

# There goes the neighbourhood: the malign effects of stigma

Deborah Warr  
Centre for Health & Society  
University of Melbourne  
Email: djwarr@unimelb.edu.au

## ABSTRACT

The spatial distribution of poverty is historically uneven and concentrates in particular neighbourhoods that become easily identified as disadvantaged, and frequently subjected to stigmatisation. Despite some familiarity in the ways in which stigmatised neighbourhoods may be experienced by insiders or recognised by outsiders, the processes through which contemporary experiences of stigmatisation are being reworked within the conditions of post-industrial societies. It is critical to understand how contemporary processes of stigmatisation are embedded in changing economic and social circumstances and the implications of this for the opportunities and constraints that are presented to the residents of such neighbourhoods. Loic Wacquant argues that macro economic, political, social and spatial dynamics are transforming collective and individual experiences of poverty and disadvantage. This paper is largely concerned with the implications of the spatial dynamic that is serving to concentrate and intensify the stigmatisation of poverty. The resulting demonisation of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and suburbs can unfairly represent the reality of everyday life for residents but its consequences are likely to be far-reaching. The stigmatisation of neighbourhoods undermines the self-confidence of residents, limits the possibilities for collective action and cements conditions that generate disadvantage and social exclusion. This paper explores these issues by exploring links between theoretical, experiential and outsider accounts. Insider accounts are taken from interview data collected from residents living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and 'outsider' accounts have been collected from newspaper and other sources.

## INTRODUCTION

A resident of a gentrified inner-urban Melbourne suburb was expressing vehement opposition to having higher levels of 'affordable housing' (a euphemism for public housing) located in her comfortable and well-serviced neighbourhood. Her objection, she explained, was 'the sort of people who live in affordable housing are generally not the sort of people who sit out in the street, drinking coffee and eating bacon and eggs on a Saturday or Sunday morning' (Khadem, 2004). It offers a telling, and shocking, into social relations in late capitalism. It is telling because it suggests some of the ways in which attachments to, and experiences of, community are being transformed. Eating in local cafes and merely sharing sites for individualised consumption is a way of experiencing community, albeit an attenuated version. It is shocking because the poor are not even permitted vicarious enjoyment of these vibrant inner city neighbourhoods – as 'flawed consumers' (Bauman, 1998) they are clearly unwanted.

Just as markets are lured to the neighbourhoods where people live who have the capacity to consume a range of goods and services, they tend to avoid the neighbourhoods where poor people live (Forrest and Kearns, 1999). These neighbourhoods are enduring the ravages of disinvestment as shops and facilities close down. Jobs have dried up and real estate markets are sluggish. The rich and poor inhabit the same globalising culture, but they increasingly live further apart from each

other in different places with starkly contrasting environments, opportunities and constraints (Bauman, 2000). These transforming cultural, social and economic conditions are critical contexts for understanding contemporary processes of social stigmatisation. It has long been noted that poverty is vulnerable to being stigmatised and the consequences of this stigma are to harden social and economic divisions (Waxman, 1983). Of great concern are the ways in which the spatial patterning of socio-economic inequalities is acquiring distinctive characteristics, and how the social stigmatisation of poverty is pushing these processes.

Increasingly, poor neighbourhoods tend to be largely ignored until something goes terribly wrong. This was the case for Macquarie Fields when some of the residents rioted following the deaths of two young local men when a stolen collided with a tree while being pursued by police. Similar to the displays of collective grief and anger after the death of a young Aboriginal boy in Redfern who was also at the time being pursued by police, the boys' deaths brought fomenting anger to the surface, and analyses of the riots that appeared in the media predictably reflected a range of compassionate and condemnatory responses. Welfare groups warned that the outbursts were the result of accumulating experiences of prejudice, persecution, and economic and social disaffiliation. Referring to Macquarie Fields, the -premier, Bob Carr, pointed out that not everyone that lives in public housing estates engages in unruly, disruptive and illegal behaviour, thus proving that the rioters were 'not disadvantaged, just bad'. The events roused a powerful display of social solidarity among the residents, although 'insiders' themselves appeared uncertain and ambivalent in their experiences of the neighbourhood, and some of the young people involved in the riots were reported to be wearing t-shirts that read 'I wish I was anywhere but here' (Stapleton & McDonald 2005).

