support period, they may be able to access the local activation provision.

"It has some curious side effects, we are about to see people coming off the Work Programme. The projections are that several thousand people will come off the Work Programme in the next 6 months and effectively will go back into the day to day provision of JCP and that traditionally was where a lot of our joint-work was done. So ironically we are going to get them back 2 years later and in a worse state" (senior employee public sector organisation).

It is not possible to provide a comparative list of the numbers of individuals involved in local activation programmes with those involved in the UK welfare-to-work scheme, The Work Programme. However, it is possible to discuss some of the programmes and their targets in order to gain an indication of the size of these initiatives. For example, GCC's Glasgow Guarantee and Commonwealth Initiative which targets young people in the city aims to create over 1300 jobs in 2013, building on the success of 2012 where over 1,000 jobs were created (and individuals supported into them). These programmes also include qualifications and training outcomes. The Glasgow Work ESF Skills and Employability Programme (ends 2013) has currently recorded 8221 engagements and 1956 job outcomes. In 2012/2013 Jobs and Business Glasgow, an ALEO of GCC provided 18,481 people with employment related advice and helped 3,027 into employment. It further reported supporting 4,639 people into education and training (JBG, 2013b).

Figure 12 provides a simplified indication of how the local employment support works separately from the UK national welfare-to-work programme for a long term unemployed (LTU) individual.

