Gender

GoWell in the East End:
key equalities issues in the baseline survey

Julie Clark & Ade Kearns
University of Glasgow

July 2015
Preface

In 2012, GoWell East conducted a community survey around the main Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games sites in the East End of the city. This survey was planned as part of a longer-term evaluation of the impacts of the Games for the host community in the East End of Glasgow. This ‘Gender’ report is the first of four ‘Equalities’ reports, designed to provide a baseline of differences between various equalities groups prior to the Games, in relation to the Scottish Government’s four legacy themes: Active; Flourishing; Connected; and Sustainable. Three other reports examine equality issues relating to household type (incorporating the issue of age), longstanding health problems and ethnic background.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank everyone who participated in the GoWell East 2012 Baseline Survey and our project funders, the Scottish Government, NHS Health Scotland and sportscotland, without whom this research would not have been possible.

Thanks also go to all of the community groups, housing associations and other stakeholders, whose interest and feedback have helped to motivate and guide the research.

We are grateful to Catherine Ferrell, Elaine Hindle, Susie Smillie and Carol Ferns of the MRC SPHSU survey office, and to all the fieldworkers for conducting the interviews.

This report was produced with the assistance of Laura Baggley and Maher Kabbani.
Contents

1. Introduction ............................................................................... 1
   1.1 GoWell in the East End............................................................... 1
   1.2 The equalities baseline report ...................................................... 1
2 The GoWell East 2012 cohort ............................................................ 4
   2.1 Gender and age ....................................................................... 4
   2.2 Gender and household type ......................................................... 5
   2.3 Gender and longstanding illness/disability ....................................... 6
   2.4 Gender and ethnicity ................................................................. 7
   2.5 Summary ............................................................................... 8
3 Active........................................................................................ 9
   3.1 Current exercise behaviour ......................................................... 9
   3.2 Perceived quality of local sports facilities ...................................... 10
   3.3 Perceived barriers to sports participation ...................................... 11
4 Flourishing ................................................................................ 16
   4.1 Participation in employment or education..................................... 16
   4.2 Participation in voluntary work................................................... 17
5 Connected ................................................................................ 21
   5.1 Pride in the local area ............................................................. 21
6 Sustainable ............................................................................... 23
   6.1 Sense of life progress derived from living in the area ......................... 23
   6.2 Feelings of safety walking after dark ........................................... 24
   6.3 Neighbourhood change ............................................................ 26
7 Summary of gender differences at baseline ......................................... 28

List of Figures

Figure 1: Gender and age group: female proportions .................................... 4
Figure 2: Gender and age group: male proportions....................................... 5
Figure 3: Gender and household type ...................................................... 6
Figure 4: Gender and longstanding illness/ disability (LSI) .............................. 6
Figure 5: Gender and ethnicity .............................................................. 7
Figure 6: Current exercise behaviour ..................................................... 10
Figure 7: Perceived quality of local sports facilities ................................... 11
Figure 8: Barriers - difficult to find time ................................................. 13
Figure 9: Barriers - caring responsibilities ............................................... 13
Figure 10: Reasons for not doing any, or more, sports ................................. 15
Figure 11: Participation in employment or education................................ 16
Figure 12: Gender difference in voluntary participation ......................... 18
Figure 13: Participation in different types of voluntary work ..................... 19
Figure 14: Pride in the local area ......................................................... 20
Figure 15: Neighbourhood and doing well in life ...................................... 22
Figure 16: Safety walking alone after dark ........................................... 24
Figure 17: Neighbourhood change ...................................................... 25
List of Tables

Table 1. Achieved sample by sub-area .............................................................. 1
Table 2. Equalities report framework ............................................................... 2
Table 3. Indicators examined within each legacy domain ................................... 3
Table 4. Barriers to sports participation ............................................................ 12
Table 5. Types of voluntary work ..................................................................... 18
1. Introduction

1.1 GoWell in the East End

GoWell in the East End is a long-term study of the impacts of the Commonwealth Games (CWG) and associated regeneration activities upon the people and place of the East End of Glasgow. A baseline survey of the study area was carried out between May and August 2012, with key findings relating to Scottish Government Legacy themes presented in a Headline Indicators report available at: www.gowellonline.com. Details of the study area and the survey are given in that report.

A total of 1,015 adult householders were interviewed across the study area, with a response rate of 9.8%. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the achieved sample by constituent community, and the close comparison with the distribution of residential properties across the study area.

