SIMD ANALYSIS: FUTURE PROJECTIONS

1. Background and Introduction

1.1. This paper analyses the reasons behind the recent decline of deprivation in Glasgow, projects these trends towards 2015, and comments on their likely implications. It is based on a presentation made to the Community Planning Executive Group on 2nd June 2010, which itself came from a series of events held in autumn 2009/spring 2010, involving over 120 people from council and non-council organisations in Glasgow.

1.2. The gains Glasgow made in reducing its share of Scotland's deprivation have been the result of long-term trends that have been operating over the last two or more decades. Identifying both the trends that led to the current situation, and those currently in operation which can reasonably be presented as being influential in Glasgow towards 2015, form the basis of the projections in this paper. The main indicator used has been the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), and the analysis of three waves (2004, 2006 and 2009) has been supported by the use of other indicators. Looking at the absence of deprivation as well as at areas defined by deprivation includes all communities and gives a rounded analysis of the city.

1.3. The trends that have shaped the city at present are long-term and have been in operation since the 1990s, if not earlier. It follows that trends that can be identified in the present day will be those that influence the city by 2015. Their general direction has been to accelerate Glasgow's development to its current position as a representative medium-sized western European city. This is in stark contrast to Glasgow's position during much of the 1980s and 1990s, when the city was experiencing huge problems as a result of widespread deprivation. The current economic recession and the associated cuts in public expenditure are likely to encourage a more defensive attitude. But there is still a considerable amount of work required for Glasgow to capitalise fully on its assets and make the most of its location as the centre of a large conurbation.

2. Trend-Based Analysis

2.1. The general direction of trends going back to the late 1990s show that

- Glasgow has been the focus of change in the conurbation;
- Gains have been made to increase employment and reduce worklessness;
- Linked to this has been the retention of working-age population.

This is the context in which the SIMD has been operating. It follows that if this context remains largely unchanged, then the existing trends in the SIMD are likely to continue as well.

2.2. The ABI (Annual Business Inquiry) is an indication of the number of jobs in an area, regardless of employee residence. Table 2.1 shows that the rate of expansion has been greater in Glasgow, compared to the rest of the conurbation and Scotland. Over the period, the increase in jobs in Glasgow was almost double that of the wider conurbation. North and South Lanarkshire have also seen considerable employment expansion; while other areas to the west of the conurbation have faced lower rates of growth and even employment contraction. This pattern is the kind of thing we would expect to see from a city.

2.3. The increase in jobs has raised the number of persons in employment in Glasgow. Table 2.2 shows that within the conurbation, the overall increase in employment has been greatest in Glasgow, while the increase in the city's rate was also the second highest in the conurbation. As the number of jobs in

Glasgow increased, the number of residents in work also increased. In general, the increase in employment in Glasgow contrasts with a reduction in the rest of the conurbation as a whole. Although many of the effects of the recent recession are still to filter through, these most recent figures show that employment in Glasgow is still to be adversely affected, in contrast to other areas. This is by no means a fixed situation and may change.

2.4. The trends in employment numbers follow through to the employment rate. Glasgow still has a lower employment rate than other areas, partly the legacy of its industrial background, high levels of deprivation, and also reflecting its role as a centre for further and higher education (see table 2.3). However the employment rate is still higher than during the 1990s, and although it has shown recent falls the current rate of 62.0% compares favourably with an average of 56.3% between 1994 and 1998 (Annual Population Survey).

2.5. Linked to the increase in the employment rate has been a reduction in the worklessness rate, or the proportion of the working-age population on benefits such as Job Seekers Allowance and Employment Support Allowance (ex-Incapacity Benefit). The rate in Glasgow fell from 32.8% of working-age adults in 1999 to 26.0% in 2009 and was a faster decline than in Scotland and the surrounding areas (see table 2.4 for details). The 2009 figure reflects the current economic downturn, and all areas have increased the number of persons on working-age benefits. The increase in Glasgow (to 101,760 in 2009 from 100,320 in 2006) has been masked by a greater increase in the working-age population (to 392,000 from 386,200 during the same period).

2.6. Demographic trends are also different in Glasgow compared to other areas. There have been two main aspects: the retention of the working age population and especially the younger age groups, and the growing proportion aged 65 years and over. The working-age population in Glasgow has been increasing, as distinct to the rest of the conurbation (see table 2.5). Glasgow has had by far the greatest increase in the working-age population (+6.8%) in comparison to the Scotland (+2.8%) and the rest of the conurbation (-0.2%). But this is only in line with trends in other UK cities, and is lower than the rates of increase in Edinburgh (+8.3%), Leeds (+13.9%) and Manchester (+17.6%).

2.7. In terms of the younger working-age population, the population aged 25-44 years has been increasing in Glasgow, while in the surrounding area, and Scotland in general, it has been decreasing. This is where the difference between Glasgow and the surrounding area is most striking. Between 2001 and 2008 the number in this age band increased by 6,000 (+3.3%) compared to declines in the rest of the conurbation and in Scotland (table 2.6). On the other hand, Glasgow's rate of increase has been lower than in Edinburgh (+8.3%), Leeds (+10.1%) and Manchester (+22.3%). It is however higher than in Belfast, Liverpool and Newcastle, all of which have seen reductions in the number of people in the younger part of the working age population even though their overall working age population has increased. Glasgow is showing growth compared to declines in the surrounding area; but the rate of this increase is lower than in other cities.

2.8. The significance of this age group is that it has higher rates of employment than the working-age population in general. The employment rates in Glasgow for the 25-49 age group was 70.6% compared to an overall working-age rate of 62.0% (April 2009-March 2010, Annual Population Survey). It follows that if this age group increases in absolute size, it will lead to an increase in overall employment, compared to even employment rates regardless of age. This has implications for areas surrounding Glasgow, which may be faced with potentially fewer people involved in the local economy. Commuting patterns may change as a result.

2.9. The other main trend is with the ageing population. Glasgow has a different trend to that shared by the surrounding area and Scotland. The number of people aged 65+ fell in Glasgow by 8,200 between 2001 and 2008 (-9.0%), compared to increases elsewhere (Scotland +6.1%, rest of the conurbation +7.4%, see table 2.7). This has implications on the availability of elderly care services and also on levels of participation in the local economy, and the size and capacity of that economy. Glasgow's reduction in this age group compared to other cities is the highest of the comparable UK cities, with the next in line being Manchester (-7.9%), Liverpool (-5.4%) and Belfast (-4.2%).