The events served up dramatic, and surprisingly rare, glimpses into communities and neighbourhoods that outsiders seldom visit. In different ways, images of insurrection, anger and impoverishment, viewed with solicitous concern or prurient curiosity, reflect ongoing processes through which the stigmatisation of neighbourhoods where the poor live is vested, sustained and reinforced. The troubling images of collective disobedience will inevitably compound the problems that beleaguer poor neighbourhoods. When vulnerable neighbourhoods are given unwelcome and negative press coverage, they become 'peculiarly stigmatised' (Hastings, 2004:233), such as was evident in the lurid portrayals of the people of Moe, a socio-economically disadvantaged rural town in Victoria where a child was murdered in macabre circumstances. Headlines such as 'Abuse linked to problem suburbs' (Farouque, 2004) and 'The class that failed' (Macdonald, 2005) aren't responsible for instigating the stigmatisation of the neighbourhoods that were under the spotlight, but the press coverage certainly aggravated negative perceptions of the suburbs, and impelled outsiders to preserve social distance. Negative media attention amplifies and cements the quotidian prejudices that are experienced by people living in 'discredited' neighbourhoods (Warr, 2005, Lupton, 2004, Dean and Hastings, 2000, Campbell and Gillies, 2001).

Social or public housing is particularly vulnerable to being stigmatised, a phenomena that is frequently noted in qualitative research undertaken in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but rarely examined in detail (Hastings, 2004). Cattell (2001) found that a stigmatised reputation had widespread and detrimental effects on intra- and extra-neighbourhood social networks. Neighbourhood stigma generated conditions for personal isolation inside the neighbourhood, limited bridging networks with people outside the neighbourhood, restricted flows of information and constrained co-operative action at the local level (Cattell, 2001, see also Warr, 2005). While the impact of stigma is plainly evident, less attention is paid to processes of stigmatisation and this results in limited understanding of how to effectively intervene to alleviate its negative consequences of contracted opportunities, attenuated social networks, and diminished self-esteem (Warr, 2005, Lupton, 2004, Dean and Hastings, 2000).

Neighbourhood regeneration and renewal efforts tend to assume that the stigmatisation of impoverished neighbourhoods will be relieved as an effect of improving and upgrading housing stock, or supporting community-based participation among residents (Hastings, 2004). These assumptions are unwarranted for two compelling reasons. Firstly, evidence that neighbourhood stigma persists despite renewal efforts. Hastings (2004) and Dean (2000) therefore argue that greater effort must be directed to actively challenging stigmatising images of vulnerable neighbourhoods. Secondly, macro economic and social processes are transforming socio-spatial relationships between the non-poor and the poor in contemporary post-industrial societies in ways that are likely to further intensify processes of stigmatisation. Limited understanding of the relationship between macro processes that are generating conditions for relationships between the non-poor and poor in post-industrial societies, and the ways in which these contexts influence local processes, curtails the effectiveness of neighbourhood renewal and social policy efforts to ameliorate the pernicious effects of neighbourhood stigma.

### **ATTRIBUTING THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY**

The ramifications of protracted and concentrated experiences of poverty are characteristically conceptualised in three broad ways, and with attendant implications for the ways in which the poor are vulnerable to being stigmatised. Hastings and Dean (2004) identify pathological, structural and 'the area effects' approaches that focus, respectively, on micro-level phenomena, macro-structural conditions or combined analyses that consider the interrelationship of macro, local and household-level factors. Pathological explanations argue that entrenched experiences of poverty and disaffiliation are generating social and cultural forms that are increasingly disengaged from mainstream values. This explanation draws on concepts of an 'underclass', a group of people whose experiences position them largely outside 'mainstream' society. This explanation tends to conceptualise radical disjuncture between mainstream and impoverished neighbourhoods, and to indict a culture of poverty that fosters personal culpability. In 'pathological' explanations of the effects of poverty, stigma is a collective response to the anti-social behaviour and self-defeating attitudes of the disenfranchised. The pathology of poverty is explicit in Bob Carr's portrayal of the rioters at Macquarie Fields as simply 'bad'.

