



From getting by to getting on

Women's employment and local
regeneration programmes

In partnership with



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RENEW Northwest is publishing a series of papers based on current good practice in regeneration. They aim to provide leaders and practitioners in the Northwest with accessible, evidence based summaries of 'what works' in order to inform their own activities. Compiled by a respected researcher in the field, their intention is to draw on current research to challenge practice and suggest new ways to build sustainable communities in the region.

Oxfam's ReGender project

Since 2002, Oxfam's ReGender project has been working with community activists, groups, practitioners, and policymakers across the UK to improve the lives of women and men by focusing on gender issues in regeneration programmes.

Starting at community level, Oxfam worked with local groups so they got involved in the regeneration of their areas. They spoke up to decision-makers to ensure action on women's needs and priorities.

ReGender now works with the voluntary and statutory sectors so regeneration practitioners can improve service delivery using a gender analysis. The project has also worked with regeneration training providers to include gender in core modules, and it advocates for gender guidelines to be used routinely for better, more effective regeneration.

Summary

What is happening to the poorest women in the labour market, and what can be done to help? This question is key to understanding why policies and projects for poor communities over the last three decades have not necessarily improved the economic wellbeing of many women, and economic growth in the Northwest has not benefited as it could from their potential. The issues are complex and interlocking, but the solutions are known and achievable.

Slow economic growth is a particular issue in the Northwest. There is increasing acceptance that greater economic output does not automatically benefit disadvantaged groups. The problem is not simply one of unemployment or economic activity, but also of low income. Employment does not necessarily provide an escape from poverty.

This report demonstrates that regeneration plans have not always met the employment needs of the poorest women. New jobs created through regeneration programmes have not always gone to local people, and women's economic inactivity rates in some deprived

wards increased between 1991 and 2001, even during a period of considerable job growth.

So what are the answers? Improved skills are not always the solution, as in deprived areas fewer women with qualifications are in paid work. Unemployed women in these communities feel their employment options are very limited.

This report draws on our study focusing on women's poverty¹ in six areas of high socio-economic disadvantage in England as part of the *Gender and Employment in Local Labour Markets* programme, and presents practical strategies for policymakers and practitioners. We also draw on two other studies in the programme, one focusing on economically inactive women² and the other on ethnic minority women³. The report also draws on Oxfam's experience working with poor women in deprived areas.

The scale of economic inactivity among women is a major challenge. Our study provided an insight into local labour markets where there has been considerable regeneration investment. We suggest practices to make it more likely that employment will reduce poverty.

'Unemployed women in these communities feel their employment options are very limited'



'Employment rates remain particularly low in Liverpool, Manchester, Knowsley and Blackburn'

In the Northwest, 69% of working age women are economically active, over half of whom work full-time.¹ While female full-time employment grew by 10% in the region from 1991-2002, faster than male full-time employment, it was from a low base. Most of the employment growth was in part-time work, concentrated in often poorly paid service sector jobs.

Added to this regional trend, local employment growth patterns varied between communities, and even where growth exceeded the national rate, economic disadvantage remained significant. Employment rates remain particularly low in Liverpool, Manchester, Knowsley and Blackburn⁴. Disadvantaged groups whose employment rates were well below the regional average include women from black and ethnic minority communities, lone parents, disabled women and women with no qualifications.

The research concludes that:

- Proactive labour market policies alongside regeneration investment would help change the economic position of many deprived communities;

- The complex needs of women in poor communities require sustained, integrated support services at neighbourhood level;
- Stronger links could be made between regeneration, welfare and labour market policies to benefit the poorest women;
- Listening to the needs of women trapped in low paid work or disengaged from the labour market would help regeneration and employment practitioners tackle the problems effectively;
- Longer-term strategies to strengthen labour market demand for high quality jobs, located in deprived communities, will help improve access to employment for the most deprived women.

The context

The scale of women's poverty

In comparison with surrounding areas, women living in deprived areas are:

- Less likely to be in full-time or part-time employment;
- Less likely to be in paid work if they are lone parents living in an area where job growth is relatively weak;
- More likely to work in unskilled and

semi-skilled jobs, and less likely to be in professional or managerial roles;

- Less likely to work either full-time or part-time if they have caring responsibilities;
- More likely to be unemployed or economically inactive;
- Much more likely to work closer to home, and prefer not to work outside their area;
- Two thirds of those receiving Income Support;
- Likely to experience high rates of limiting long-term illness and poor health.