Table 1. Achieved sample by Sub-Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-area</th>
<th>Interviews achieved</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
<th>All dwellings in study area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bridgeton</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calton</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camlachie</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalmarnock</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallowgate</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkhead</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,015</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Source: GCC Council Tax Register, 2011

1.2 The equalities baseline report

In line with the Equality Act (2010), the Scottish Government is committed to the underlying principle that “no one should be denied opportunities because of their
race or ethnicity, their disability, their gender or sexual orientation, their age or religion.”

Using data collected during the GoWell East baseline survey, we can analyse key indicators from the Scottish Government CWG legacy themes in relation to some of these equality groups.

The reports open by presenting demographic data on the 2012 cohort, offering an overview of the participants by relating gender to age, health, ethnicity and household type. Thereafter, each equalities report analyses a selection of indicators drawn from within the four Scottish Government legacy themes according to several equalities dimensions in turn, as shown in Table 2. Other relevant data from the GoWell East survey is also analysed.

**Table 2. Equalities report framework.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equalities dimensions</th>
<th>Scottish Government legacy domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household type (incorporating age)</td>
<td>Flourishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness &amp; disability</td>
<td>Connected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Sustainable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where significant differences were found according to the equalities dimensions, the key variables and values are shown and discussed; otherwise, the absence of significant differences is briefly stated.

This examination of equalities differences at baseline (2012) serves a number of purposes:

- It identifies key equalities issues within the study communities of the East End of Glasgow. These can inform service providers of community needs.

---

- The findings serve as a benchmark against which to assess progress in tackling inequalities in the study area.

- The findings identify key participant characteristics that need to be taken into account in the investigation of the impacts that legacy programmes might have in relation to different legacy outcomes.

The list of legacy outcome indicators examined for equalities differences at baseline are given in Table 3.

**Table 3. Indicators examined within each legacy domain.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Meeting recommended levels of physical activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Current exercise behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Daily walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived quality of local sports facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Rate of participation in sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived barriers to sports participation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flourishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Participation in employment or education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Satisfaction with employment situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Affordability difficulties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Participation in voluntary work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived quality of public transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expectations of the 2014 Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pride in the local area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Participation in group activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sustainable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Satisfaction with the local neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Sense of life progress derived from living in the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived care for the area by local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived change in the local crime rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Feelings of safety when walking after dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Neighbourhood empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perceived neighbourhood change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 The GoWell East 2012 cohort

This section provides an overview of the demographic characteristics of the GoWell East cohort in relation to:

- gender and age
- gender and household type
- gender and longstanding illness or disability
- gender and ethnicity.

2.1 Gender and age

The cohort was 51.2% female and 48.8% male. A third of women (33%) were in the 25-39 years old age category and a similar proportion (32%) were 40-64 years of age. Eighteen per cent of women were between 18 and 25 years of age and 17% were 65 years or over (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Gender and age group: female proportions.

The largest group of men interviewed (36%) were in the 40-64 year old age category and a similar proportion (35%) were 25-39 years of age. 13% of men were between 18 and 25 years and 17% are 65 years or over (Figure 2).
2.2 Gender and household type

We also considered the type of household from which each of our participants came. These were divided into three categories:

- Household with dependent children.
- Working-age household (no dependent children).
- Older household (no dependent children).

Overall, 64% of households in the cohort were working-age adults without dependent children, a further 22% of households were working-age with dependent children, and 14% of cohort households were older people without dependent children. However, these figures were significantly patterned by gender. Nearly one third (32%) of female participants lived with dependent children, as opposed to only 12% of male participants (Figure 3).
2.3 *Gender and longstanding illness/disability*

We asked our participants if they had any longstanding illness, disability or infirmity (LSI) and 45% replied ‘yes’ (Figure 4). There was no significant difference in rates of LSI by gender.
2.4 Gender and ethnicity

Participants were asked to define which ethnic group they considered they belonged to. As there were only very small numbers in some groupings, the answers people gave were grouped into three categories:

- White - UK and Republic of Ireland (ROI) origin.
- White - other background.
- Asian, Black, Chinese, Mixed or Other - from UK or other origin.

Overall, 80.4% of the cohort was White, from UK or ROI origin. A further 11.8% were White from another background. The remaining 7.8% of the cohort identified themselves as being of another ethnicity, from either UK or other origins. The majority of respondents from this category described themselves as Black, Asian or Chinese (these categories refer to ethnic background rather than nationality, so for example, Asian-British or Asian-Scottish people would be included here).