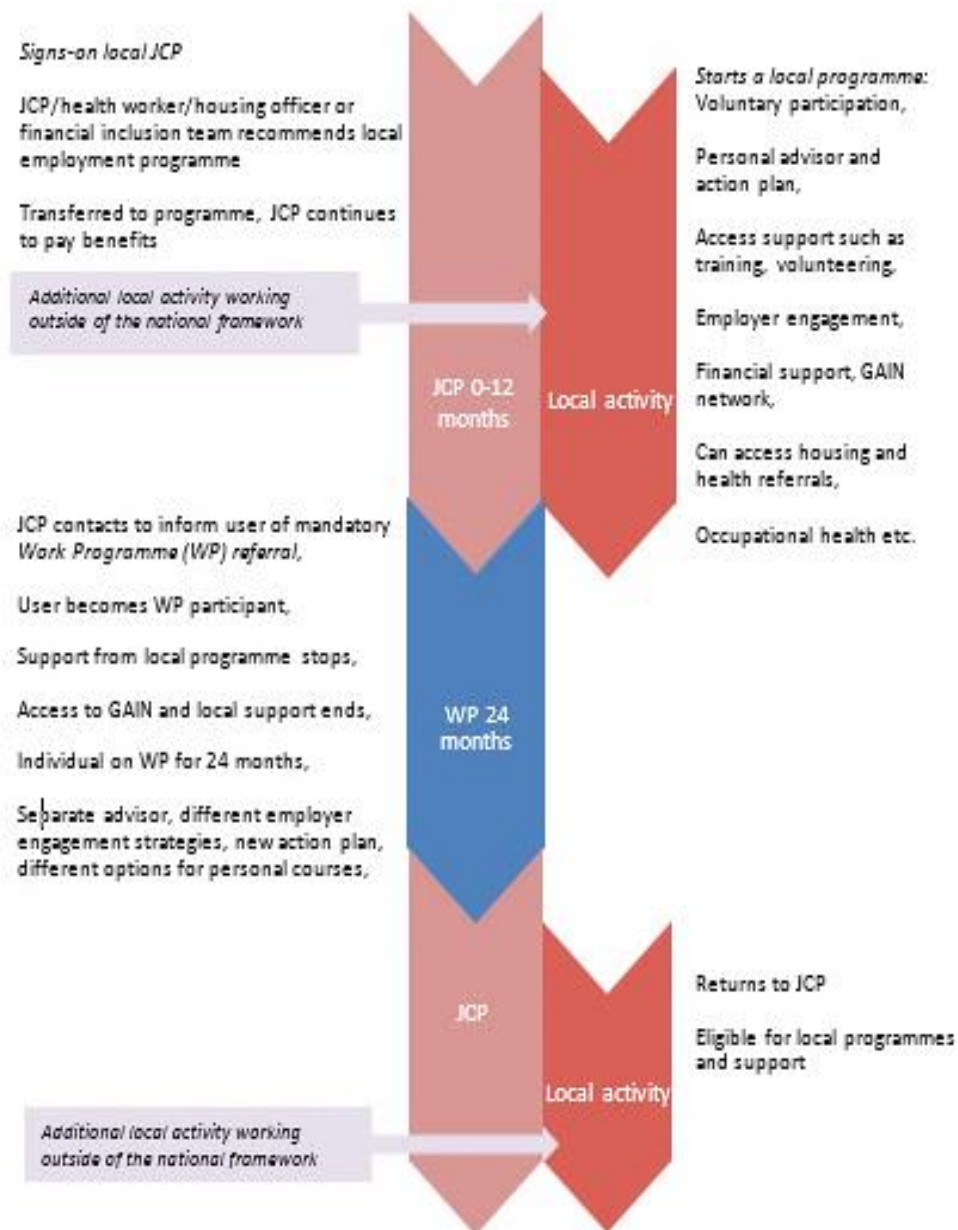


Figure 12: Local and national activation services

It is worth noting at this point that the working relationship between JCP and GCC continues to exist (it is mainly based on the referral mechanism and the historical link between JCP and the Glasgow Works board). It is predominately the relationship between the Work Programme arrangement and the local and Scottish actors that has changed since 2010. For example, the redesign of local activation services to fit outside the Work Programme provision is not limited to the work of the council and its

associated partners. Scottish Government employment programmes such as Community Jobs Scotland also operate separately from the Work Programme.

Respondents emphasised the issue of double funding and the responsibility of Work Programme providers to support their customers as the reasons why the programmes could not interlink. It has undoubtedly caused some tensions between organisations working in Glasgow as respondents talked about ‘arguments with Work Programme providers’ and efforts to align provision thwarted by problems with technical and administrative rules. These explanations often involved a recognition of the disjuncture between national and local approaches in activation and employment services. This seem to lead to tensions when the Work Programme was contracted and began operating in Glasgow as there was a disconnect about the extent of the local services available to the national providers.

“Yeah they [Work Programme providers] were pretty hacked off at the beginning because they had made some assumptions about accessing services, learning provision, other specialised counselling, and person centred things and we had to say to them, we are terribly sorry but you can’t have access to those things” (Senior public sector employee).

It also appears that the different funding arrangements may be compounded by the reduction in funding to local authorities and third sector organisations in the austerity programme. More than once respondents framed the discussed in terms of restricted resources.

“It’s a pot that is used and I think there is an extent to which any funder would say, “Why would I spend my money getting your client into work when everyone benefits from that except us”. And that sounds awful in some ways but I think it’s a feeling that we are finding this money to spend on people and we will then spend it on people who aren’t receiving alternative provision”.

As such, not only is it about the design of the Work Programme but also about the financial situation of other delivery agencies. Whilst the funding arrangement is a strong deterrent for mixing programmes and support provision there are also issues regarding the way the programme was designed in terms of customer groups and service provision from Work Programme providers. For example, there are difficulties in bringing the current health related schemes operating in the city (namely the Bridging service discussed in section 8) together with the Work Programme. As the Work Programme now includes the provision of services for those claiming Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) and some other health related benefit recipients (see the national report for further information) there is a need to have some level of partnership working and communication in this area. A senior respondent from Greater Glasgow Health Board felt that there was a role that Work Programme providers could play in terms of reducing poverty, inequality and unemployment for these groups. However, interacting and working with the Work Programme proved difficult as the programme ‘cut across’ the established local work which had developed through partnerships throughout the city over a number of years. Mentioned here was the danger presented to patients on the Work Programme due to the ‘black box’ approach which meant that health professionals could not see and assess whether the services provided were as appropriate as the Bridging Service

(discussed in more detail in section 8) and whether there was a danger to health patients on the Work Programme.

In terms of the provision of activation services in the city therefore, there are clearly separate systems which work with individuals in receipt of out of work benefits. One of the other major differences between the two systems is the way in which the organisations are chosen to provide activation services, and the way in which they are paid to provide those services. Work Programme providers are paid on a payment by results basis (for further details see the national report). Conversely, the GCC provision is contracted or commissioned to organisations which are paid on a service provision basis. Whilst to the jobseeker this arrangement may not be evident at the point of service, to those organisations involved in the provision of activation services and support for those receiving out of work benefits the funding differences have created a tension in terms of partnership working.

