PLANNING AND SOCIAL POLARISATION.

by

Philip R. Champness.

Submitted as part of the
requirements for the Degree
of Master of Philosophy.

Department of Town and
Regional Planning,
University of Glasgow.

APRIL 1975.

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INTRODUCTION

Social polarisation refers to the process of increasing geographical separation of social classes. As early as 1841 a Dundee minister noted that the railway enabled the more affluent to live in the country while working in the town, and that this would turn the city into 'one great work-shop, with the familites of its workmen wholly detached from the notice or sympathy of the families of any upper class' (quoted in Ashworth, 1954). Subsequent studies have agreed with the substance, if not the sentiment of this observation, their broad thesis being that the inner city contains an increasingly large proportion of low income groups while upper income households are found towards the outer limits of the urban area. More recently the return of upper income groups to the inner city, especially London, has given rise to fears that it will contain a potentially harmful mixture of the very rich and the very poor.

Since the early Nineteenth Century, planners and reformers have attempted to create socially 'mixed' or 'balanced' communities. This aim has formed a substantial part of a planning ideology that holds that planning is 'providing the physical basis for a better urban community life' (Foley, 1960). Initially the idea of social mix was applied to new communities: the model towns and villages of the Nineteenth Century; the post-war New Towns. The overriding

motivation was to derive a more fraternal society. More recently, planners have considered the effects of polarisation and the possibility of balance in existing cities. Their main concern has been to derive a more egalitarian society.

This study of polarisation will be concerned with the distribution of social class, as measured by occupation and income, in the city. Part I outlines the models of socio-geographical patterns in the city, and analyses the causes of those patterns in terms of the operation of economic, social and political constraints on household location decisions. Changing distributions are identified in case studies which contribute to the debate on social trends foreseen by some recent planning exercises. Part II traces the development of planning theories of social mix, and assesses the extent to which the New Towns have succeeded in creating new residential patterns. Part III draws the two previous sections together by discussing the possible effects of the distribution of social classes on goals pursued by the planning process. Some alternative housing and employment policies are outlined in an analysis of strategies for enhanced geographical and social mobility.

PART I.

SOCIAL SCIENCE THEORIES OF THE RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES

CHAPTER 1. Residential Patterns and the causes of Polarisation.

1.1. Introduction.

Polarity describes the distribution of social classes in an area at a particular point in time. During the nineteenth century it was recognised that in the industrial city residential areas rarely contained a mixture of social classes. People occupying similar positions in the hierarchy of social stratification were observed to live in close proximity, and at some distance from others of dissimilar status (Vetch, 1834). Social structure was reflected in spatial structure, though the social processes which produced patterns of social segregation were not understood.

Models which describe polarity in the form of zones, sectors or multiple nuclei have been developed by American theorists to account for the evolution of patterns of social segregation. This chapter will outline those models to ascertain how far the distributions they describe are applicable to British cities, for as Pahl (1970) has observed "unlike American cities, European cities have grown from mediaevel origins and this has important implications for the socio-economic pattern today". However, while the socio-geographic pattern at any one point in time may indicate how constraints on location have operated in the past, our concern is with how those patterns are changing in the present and the implications that may be drawn for the planning of the future.

Polarisation is the process of change in the social class composition of an area. It may involve increasing homogeneity,

or uni-polarity, in which an increasing proportion of the residents of an area occupy a particular level of the stratification system. Alternatively, it may take the form of increasing bi-polarity in which an increasing proportion of the residents occupy the extremes of the class structure. Polarisation may, however, decrease over time as the population assumes a social class composition that more closely parallels the 'normal' distribution of the city or nation as a whole. In order to account for change, it is necessary to analyse the social, economic and political forces and constraints that differentially influence the residential patterns of socio-economic groups.

1.2. Social Stratification.

Stratification is the system of ranking of individuals in terms of wealth, status and power (Berger, 1966). In western society industrialisation is associated with division of labour, or specialisation of functions which have differential economic rewards or status. Occupational classifications are therefore a useful, though by no means complete, indicator of social class. Census data from which these classifications are derived may be amalgamated into ranking schemes which grade occupations on the basis of the skills they employ. The Registrar-General's scheme of five social classes is not entirely satisfactory as it includes almost half the employed male population in its Class III, and mixes manual and non-manual workers. As occupations are associated with a distinctive way of life which is more closely

related to class than income, wherever possible a classification system that is derived from clusters of socio-economic groups and which separates manual and non-manual workers (though not entirely) will be used. The proportion of the economically active population in each group in Britain in 1966, and the relation between occupation and income in London in 1967 are shown in Tables 1 and 2. The latter indicates that, apart from the similarity in median incomes of classes II and III, there is a positive relationship between position in the stratification hierarchy and median income.