Figure 5 shows a slightly higher percentage of men from ethnic minority backgrounds but this is a minor gender difference and not statistically significant.
Figure 5: Gender and ethnicity.

2.5 Summary

Within the survey cohort, male and female participants have similar age, ethnicity and health profiles, although slightly more men than women were non-White. However, women in the cohort are nearly three times more likely than the men to live in a household with dependent children.
3 Active

The Active theme was planned to inspire people to be physically active and take part in sport.

Gender differences were found in relation to the following Active indicators:

- Current exercise behaviour.
- Perceived quality of local sports facilities.
- Perceived barriers to sports participation.

There were no gender differences at baseline in respect of:

- meeting recommended levels of physical activity
- daily walking
- the rate of participation in sport.

3.1 Current exercise behaviour

For the purposes of the survey, we defined exercise as:

“any activity you do to improve your health and fitness. This can include walking where you have decided to do it for health or fitness reasons”.

We then asked survey participants which of the following statements best described their current behaviour:

- I currently do not exercise and I do not intend to start in the next six months.
- I currently do not exercise but am thinking about starting to exercise in the next six months.
- I currently exercise a bit but not weekly.
- I currently exercise weekly but have only begun to do so in the last six months.
- I currently exercise weekly and have done so for longer than six months.
Figure 6: Current exercise behaviour.

We found:

- Men were more likely than women to be regular exercisers: 39% of men and 28% of women had been exercising weekly for over six months.

- 18% of women and 15% of men did not currently exercise but said they were considering starting.

- Around a quarter of both women and men took no exercise and were not considering starting (26% women; 25% men).

3.2 Perceived quality of local sports facilities

We asked participants how they rated the quality of local sports facilities in or near their local area. Response options were: very good; fairly good; neither good nor poor; fairly poor; very poor (Figure 7).
We found:

- There were significant gender differences in ratings of local sports facilities with women, overall, being more negative about the quality of facilities than men.

- Similar percentages of men and women rated local sports facilities as either very good (20% of women and 21% of men) or fairly good (39% of women and 40% of men).

- 16% of women rated facilities as very poor, compared with 11% of men. Similarly, 15% of women rated facilities as fairly poor, compared with 12% of men.

### 3.3 Perceived barriers to sports participation

We asked participants if there were any particular reasons they had not done any/more sport in the last four weeks (Table 4). Participants could give multiple responses.
Table 4. Barriers to sports participation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Costs too much</th>
<th>Not enough information on what is available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No one to do it with</td>
<td>Work-related reason (shifts/workload)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never occurred to me</td>
<td>Age-related reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not really interested</td>
<td>Already active enough (includes through work/daily life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of injury</td>
<td>Caring responsibilities (includes lack of childcare at facilities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I wouldn’t enjoy it</td>
<td>No motivation (includes ‘lazy’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health not good enough</td>
<td>No/not enough local facilities esp. in walking distance (includes facilities closed for upgrade)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I might feel out of place</td>
<td>Other reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing facilities not good enough</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport difficult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to find time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety-related reason (gangs, unsafe at night)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We found:

- There were significant gender differences in relation to two of the barriers: difficult to find time and caring responsibilities (Figures 8 and 9). The caring responsibilities category included respondents who noted lack of childcare at facilities as a barrier.

- Difficulty finding time was the most frequently cited reason for not being involved in more physical activity. This was a problem four in ten women and just under a third of men (32%).
The other significant gender difference in barriers to sports participation was caring responsibilities. Although a relatively small proportion of people volunteered this as an explanation for not doing sport, these were mostly women and explanations included childcare issues.

Figure 9: Barriers - caring responsibilities

n=1,014
p=.001
The proportion of people who expressed concern with other barriers can be seen in Figure 10. Aside from the two statistically significant results noted above, results for men and women differed most in the following areas:

- *Not really interested* was noted by more men than women (p= .078).
- *Transport difficult* was noted by more men than women (p= .069).
- *I wouldn’t enjoy it* was noted by more men than women (p= .052).
- *Changing facilities not good enough* was noted by more women than men (p=. .056).
- *Not enough information on what is available* was noted by more women than men (p=.054).
- Concerns over *health not good enough* and *costs too much* were shared very evenly between women and men. Over a quarter of people noted their health as an issue in relation to doing sport (28.5% of women and 27.5% of men) and nearly one in five mentioned cost (17.9% of women and 18% of men).