As one respondent stated:

“That was a tension as well actually because you know a lot of the reluctance to get involved with Work Programme providers was from people saying that very thing, why would I use the public funds that I have access to potentially increase the profit margin for private organisations in a programme which has been designed to be fully funded. So if someone needs something on the Work Programme they can buy it for them” (senior public sector employee).

The Work Programme contracts are designed to allow each delivery organisation to make a profit on delivering the contract under the premise that profit making encourages efficiency savings. As such local organisations which are publically funded are deterred from investing in programmes which supplement the work of the Work Programme providers and could lead to profit making for other organisations. Similarly, as discussed in more detail in section two the Work Programme is part of the welfare reform agenda led by the Conservative UK government and it is the most right-wing of all of the UK's welfare-to-work programmes which have been introduced since 1997. This includes in terms of the treatment of those requiring services and also in terms of the emphasis on market mechanisms. Furthermore, it forms a large part of a deeply unpopular welfare reform programme spearheaded by a Conservative Party with no support in Scotland. Therefore, the lack of support for the Work Programme may be more than technical and administrative process and also involve an element of political disagreement over the purposes and methods of welfare-to-work provision contracted in Scotland without any involvement of local and Scottish organisations. It is a programme which is viewed as notably 'non-local.'

“I think there's a lot of bad feeling in Scotland about the Work Programme and I don't think given the choice that is how people would chose to contract out employment programmes...I think, a lot of the political motivation for running programmes like Community Jobs Scotland is that they see that the Westminster contractor's provision is not adequate. And I think what they want to do is achieve outcomes for people without necessarily trying to prop up a system that they don't think should be in place...By providing that support to people who are not on the programme, you can reduce unemployment without falsely inflating Work Programme results” (senior employee in a third sector organisation).

Arguably, some of the local organisations and political actors have no interest in supporting the Work Programme providers at the current time. The design of activation and support programmes by GCC had, prior to the Work Programme, interacted with and offered extra support for some individuals enrolled on national welfare-to-work programmes whenever issues of double funding were not present. Whilst the GCC economic development department had sought to work with Work Programme contractors and met with all bidders during the design and bidding phase, due to the ESF funding issues this was not possible once the programme started (although JBG have attempted to develop some communication with Work Programme providers in recent months). However, issues of double funding were present previously and the problem was worked around on a case by case basis. Whilst some individuals were not able to access two lots of funding, the organisations involved in the different types of service provision remained associated in terms of working up new ideas and negotiating the environment. It also appears that there may have been efforts to join-up activities previously because programmes were contracted to involve a range of local organisations such as the SCVO, the Wise Group and Glasgow Works.

Both the local activation schemes managed by the council, the health board, and the programmes created by the Scottish Government have formal referral relationships with the local JCP office. Similarly the JCP also refers and triggers individuals onto the Work Programme. The difference in this relationship centres on the broader principles underlying the separate systems. The local provision works on a voluntary basis whereby individuals can opt in to one of the Council-led programmes (including those delivered by Glasgow Works, the health partnerships, and Jobs and Business Glasgow) and those on CJS apply for their job via the job centre. GCC and their contracted provision therefore have referral systems, which are not mandated and do not involve formal sanctioning and the joining of benefits and activation services. There is no interlink between the provision of benefits and the attendance on local activation schemes. The national approach however is the formal employment scheme and individuals who do not take part in the mandated programmes are susceptible to the withdrawal of benefits or reduction in financial support. This difference was discussed in two ways, firstly in terms of levers and control of local authorities in their efforts to reduce poverty and unemployment in the city; and secondly, in terms of principles and the 'correct' way to improve employability by providing programmes which were voluntary and which did not involve 'negative' activation measures such as sanctions and compulsory (unpaid) work placements.