Our data highlighted women's poverty as a serious concern in relation to the labour market. This came across strongly in interviews and focus groups:

*'Many women live on low incomes whether they are in work or not; if they are in paid work it tends to be low paid. People get by, but only just.'*ⁱⁱ

The impact on families has long-term and widespread results. The level of workless households in deprived neighbourhoods far exceeds district and regional averages, and in some areas accounts for almost half of all households.

Economic inactivity in poor areas

A key concern for regeneration practitioners is high unemployment and economic inactivity.ⁱⁱⁱ Unemployed people are available for work but unable to find it, while economically inactive people are not looking for or available for work. The difference is significant for women in that if they are caring for a household, or for others, they are classified as *economically inactive* and therefore neither counted as unemployed nor provided for by a range of job-finding programmes.

Data from deprived communities across England demonstrates that for both men and women, economic inactivity rates increased between 1991 and 2001 despite significant regeneration activity in some of those areas⁵. Some of the poorest women left the labour market altogether to care for families, due to a combination of the loss of local jobs and increased caring responsibilities.

By listening to women we found several reasons for these apparently low employment rates. Key factors included a lack of suitable and well-paid opportunities; inflexible working practices among many employers; the tax and benefits system; a lack of relevant qualifications;

'The level of workless households in deprived neighbourhoods far exceeds district and regional averages'



a lack of recent work experience, and breaks in employment; a lack of spoken English for some ethnic minority women; and the high cost and shortage of childcare.

Low incomes persist

Although women are at greater risk of poverty than men, statistics based on household income mask the problem. There is no official data about how income is shared, even though it is often very unequal⁶.

Nevertheless, recent data confirms that the problem of low household income is not improving. In 2005/06, some 12.7m people in the UK lived in households with less than 60% of the median income after housing costs. Between 2004/05 and 2005/06 the number of children in relative poverty rose to 3.8m (30%), as did the proportion of working-age parents in poverty (from 23% to 25%). Poverty rates for working-age adults without dependent children rose to 17.5%, the highest level since 1961⁷.

Low income is not confined to those who are unemployed or economically inactive.

Some 4.25m adults aged 22 to retirement were paid less than £6.50 per hour in 2006. Two thirds of these were women and half were part-time workers⁸. Women in poor communities are disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, where many feel economically isolated and are vulnerable to low wages, insecure work, and occupational segregation.

'Traditionally men would have worked full-time and women may have had a part-time job. This was the bedrock of employment, but it has gone.'

'There is a lot of hidden unemployment and a high proportion of low paid jobs. The industrial base has reduced and the area is more dependent on female employment, which tends to be low paid.'

Ethnic minority women

The research found unemployment rates for white British women are higher than the national rate in deprived wards, but that the position of many black and ethnic minority women in these areas is much worse.

Pakistani, Bangladeshi and black African women in particular who actively seek work suffer from high rates of unemployment, contrary to the myth that many do not want paid work. In the Northwest 19% of Bangladeshi women and 15% of Pakistani women are unemployed, compared with 4% of white women of working age. This has been highlighted by the Equal Opportunities Commission's investigation into ethnic minority women in the labour market⁹.

'If they actually listened they would find that we don't want to be unemployed, we don't want to sit inside. We all have brains, we all have ambitions, but after a while you go there and they look at you and it starts to make you feel like, 'What's the point, I'm useless' – that's why a lot of people get depression who sign on.'

Some ethnic minority women feel their early negative experiences continue to hamper their progress throughout their lives. In some localities new migrants, including refugees, face high levels of deprivation, exacerbated by language barriers.

Qualifications don't guarantee work

Over one in five working age women in the Northwest have no qualifications. This reduces their job prospects. But qualifications do not guarantee employment, as fewer women with qualifications living in deprived areas are in paid work.

'I don't think the area is expected to be aspirational. You get everyone talking about basic skills – skills needed for low paid, low quality jobs. It's all about getting them a job, and not about the type of job.'

Our study shows that many women want to work, but that it is not just an economic decision. Household pressures, including care responsibilities and lack of affordable services, are also important. In the Northwest almost half the women who are economically inactive are looking after their home and family, a far higher rate than for men.