The problem with pathological explanations is that they draw on a concept (the underclass) that has little explanatory traction because the concept itself is defined by the characteristics that are assigned to it, rather than the processes through which the experiences it references are created (Crompton, 1998). Further, and more importantly, qualitative work undertaken in disadvantaged neighbourhoods consistently finds little evidence to support views that residents are disconnected from mainstream values, aspirations or behaviours (Warr, 2005, Lupton, 2004, Peel, 2003, McDonald, 1999). Rather, experiences of social disconnection are more feasibly traced to structural difficulties in sustaining economic and social integration outside of paid employment, establishing and maintaining inter-neighbourhood networks in the face of neighbourhood stigmatisation, and pressures that put stress on intra-neighbourhood networks (Warr, 2005, Lupton, 2004).

In contrast to pathological explanations, structural explanations gesture towards the ways in which high levels of unemployment, family breakdown and other issues are fraying personal and social life in impoverished neighbourhoods. Problematic behaviour and attitudes are understandable given the difficulties that people are enduring and government responses need to tackle these macro causes. Structural approaches can be insensitive to the interactions between macro conditions and local contexts, and offer limited insight for addressing specific sites and experiences of disadvantage. 'Area effects' explanations are similarly concerned with structural processes but link broad economic and social contexts to local and micro-level analyses. 'Area-effects' approaches generate nuanced explanations of the complexity of factors as they are manifested in particular settings. For example, Lupton's (2004) analysis of 12 impoverished neighbourhoods in the UK

draws out important similarities, as well as critical differences. Some areas were classified as neighbourhoods of primary deprivation because they were poor from the start, while others are experiencing 'secondary deprivation' because of ensuing social and economic decline. Depending upon housing stock and other local circumstances some disadvantaged neighbourhoods experience resurgence through processes of gentrification. All impoverished neighbourhoods have in common the fact that they are home to a relatively high proportion of low income households, but area-level analyses outline notable divergences in the historical processes, current contexts and future trajectories of such neighbourhoods.

It is also important to understand how the stigmatisation of neighbourhoods is experienced and reflexively interpreted by neighbourhood 'insiders' as well as external actors. The latter have varied and critical roles in shaping and disseminating views of particular neighbourhoods. I have already noted the influence of the press in shaping common perceptions of neighbourhoods, and other external actors include residents of other neighbourhoods, service providers, researchers, and others. The subjective accounts of insiders living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and outsiders further need to be positioned within analyses of macro economic and social changes that are transforming social and spatial relations between the poor and non-poor. This presents us with complex sets of issues to be explored in the remainder of this paper. The next section presents key theoretical perspectives that explain macro social and economic changes that are reworking conditions of class in post-industrial societies. These theoretical and conceptual insights are then applied to consider processes of neighbourhood stigmatisation and possibilities for how it can be challenged and defused.

## **TRANSFORMING STRUCTURES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE**

There is broad agreement that, since the 1970s, capitalism has undergone profound reorganisation, with particularly unsettling consequences for the working class. Lash & Urry (1987) characterise the reworking of capitalism as a shift from 'organised' to 'disorganised' capitalism'. In organised capitalism, class relations were structured through one's relationship to production, and centralised in forms of working class organisation in unions. In contrast, disorganised capitalism is orientated to global flows of capital, information and consumption, de-centralised and characterised by one's relationship to consumption (Bauman, 1998, Kumar, 1995, Lash and Urry, 1994, Lash and Urry, 1987). Disorganised capitalism delivers patently uneven social and economic consequences, is driving the diminution of the working classes and, in related processes, the attenuation of distinctive forms of working class culture (Lash, 1990). At the same, the professional and managerial service classes have swelled (Lash and Urry, 1994, Crompton, 1998, Lash and Urry, 1987). These combined forces are generating new social relations in what has been described as 'two-thirds' societies. Previous structures of social stratification and social division in industrial capitalism are being revised in 'two-thirds' societies which have an expanding service class of professionals and managers (and owner capitalists), a diminished working class and an proportionally large 'excluded third', which is the new lower class (Lash and Urry, 1994). The new lower class is the result of the downward mobility of large sections of the working class in the wake of post-industrialisation, economic vulnerability associated with experiences of migration, and the encroaching uncertainty, casualisation and deregulation of low skilled and unskilled forms of labour (Lash and Urry, 1994).