Table 1.

Social Class in Britain 1966

Class	Socio-economic groups	Occupation	% of total
I	1,2,3,4,13	Professional and Managerial workers	15.0
II	5,6	Intermediate non-manual workers	16.9
III	8,9,12,14	Skilled manual and own account workers	38.4
IV	7,10,15	Semi-skilled and service workers	18.0
V	11,16,17	Unskilled, armed forces and other workers	11.7

Source : 1966 Census

Table 2.

Distribution of Income by Social Class : Greater London 1967.

Income of head of household £ per week	Percentage of each class in income category					
	Class I	II	III	IV	V	All
Less than 10	6	24	18	35	57	24
10 - 19	10	36	45	53	35	38
20 - 29	30	24	30	10	9	23
30 - 39	19	9	4	1	1	7
More than 40	35	7	3	1	-	8

Source : S.E.J.P.T. (1970)

Although the classification of occupations provides an indication of the distribution of income within society, it obscures the distribution of wealth which takes the form of property, shares and securities of various kinds. When this is taken into account inequalities become more apparent. Thus in 1969 the most wealthy 1% of people in Britain owned 21.4% of all the wealth, while the least wealthy 50% owned only 9.8% (Central Statistical Office 1971). While ownership of wealth showed a slight shift away from the most affluent between 1961 and 1969 it tended to filter down to the next most wealthy rather than being redistributed to those with least. A further point which must be emphasised is that the classification of occupations also obscures the distribution of extreme poverty. For if poverty is defined as an income which, even if it is adequate for survival, falls markedly below that of the community it includes

not only those on low wages, but many who are unemployed, sick, widowed or old. The scheme of stratification which is based on occupations is therefore limited in the extent to which it indicates access to private property.

1.3. Burgess and the Concentric Zone Model.

Burgess (1972) was not the first to recognise that segregation of social classes took the form of concentric rings or zones. Booth (1906), commenting on South London, noted that "this population is found to be poorer ring by ring as the centre is approached ..... While at its very heart ..... there exists a very impenetrable mass of poverty". However, Burgess gave this description a theoretical structure. The essential features of the model are that position in the class structure is reflected in the spatial structure by a series of concentric zones in which distance from the centre of the city is positively related to social status. Social distance is paralleled by spatial distance with the most dissimilar groups being furthest apart and intermediate groups occupying intervening locations. Zones were not only socially distinctive, but were characterised by particular housing structures. From the Central Business District to the city periphery he described a housing sequence from slums through flats and apartment houses to single family dwellings. The location of particular groups in the spatial structure could be explained by an ecological struggle for space in which migrants enter the city in the zone in transition adjacent to the C.B.D. and successively invade and succeed the original occupants who retreat

towards the periphery. However, this explanation fails to account for the reasons why particular groups occupy particular areas, or how they make their location choices. ,

There is some evidence that the concentric zone hypothesis describes the distribution of social classes in parts of British cities. Robson (1966), using rateable value of housing as a surrogate for social class, describes the residential pattern of north Sunderland as being "mainly in the form of concentric zones progressing from a poor, subdivided zone adjacent to the residential area, through a medium rated area to the north, and to a higher rated zone in the far north". Jones (1960) found a similar pattern extending from the C.B.D. to the East of Belfast. Westergaard's (1964) analysis of the Greater London Conurbation using 1951 census data indicated that south of the Thames the proportion of the population in Social Classes I and II increased from 14% in Inner South London to 22% in the southern intermediate zone to 34% in the southern suburbs.

1.4. Hoyt's Sector Model.

Hoyt's (1939) model is not so much an alternative to the Burgess model as a development of it, and it retains many of the features of the concentric zone model. Hoyt crticised Burgess for failing to account for radial development of commerce and industry along lines of good communication. Hoyt's model, which was based on empirical data of rental value, described the growth of cities in wedge-like sectors which radiate from the centre. When the city is small, high-income residential areas tend to be on

one side of the C.B.D. rather than in an encircling ring./ As the city expands the high-rent area takes the form of a wedge or sector extending along lines of radial communication from the centre to the periphery. Intermediate rental areas tend to surround the high-rent sectors while low-rent sectors occupy other parts of the city. Hoyt, nevertheless, acknowledged that while high grade sectors could retain their status for a long period of time, a zonal pattern might be evident within sectors (Johnston, 1971). The mechanism of social composition change he described as filtering. Higher income groups periodically demand new housing and their former homes are bought by lower income groups, for whom they represent an improvement in living standards. Thus homes slowly filter down the social scale and individuals filter up the housing scale.