2.10. In summary, these trends show that Glasgow is experiencing a different set of changes to many of those affecting the surrounding conurbation. In this, Glasgow has become reasonably representative to most other UK cities. The relationship between the city and the surrounding conurbation has been changing and this balance is likely to continue to change.

3. Variations in Glasgow

3.1. The preceding section has shown that the trends in Glasgow are different to those in the surrounding area and in the rest of Scotland. Different parts of the city have also had differing experiences. In terms of population, the 1.0% increase in Glasgow between 2001 and 2008 was almost entirely due to a 4.9% increase in the West Area Co-Ordination Group (including the City Centre) which compensated for large falls in the number of children in the East and North areas (see table 3.1). The West area also saw a 13.8% increase in the population aged between 25 and 44 years, four times as large as the city's overall increase of 3.3%, and reductions in the East and North areas.

3.2. With worklessness, all parts of the city have seen a reduction, and even though there has been a recent increase as a result of the recession, the overall gains have not been lost. Table 3.2 shows that while rates vary across the city (highest in the East at 31.7%; lowest in the West at 20.4%), the rate of reduction between 2001 and 2009 has been broadly similar.

3.3. There is a different geographical pattern with other indicators, such as the location of new private house building, and houses in the more expensive council tax bands. Activity has predominantly been in the West ACG (see table 3.3). This suggests that the West ACG, which has the highest proportion of its housing in the more expensive Council Tax bands, also had the greatest share of house building in Glasgow of this type. The change in the South East ACG has been less obvious and its position needs to be monitored.

4. SIMD Trends

4.1. The headline trend between 2004 and 2009 has been that Glasgow has been reducing its share of Scottish deprivation – and by a significant amount. In addition, there has also been an increase in the population resident in Scotland's top half of areas.

Table 4.1: Glasgow: SIMD Population by Category

	2004	2006	2009	Change
1%-15%	307,997	269,539	244,587	-20.6%
16%-50%	150,636	162,641	181,711	+20.6%
51%-100%	119,236	145,490	157,942	+32.5%
Total	577,869	577,670	584,240	+1.1%

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

While the table shows the reduction in the population in the 1%-15% category, it is still clear that a large part of the population remains in this category, equal to 41.9% of the city's population. This is a fall from the level in 2004 of 53.3%.

4.2. These trends are different to those in the surrounding part of the conurbation. In this area, while they too have reduced their population in the bottom 15%, it has been by a smaller amount; and their increase in the 51%-100% category has been lower as well.

Table 4.2: Surrounding Area: SIMD Population by Category

	2004	2006	2009	Change
1%-15%	224,731	190,216	197,205	-12.2%
16%-50%	456,452	457,753	445,262	-2.5%
51%-100%	490,102	521,401	528,603	+7.9%
Total	1,171,285	1,169,370	1,171,070	0.0

Includes East Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, South Lanarkshire and West Dunbartonshire. Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

The overall population level has remained constant in the face of a modest increase in Glasgow. In general, the rate of change in the surrounding part of the conurbation has been much smaller than in Glasgow.

4.3. Neither are the trends in Glasgow part of a general city-wide pattern. The comparable figures for Edinburgh are as follows.

Table 4.3: Edinburgh: SIMD Population by Category

	2004	2006	2009	Change
1%-15%	50,530	51,504	47,177	-6.6%
16%-50%	102,303	104,226	113,043	+10.5%
51%-100%	295,791	297,940	316,500	+7.0%
Total	448,624	453,670	476,720	+6.3%

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

The rate of change across all three categories in Edinburgh is less than in Glasgow, even when the different starting point of each city is taken into account. The rate of change in Glasgow is not typical of the wider conurbation or of cities in general in Scotland and there is a risk that the significance of the magnitude of this change is overlooked.

4.4. The other set of trends are based within the city. Of the five Area Co-Ordination Groups in the city, the main change has been in the West ACG, where the main population increase has taken place, as well as the greatest reduction in the 1%-15% and the greatest increase in the 51%-100% categories. By contrast, the South East ACG has had more modest changes.

Table 4.4: Area Co-Ordination Group: Change in Population Resident in SIMD Categories

	Change Between SIMD 2004 & SIMD 2009			
	Population	1%-15%	16%-50%	51%-100%
East	-3,164	-15,980	+4,366	+8,450
North	-41	-14,981	+9,795	+5,145
South East	+613	-3,139	+173	+3,579
South West	+2,232	-11,593	+9,087	+4,738
West	+6,731	-17,717	+7,654	+16,794
Glasgow	+6,371	-63,410	+31,075	+38,706

Shows that half the city's increase in the 51%-100% category has been in the West.
Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

4.5. As the SIMD uses information at a neighbourhood level, the general trends under discussion represent the cumulative effect of change at neighbourhood level. The effect of change in one area may be cancelled out by change in another area, so to get a better idea of these changes it is necessary to look at specific neighbourhoods in the city. It is possible to group together different types of neighbourhood that have things in common with each other, and five types of area summarise the main trends in the SIMD between 2004 and 2009.

- Moving into 16%-50%, in other words out of deprivation (73 datazones);
- Moving into 51%-100%, or into the top half of areas in Scotland (40 datazones);
- Remaining in 1%-5%, involving 143 datazones in Glasgow that have been in the 5% most deprived datazones in 2004, 2006 and 2009 (although with population churn this will not have been the same population);
- Gaining position, moving up the ranking by 500 or more places (106 datazones);
- Losing position, or areas not in danger of moving into deprivation, but which have nonetheless lost 250 or more places in the SIMD rankings (49 datazones).

This analysis shows very clearly the overall positive nature of these changes: 219 datazones, or just under one-third of the total in the city, either moved out of deprivation, or moved into the top 51%-100% rankings, or increased their score by 500 ranking places or more.