Flexibility is a key dimension to women's employment. However, over two thirds of working women and four in five working men in the Northwest have no flexibility in their working arrangements¹⁰.

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'Women in poor communities are disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs'

Disabled women

Disability is a powerful poverty indicator. This is an under-researched area, but we know disabled women live disproportionately in poorer communities¹¹ and in poor households.

Research has also shown that while 'government and disabled people see paid work as the best route out of poverty and social exclusion, disabled people are less likely than their non-disabled peers to take up or retain paid employment, and more likely to occupy poorly-paid, low-status jobs. Disabled women often fare worse than both disabled men and non-disabled women'¹².

Linking up regeneration and labour market strategies

Regeneration programmes have a significant part to play in creating a more productive regional economy. Investment has helped develop community infrastructure and the physical environment in many deprived areas, but the economic and employment gains are sometimes less obvious. The value of gender equality measures in increasing productivity

is also seldom recognised. A report for the North West Regional Assembly estimated that if inequalities for women were eliminated, regional earnings would increase dramatically. The impact of women reaching equivalence with the occupational and earnings profile of men would raise regional earnings by almost a third, a sum of £16bn¹³.

We also found that new jobs created through regeneration programmes do not automatically go to local people. Many new jobs taken up by women are low-paid and concentrated in the service sector; finance, banking and insurance, public administration and distribution, hotels and restaurants.

While there are increasing numbers of women in the labour market, there are key differences in labour demand according to age, ethnicity and location. The changing employment structure favours the highly skilled but disadvantages the unskilled or 'wrongly skilled'.

At the same time skills shortages are often reported, highlighting a clear mismatch between employers' needs and the employment needs of the local community.

This shows that the skills and employment agenda should be better integrated with regeneration and equalities policies. Unless there are coherent, locally relevant and strategic employment plans, economic underperformance will continue.

Women in the regeneration sector

Many women act as volunteers in community organisations. Such experience can help them into employment. However, the regeneration sector has a poor record. While over £24bn a year of public money is spent in the Northwest on regeneration and economic renewal, and more than 15,000 people work in this sector, there is a serious lack of diversity in decision-making¹⁴:

- Local residents are still under-represented on regeneration boards and are unable to access career opportunities, despite their active involvement at community level¹⁵;
- Ethnic minority groups are poorly represented in the regeneration sector. They face perception-based barriers to entering and progressing in the professions;
- Even when women attend regeneration

meetings, the proceedings are often not accessible. The Oxfam ReGender project has produced a manual, *Into the Lion's Den*, which helps women at community level to understand and join in decision-making processes.

Gender – the missing dimension

Women have seldom been considered when economic and employment initiatives have looked at vulnerable or diverse groups. Ignoring the differences experienced by women and minority groups in accessing the labour market can result in unequal social and economic benefits, as well as unequal access to resources. Baseline data, and the systems used to evaluate schemes, are not gender sensitive. Existing data often counts households, not women.

Our analysis of regeneration policies, delivery plans, and economic and employment targets showed that the gender dimension was missing. Issues have often been problem-based, where policies directed at women tend to focus on lone parents and teenage pregnancy rather than being for women in general.

'Disabled women live disproportionately in poorer communities and poor households'



'Women have seldom been considered when economic and employment initiatives have looked at vulnerable or diverse groups'

The quality of jobs

The quality of new jobs created through regeneration schemes is often overlooked. Women living in deprived areas often feel there are few permanent jobs, and limited opportunities for high quality, part-time work. In their view, local companies do not encourage family friendly policies, such as job sharing and term-time only working.

New opportunities for women

Employment is more sustainable when training and support is provided by the employer. More flexible, but supported, routes into work involving workplace crèches and child-friendly hours are popular, as the example below explains.

'The opportunity for women to start businesses needs to be supported by childcare'

The opportunity for women to start businesses, often promoted as a way of improving job prospects, needs to be supported by business development funding, childcare and help with skills in marketing and customer services. Self-employment can be an attractive option for women who may also wish to work from home, but is often overlooked in labour market initiatives. However, the poorest women have few assets, so it is hard to access essential capital¹⁵. In some areas, such as Somerset, plans for local community businesses and projects have been promoted through credit unions, while local authorities and voluntary organisations have established business starter units.