A number of studies have identified sectors in British cities. In Oxford Collison and Nogey (1959) using 1951 census data identified the northern sector as a high-income area with 11.7% of its population in Class I. Other sectors had correspondingly low proportions of Class I households - 2.7%, 2.6% and 3.8% respectively. A later study using educational achievement rather than social class revealed that terminal education age was the most significant indicator of residential segregation (Collison, 1960). Intermediate non-manual workers, although receiving median incomes of a similar size to skilled manual workers were more segregated from them than from the more affluent professional and managerial workers. Robson's (1966) analysis of rateable values in Sunderland established

that "to the south of the river the residential areas have a pattern closely akin to the idealised sectoral model of Hoyt : a low class sector in the east which is highly subdivided at its northern apex; a high class sector next to it, a middle class sector running out to the west; and finally a second low class sector flanking the industrial areas of the river." Jones (1960) identified a high-income residential area in West Belfast which had "grown into a sector almost exactly as Hoyt described in an ideal situation. The sector originated on the southern edge of the embryonic city of Belfast and in the 18th and 19th Centuries it expanded steadily southwards." Willmott and Young (1973) using 1966 census data describe the 'more working class' areas of London in the form of a cross with 'more middle class' areas forming wedge-shaped quarters.

1.5. Harris and Ullman's Multiple Nuclei Model.

Harris and Ullman (1945) reviewed the Burgess and Hoyt models and concluded that "both the concentric zone, as a general pattern, and the sector aspect, as applied primarily to residential patterns, assume (although not explicitly) that there is but a single urban core around which land use is arranged symmetrically in either concentric or radial patterns." Because concentration of all activities in the core is impossible, separate nuclei arise. This would be particularly evident if the city develops around a number of formerly independent settlements. However, they suggested no changes in the way residential areas develop, so that sectoral and zonal patterns would be expected

around each nucleus and extending away from the C.B.D.

Evans (1973) has tested the multiple nuclei model in London. By analysing journey to work patterns for the sub-centres of Shepney and Acton, he found that their workers were drawn from within the same sector of the conurbation as the centres were located, though anomalous results for Shepney were traced to Jewish settlement patterns. He also found that those parts of the London C.B.D. which employed high proportions of workers from social classes I and II were at the city end of a high-income sector.

1.6. Socio-geographic Models - Some Preliminary Conclusions.

The models of residential location of social classes describe patterns of uni-polarity or homogeneity and the process by which those patterns have evolved. To what extent are these patterns and processes applicable to British cities, and do they provide hypotheses of trends in polarisation? The Burgess and Hoyt thesis states that the socio-economic status of areas increases as one moves away from the centre to the periphery. Within each zone Hoyt suggested that there would be considerable variability because status areas are principally organised in sectors. Thus a combined hypothesis would be that socio-economic status groups tend to concentrate within sectors of the city. Within each sector there is a zonal pattern in which status increases with distance from the centre. Harris and Ullman suggest that sectors and zones will be complicated by functional specialisation of particular areas.

When applied to British cities there is evidence that class characteristics of the population are not randomly distributed. There is a tendency for clustering or uni-polarity to occur. However, different parts of the same city may exhibit the features of different models. North Sunderland is zonal, but the south is sectoral. North London has some features of sectoral and multi-nuclei development, while the south is generally zonal. East Belfast is zonal while the West exhibits strong sectoral development. Looked at more closely, however, while all the studies indicate that there is an inner zone of low-income households which may not from a complete ring, there does not appear to be an unequivocal increase in status with distance from the centre. London and Oxford have retained high-income sectors close to the centre, but zoning within the sectors is not apparent. Indeed, in Oxford skilled manual workers have more peripheral locations than either of the non-manual groups. Incomplete sectoral development is evident in historic cities like London and Oxford where central high-income areas are outflanked by later, lower-status, areas. Gordon's (1966) study of Edinburgh confirms the view that inner areas may retain their high-income population, and that the outermost suburbs may enjoy something less than the highest status. In contrast, the industrial cities of Belfast and Sunderland show zoning within sectors where rooming-house districts at the city end of the high-income sector now house heterogenous populations, and Mann (1965) has described a similar pattern in Nottingham. However, while the models describe broad patterns of social class homogeneity that vary in form between historic and industrial cities, they fail to come to

terms with the problem of scale. At a very large scale it may be possible to identify zones and sectors that tend towards unipolarity. However, there may be considerable variation in the social class composition within zones and sectors. At a very small scale homogeneity may be evident, but as the size of the area is increased, the extent of social heterogeneity is likely to increase also. The problem of scale is one to which we will return later in this study.