### 3.5 Summary

Men were more established, regular exercisers than women, while women tended to be more negative about the quality of local sports facilities; we have not examined here whether these two things are linked.

Men and women tend to cite different reasons for not doing any/more sports. More men than women say they are not interested, or would not enjoy sport, while more women than men say they do not have the enough time for sport, or lack enough information about opportunities. Men are also more likely to cite transport difficulties as an issue.
Figure 10: Reasons for not doing any, or more, sports.
4 Flourishing

The *Flourishing* theme focused on economic opportunities offered by the Games.

Gender differences were found in relation to the following Flourishing indicators:

- Participation in education or employment.
- Participation in voluntary work.

There were no gender differences at baseline in respect of:

- Satisfaction with employment situation.
- Affordability difficulties.

4.1 *Participation in employment or education*

We asked the working-age adults in the cohort about their employment status (Figure 11). Responses were categorised into:

- full time paid employment (including self-employed)
- part time paid employment (including self-employed)
- full time education (including government or other training schemes)
- other (including unemployed, long term sick or disabled and not working, looking after home/ family or other).
We found:

- Men were more likely than women to be in full time employment (41% opposed to 37%).
- Women were more likely than men to be in part time employment (14% as opposed to 8%).
- Similar proportions of women and men were in full time education or training (9% of women and 11% of men).
- Women were more likely than men to be in the ‘other’ category. This was also the largest grouping for women and the second-largest grouping for men.

4.2 Participation in voluntary work

We asked participants:

‘In the past 12 months, have you done any voluntary work - that is, have you helped an organisation, group or individual in an unpaid capacity?’
We found:

- There were no significant differences between women and men.
- 25% of women and 22% men reported doing voluntary work in the past 12 months.

We also asked people who said they had done voluntary work, what area their voluntary work was connected to (Table 5).

**Table 5. Types of voluntary work.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The community</th>
<th>The environment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people</td>
<td>The arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older People</td>
<td>Museums or galleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014 Commonwealth Games</td>
<td>Heritage or conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sports activities</td>
<td>Libraries or archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals or wildlife</td>
<td>Schools or education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church or religious group</td>
<td>Health or mental health</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were significant differences between female and male participation in three of these categories (Figure 12):

- *Church/religious groups* were noted by more women than men (p= .030).
- *The environment* was noted by more men than women (p= .018).
- *The 2014 Commonwealth Games* was noted by more men than women (p= .027).
The most commonly noted examples of volunteering for both men and women involved (Figure 12):

- *The community*, noted by just over one in ten of the cohort (11% men; 10.7% women).
- *Young people*, noted by one in eleven of the cohort (9.7% women; 7.7% men).
- *Older people*, noted by just under one in fifteen of the cohort (7.1% women; 6.5% men).

### 4.3 Summary

Men were more likely to be in full-time employment than women, while women were more likely to be in part-time employment or to be not in employment. Despite these differences, there was no significant gender difference in the rate of volunteering.
Figure 13: Participation in different types of voluntary work.
5 Connected

The Connected theme was intended to generate participation in the Games and in wider culture and learning, as well as local pride.

Gender differences were found in relation to:

- Pride in the local area.

There were no gender differences at baseline in respect of:

- perceived quality of public transport
- expectations of the 2014 Games
- participation in group activities.

5.1 Pride in the local area

We asked participants to what extent they felt proud of their local area. Response options were: *a great deal; a fair amount; not very much; not at all* (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Pride in the local area.
We found:

- Men were more likely than women to feel *a great deal* of pride in their local area (23% men; 17% women).
- Men were also more likely to feel *a fair amount* of pride (42% men; 39% women).
- More women than men said they felt *not very much* pride (28% women; 20% men).
- The smallest category for both genders was *not at all* (17% women; 15% men).

### 5.2 Summary

Women felt less pride in their local area than men. Other indicators within the Connected theme showed no gender differences.
6 Sustainable

The Sustainable theme centred on the achievement of regeneration and strong communities.

Gender differences were found in relation to:

- sense of life progress derived from living in the area
- feelings of safety walking after dark
- perceived neighbourhood change.

There were no gender differences at baseline in respect of:

- satisfaction with the local neighbourhood
- perceived care for the area by local people
- perceived change in local crime rate
- neighbourhood empowerment.