In addition to analyses of class relations, non-economic forces are increasingly relevant for explaining the social patterning of inequality (Bradley, 1996). These include the structural constraints of gender, ethnicity and age. Extant circumstances of gender, together with economic and social changes that have heightened the instability of traditional family households (Stacey, 1990) have brought about relatively high numbers of sole parent households that are disproportionately headed by women. Global flows of migration are prompted through trans-national economic inequalities, and experiences of resettlement are potent sources of socio-

economic vulnerability in 'first-world', post-industrial economies. A further, and increasing significant, structural constraint that is emerging in 'two-thirds' societies is socio-spatial polarisation that is being effected through this reorganisation of social and class relations.

The perils of socio-spatial polarisation have been forcefully outlined by Waquant (1999). He argues that global restructuring of capitalism is generating new experiences 'urban marginality' that has relational and material aspects. Poverty in industrial capitalism was either residual (confined to small numbers of the unemployable) or cyclical and scattered within and across cities and suburbs. Crucially, poverty was mollified through economic growth, the rewards of which could more reliably be depended upon to flow through to, and enrich, all social strata (Waquant, 1999). As Lipietz (1998:178) puts it:

There were a few poor people, a few rich people and huge waged middle class, all of them growing richer together ... higher classes, middle classes, popular classes, each successively reached similar consumption patterns, which rose along similar trajectories but were lagging after each other in time.

In restructured capitalism, economic growth is no longer guaranteed to trickle through with generalised benefit. Worse still, it is likely to entrench the positions of those in the 'excluded third' (Wacquant 1996). He outlines four macro economic, political, social and spatial dynamics that are profoundly transforming collective and individual experiences of poverty and disadvantage: widening social inequality; changes in the structure of wage labour (decreasing forms of [especially] blue-collar labour, and degradation in the conditions of remaining jobs), the reconstruction of welfare states, and the concentration and stigmatisation of poverty (Wacquant 1996). These structural logics are inter-connected, however, it is the fourth logic, what he (1996:1643-4) calls 'the spatial dynamic' which is most germane to the issue of neighbourhood stigma.

Wacquant identifies a tendency for poverty in the metropolis to become increasingly concentrated in particular areas. These neighbourhoods become clearly recognised, by insiders and outsiders alike, as problem places for problem people. Territorial prominence of neighbourhoods where the poor live heightens susceptibility for developing bad reputations for being unpleasant, and even dangerous, places. These depictions perceptions tend to be deceptive mixtures of experience and perception, fact and fiction. Significantly, bad reputations that adhere to neighbourhoods where the poor live bear little connection to the reality of everyday life in these places:

It matters little that the discourses of demonisation that have mushroomed about them often have only tenuous connections to the reality of everyday life in them. A pervading territorial stigma is firmly affixed upon the residents of such neighbourhoods of socioeconomic exile that adds its burden to the disrepute of poverty and resurging prejudice against ethnic minorities and immigrants (Wacquant 1996:1644).

In addition to making the important point that this 'territorial stigma' adds extra burden on the inhabitants of poor neighbourhoods, he also notes that among those 'exiled' inside such neighbourhoods, there is a weakening of communal bonds and social networks as households respond to the pressures confronting them in different ways. The problem is that in the absence of positive narratives of place, residents may feel that their best chance of combating (supposed) negative influences is to maintain aloofness from the neighbourhood. For residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods, this is often achieved by regulating social interaction with others in the neighbourhood (Warr, 2005, Lupton, 2004). Unfortunately, this undermines potential social solidarity in which residents could collectivise and mobilise in order to challenge and resist the demonisation of their neighbourhood (Wacquant 1996). At the same time, people outside the stigmatised neighbourhood, in response to its demonisation, exert great efforts to maintain a social

distance from such neighbourhoods, thus exacerbating the social and personal isolation of residents. These reactions - retreating from community among the residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods, and retreating into fortified and exclusive experiences of community among the non-poor – further intensifies socio-spatial polarisation of poor and non-poor.