The models not only describe a pattern, they suggest a process of change. Their thesis is that all areas decline in their socio-economic status over time as a result of residential and social mobility which takes the form of outward migration into newer and better housing further from the city centre. Implicit in this hypothesis is the assumption that cities are growing in area if not in population, and that growth is permitted by an increasingly efficient transport system. Intuitive observations of Victorian cities describe the exodus from the inner areas and its relation to transport improvements. In 1841 a Dundee minister accounted for suburban growth for the very affluent by the coming of the railway. In 1871 a Manchester writer noted that the exodus included clerks and warehousemen while the poor continued to live in the centre because of the need to be near casual employment (Ashworth, 1954). Pollins (1964) has shown that by the late 19th century cheap workmen's trains permitted the development of working-class suburbs in sectors along London's railways. However, while the models account for the phasing of

city expansion the process they describe is not inevitable. As was previously indicated, high-income areas, once established, do not always decline in status. The dominant values of the elite, who choose the locations best suited to their life-style, vary widely between and within cities, and peripheral growth is not inevitable. Generalisations about past patterns and present tendencies cannot be made without reference to the values and aspirations of the different social groups involved in choosing residential locations.

The Chicago models are a valuable aid in understanding 19th century growth because the conditions they describe are applicable to cities undergoing segregation as a function of population concentration and increase, social mobility and transport improvements. They describe a process which has preserved in bricks and mortar evidence of a former technology and a previous class structure. To account for changes in the social class of residential areas in modern cities it is necessary to understand the economic and social constraints that operate differentially on different social classes in the housing market in its spatial context. These constraints must be understood in relation to the values of individuals making residential location decisions, and to the ideals of the institutions which determine access to housing. The intervention of central and local government in the planning and zoning of houses and the building of subsidised housing may distort the idealised patterns to such an extent that 'the game of hunt the Chicago model seems to be exhausted so far as modern

developments in urban areas are concerned' (Robson, 1966).

1.7. Social Composition Change in Residential Areas - 1 : Economic constraints on residential location.

Socio-geographical models describe polarity in largely static terms. Polarisation is a process, and change in the social composition of a residential area may occur through migration, social mobility and demographic change which differentially affect the social groups occupying the area (Harris, 1973). The economic constraints on residential location have been described in theories which attempt to account for existing patterns of polarity. By considering possible changes in these economic constraints it will be possible to derive hypotheses of changes in polarity, or polarisation.

Initially it will be assumed that constraints on migration through choice of housing are solely a function of income, and that all employment is concentrated in the C.B.D. It will also be assumed that transport is equally available in all directions from the centre and that there are no variations in environmental amenity and housing quality. If households seek to maximise utility in their consumption of goods and services including housing, then within these limiting assumptions movement will take place because of dissatisfaction with housing space. A survey of residential mobility in Britain (Cullingworth, 1968) indicates that this was the most important reason for movement. Now if demand for space is positively related to income, and if the cost of a unit of housing space is determined, by journey to work costs, as a function of distance from the centre, then it is possible to predict the

distribution of income groups relative to the centre. Empirical studies of land rent gradients in cities show that they decline at a diminishing rate per mile with distance from the C.B.D. Evans (1973) has shown that property values per unit of space in London occupy a similar price curve, while the direct and indirect costs of travel increase with distance from the centre, but at a diminishing rate per mile. If demand for housing space is positively related to income (and ignoring the effects of household size) then high income households will locate towards the periphery of the city in order to take advantage of lower costs of housing space. In so doing, they will trade-off the benefits of increased housing space against higher journey-to-work costs. Low-income households with correspondingly low demands for housing space will locate close to the centre because their limited space demands do not allow them to trade these off against high travel costs. This brief outline of Alonso's (1964) theory of residential location is the deductive rationale for the Burgess zonal model. It implies that the socio-economic status of residential areas increases with distance from the centre because of the desire of high-income households for spacious living.