This specific area of delivery and service provision suggests that the relationship between the services provided at the local level, from the Scottish government, and the UK government is complex. First, in terms of the ways in which services are procured and programmes designed and the unintended consequences of service delivery relationships. The second, in terms of the politics of multi-level governance and the impact of central-local relations. This shift in relationship with the national programme was attributed to the influence of the Scottish Government as GCC respondents talked about an earlier desire to include Work Programme providers in the local welfare mix in order to maximise their efforts at reducing poverty and unemployment, albeit aware of the disagreements regarding the design of the programme and the profit-making feature of the contract. Furthermore, there appears to be a political influence in terms of programme design and joined-up provision whereby competing agendas, policy making attitudes and approaches to welfare and activation conflict at the local level. As one respondent stated:

“It’s quite messy, the level of harmony between UK-Scottish-Local Government policy is very low at the moment, it has been- if you track it back over the years- high because well when Glasgow Works started we had three Labour administrations, and now you have a local Labour, a SNP Scottish and a Conservative-coalition at the UK level, so there is little political communication between the three on these issues” (senior employee at a public sector organisation).

Arguably therefore the situation with the provision of the Work Programme and local employment support programmes may be evidence that the Scottish and Glaswegian approach to managing the multiple-levels of welfare provision is based on ‘fighting’ UK national policy and working in separate and somewhat conflicting systems. Perhaps for all of these reasons within the wider context of austerity and limited local funding, the Work Programme providers are placed firmly outside of the local discussions and delivery arrangements for the provision of poverty reduction measures.

8. Europe and the fight against poverty

The influence of the European policies for combating poverty appear to have no obvious effect on those involved in anti-poverty measures in Glasgow. No respondents felt that their work was influenced by the European agenda (although most thought they should perhaps start to look at this work) and the local debate was dominated by the efforts to manage and mitigate against the UK national policies which at the same time incorporate new ways of working (including the participatory approach promoted by civil society groups). Respondents were not directly aware of any of the European anti-poverty targets, and only two were aware that Glasgow as part of Eurocities and had heard of the Europe2020 strategy. Despite this Glasgow does take part in a number of EU networks such as the European Healthy Cities Network and the Eurocities project. GCC is engaged with the Eurocities project and regular provides information to the network regarding local initiatives, such as the Commonwealth Games Apprenticeship Initiative discussed in section 3. However this activity was detached from the dominant and larger local initiatives.

Whilst there was a general understanding that some activities throughout the city were part-funded or supported by European funding, there was no knowledge of The Europe 2020 strategy from respondents. On this policy issue there did not appear to be a dialogue about the strategy between levels of government. There was no knowledge of the "European platform against poverty" initiative and whether the 20/20 targets had been translated in national targets. The only network and initiative that actors had knowledge of was the European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN) due to the involvement of the local Poverty Alliance group. Even then, respondents were unclear as to the connection between this work and their own anti-poverty strategies and activities.

From the interview responses it would be fair to say that the European anti-poverty strategy and work was on the periphery of the local work taking place in Glasgow and actors did not feel that it featured at all in the discourse and debates around the experience of poverty. However, it is clear that the European agenda has some influence on the city both in terms of the way in which they are working together and addressing local issues, and in terms of resources for activation and employment services.

8.1 Participatory approach

First, nearly all actors when asked about anti-poverty work mentioned the innovative and contemporary shift taking place across the city in terms of prioritising and approaching policy making for poverty alleviation. Responses focused on the work of GCC and the anti-poverty strategy and attributed much of this shift to the work of local civil society actors, predominately the Poverty Alliance, and the work of the Poverty Truth Commission. The work of the Poverty Alliance, a national anti-poverty network in Scotland, working with voluntary organisations, policy makers and politicians at Scottish, UK and European levels. Based in Glasgow the Poverty Alliance are involved in a number of campaigns across Scotland and Glasgow and regularly host events and knowledge sharing sessions. The Poverty Alliance (discussed in more detail in section 3) are involved in the European Anti-Poverty Network. As previously mentioned in 2010 they were involved in a participatory campaign called 'stick your labels' to look at the impact of stigma and discrimination against those experiencing poverty. This work has infiltrated much of the debate in Glasgow and issues regarding stigma and

discrimination feature heavily on the anti-poverty strategy and the new work of the Community Planning Partnerships. A similar influence on this work has been the Poverty Truth Commission which was a two year project (funded predominately via faith groups) which brought together those experiencing poverty with civic leaders and policy makers. Attention from this group has centred on challenging poverty stereotypes and in particular the stereotypes which form part of the UK discussions of poverty and welfare (the 'shirkers and scroungers' discussed the national report). Both of these participatory approaches are becoming influential in the local anti-poverty work.