## **SOCIO-SPATIAL POLARISATION**

According to Alain Touraine (2000:10) we are living in a time when society, an artifact of the institutions, political projects and socialising agencies of nation-states, is seriously jeopardised because of the fraying, and mutually reinforcing, effects of globalisation and privatisation. Social and political mechanisms for integrating experience within individuals, and settling competing and diverse needs of social groups, are being decomposed, leaving politicians increasing 'look[ing] to international markets and voters to their private lives' (Touraine, 2000:5). Looking outwards to deterritorialised global flows of information and capital, and inwards to increasing privatised spaces of personal life, is causing the shared social and physical spaces that are experienced as 'society' to become hollowed out. The uncertainty engendered through the dissolving of national borders and its crumbling effects for society serve to re-enchant the concept of community. The problem then becomes that, without the integrating mechanisms of society, communities tend to become 'introverted' or alternatively, and as a consequences of processes of stigmatisation, ghettoised (Touraine, 2000). These contrasting experiences of community can be transposed onto Bauman's (2001) observations that two concepts of community are circulating: one is referenced by the global elites, the other by those who are 'deprived':

In each of the two languages in which [community] appears, the language of the global elite and that of the left-behind, the notion of 'community' collates starkly different life experiences and stand for equally sharply contrasting aspirations.

There is accumulating evidence that these persistent fears of social and spatial fracture between non-poor and poor are being realised. Since the 1950s, the socio-spatial polarisation of non-poor and poor has become more marked (Lash and Urry, 1994, O'Connor et al., 2001, Fincher and Wulff, 2001) and is serving to constellate socio-economic disadvantage, and its consequences, in particular suburbs (see Vinson, 2004). The suburbs where the non-poor and poor live are each also becoming highly recognisable. In Australia, historical accounts such as McCalmon's (1984) study of Edwardian Richmond, an inner Melbourne suburb, showed that although class distinctions were evident in different streets and locales within neighbourhoods, they nonetheless remained largely bounded within local districts and rural townships (see also Dempsey, 1990, Wild, 1974).

Across Australia in the post World War II period public housing projects were established in new suburbs that flanked industrial precincts. The new estates, located on what was then the fringes of the metropolis, were large and filled with housing stock built with uniform materials and styles (Arthurson, 2004). The homogeneous housing stock of these public housing estates is an effect of what Lipietz (1998:185) describes as 'the fordist, mass production solution to the housing question'. He is referring to the similarity of ways in which welfare societies, both in Australia and across the industrial world, supported the working classes to achieve stable and decent accommodation, on the way to eventual home ownership, by subsidising tracts of housing stock in suburbs close to key areas of industrial production. Invariably, the conspicuous and distinctive building styles and materials that were adopted by state housing commissions have ensured that the spatial characteristics of the suburbs remain easily recognised. Increasingly, the distinctive topography of these suburbs signals an array of economic and social disadvantages as economic restructuring has been transformed these neighbourhoods from 'working to workless' suburbs over a very short period of time (Peel, 2003:118). The provision of public housing has become residualised and reserved for the most disadvantaged who, for different reasons, are often not able to participate in the paid work force (Arthurson, 2004, Peel, 1995).

This ensures that social and economic differences between suburbs and neighbourhoods of contemporary cities are clearly visible. While, within neighbourhoods there are tendencies towards strong degrees of socio-economic homogeneity. In the United States there is evidence that the spatial concentration of poverty and affluence in neighbourhoods is intensifying, and concern that the concentrated effects of advantage, and disadvantage, will further heighten the differences between populations in different places, and threaten social cohesion (Massey, 1996). He also suggests that the concentration of affluence in particular locations is even denser than concentrations of poverty (Massey 1996). This is because in 'two-third societies' circumstances of disadvantage are associated not only with socio-economic conditions, but also with circumstances of gender, age, and ethnicity.

The spatial proximity of rich and poor in cities presented prospects for integration and potential mobility, although such opportunities were clearly linked to other economic and social factors (Kurpick and Wick, 1998). The combined affects of economic, social and spatial polarisation diminishes the common ground on which people across different circumstances share and have insight into other lives. In research among disenfranchised, young adults in a western suburb of Melbourne, McDonald (1999) argues the ways in which social and economic exclusion is acquiring spatial significance:

There is increasing social polarisation manifest in cities, where the bright lights, the docklands and the marinas are the domain of the rich and happy, and the poor are largely excluded from public space and visibility (...) questions of social participation or exclusion are increasingly experienced in terms of spatial relationships and the meanings of place.  
(McDonald 1999:45).