4.6. The Glasgow situation can be summarised as follows.

Table 4.5: Summary of Area-Based Trends

Type of Area	Population	% City Total (2009)	Population Change 04-09	Examples (parts of the following areas)
Moving into 16%-50% (73 DZs)	62,366	10.7%	+1.5%	Areas of housing demolition, parts of the city centre, isolated areas
Moving into 51%-100% (40 DZs)	38,323	6.6%	+13.0%	Areas on the fringe of the city centre: Dennistoun, Kelvinhaugh
Remaining in 1%-5% (143 DZs)	113,727	19.5%	-3.0%	Parts of each of the ex-Social Inclusion Partnership
Gaining Position (106 DZs)	91,363	15.6%	+6.0%	In city centre, West End, southside, outer East End, some in ex-SIPs
Losing Position (49 DZs)	39,681	6.8%	-2.8%	King's Park, Croftfoot, East Pollokshields, Cardonald,

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics and author's analysis. DZs are datazones.

The definition of an area gaining position is that it has risen by 500 or more places within one of the existing categories; while an area losing position is one that has lost 250 or more places within a category.

5. Areas in Detail

5.1. **Areas moving out of the bottom 1%-15% into the 16%-50% band:** this involves 10.7% of the population, and areas fall into three broad categories

- Housing demolition and new build: this is the motive force in many of the old Social Inclusion Partnerships such as the demolition and clearance in Sighthill, Shawbridge and Red Road linked to the Transformational Regeneration Area programme. Moving out of deprivation is linked to the clearance and rehousing of vulnerable residents, and their replacement by more affluent groups (such as in Castlemilk, South Nitshill, Drumchapel and Balornock);
- Traditionally stable areas that may not appear to be stereotypically deprived areas, which have moved out of deprivation possibly as a result of other non-Glasgow areas having increased deprivation. This group covers areas such as Knightswood, Carmyle, Baillieston and Scotstounhill;
- Areas adjacent to the city centre that have benefited from the increase in jobs in the city and which may have experienced a form of low-key

Part of Govanhill also falls into this general category. Its problems are well-known: rapid population growth, high level of private renting, and high proportion of ethnic groups. These issues do not translate well into the SIMD and the area's inclusion in this category may be an anomaly.

5.2. **Areas moving into the 51%-100% band:** these are in many cases stable areas of owner-occupation that may have experienced population growth; also areas in and around the city centre extending west towards the west end. These areas cover 6.6% of the population (see table 11).

- This has been associated with relatively large increases in population, with the area in general seeing a 14.5% increase in population. In some cases this will have resulted from new build, such as the changes seen in Robroyston, Springburn, Pollok and Knightswood;
- In other areas the improvements appear to have more to do with a general relative increase in living standards, such as in Kelvinhaugh, Dennistoun, and Shawlands.

5.3. **Areas of persistent deprivation:** 143 datazones comprising 19.5% of the population have been in the bottom 5% in each of the SIMDs for 2004, 2006 and 2009. These areas of persistent deprivation include large parts of the old Social Inclusion Partnership areas identified from the 1991 Census and have been the focus of continual funding, from the Urban Programme through to the Fairer Scotland Fund. This illustrates how deprivation has become a deep-rooted and often inter-generational problem.

- The bottom 15% definition of deprivation includes, as expected, the "traditional" areas of deprivation (Castlemilk, Drumchapel, East End, Gorbals, Govan, Greater Easterhouse, Greater Pollok and North Glasgow) in the city;
- However it also includes other areas, sometimes of mixed housing tenure, that do not at first sight belong to this traditional group; and includes areas such as Knightswood, Mosspark, and Riddrie/Carntyne as well as areas closer to the city centre;
- While in overall terms population in this category has fallen, this has not happened in other areas. This may be the result of area improvements only affecting part of an otherwise-deprived area.

A degree of population churn is to be expected in each of these areas.

5.4. **Areas gaining position:** a significant number of datazones improved their position without either moving out of deprivation or moving into the 51%-100% category.

- 44 of the 106 datazones were already in the 51%-100% category, and are relatively affluent areas improving their position – in the West End especially north of Great Western Road; scattered areas in the South Side; and an area running from Swinton through Garrowhill to Mount Vernon;
- Clusters in the Dennistoun/M8 area (8 datazones), Scotstoun (4 dzs);
- More fragmented areas in Knightswood/Blairdardie (7 dzs), Greater Easterhouse (4 dzs) and Greater Pollok (4 dzs) likely to have been linked to specific housing developments.

5.5. **Stable areas losing position:** 6.8% of the population live in areas, not in the bottom 1%-15%, and not at risk of falling into this category, yet which all the same have substantially lost position.

- Some are affluent areas that have possibly lost ground but not in any meaningful sense – such as Newlands and Broomhill;

- Other areas may have lost position as a result of displacement – previously stable areas overshadowed by investment in neighbouring areas. These include Croftfoot and Hillington, where possible preventative strategy in these areas could stop decline.

6. Common Themes

6.1. The first part of this paper has described the main trends affecting the city, and in SIMD terms, it has identified these trends as areas experiencing similar types of change. The next part projects these changes into the future.

6.2. The first influence is the changing relationship between the city and the surrounding conurbation, with economic activity focussed more in the city, both in terms of the availability of jobs, and in numbers employed. Demographic trends also suggest that the city is retaining its younger working-age group and possibly at the expense of the surrounding areas, with the city less affected by the ageing population than elsewhere in the surrounding conurbation.

6.2. Second, the role of the City Centre and the immediate surrounding area in generating and driving this change needs to be appreciated. Jobs growth in and around the City Centre seems to have been associated with a group of younger skilled working-age people in employment, often without dependents, that have been encouraged to stay within walking distance of the City Centre through the growth in the private rented sector and home ownership. These areas also tend to be more ethnically diverse than other parts of the city.

6.3. Thirdly, there is a new geography of deprivation based around smaller areas of persistent deprivation focussed within particular neighbourhoods (less "Castlemilk" and increasingly "Ballantay Quadrant and East Castlemilk"). The old Social Inclusion Partnership areas have become more diverse with a wider socio-economic composition and a greater variety of housing; even so, they still contain many areas of persistent deprivation. In many cases the driver of change in areas has been population churn rather than upward social mobility.

6.4. Fourthly, and while the level of SIMD-based change has been greater in Glasgow than in surrounding areas, there are many areas that have been unaffected or have lost position during this period of generally positive change. They may have been affected by displacement from adjacent developments, such as the effect of Castlemilk on the housing market in King's Park/Croftfoot. In addition, there may also be areas where expected change has not happened, or where the quality of the built environment appears at odds with the areas' socio-economic characteristics (like Govanhill and East Pollokshields). Combining these city-wide processes with an appreciation of how they affect (or do not affect) particular neighbourhoods is key to understanding the dynamics of particular areas, and the aspects that give them their individuality.