Regeneration investment and labour market inequality

Regeneration programmes should consider the barriers to women's engagement in the labour market, the gender pay gap, and low pay. This involves a better understanding of the needs of different groups of women in different communities.

Linking labour supply and demand

The Southwark Works approach in south London is starting to link labour supply and demand in a number of workplaces. Advisers and their clients are supported by an employer liaison officer who talks to employers about their vacancies and then matches them to local jobseekers who meet their requirements. Financial help is provided for candidates, such as a clothing allowance, travel costs and childcare. When a person is taken on, both the employer and the employee are offered support during the settling in period.

Responding to difference in location

Our study found that access to improved labour market opportunities varied according to location. Five sets of circumstances can be identified in the Northwest, each requiring different policy interventions.

1. Even in areas where there has been major job growth, the research found that women's poverty persists.

2. Where the only accessible job opportunities for women are concentrated in low paying occupations, concentrations of deprivation are likely to continue.

3. There are particular labour market problems for women in more dispersed and rural communities where the major employers are in sectors such as tourism, agriculture, and care, offering low paid and seasonal work.

4. Some communities have not yet recovered from long-term job losses in traditional industries. New jobs have been created in these areas, but many residents, including well-qualified women, are often excluded from them.

5. The stigma of living in a deprived area can have a detrimental impact on the job prospects of people living there.

Potential for greater wellbeing

Being out of work is often psychologically damaging. In poor households, where women are highly dependent on their own low income or a partner's, self-esteem and aspirations can be low. Promoting women's opportunities can help raise aspirations among their families and neighbourhoods, and improve health and wellbeing.

Working with communities

Higher quality employment, supported by training and better pay, is a key priority for disadvantaged communities in the Northwest. Some employers have developed outreach work to attract staff from under-represented groups, and to help those in low-paid posts progress into better-paid work.

A better work-life balance

Trade union and adult learning projects have promoted a better work-life balance for employees, including support with care needs and flexible shift patterns. This can be highly beneficial to employer and employee, and especially women, who do the most caring.

'There are particular labour market problems for women in more dispersed and rural communities'



'A clearer understanding is required of the education and training needs of different groups of women in deprived areas'

Several local authorities, such as Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council and Newcastle City Council, have promoted schemes to achieve a better work-life balance for employees in care services, where service users need 24 hour personal care. Shift patterns are organised to allow parents to work either early or late shifts so that they can take their children to school and collect them. Staff who work weekends have several days off during the week. Promoting such jobs in the community, and providing progression routes to higher level jobs, is considered a crucial part of a longer term strategy to attract more staff.

Building stronger neighbourhoods

Achieving sustainable communities is a key concern for policymakers and practitioners, and this includes greater participation by women in the labour market. Local understanding is essential to future strategies supporting women into employment.

A major challenge in the Northwest is to overcome the problems women living in poor communities face in accessing employment.

Our key recommendations include:

1. Create higher paid and more flexible working

In some areas low wages and inflexible working practices disadvantage women. New approaches to in-work skills and training, job redesign for genuine flexible working, and better part-time opportunities are needed.

Some public sector agencies, which are the largest employers in many localities, have taken on this challenge. Recruitment of local people has also been trialled by private retailers in areas of high deprivation, such as Morrisons in east Newcastle, and needs to become more commonplace in local regeneration schemes. However, family-friendly working arrangements need to be driven up the pay scale if women are not to be trapped in lower-paid jobs.

2. Raise qualification levels for women

A clearer understanding is required of the education and training needs of different groups of women in deprived areas. The following should be considered:

- Support for younger women, who tend to be better qualified, but often fail to realise their potential in the workplace;

- Education and training services to provide stepping stones and options which may be more appropriate for older women;
- More community resources and easier access to adult education, colleges and university centres, situated locally if possible and supported by childcare;
- Family based learning in schools led by adult education providers;
- Support tailored to the needs of economically inactive women from diverse ethnic minority backgrounds;
- Local education, health services and community projects could offer opportunities for women returning to work.

3. Link the workplace with community learning

Funding and service delivery need to be organised to support community provision, where peers and mentors work closely with women. Local facilities supporting women into education and work over a long period have been successfully tested in several areas.