Zukin (1995:xiv) calls widespread trends to foster experiences of community and connection by using cafes to congregate people in public spaces 'domestication by cappuccino'. The risks are that people who don't have the means to patronise private facilities in public spaces become personally and socially excluded from these experiences of social connection and contact. The increasing privatisation of public space (which also occurs when dockland and marinas become restaurant precincts, shopping malls replace street shopping strips, and corporate plazas replace city squares) intensifies socio-spatial polarisation. Privatised 'public' spaces are increasingly qualified and conditional because there is enhanced capacity to exclude (undesirable) people (Bauman, 2000, Sibley, 1995). Social inclusion is experienced through being able to participate in flows of money, information and movement, with access to these flows made available through participation in paid work and educational experiences, access to communication technologies, and the capacity (and need) to travel over the city and farther a field. Poverty is experienced as immobility and disconnection from these flows (McDonald 1999:46). This fixity is all the more acute because it is increasingly difficult for the poor to feel comfortable in public spaces increasing devoted to consumption-related activities, and the non-poor have few reasons to visit socially stigmatised and disinvested neighbourhoods. As one of the participants in the study put it, 'The way it is around here [in his neighbourhood], no one ever comes here. It is only the people that are here that are here (McDonald 1999:46).

Economic restructuring has created new forms work and employment and these are closely linked to the distribution of opportunity and vulnerability in Australian suburbs. Flows of money, investment, and information are traversing the gentrifying inner-city suburbs, growth corridors along critical infrastructure and towns offering tourist and leisure facilities (O'Connor et al., 2001). O'Connor and Stimson (2001:169-171) develop five categories of neighbourhoods in Australian metropolitan cities that represent characteristic opportunities and vulnerabilities in globalising economies. Radiating out from the financial core of a city's central business district are the 'advantaged global economies' of inner-city suburbs. They are ringed by 'advantaged suburban

economies', but suburbs in this category have also grown in ways that reflect their proximity to freeways, technology parks and other infrastructure critical to high-skill industries. 'Disadvantaged old manufacturing economies' are scattered on the edges of older suburbs. These neighbourhoods, largely established between 1950 and 1970, often comprise the public housing estates that were described above were located close to the big industrial manufacturing plants that, in their hey day, provided tens of thousands of blue-collar jobs.

Subsequent suburban sprawl since the 1980s has generated 'marginal suburban communities' on the fringes of cities where the demographic characteristics of residents reflects mixtures of old vulnerabilities and new opportunities in global flows of capital. A final category of spatial patterning was characterised as 'outer disadvantaged communities' and they tend to have high levels of unemployment, strong competition for available jobs and are geographically dispersed on the fringes of cities. Disadvantage arises through precarious employment opportunities and the limited provision of transport, social and other infrastructure. The 'outer disadvantaged communities' and 'disadvantaged old manufacturing economies' represent suburbs and neighbourhoods that have been most vulnerable to economic restructuring that has resulted in declining employment for low and un-skilled workers, the deregulated and casualisation of work, as well reflecting social changes that have transformed families, such as the rise in sole-parent households.

## CONCLUSION

Globalisation is reshaping the social and spatial geography of cities and creating new social divides. The easy tendency for poor neighbourhoods to become socially stigmatised both reflects and perpetuates these social divisions. This paper has brought together a range of objective and subjective, theoretical and practical perspectives to show how social and economic disadvantage is being mapped and the disquieting implications in further constraining social and economic opportunities for those who are poor, especially if they live in poor neighbourhoods. As Wacquant (1996) argued, while the social dynamics generating processes of socio-spatial polarisation are sweeping and powerful, it is important to resist insinuations that the consequences of globalisation are inevitable and irresistible. In different ways, the conditions of everyday and social life, notwithstanding the forces of globalisation, are mediated by local, regional and national contexts and state interventions (Gibson, 1998, Waquant, 1999). Closer to home, and easier to address, are the unwarranted and unsympathetic attitudes and actions of outsiders that are contributing to the difficulties of those living in stigmatised neighbourhoods.