7. Projections to 2015

7.1. Based on the above and other information, it is possible to identify four trends that together will shape the city by 2015. These are

- The overall effect of the economic downturn and the effect of centralising infrastructural improvements in insulating the city from the worst aspects of the recession (paras. 8.1 to 9.2 below);
- The degree to which growth continues on the fringe of City Centre especially towards West End, possibly with a form of gentrification but based on long term population churn involving the younger part of the working-age population (paras. 10.1 to 10.6 below);

- The likelihood of areas in the bottom 1%-5% moving up, otherwise inequalities will widen, assumptions of upward social mobility based around employability will be further questioned, and policies will become defensive to focus around amelioration and preventing areas getting worse (paras. 11.1 to 11.2 below);
- Neighbourhoods continuing to become more diverse, with some stable areas losing position while others make gains, issues around displacement become important, and the interaction and dynamics between neighbouring areas become key to understanding their development (paras 12.1 to 12.5 below).

Glasgow may still reduce its share of Scotland's deprivation, as compared to other areas it has a broader employment base and is less remote than other areas. But it is likely to be in relative terms only with little sign of absolute change.

8. Implications of the Recession

8.1. The most obvious constraint to further reductions in deprivation is the recession. It threatens employment-led regeneration and the potential for further housing-led regeneration will be limited by restrictions on lending, constraints on household finances, and possible stagnation in house prices. A case can be made that Glasgow may be relatively resilient in the face of a continued recession. Glasgow has a broad-based economy, infrastructural improvements to improve access to the city centre will shortly be completed, and the city's demographic profile will keep dependency levels relatively low while they are set to increase elsewhere. Together these factors could operate to continue Glasgow's relative improvement in terms of its share of Scotland's deprivation, even if the recession means that absolute improvements are unlikely.

8.2. Glasgow has developed a more broad-based economy than in the past; it is average in terms of public sector employment, and far less exposed than other areas, where locally Inverclyde and West Dunbartonshire appear vulnerable (see table 8.1 and the definition of public sector employment). Glasgow has a lower rate of public sector jobs (35.5%) compared to Newcastle (43.6%), Liverpool (43.3%) and Sheffield (37.2%). It is similar to Birmingham (35.8%) and slightly higher than Manchester (33.5%). Leeds (29.5%) is noticeably lower.

8.3. In comparison to Scotland as a whole, Glasgow has above average levels of employment in sectors such as finance & insurance, property, business administration and support services. The profile is broadly similar to other UK cities of a similar type; with Manchester and Leeds specialising to an even greater extent in the finance & insurance and property sectors. Although Glasgow is exposed to cutbacks in the public sector (though not to the extent as in other areas), it has relatively low levels of employment in sectors such as manufacturing, construction and retail which may be even more vulnerable during a prolonged downturn. The mix of jobs in the city makes it less exposed to a prolonged recession than was the case in the 1970s and 1980s.

8.4. Infrastructural improvements will improve access to the city centre and should as a consequence increase levels of economic activity in the centre as well. These include

- Clyde Gateway and 2014 Commonwealth Games (target of 21,000 jobs over two decades);
- Clyde Waterfront development (approx 50,000 jobs to be created across Glasgow, Renfrewshire and West Dunbartonshire);
- M74 completion (creating 300 jobs in construction).

The scale of change will only become clear once the projects are in place, and there may be issues associated with business relocations to these sites in Glasgow from elsewhere in the surrounding conurbation. But the long-term outcome should be to enhance the city's attractiveness which should at least bolster the existing levels of economic activity.

8.5. Glasgow's relative position may also improve as a result of the greater vulnerability of other areas in the face of a recession. The areas where worklessness increased between 1999 and 2007 were predominantly in the east of Scotland; while the majority of areas including the whole of Glasgow saw a reduction. The areas vulnerable to an increase in worklessness were in rural areas (Fraserburgh and Stonehaven in Aberdeenshire, Arbroath and Forfar in Angus, Inverness in Highland) and in those with a recent industrial background (Bathgate in West Lothian, Dunfermline in Fife). These trends have continued in terms of the rate of increase in JSA since 2007, and Fife increased its levels of deprivation as measured by the SIMD.

8.6. More speculative are the implications of the projected demographic changes affecting the city and conurbation. This is largely a continuation of the trends already mentioned. At 2008, Glasgow's working-age population as a proportion of the overall population was 5.6% higher than for Scotland (69.4% in Glasgow compared to 65.8% in Scotland), by 2033 this gap is projected to increase to 13.5% higher (66.2% in Glasgow compared to 58.4% in Scotland). Even if employment rates remained constant this would enhance Glasgow's position relative to the rest of Scotland, as in proportionate terms there would be more people available to move into employment. This effect would be even more pronounced as the size of the working-age population in surrounding areas in the surrounding conurbation is projected to fall, creating possible opportunities for out-commuting. Table 8.2 has the details.

8.7. Glasgow is projected to have an increasing elderly population, 19.0% in 2033 compared with 14.1% in 2008; but in proportionate terms this is lower than in other areas, as is the rate of increase (see table 8.3). Levels for 2033 in other areas are much greater, such as Dumfries & Galloway (33.6%), East Dunbartonshire (32.0%) and East Renfrewshire (28.9%). This will have implications on the capacity of the local economy in these areas to maintain current levels of expenditure and economic activity. The projected fall in the number of working age people, far greater in the surrounding conurbation than in the city itself, may create opportunities for out-commuting.

8.8. The result is that many of the long term trends imply that Glasgow may be better placed to deal with the recession than elsewhere. The pre-conditions for resilience are in place: the economy has a broad base; infrastructural improvements will increase centralisation; demographic trends show growth rather than decline in the working-age population; and other areas in Scotland may be more vulnerable.