The Learning@Brinkburn project at the old Byker Library in Newcastle upon Tyne, for example, is a drop-in centre for the

community, as well as a resource for council staff living in the area. It uses UK Online services supported by TUC LearnDirect. This model, supported by Unison, draws together funds to combine and promote work-based and community-based learning. Council manual workers receive advice and guidance and access to free IT courses. Part-time women workers from sectors such as homecare have used these services, and staff progressing to NVQ qualifications have received support.

4. Give better advice on employment, benefits and careers

'They forget the journey to developing skills. Some people will take longer, and then getting into jobs depends on what is available.'

Many women are confused about employment options and the benefits system, and require better and more tailored advice from Jobcentre Plus and local colleagues. Sustained, integrated support services are needed, which operate more effectively at neighbourhood level, and address the complexity of needs of the poorest women.

'Local education, health services and community projects could offer opportunities for women returning to work'



'If there isn't affordable childcare, why bother working if the quality of jobs is poor?'

The EDAS (Education, Development and Advisory Service) Foundation, based in Handsworth, Birmingham, whose clients are mainly ethnic minority women, works closely with the community to attract women who may have limited qualifications. EDAS helps local women obtain skills and gain confidence to seek employment and training, while providing advice on home life which is sensitive to their cultural backgrounds. Interpreters help clients progress to training in IT skills, for example.

5. Listen to women

Listening carefully to the experiences of women living on low incomes and seeking to access education and employment should inform the government's Sustainable Communities Plan¹⁶.

6. Promote affordable childcare

The cost and availability of care for children of all ages is a burden which falls mainly on women and is often prohibitively expensive for those in low paid and part-time occupations.

'If there isn't affordable childcare, why bother working, if the quality of jobs is poor?'

Childcare provision is patchy for school age children. School holidays pose a major problem for women in paid work.

7. Location matters

Women use local services and the built environment differently from men¹⁷. Travel to work patterns, the location of nurseries and schools, and limited access to a car can put labour markets out of reach.

Proximity to work is particularly important for women with care responsibilities. A local survey by the Beacon Women's Network in East Manchester found it was hard for women to access local job opportunities. They rely on public transport more than men, and bus routes went into the city centre rather than round the estates where they lived. To take up work opportunities, women needed public transport to drop off their children and do their shopping, as well as transport to work¹⁸.

8. Focus on the services women use

Participants in Oxfam's Get Heard project¹⁹ wanted services to be more carefully tailored and flexible enough to fit local needs. They

want more and clearer information when services expand or close. The most effective support (pre-employment preparation, mentoring and funding for childcare) often involves combined service delivery in residential areas, as in Family Centres.

'One-stop shops would help – services in a centre with workshops and a crèche where people can say what they need.'

'Instead of people who don't necessarily have the means to traipse from one agency to the next coming to these locations, the agencies traipse to them, which is a much more effective model.'

Family learning projects have attracted mothers living in deprived neighbourhoods, helping them overcome their anxieties about job opportunities.

Family Centres

Sure Start has developed a range of services for families which go beyond childcare. Women on the Sydenham Estate in Bridgwater, Somerset, felt the Family Centre model allowed services to be more

responsive to local needs. Participants are involved in educational activities while their children are cared for on the premises. The co-location of services enabled more targeted work with those who have traditionally been socially excluded. Some built their confidence through voluntary work at the Family Centre.

Best practice approaches

Broader economic policies in the Northwest are starting to consider gender differences, but local employment distinctions between women and men remain largely unexplored. Strategic approaches are required which appreciate the distinctions between men and women, and between women because of age, ethnicity or disability.

The importance of leadership

Leaders and policymakers could usefully ask:

- Do we understand the reasons for differences and underlying inequalities?
- Do we know how women's labour market participation varies between localities?

'Participants are involved in educational activities while their children are cared for on the premises'



'Staff should be trained to recognise women's different needs at different life stages and develop strategies accordingly'



- Do we know what impact labour market projects have on different groups of women?
- Do we have the evidence locally to identify the employment situation of different groups of women?
- If not, could we analyse statistics and trends disaggregated by gender, age, ethnicity and disability to get the evidence?
- How do we integrate our understanding into policy and economic investment?
- Do we have the equality and diversity know-how to put policy into action?

Overcoming labour market barriers

Regeneration practitioners could help open up local labour markets by improving information on education, training, childcare support and employment initiatives, using a range of media in community venues. Employment projects could bring together training, childcare, and work experience, supported by effective local services.