If two of our initial assumptions are relaxed it is possible to indicate further reasons for peripheral movement by high-income households. Houses vary in quality and are found in locations which enjoy varying levels of environmental amenity. Because of the structure of the land market, new housing for sale is prohibitively expensive in the inner area. Most new housing

is therefore constructed in peripheral suburbs. If it is assumed that high-income households have a strong desire for new housing, then a suburban location provides housing which meets both their space and quality aspirations. Evidence from America (Muth, 1968) indicates that there is a strong inverse relationship between income and age of housing. While data from Edinburgh and Oxford would suggest that older housing in the inner areas may retain its status, the desire for new housing may increase the attractiveness of a suburban location. Environmental amenity may also encourage suburban movement. A survey by the National Economic Development Office (1971) established that, in the fifteen largest towns in England and Wales outside London, suburban dwellers regarded their main locational advantages as being 'fresh air' and 'cleanliness'. Conversely the disadvantages of an inner city location were perceived as 'noise' and 'too much traffic'.

As average income elasticities of demand for space, new housing and environmental amenity are positive, polarity will take the form of zones in which socio-economic status increases with distance from the centre. If the degree of polarisation is increasing (i.e. that inner areas have an increasing proportion of low-income groups, and outer areas an increasing proportion of high-income groups) then it may be hypothesised that other things being equal the economic constraints on location are changing in such a way as to favour the increased movement of high-income groups to the periphery, and to prevent low-income groups from similar movement. Travel to work costs have been identified as the important determinant

of location. If travel speed and comfort increase and costs per mile remain constant then the indirect costs of travel (i.e. the valuation the traveller puts on the time he spends travelling) will be reduced. As indirect costs are positively related to income, then their reduction will benefit most those who enjoy high incomes. There is some indication that transport improvements have in the past had just this effect and that this is the cause of the spatial expansion of the city (Evans, 1973). Thus transport improvements are permissive in that they enable increasing numbers of households earning high incomes to occupy peripheral locations. However, Kasper (1973) has shown that while geographical mobility has increased through transport improvements and rising real incomes, the disadvantages of location at some distance from employment may be considerable for those on the lowest incomes who are unable to afford a long journey to work or who lose contact with sources of job information. While transport improvements are an enabling factor, an increasing proportion of high income households may desire a suburban location because of housing obsolescence or a decline in the environmental amenity in the inner city through increased traffic volumes, highway improvements and blight resulting from urban renewal. If these economic factors are operating in this way then it is possible to derive the following hypothesis of trends in polarisation:

Hypothesis 1 : polarisation at the scale of the entire city may take the form of increasing uni-polarity in which the inner areas have an increasing proportion of low-income groups

while the outer areas increase their proportion of high-income groups.

The preceding analysis has assumed that because average income elasticities of demand for housing space, quality and environmental amenity are positive, then all high-income households will place the same value on these factors. However, demand for space will be related to the size of the household and the value of access to the C.B.D. with stage in the life-cycle. A high-income family with children and one away from home worker will have a high demand for housing space and access to the C.B.D. will have a low priority compared to proximity to good schools, shops and recreation facilities. The household with these requirements will be most likely to locate in the suburbs. In contrast, career-oriented single people and childless couples who have low demands for space and a strong desire for access to work and other central city facilities will locate close to the C.B.D. As families migrate outwards, young people migrate towards the centre. Evans (1973) has shown that between 1951 and 1961 there was a net migration gain of people aged 20 - 29 in the inner London boroughs. The inner city may therefore contain a high proportion of high-income households as well as the low-income households postulated by our earlier analysis. Moreover, this tendency to bi-polarity will be accentuated by the fact that while there are good reasons why either the rich or the poor or both live close to the centre, there is no reason why middle income households should find their optimum location in the inner city. On the one hand their demands

for space are not low enough and on the other, their valuation of travel time is not high enough for them to require a central location.

Polarity in the inner city will therefore be in the form of bi-polarity. Changing constraints on location may cause increasing bi-polarity (i.e. increasing proportions of both the rich and poor) under the following circumstances. First, as the size of the city increases the distance from the centre to the periphery increases and the cost of giving up a central location increases relative to the benefits of living at the periphery. This will be particularly evident if a green-belt prevents peripheral growth thereby increasing the cost of peripheral housing. Inner city bi-polarity will therefore be most likely to occur in large cities with constrained growth. Second, high income households may be influenced by life-style changes which increase the desirability of central city facilities. Third, decentralisation of skilled manual jobs at a faster rate than jobs for professional and unskilled workers will increase the tendency for middle-income groups to migrate outwards. Thus, other things being equal, changing economic constraints on location may be hypothesised to have the following effect:

Hypothesis 2 : polarisation in the inner areas of large cities may take the form of increasing bi-polarity in which the proportion of high- and low-income groups increase at the expense of middle-income groups.