8.2 European Funding

The second and most visible impact of the European programme is the provision of European funding for activation and employment support. The European Social Fund (ESF) is an important resource for much of the anti-poverty work which takes place within the economic development and employment approach to addressing poverty. ESF funding for poverty and activation programmes is administered by the Scottish Government and aligned with the Single Outcome Agreements and the Community Planning process. GCC's activation programmes are funded predominately by ESF funding and/or the council's own funding and it has historically been a valuable source of income for local employment support initiatives within the city. There are a number of activation programmes which GCC has designed and manages and which are delivered via the ALEOs such as Glasgow Works and JBG. Some programmes are contracted by the council to other local providers including TSOs and charities. The activation measures which local actors deliver using ESF funding have tended to be service provided to individuals furthest from the labour market and requiring specialist support and help. There has also been a focus on the provision of training and pre-vocational courses funded by ESF sources and incorporated into the local activation measures. This source of funding is arguably an important contributor to the local activities and initiatives that operate outside of the national employment support schemes. Local decision makers are able to utilise this funding (alongside GCC funds) to develop specialist programmes aimed at groups where there is a local need. For example, one respondent talked about using ESF to assist young parents and people with mental health problems. Furthermore these initiatives tended to involve other partners and support agencies and it appeared to be the case that European funding was a key contributor to the local partnership working culture that has developed in Glasgow over the past ten years. Overtime GCC (specifically the regeneration directorate) has become experienced at working with EU funding and designing local initiatives which are eligible for European support with one senior respondent talking about the good 'track record' and experience at 'tailoring support' for specific groups.

Consequently, much funding has been directed towards activities in the city and contributed to the development of local levels of support. The following tables highlight the amount of funding that the economic development department of GCC and the JBG (formally regeneration agency) received between 2007-2013 for employment related support services. These tables do not include the indirect ESF funding the organisations may have received from Skills Development Scotland or the Scottish Government's Training for Work programme which uses ESF money.

Glasgow City Council		
Programme	Approved total expenditure (£)	In principle total grant (£)
Glasgow Vocational Programme	805,154	362,319
Supported & Enhanced Vocational Training	570,310	256,639
Young Parents - Glasgow Cares	521,767	165,902
Gangs Into Employment Initiative	481,911	212,847
Learning Disabilities Supported Employment Service	306,069	130,953
Choice Works	540,993	172,286
Metro West Business Subsidy	1,049,986	273,353
Skills and Business Growth	3,123,909	1,187,086
National Progression Award - Preparing For Work and Business	319,333	127,733
Glasgow Works 2011-13	17,290,880	7,581,481
Total	25,010,312	10,470,599

Table 4: Glasgow City Council ESF funding

Jobs and Business Glasgow ESF funding		
Programme	Approved total expenditure (£)	In principle total grant (£)
Positive Action on Worklessness	174,309	61,744
South West Bridging Service	206,272	92,822
Progressing Education Employment and Training	230,226	103,601
South West Glasgow Progression to Work	1,388,665	569,353
South West Glasgow Bridging Service	734,192	312,545
South West Glasgow Youth Employability & Transition Support	535,081	214,031
North Glasgow Employer Led Training/Modern Apprenticeship Project	748,543	336,844
First Steps to Employability in Glasgow West	1,241,061	484,014
East Works - ILM & Vocational Training Project	515,494	174,391
Active Client Progression	592,707	266,718
Routes 2 and Sustaining Employment 2009	648,797	227,079
East Works 2009	481,960	187,306
South West Glasgow - Accessing Opportunities	2,281,517	752,715
GSWRA Youth Employability & Transition Support (cont)	1,446,593	475,759
Challenge South East	310,397	139,678
Step Up To Employment	684,190	266,834
South West Glasgow Bridging Service (Cont)	773,959	329,474
South West Glasgow Progression in Work	1,714,543	685,817
Retention, Aftercare and Process (RAP)	691,769	311,296
Innovating Financial Literacy Skills in Scotland	205,242	92,359
Total	15,605,517	6,084,380