6.1 Sense of life progress derived from living in the area

Participants were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed:

‘Living in this neighbourhood helps me feel that I’m doing well in my life’

Response options ranged from: strongly agree; agree; neither agree nor disagree; disagree; strongly disagree (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Neighbourhood and doing well in life.
We found:
- There were significant differences between men and women in how their neighbourhood made them feel about how they were doing in life. Men got a stronger sense of progress or self esteem from their neighbourhoods than women.
- Men were more likely than women to strongly agree that their neighbourhood helped them to feel they were doing well in their lives (13% men; 10% women). However, relatively few people held this opinion and it was the second-smallest category for both genders.
- More people disagreed that their neighbourhood helped them to feel they were doing well in life or were neutral on the topic, than felt positive in this regard.
- Around a third of people agreed that their neighbourhood helped them to feel they were doing well in their lives (34% men; 32% women).
- Another third responded neither agree nor disagree (34% men; 31% women).
- Women were more likely than men to disagree that their neighbourhood helped them to feel they were doing well in their lives (18% women; 14% men).
- Women were twice as likely to reply strongly disagree (8% women; 4% men).

6.2 Feelings of safety walking after dark

We asked interviewees:
‘How safe would or do you feel walking alone in this neighbourhood after dark?’

Response options ranged from: very safe; fairly safe; neither safe nor unsafe; a bit unsafe; very unsafe (Figure 16).
We found:

- Men felt safer in their neighbourhoods than women.
- Nearly a quarter of men (24%) felt very safe walking alone after dark compared with 15% of women.
- The most popular response for both men and women was fairly safe. Men were more likely than women to give this response (35% men; 30% women).
- Just under one in ten interviewees (9%) replied neither safe nor unsafe.
- A bit unsafe was the second most frequent response for women, given by nearly a quarter of the female cohort (24%). Eighteen per cent of men reported feeling a bit unsafe.
- Almost as many women felt very unsafe (14%) as felt very safe. Eight per cent of men felt very unsafe, making that the second least common response for the male cohort.
- Nearly one in ten women (9%) reported never walking alone after dark, as did 5% of men.
6.3 Neighbourhood change

Interviewees were asked:

‘Has this area got better or worse to live in over the last three years?’

Response options were: the area has got better; things have stayed the same; the area has got worse; don’t know (Figure 17).

We found:

• There were significant differences between men and women in perceptions of neighbourhood change over the last three years. Men were more positive about recent change in their neighbourhoods than women.

• The largest response category for both men and women was the area has got better, although men were more likely than women to give that reply (47% men; 42% women).

• Men were also more likely say that things have stayed the same (men 38%; women 34%). This was the second largest response category.

Figure 17: Neighbourhood change.
• Women were nearly twice as likely to reply that *the area has got worse* (20% women; 11% men).

• Four per cent of men and 3% of women replied *don’t know*.

### 6.4 Summary

Women were less positive than men about change in their local neighbourhood, and derived less psychosocial benefits from where they lived than men.
7 Summary of gender differences at baseline

Three main areas of gender differences at baseline were identified that relate to all four Scottish Government legacy domains.

In respect of the Active legacy domain, men were more likely (by 11 percentage points) than women to already be regular exercisers, while women were more likely (by seven percentage points) to be either irregular exercisers or to be contemplating exercise. In relation specifically to sport, women were more likely than men to cite time as a barrier to participation, and to a lesser degree also caring responsibilities. Women were also more likely to rate the quality of local sports facilities as fairly or very poor.

Second, in relation to the Flourishing legacy domain, there were gender differences in the types of employment and volunteering undertaken by men and women. Men’s employment was distributed 5-to-1 in favour of full-time as opposed to part-time jobs, while for women this ratio was just over 2-to-1. On the other hand, women were more likely to volunteer in religious organisations, and men to volunteer in relation to the environment and indeed the CWG.

Finally, women had a more negative view of their neighbourhoods than men, evident across a number of indicators in the Connected and Sustainable legacy domains. Women were approximately twice as likely than men to feel their neighbourhood had got worse over time recently, to not feel much or any pride in their neighbourhood, to not feel safe walking around the neighbourhood at night-time (or to not walk at all at night), and to not get a sense of personal progress from where they live. It seems neighbourhoods in the East End, at least in 2012, served the needs and interests of women less well than they did men.