9. Recent Economic Trends

9.1. On the other hand, the most recent economic trends show that Glasgow is still finding it difficult moving out of the recession:

- Unemployment: Glasgow's share of Scotland's overall JSA increased from 17.2% in January 2010 to 18.7% in June 2010; many areas saw a fall during the spring which did not take place in Glasgow; Glasgow accounted for half the Scottish increase in JSA between July 2009 and July 2010;
- Notified vacancies: Glasgow's share of Scotland's total is 14.4% (June 2010) compared to a pre-recession 20.0% (June 2007);

- New business bank accounts: 11.0% of Scotland's new business bank accounts were in Glasgow (first quarter 2010) compared to 12.1% in the first quarter 2007;
- Employment rates: the rate fell to 62.4% (January-December 2009) from the previous quarter's rate of 64.6%, and has continued to fall to 62.0% (April 2009-March 2010); the number in employment (252,300) showed a fall of 7,000 from the previous quarter while other cities showed an increase, and has continued to fall to 250,200 (Annual Population Survey);
- House prices: compared to a Scottish increase of 5.3% between the first quarters of 2010 and 2009, the Glasgow increase was just 0.9%.

More positively, hotel room occupancy levels in the City Centre are at 83% (June 2010) compared with 79% in June 2008.

9.2. Further, Glasgow's occupational structure is weighted towards occupations that are vulnerable a contraction in consumer demand. 22.3% of the Glasgow residents in work were in sales & customer services and in personal services, compared to 17.6% in Scotland as a whole. On the other hand, more recent figures tell a different story, showing that Glasgow has been finding it more difficult to re-establish itself to pre-recession levels of activity. Further monitoring of these trends is required.

10. City Centre

10.1. The SIMD data shows several areas in and around the city centre that have moved out of the 1%-15% category, or moved from the 16%-50% to the 51%-100% category, or made other gains in their SIMD ranking. Part of this is the improvement in the City Centre itself, with the traditional boundaries of the M8 to the west and north, High Street to the east, and the river to the south.

10.2. In terms of population the City Centre is not particularly large: it comprises 12 datazones and holds 2.5% of the city's population, although it increased by 21.3% between 2001 and 2008, from 12,083 to 14,657. The working age population increased by 28.0% and the population aged 25-44 increased by 58.7%. During this time there have been some substantial reductions in deprivation although there is persistent deprivation in the Drygate tenements and flats, and in the tenemental housing between Caledonia University and the M8. This is offset by improvements in Garnethill and the wider Merchant City area.

10.3. Over this same period, there are signs that the City Centre has been expanding over the traditional boundaries. The main areas of expansion are

- Eastwards towards Dennistoun via Alexandra Parade, Duke Street and the Collegelands development;
- Northwards towards Speirs Wharf and the proposed cultural quarter;
- Westwards towards the West End and especially along and next to the four main road connections: Argyle St, Sauchiehall Street, Woodland Road and Great Western Road.

However the expansion is less obvious southwards, with the Clyde and the motorway system acting as barriers to further expansion in this direction. The expansion is associated with proximity to sources of employment in the traditional City Centre rather than with increases in the areas themselves.

10.4. This area of expansion is also associated with three additional factors, increases in

- Working age population, and especially the 25-44 age group: of the citywide increase in the working age population one in four was in this area; and the increase in the 25-44 age group was equivalent to the total increase in the city;

- Private rented sector: already high, and more than doubled in Dennistoun between 2001 and 2009 (from 688 to 1640) while substantially increasing in Yorkhill & Anderston (from 1,058 to 1,861);
- Ethnic minority population: unpublished data shows that the City Centre area has been one of a number of areas that has seen an increase in the ethnic minority population.

These factors are likely to have worked together. If this trend continues, the projection would be that the gains in these areas would be consolidated, with the city retaining a younger and possibly higher-educated part of the working-age population that would otherwise have left the city. This would be a positive aspect in terms of the city's capacity to attract and retain employers.

10.5. The main area to have benefitted from this is between the West End and the City Centre. The area appears to have attracted a younger age group, probably with a university background or connection, possibly priced out of the owner-occupied market but able to take on a tenancy in the private rented sector. The westward expansion stops at Whiteinch/Dumbarton Road next to Victoria Park even though the quality of the built environment does not appear to be a major factor. Improvements in North Kelvinside and Woodside may be a consequence of this. Although house prices in this area tend to be higher than the Glasgow median, their rate of increase has been lower in recent years.

10.6. This area is of interest because Strathclyde Regional Council's analysis of deprivation from the 1991 Census identified several priority areas in this area between the City Centre and the West End. These included parts of Anderston, Berkeley St (next to the Mitchell Library), Byres Rd/Chancellor St, East Woodlands, Garnethill and Hillhead; involving a total population of 10,793. Other areas of this type included Cowcaddens, Woodside/Firhill and Clouston St (total population 5,835). Other priority areas included Drumchapel, Castlemilk and Govan. In many other cities an area linked to higher education and close to the city centre would be expected to be relatively attractive. This was not the case in Glasgow and is a comment on the economic and demographic problems the city was still facing at that time.

11. Geography of Persistent Deprivation

11.1. There are 143 datazones that remained in the bottom 1%-5% in the 2004, 2006 and 2009 SIMDs. As this was a period of economic expansion that did not benefit these areas to a level sufficient for them to have moved out of deprivation, the likelihood of them moving during a recession is slim. The expectation is that these areas will remain in the bottom 1%-5% unless housing demolition and new build disperses this population and dilutes the level of deprivation. This is largely because the economic situation is unlikely to allow employability to remain as a route out of poverty. If this process continues then inequalities are likely to widen within the city, provided that other areas maintain or improve their ranking on the SIMD.

11.2. Restrictions in public expenditure will mean that services will be put under even more pressure to outline the anticipated outcomes of this investment. It may be useful for areas of persistent deprivation to classify further expenditure according to criteria such as

- Preventative: stopping an area becoming deprived, or from becoming even worse if already deprived;
- Ameliorative: dealing with the worst aspects of a deprived area to make improvements in the quality of life;
- Transformative: enabling an area, and the people within it, to move out of deprivation.

Activities under all three of these categories can be justified; but there may have been in the past a tendency to describe some activity that has been preventative or ameliorative as being transformative, and to raise expectations that the eventual outcomes cannot support, no matter how useful they may have been in a preventative or ameliorative way. This makes the case for continuing investment more difficult.

12. Change at a Local Level

12.1. The SIMD analysis also highlights several areas that have lost position on the SIMD rankings during a period of overall reductions in deprivation. This may be the result of displacement: a relative loss of position arising from adjacent developments. Examples of this include

- Area development: major investment in South Nitshill has occurred at the same time as the neighbouring area of Southpark Village has lost position on its SIMD rankings;
- House types: the popularity of some previously attractive low cost inter-war starter homes is being threatened by more modern low cost schemes, and areas with a high proportion of Western Heritable housing appear vulnerable;
- Ex-right to buy housing: areas of extensive right-to-buy with elderly population and/or owners unable or unwilling to maintain property may also lose popularity.