Table 5: JBG ESF Funding

8.3 Innovative project: The Bridging Service

One ESF supported local program which appeared to be effective in terms of addressing poverty through joined-up working is the Bridging Service. The Bridging Service is a programme designed by a number of local actors and delivered by JBG throughout the city. It connects the service provided by social work, health, activation and financial inclusion to individuals within the city. Users of social work or health services are able to access the support of the Bridging Service to move into employment, training or volunteering. The initiative enables health and social work employees to introduce activation services to patients and service users and refer them to the bridging service where specialist advisors provide the information on activation and training support that is available across the city. This includes training courses which focus on soft skills or confidence building. There is also a link up with criminal justice services and many of the referrals to the programme come from addictions and criminal justice sources.

Whilst the aim of the initiative is to assist people to move closer to the labour market, there are some individuals who are assisted directly into employment. There is a wider aim of the program and that is to ensure that health professionals also embed basic employability information in their work duties. This activity links back to the early discussion regarding local 'levers' (section 5) and how local actors can increase their support of those experiencing poverty. Arguably, the strength of this approach is the interconnection between different agencies and the referral approach which allows users to easily navigate between support offered across the city and by different organisations. It appears that the health service involvement is also a major strength as it allows employability advice and sign-posting to be delivered by individuals with regular contact and accessibility to some health and social care users who may not have been directly accessible by employment support organisations (particularly if they are in receipt of health related benefits and have not been enrolled on the Work Programme). As discussed in section seven the users of this service are those individuals who are not eligible for the Work Programme, or who have yet to be mandated onto the programme. The Bridging support stops once an individual is registered on the Work Programme. The core financial sources are JBG, the Community Health Partnerships (CHCPs) and ESF. The programme has had some funding issues as often support has been short term and insecure, and there has been an increasing reliance on income from Glasgow Works. Respondents identified this initiative not only as an example of a local project, but also as a way in which future services could be organised and partnership working increased.

"It takes a long time in terms of changing mind-sets and cultures to have health and SW mentioning employability. Whether or not welfare reform has made it any worse I'm not sure. But that relationship is established and it has taken a long time in terms of giving the staff the confidence to be able to speak about employability but knowing we don't need to be an employability advisor, just to sign-post" (Senior employee at ALEO).

There were a range of factors which influenced the creation of this programme, predominately related to actors and involvement in both local and national schemes. For example, the work was linked originally to the Scottish Government's commitment to addressing Child Poverty through the Healthier, Wealthier Children agenda, and many of the local connections and individuals actors involved in the design of the service were also involved in the Glasgow Works board and the previous DWP Pathfinder Strategy in the early 2000s. As such, whilst some of the activities in Glasgow appear to be quite disconnected (as discussed in section 7) in terms of agencies and central-local relations, The Bridging Service demonstrates the complexities of local relations and the broader (and perhaps unintended impacts) of former Scottish and UK policies. It also shows how local actors can negotiate, design and deliver services in this context and supported by ESF funding combined with local sources. Whilst ESF funding was not the main driver of this innovative project, it was a key component in ensuring that the ideas were made into a pragmatic solution.

8.4 Limitations to EU funding

However, EU funding did not appear to address issues of poverty with regards to the anti-poverty work (income maximisation, participation, and challenging stigma etc.) For example, the aforementioned Poverty Truth Commission has arguably been one of the main influences on the more recent anti-poverty work in the CPPs and the Poverty Leadership Panel. It also has strong links with civil society groups and third sector organisations and is well-known throughout the city. The project

and the outcomes have made significant impact in terms of the poverty debate in the city. Respondents outlined a number of reasons why European funding was not often used outside of the department and organisations with the 'track record' of securing funding.

First, some of the anti-poverty work was deliberately 'bottom-up' working gradually and reflexively with local people experiencing poverty and then designing a process and programme as these relationships developed over time. It was felt by a civil society leader involved in the Poverty Truth Commission that the style adopted in this initiative was not compatible with traditional funding application processes. There was a perceived cultural clash between funding processes, outcomes and formal application systems and the fundamental ethos of participatory and individual based work into poverty.