The needs of different groups of women could be better distinguished, to understand their relative distance from the labour market: women who have qualifications, but need targeted support; women who wish to

enter the labour market but have insufficient qualifications and experience; and women who require services such as education and childcare and more intensive support over a longer period.

Staff should be trained to recognise women's different needs at different life stages and develop strategies accordingly.

Supporting women into employment

Employment scheme managers working for local authorities, Jobcentre Plus and other agencies could help make local labour market programmes more effective by supporting women with subsidies for care, transport and budgeting advice; investing in pre-school, after-school and holiday care services to enable women to take up jobs; and building on good practice in employment, school based and family learning projects.

New approaches for regeneration staff

Women in deprived neighbourhoods need approaches which establish explicit employment targets for public and private sector schemes, designed to enhance job

opportunities for local residents; ensure gender equality is taken into account in commissioning regeneration programmes; and routinely include gender impact assessment to identify the potential effects on the poorest women. Planning legislation, including Section 106^v agreements, should be used to facilitate local labour agreements.

Labour market activity

Regeneration agencies should:

- Promote projects to ensure employment is directly related to wider labour market opportunities;
- Maintain employment sites in areas of physical regeneration and housing redevelopment to ensure a mixed community that offers work, housing and local services.

Delivery of local employment schemes

Regeneration and labour market initiatives should ensure differences between the position of men and women are reflected in project delivery. This requires better coordination, linked to more strategic funding, between local labour market initiatives and welfare services for women in deprived areas.

Statistical evidence and qualitative information about local residents and workers should be used to maintain and improve the understanding of deprived neighbourhoods. Baseline data and project delivery targets should be identified in terms of their specific impact on women and men.

Monitoring and evaluation measures should directly address women's poverty.

Suggestions for local employers

- Look at measures to address job flexibility, hours, and in-house training;
- Support initiatives for more part-time employment at higher rates of pay;
- Public sector bodies should review their role and employment strategies;
- Provide long-term resources and develop projects that will support women in non-traditional and higher paying sectors;
- Develop new ways of advertising and recruiting for jobs locally.

Qualifications, skills and advice

Action should be taken to address the low levels of formal qualifications among women in the region. Women returning to work

'Monitoring and evaluation measures should directly address women's poverty'

'Young women need targeted education, skills initiatives, and apprenticeship schemes'



need clearer guidance on training options, support in applying for jobs, and confidence building for job interviews. Young women need targeted education, skills initiatives, and apprenticeship schemes. Ethnic minority women require further ESOL provision (English for speakers of other languages) as a stepping stone to training and employment. Employment services should ensure their advice is not gender-stereotyped.

Post-19 careers advice should target the needs of women of different ethnicities, ages and care responsibilities. Support should include clearly planned work experience schemes, including placements. Help for women returners should build on their previous employment and experience through access courses and job-related schemes.

Work-based and community-based learning models should be linked, and women should be encouraged to consider access courses and degree level qualifications. Bursaries and other financial support could help targeted groups access further and higher education, while voluntary work and community involvement should be accredited for use

in job applications and CVs. Women with overseas qualifications need relevant advice on employment options.

In-work benefits and incentives

Financial barriers to work are a central concern for many women. The tax and benefits system needs to be simpler and more flexible. Regional and local agencies, including Jobcentre Plus, need to improve their information and advice for women -and encourage greater take-up of tax credits. Community-based services should be introduced to help households facing a benefits trap.

Job Centre monitoring data should be analysed by gender and ethnicity to assess initiatives' gender equality impact. This data collection is a national requirement, but it is not analysed at regional or local level.

Central government should introduce better financial incentives for women returning to work and improve in-work incentives through the tax credit system; and develop greater flexibility in the benefits system for women moving into work or taking a break from employment.

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Notes

- Data on the Northwest region's employment are from the 2001 Census except where specified.
- All quotes are from interviews with local organisations or from focus groups undertaken in six localities across England.
- Economically inactive people include students, people looking after their home or family full-time, people not in paid work because of long-term sickness or disability, those who have retired, and those seeking work but not available in the next two weeks.
- Evidence from the Oxfam ReGender project evaluation, 2004
- Planning obligations (often termed 'Section 106 agreements') are an established mechanism for including 'social requirements' in a development proposal (DCLG, 2006)

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