If the city is to retain the reduction in deprivation as measured by the SIMD, it has to ensure that reductions in one area are not offset by increases in another; otherwise the result is a zero-sum. Understanding the local dynamics between and within areas gives an early indication of situations where this can arise.

12.2. In the same way, it is possible to identify areas in Glasgow that could act as predictors of wider change in the city: the areas that one would expect to see improvements if Glasgow was reducing its share of overall Scotland deprivation. Alternatively, if these areas saw no change or even a worsening of conditions, it could reasonably be assumed that deprivation in the city was getting worse.

12.3. Areas of this type include

- Yoker, Scotstoun: combination of improving areas and successful medium-range owner-occupation adjacent to persistent deprivation;
- Sandyhills, Mount Vernon: isolated pocket of persistent deprivation among a wider area of more attractive housing;
- North Maryhill: large area of persistent deprivation that has received substantial levels of housing investment but which has within it pockets of good quality Victorian villas;
- Pollokshields East: one datazone of persistent deprivation adjoining two datazones that have been losing position;
- Govanhill: one datazone of persistent deprivation adjoining another datazone that has been losing position;
- Whiteinch: area of mixed housing type;
- Penilee: complex area including persistent deprivation, areas losing position and areas moving out of deprivation;
- Holmlea Road: not currently a deprived area, and not at risk of becoming one, but was considered vulnerable to deprivation in the 1991 Census deprivation analysis;
- Springburn: with persistent deprivation surrounded by areas of improvement.

Table 12.1 has the details of datazones and addresses. The situation of areas in and around the City Centre will also be included. Other areas, notably King's Park/Croftfoot, may also be included.

12.4. The common feature for these areas is that housing quality is not the major drawback to the areas – deprivation is more a socio-economic construct influenced more by the quality of the local infrastructure than the housing itself. This means that local services and local interventions may have a greater importance on local quality of life than in other areas; and a programme of early intervention may have a greater effect than elsewhere.

12.5. For these areas, the suggestion is that the small-scale dynamics of the areas are understood and that regular monitoring of these areas is carried out to establish if they are improving or deteriorating. The indicators used will include

- Demographics and population change by age group;
- Worklessness and JSA claimant levels;
- Housing and house price data;
- Indicators of the local economy as given by retail and non-domestic rate information;
- Any information on local service delivery.

In addition the 2011 census will provide a range of useful information.

13. Summary & Conclusions

13.1. The main conclusion to be drawn from this paper is that there are grounds for some cautious optimism that Glasgow can retain the gains it has made in reducing deprivation in the city. But this presupposes there is no sudden worsening in the economic situation facing the city. And the current economic situation means that the emphasis will be on holding the gains already made, rather than looking forward to further absolute reductions.

13.2. Further relative reductions may be possible, but only if deprivation increases in other parts of Scotland and Glasgow becomes less exposed to the effects of the recession as a result of the infrastructural improvements. But this will not be without costs; left to themselves the direction of travel for areas of persistent deprivation is that they are unlikely to see major reductions in deprivation. If this takes place while other areas improve, then socio-spatial inequalities will increase. And the effect of displacement needs to be considered to ensure that improvements in some areas are not offset by weaknesses in others.

13.3. The paper makes several comments where further monitoring is needed. These include

- ACG level: particularly the relative position of the South-East ACG;
- City Centre and surrounding area;
- Analysis of trends in key neighbourhoods.

The proposal is that, along with monitoring work already in place, more detailed work is undertaken to identify and monitor trends within the city, and a reporting system can be developed to highlight these changes to an appropriate audience.

13.4. It is recommended that

- The paper is circulated to partner organisations on their views on the content of this paper and the proposed way forward;
- Preliminary work takes place to provide more details on the areas and communities involved.

APPENDIX

Table 2.1: Change in Employee Jobs

	1998	2001	2004	2008	Change 98-08	
					No	%
Glasgow	347,243	387,722	393,768	413,497	66,254	19.1%
East Dunbartonshire	26,100	27,525	24,140	24,417	-1,683	-6.4%
East Renfrewshire	16,133	17,139	17,257	18,157	2,024	12.5%
Inverclyde	30,862	33,343	31,361	29,639	-1,223	-4.0%
North Lanarkshire	103,627	112,595	118,925	125,352	21,725	21.0%
Renfrewshire	83,589	79,802	74,015	80,738	-2,851	-3.4%
South Lanarkshire	105,343	113,005	118,039	121,010	15,667	14.9%
West Dunbartonshire	29,225	29,235	31,138	34,471	5,246	18.0%
Rest of Conurbation	394,879	412,654	414,875	433,784	38,905	9.9%
Scotland	2,161,902	2,299,821	2,339,979	2,420,441	258,539	12.0%

Source: Annual Business Inquiry, ONS

Table 2.2: Employment numbers

	Oct 2004-Sep 2005	Oct 2006-Sep 2007	Oct 2008-Sep 2009	Change Oct 2004-Sep 2005 to Oct 2008-Sep 2009	
				No	%
Glasgow	242,900	254,100	254,400	11,500	4.7
East Dunbartonshire	52,700	50,200	47,700	-5,000	-9.5
East Renfrewshire	44,800	41,600	39,500	-5,300	-11.8
Inverclyde	35,200	34,300	33,300	-1,900	-5.4
North Lanarkshire	141,800	149,600	149,000	7,200	5.1
Renfrewshire	77,700	79,300	77,300	-400	-0.5
South Lanarkshire	139,600	151,300	142,700	3,100	2.2
West Dunbartonshire	40,000	41,800	39,200	-800	-2.0
Rest of Conurbation	531,800	548,100	528,700	-3,100	-0.6
Scotland	2,333,400	2,427,100	2,393,300	59,900	2.6