"We got an award from the EU about the work we were doing, but it was recognition not money. In a way, we were making it up as we went along, quite deliberately and therefore we weren't necessarily what we could say to people give us some money, here will be the outcomes achieved" (senior civil society leader)

Other respondents were less keen on accessing EU funding than the council due to a number of reasons. Some of the reasons related to the administrative burden of the audit and compliance of EU funding. These respondents stated that many TSOs don't consider ESF as a funding option because of the audit and paper work requirements and the additional strain this brings to smaller organisations with less employees, and that it was particularly inappropriate for community and volunteer based organisations. Similar concerns centred on the requirement for match-funding and the administrative and audit processes involved in managing two or three funding sources in the delivery of a local initiative. There appeared therefore to be an obstacle to the effectiveness of ESF funding in terms of which organisations were capable enough to manage the administrative processes which accompany the funding.

Whilst this was clearly the case for many smaller organisations and third sector respondents, the local authority, JBG and Glasgow Works all effectively accessed and used ESF funding in activation services. The majority of this work was uncomplicated although some tensions were discussed in terms of aligning local policies with the rules of the EF funding. For example, one senior respondent from GCC discussed their efforts to create a job creation programme for young people similar to a programme they had recently introduced. They targeted ESF for funding and whilst the programme met most of the requirements and was eligible for funding, there was a difficulty in terms of applying the Living Wage pay rate to the programme. As such the council was in a position where it had to decide about upholding local commitments to the Living Wage pay rates, or access the ESF funding to provide a job creation scheme at a time when youth unemployment is particularly high in the city.

Similarly, as discussed in section 7, the ESF provision in Scotland is administered outside of (and excludes incorporation with) the Work Programme. Respondent linked this separation to the additionality rules of European Funding and as such there was an inability to unite these agendas. This

example also demonstrates that this incompatibility in terms of match-funding and additionality rules can be (and arguably is) affected by local and regional (Scottish) politics.

9. Conclusion

Minimum Income Schemes are centralised in the UK and allow little if any local differentiation and discretion for local actors and agencies involved in anti-poverty work. The DWP and HMRC are responsible for the design and provision of out of work benefits, payments to low income households and the interaction between these cash payments and labour market activation and in-work support measures. This includes decision making regarding income levels, thresholds for eligibility and priority groups in the main benefit groups namely Jobseekers Allowance, Employment Support Allowance, and through the tax credit system. Whilst there are some local offices such as Jobcentre Plus which may be active in local networks, discretion regarding the implementation of national schemes is minimal and unaffected by local requirements and desires. Local authorities do have some role in the provision of services such as housing benefit and council tax benefit, although again the parameters of the value of these services and eligibility rules are defined at the UK national level. As such, it was expected that the local report would provide little discussion and distinction in terms of the provision of minimum income levels to residents in Glasgow. Whilst this was true for the provision of these specific benefits and cash transfer payments a range of support mechanisms, passported benefits and financial assistance schemes were discussed throughout this report as key factors in the local anti-poverty and support efforts. Some of these activities were associated with the devolved Scottish Government as it has control over a range of budgets including housing, education, health and young people. As such it has been able to provide some universal support across Scotland and social groups (such as free prescriptions) and provide targeted funding towards its own deprivation and economic development outcomes. Within this context the report focused on how local actors in this heavily centralized system were able to negotiate, manage and create 'levers' through which they could influence and design anti-poverty work at the city and community levels.

The report presented a complex multi-agency and competitive political context in which MIS is delivered in Glasgow. The local government, Glasgow City Council, plays a major role in the city in terms of its provision of public services and priorities around economic development and employment support. Whilst there are some wider ideological tensions between GCC and prevalent civic society groups regarding economic development and inequality, there are efforts to work with actors to deliver local pragmatic response to the socio-economic difficulties facing the city. More recently these priorities have also been influenced by the growing civic society voice and an increasing role for the participation of residents experiencing poverty in local decision making and strategic planning. Consequently, it is clear that there is a strong anti-poverty consensus amongst all local political parties and representatives and a commitment and eagerness to develop partnership working, referral systems, and cultural reform in public sector organisations to meet the needs of those in poverty. Without access to the welfare state controls, these were the main levers through which local actors could affect MIS provision.