## REFERENCES

- Arthurson, K. (2004) From stigma to demolition: Australian debates about housing and social exclusion. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19, 255-270.
- Bauman, Z. (1998) *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor*, Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2000) What it means 'to be excluded': living to stay apart- or together? In Askonas, P and Stewart, A. (Eds.) *Social Inclusion. Possibilities and Tensions*. Houndmills, UK, Macmillan.
- Bauman, Z. (2001) *Community. Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Bradley, H. (1996) *Fractured Identities*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press.
- Campbell, C. & Gillies, P. (2001) Conceptualising 'social capital' for health promotion in small local communities: a micro-qualitative study. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 11, 329-346.
- Cattell, V. (2001) Poor people, poor places, and poor health: the mediating role of social networks and social capital. *Social Science & Medicine*, 52, 1501-1516.
- Crompton, R. (1998) *Class and Stratification*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press.
- Dean, J. & Hastings, A. (2000) *Challenging images: Housing Estates, Stigma and Regeneration*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- Dempsey, K. (1990) *Smalltown*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Farouque, F. (2004) Abuse linked to problem suburbs. *The Age*. Melbourne.
- Fincher, R. & Wulff, M. (2001) Moving in and out of disadvantage: population mobility and Australian places. In Fincher, R and Saunders, P.(Eds.) *Creating Unequal Futures? Rethinking Poverty, Inequality and Disadvantage*. Crows Nest, Allen & Unwin.
- Forrest, R. & Kearns, A. (1999) *Joined-up Places? Social Cohesion and Neighbourhood Regeneration*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Gibson, K. (1998) Social polarization and the politics of difference. Discourses in collision or collusion? In Fincher, R and Jacobs, J. M (Eds.) *Cities of Differences*. New York, The Guilford Press.
- Hastings, A. (2004) Stigma and social housing estates: beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19, 233-254.
- Khadem, N. (2004) There goes the neighbourhood: the fears of two suburbs. *The Sunday Age*. Melbourne.
- Kumar, K. (1995) *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society*, Oxford, Blackwell.

- Kurpick, S. & Wick, S. (1998) Policies against social exclusion at the neighbourhood level in Germany. The case study of Northrhine-Wesphalia. In Madanipour, A, Cars, G. and Allen, J. (Eds.) *Social Exclusion in European Cities*. London, Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Lash, S. (1990) *The Sociology of Postmodernism*, London, Routledge.
- Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1987) *The End of Organized Capitalism*, Cambridge, UK, Polity Press.
- Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*, London, Sage.
- Lipietz, A. (1998) Rethinking social housing in the hour-glass society. In Madanipour, A, Cars, G. and Allen, J. (Eds.) *Social Exclusion in European Cities*. London, Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Lupton, R. (2004) *Poverty Street: The Dynamics of Neighbourhood Decline and Renewal*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- Macdonald, S. (2005) *The Class of 95. Life Matters*. Australia.
- Massey, D. S. (1996) The age of extremes: concentrated affluence and poverty in the twenty-first century. *Demography*, 33, 395-412.
- Mccalman, J. (1984) *Struggletown*, South Melbourne, Hyland House.
- Mcdonald, K. (1999) *Struggles for Subjectivity*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
- O'connor, K., Stimson, R. & Daly, M. (2001) *Australia's Changing Economic Geography. A Society Dividing*, South Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Peel, M. (1995) *Good Time, Hard Times*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- Peel, M. (2003) *The Lowest Rung*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Sibley, D. (1995) *Geographies of Exclusion*, London, Routledge.
- Stacey, J. (1990) *Brave New Families*, New York, Basic Books.
- Touraine, A. (2000) *Can We Live Together?* Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.
- Vinson, T. (2004) Community Adversity and Resilience: The Distribution of Social Disadvantage in Victoria and New South Wales and the Mediating Role of Social Cohesion. Richmond, Jesuit Social Services.
- Waquant, L. (1999) Urban marginality in the coming millennium. *Urban Studies*, 36, 1639-1647.
- Warr, D., J. (2005) Social networks in a 'discredited' neighbourhood. *Journal of Sociology*, 41, 287-310.
- Waxman, C. L. (1983) *The Stigma of Poverty*, Elmsford, NY, Pergamon Press.
- Wild, R. A. (1974) *Bradstow. A Study of Status, Class and Power in a Small Australian Town*, London, Angus & Robertson Publishers.

Zukin, S. (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*, Cambridge MA, Blackwell.