Source: Annual Population Survey, ONS

Table 2.3: Employment Rate

	Oct 2004-Sep 2005	Oct 2006-Sep 2007	Oct 2008-Sep 2009	Change Oct 2004-Sep 2005 to Oct 2008-Sep 2009
Glasgow	65.3%	66.1%	65.3%	0.0%
East Dunbartonshire	79.8%	79.6%	76.5%	-4.1%
East Renfrewshire	79.5%	78.2%	75.0%	-5.7%
Inverclyde	70.3%	69.0%	67.6%	-3.8%
North Lanarkshire	71.0%	73.6%	73.2%	3.1%
Renfrewshire	74.3%	75.0%	73.3%	-1.3%
South Lanarkshire	73.8%	78.9%	74.3%	0.7%
West Dunbartonshire	70.1%	73.0%	69.0%	-1.6%
Rest of Conurbation	73.6%	75.7%	73.2%	-0.5%
Scotland	74.7%	75.9%	74.3%	-0.5%

Source: Annual Population Survey, ONS

Table 2.4: Worklessness

	1999	2001	2004	2009	Change 99-09
Glasgow	32.8%	30.9%	28.3%	26.0%	-20.8%
East Dunbartonshire	12.8%	12.3%	11.7%	12.2%	-5.0%
East Renfrewshire	12.8%	11.9%	11.9%	12.1%	-5.4%
Inverclyde	26.5%	25.7%	25.9%	24.5%	-7.5%
North Lanarkshire	25.9%	24.8%	23.2%	22.6%	-12.7%
Renfrewshire	21.5%	20.8%	20.1%	19.8%	-8.2%
South Lanarkshire	21.2%	20.5%	19.5%	19.3%	-8.9%
West Dunbartonshire	26.1%	25.3%	24.3%	24.3%	-6.9%
Rest of Conurbation	22.0%	21.1%	20.2%	19.9%	-9.2%
Scotland	19.4%	18.7%	18.2%	17.8%	-8.5%

For August each year; 2009 figure uses 2008 working-age population denominator
Source: ONS

Table 2.5: Size of the Working-Age Population

	2001	2004	2008	Change 2001-08	
				No	%
Glasgow	367,200	378,000	392,000	+24,800	+6.8%
East Dunbartonshire	66,200	64,600	62,900	-3,300	-5.0%
East Renfrewshire	53,800	53,600	52,900	-900	-1.7%
Inverclyde	51,400	50,800	49,800	-1,600	-3.1%
North Lanarkshire	202,400	203,600	204,500	+2,100	+1.0%
Renfrewshire	107,800	107,000	106,000	-1,800	-1.7%
South Lanarkshire	188,300	190,500	192,800	+4,500	+2.4%
West Dunbartonshire	57,500	57,500	57,100	-400	-0.7%
Rest of Conurbation	727,400	727,600	726,000	-1,400	-0.2%
Scotland	3,149,700	3,175,400	3,238,000	+88,300	+2.8%

Source: Mid-Year Estimates, ONS

Table 2.6: Size of the Population Aged 25-44

	2001	2004	2008	Change 2001-08	
				No	%
Glasgow	182,300	182,500	188,300	6,000	3.3%
East Dunbartonshire	29,100	26,400	23,600	-5,500	-18.9%
East Renfrewshire	24,500	22,700	20,200	-4,300	-17.6%
Inverclyde	23,800	22,200	20,100	-3,700	-15.5%
North Lanarkshire	97,400	94,500	91,200	-6,200	-6.4%
Renfrewshire	51,200	48,400	45,300	-5,900	-11.5%
South Lanarkshire	88,200	85,500	82,300	-5,900	-6.7%
West Dunbartonshire	27,100	25,400	24,100	-3,000	-11.1%
Rest of Conurbation	341,300	325,100	306,800	-34,500	-10.1%
Scotland	1,478,200	1,431,300	1,400,000	-78,200	-5.3%

Source: Mid-Year Estimates, ONS

Table 2.7: Size of the Population Aged 65+

	2001	2004	2008	Change 2001-08	
				No	%
Glasgow	90,700	87,100	82,500	-8,200	-9.0%
East Dunbartonshire	16,800	18,100	19,100	2,300	13.7%
East Renfrewshire	14,100	14,800	15,500	1,400	9.9%
Inverclyde	14,000	13,900	14,300	300	2.1%
North Lanarkshire	44,700	46,100	48,100	3,400	7.6%
Renfrewshire	26,600	27,100	27,800	1,200	4.5%
South Lanarkshire	46,100	48,000	50,700	4,600	10.0%
West Dunbartonshire	14,800	14,700	14,700	-100	-0.2%
Rest of Conurbation	177,100	182,700	190,200	13,100	7.4%
Scotland	807,200	826,500	856,500	49,300	6.1%

Source: Mid-Year Estimates, ONS

Table 3.1: Area Co-Ordination Group: Demographic Change

	Children	Aged 16-24	Aged 25-44	Older WAP	Pensionable	Total
East	-15.3%	11.8%	-4.0%	7.7%	-7.0%	-2.6%
North	-11.7%	11.8%	-1.0%	10.4%	-6.4%	-0.2%
South East	-8.1%	3.8%	2.3%	12.7%	-10.1%	0.4%
South West	-8.2%	18.6%	3.1%	12.7%	-10.6%	1.7%
West	-2.6%	-1.5%	13.8%	17.2%	-9.9%	4.9%
Glasgow	-9.4%	7.6%	3.3%	12.1%	-8.8%	1.0%

Source: ONS

Table 3.2: Area Co-Ordination Group: Change in Worklessness

	May 2001		May 2008		May 2009		2001-08	2001-09
	No	%	No	%	No	%	%	%
East	30,240	38.5%	23,830	29.5%	25,580	31.7%	-23.4%	-17.7%
North	21,995	34.6%	18,055	27.1%	18,905	28.3%	-21.7%	-18.2%
South East	17,520	27.0%	14,460	21.1%	15,565	22.8%	-21.9%	-15.6%
South West	22,560	32.0%	18,475	24.0%	19,930	25.9%	-25.0%	-19.1%
West	21,620	24.0%	18,790	18.9%	20,275	20.4%	-21.3%	-15.0%
Glasgow	113,935	31.0%	93,610	23.9%	100,255	25.6%	-22.9%	-17.4%