The separation of the main benefits and support for those in poverty from the local activities and requirements created much tension and complications for service provision (particularly in regard to welfare reform) but it had also influenced the current services in the city. On the one hand the UK's centralised minimum income system causes difficulties for local actors and limits their power and control over welfare state policies which have in recent years become perceived as a threat and cause of poverty for people within the city. On the other hand the separate systems have meant that

the local actors have developed over time a well-established (if currently over-stretched) local support system for income maximisation and benefit lobbying with MIS considered an inward investment to households and the local economy. The conflict between the central and sub-central tiers has in some senses been productive as it has led GCC (with the support of the Scottish Government) to focus very actively on the provision of advice and support to local benefit claimants. It has also been able to distance itself from the right-wing rhetoric and amendments to the provisions of the welfare state introduced by the UK government and has at times adopted a position which attempts to mitigate, reduce and alter the UK welfare policies. This has included (but is not limited to) the income maximisation work outlined in section 6 and the mitigation work touched on briefly in section seven. Consequently, throughout the anti-poverty work in the city there is an emphasis on the local government and public sector actors funding and supporting organisations to compete, challenge and appeal decisions to the UK centralised agencies. This approach has been less emphasised elsewhere in the UK and beyond.

However, the disaggregation of welfare provision is further compounded by the current differences in political parties and ideological positions in each level of government. The council has for a number of years been controlled by the Scottish Labour Party, the Scottish National Party are now in control of the Scottish Government (and pushing for independence from the UK), and there is a Conservative led coalition in the UK parliament. The council is also reliant on funding from the currently nationalist Scottish Government and whilst the Scottish Labour Party and SNP appear to converge on ideas of economic development and the rhetoric of anti-poverty and equality policies there are contentions regarding policy implementation, particularly around issues of independence where the negative issues of welfare and the impact of UK national policies is a useful pro-independence political instrument. Similarly debates surrounding issues such as council tax and the impact of the freeze on low-income families are shrouded in wider Scottish political debates. As outlined throughout this report the result is that while there are a plethora of public and private, central and local, actors involved in the fight against poverty locally, the governance of local anti-poverty policy remains difficult and conflicted, despite some innovative structures for coordination of policy having been developed. Within this political context there are complications and difficulties in aligning competing and (sometimes) hostile agendas regarding welfare provision. This is demonstrated in chapter seven and the discussion of the asynchronous design of the Work Programme and local and European funded employment programmes.

The influence on local policy of EU initiatives has been quite limited although ESF funding has undoubtedly helped develop a strong local partnership and actors involvement in the provision of employment and activation services in Glasgow for a number of years. These partnerships continue to develop and strengthen often through the use of EU funding for innovative joint-partner working such as the Bridging Service. While the ESF is a useful resource for stimulating local action particularly with regards to those furthest from the labour market and out-with the national inclusive activation schemes, its local utilisation has been hampered by the rigidity of some of its rules. This is particularly acute for third sector organisations who are less able to manage the administrative strains of the funding but who are undoubtedly valuable assets to the local approach to poverty reduction. European ideas and strategies for anti-poverty do not appear to have filtered down to the local actors who are predominately engaged in understanding and communicating with Scottish and UK government actions in this policy area.

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Appendix 1

List of respondents

	Description/position	Organisation
1	Senior employee- Head of department, Member of CPP	Public Sector Organisation 1
2	Senior employee- Senior Policy advisor	Public Sector Organisation 1
3	Senior employee -Corporate board member	Public Sector Organisation 2
4	Senior employee- Programme manager	Public sector organisation 3
5	Senior employee- Programme manager	Public Sector organisation 3
6	Senior employee- Department Manager, CPP member	Third sector organisation 1
7	Mid-level employee- Policy Advisor/ Lobbyist	Third sector organisation 2
8	Senior civic leader- CPP member,	Third sector organisation 3
9	Senior employee-Programme Manager	Third sector organisation 4
10	Senior employee- Department Manager	ALEO