Source: ONS

Table 3.3: Area Co-Ordination Group: Change in House Quality

	Net change in no of houses 2003-08		% houses in DEFGH 2008		Change in DEFGH 2003-08	
East	+5.2%	3,237	12,820	19.7%	+2,659	+26.2%
North	+2.0%	985	10,455	20.7%	+1,407	+15.6%
South East	+1.1%	569	14,542	28.1%	+1,466	+11.2%
South West	+2.6%	1,433	14,124	25.1%	+2,539	+21.9%
West	+7.9%	5,532	33,085	43.7%	+5,379	+19.4%
Glasgow	+4.1%	11,756	85,026	28.4%	+13,450	+18.8%

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics

Table 8.1: Public Sector Employment

	2007		2008		Change 2007-08	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Glasgow	140,638	35.4	146,904	35.5	6,266	4.5
East Dunbartonshire	8,577	34.7	8,646	35.4	69	0.8
East Renfrewshire	8,240	44.4	7,994	44.0	-246	-3.0
Inverclyde	13,125	43.5	12,513	42.2	-612	-4.7
North Lanarkshire	41,074	32.1	41,117	32.8	43	0.1
Renfrewshire	25,642	32.1	25,879	32.1	237	0.9
South Lanarkshire	35,655	28.2	36,301	30.0	646	1.8
West Dunbartonshire	15,735	46.9	16,561	48.0	826	5.2
Rest of Conurbation	148,048	33.5	149,011	34.4	963	1.2
Scotland	834,997	34.7	834,429	34.8	-568	-0.1

Source: Annual Business Inquiry; jobs in health, education and public administration

Table 8.2: Projection of Area Population Aged 16-64

% 16-64	2008	2013	2018	2023	2028	2033	% Change
Glasgow	69.4	69.8	69.1	68.0	67.1	66.2	-4.6
East Dunbartonshire	63.5	62.5	60.8	58.0	54.6	52.3	-17.6
East Renfrewshire	62.5	62.0	60.8	58.5	55.3	52.9	-15.4
Inverclyde	64.8	63.7	61.5	59.0	56.0	53.6	-17.3
North Lanarkshire	65.8	64.7	63.3	61.8	60.3	58.5	-11.1
Renfrewshire	65.6	64.3	62.6	60.8	58.7	56.6	-13.7
South Lanarkshire	65.3	64.3	62.9	61.0	59.2	57.5	-11.9
West Dunbartonshire	65.9	65.1	63.3	61.1	59.3	57.4	-12.9
Rest of Conurbation	65.1	64.1	62.6	60.7	58.6	56.7	-12.9
Scotland	65.8	64.8	63.3	61.6	59.9	58.4	-11.2

Source: General Register Office for Scotland

Table 8.3: Projection of Area Population Aged 65+

% 65+	2008	2013	2018	2023	2028	2033	% Change
Glasgow	14.1	13.7	14.0	15.2	17.1	19.0	+34.8
East Dunbartonshire	18.2	20.5	22.8	25.7	29.3	32.0	+75.8
East Renfrewshire	17.5	19.3	21.0	23.4	26.5	28.9	+65.1
Inverclyde	17.6	19.3	21.4	24.0	27.9	31.4	+78.4
North Lanarkshire	14.8	16.1	17.5	19.3	21.4	23.7	+60.1
Renfrewshire	16.4	17.8	19.4	21.1	23.8	26.4	+61.0
South Lanarkshire	16.3	17.8	19.3	21.3	23.4	25.4	+55.8
West Dunbartonshire	16.1	17.2	18.6	20.7	23.3	25.9	+60.9
Rest of Conurbation	16.2	17.8	19.3	21.3	23.9	26.2	+61.7
Scotland	16.6	18.0	19.5	21.2	23.4	25.4	+53.0

Source: General Register Office for Scotland

Table 12.1: Outline of Neighbourhoods

Area	Datazone	Coverage	Reasons
Yoker, Scotstoun	S01003562	Earl Street	Isolated, consistently in bottom 1%-5% in spite of location adjacent to West End and owner-occupation in the Harefield Dr/Stronvar Dr area
Sandyhills, Mount Vernon	S01003246	Lochay St, Balbeggie St, Loch Achray St, Loch Laidon St	Isolated and consistently in bottom 1%-5%, different from similar areas in the East End that tend to be grouped together
North Maryhill	S01003650	Fingal St, Cumlodden Dr	Large area designated as a Transformational Regeneration Area but which has received substantial housing investment and was never considered as a SIP; all four areas have consistently been in the bottom 1%-5% even though there are pockets of good quality owner-occupation
	S01003663	Duncruin St, Fearnmore Rd	
	S01003665	Glenavon high flats	
	S01003673	Shiskine Dr, Ledgowan Pl, Lyndale Ave	
Pollokshields East	S01003256	Maxwell Ave, McCulloch St, St Andrew's Rd	Consistently in bottom 1%-5% and adjoining two datazones that have been losing position
	S01003220	Keir St	Both areas losing position: will they stop their slide or be influenced by adjacent area of persistent deprivation
	S01003227	Albert Cross	
Govanhill	S01003185	Calder St, Brereton St, Bennan Sq	Consistently in bottom 1%-5% and adjoining a datazones that has been losing position
	S01003174	Allison St, Daisy St	Losing position
Whiteinch	S01003480	Northinch St, Jordan St	Consistently in bottom 1%-5% and adjoining a datazones that has been losing position
	S01003518	Fore St, Scotstoun St, Methil St	Losing position
Penilee	S01003291	Penneld Rd, Hollybush Rd	Consistently in bottom 1%-5% but adjacent to three areas losing position, and two that have moved out of deprivation
	S01003325	Thurston Rd, Hartlaw Cres	Areas have been losing position, possibly displacement and at the expense of areas moving out of deprivation
	S01003345	Yair Rd, Gladsmuir Rd	
	S01003298	Hillington Rd S, Dryburn Ave	
	S01003344	West part around Corse Rd, Rylees Rd	Both areas have moved out of deprivation
	S01003350	East part around Clavens Rd, Barshaw Rd	
Holmlea Rd	S01003098	Around railway bridge and Clarkston Rd	Have never featured in the SIMD but were considered deprived in the 1991 census
	S01003108	Middle area around Holmlea Park, Orchy St	
	S01003116	Top end to Mount Florida, Brisbane St, Morley St	
Springburn	S01003565	Area East of Atlas Rd	To focus on two areas of persistent deprivation surrounded by areas of improvement
	S01003572	Junction of Campsie St and Edgefauld Rd	

Source: Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics and analysis