1.8. Social Composition Change in Residential Areas - 2 : Social constraints on residential location.

While economic constraints on residential location have been hypothesised to have large-scale effects on the distribution of social classes, social factors which create a desire for proximity to members of the same social group will have a more restricted effect. Hoyt's high-rent sectors have been accounted for by recourse to the concept of status. "For some people a house is simply a shelter; for others it is a position in society" (Pahl, 1970). Prestige may be particularly important to upwardly mobile households who are "particularly sensitive to the social aspects of location and use residential mobility to bring residence into line with prestige needs" (Rossi, 1955). Timms (1971) has argued that it is not merely proximity to desirable neighbours, but a wish to associate and interact with them that influences location decisions, and Evans (1973) has shown that social agglomeration not only minimises the distance between, and therefore costs of interaction with, desired social groups, but provides economies of agglomeration in the provision of shopping and cultural facilities which they desire. Moreover, since power goes with status, high-ranking members of society are able to exert considerable control over the environmental amenity of their neighbourhoods, thereby increasing the desirability of a location in close proximity to them. The high rent sector is therefore maintained by the valuation high-income households put on locating close to other households of similar status. Moreover Collison's (1960) analysis of Oxford

indicates that intermediate non-manual workers, who are distinguished from skilled manual workers by education rather than income, are more strongly motivated to live close to the high-rent sector than skilled manual workers. It follows that intermediate non-manual workers are prepared to spend more on housing to achieve a prestigous location than are skilled manual workers, and evidence from America (Duncan and Duncan, 1955) bears this out.

A number of studies have demonstrated that housing status aspirations are not limited simply to high-income households. Manual workers may be influenced by status considerations in their desire to change their house and area. Hutchinson's (1947) survey of Willesden residents established that preference for a single-class street was a reflection of social ambition. A street was regarded as undesirably 'mixed' by the informant when he considered that his social standing was superior to his neighbours. Kuper (1953) found that the residents of a council estate in Coventry assessed the status of their neighbours on the basis of their ownership of possessions, the behaviour of their children and the cleanliness of the family. This appraisal consigned other residents to the categories 'rough', 'respectable' and 'superior', and their suitability as associates was determined by these criteria. Runciman (1972) discusses the attitudes of manual workers whose self-ranking was 'middle class'. Those who ranked themselves in this way expressed strong desires to leave their existing residential area because of 'the kind of district' it was. Both Chapman (1955) and Kuper (1953) were able to rank areas of the city

on the basis of expressed preferences. The more favoured areas were small council estates in districts where owner-occupied housing tended to predominate.

However, not all manual workers have specifically housing aspirations. Mâgey (1956) describes working-class attitudes in Oxford in terms of status assent and dissent. In contrast to status dissenters who had strong housing and locational ambitions, status assenters accept the class system and their place within it. "Coupled with this acceptance went a feeling of friendliness about the area, and a confidence that this was home. Status assenters are fully occupied with intimate exchanges of small talk between family, kin and friends." Simmie (1972), in a study of residential mobility in Southampton, found that status assenters were unlikely to move long distances as family networks, community life and traditional attitudes may be disrupted by movement, and a number of works (for example Willmott and Young, 1957) have commented on the problems of social adjustment which occur when long distance movement takes place.

The operation of social constraints on location may effect the observable distribution of social classes if status and aspiration are correlated with income and occupation. If it is assumed that this is the case, and that householders move to locations which reflect their social ambitions, or remain where they are because of satisfaction with the social composition of the area, then it is possible to make the following hypothesis of trends in polarisation:

Hypothesis 3 : polarisation at the small scale of the urban neighbourhood may take the form of increasing uni-polarity as households locate in close proximity to neighbours of the same socio-economic status.

1.9. Social Composition Change in Residential Areas - 3 : Social and Political Intervention in housing choice.

The preceding discussion has implied that households are able to choose their house and its location within the constraints of income and social aspiration. However, the social composition of a residential area will be affected by the tenure of its houses, for there are housing sub-markets in which housing cost is not necessarily related to quality, size or location. The ease with which households can substitute between housing held under difficult tenure systems will influence their ability to move to a desired location, and direct and indirect intervention in the housing market affects the desirability of particular forms of tenure, and by implication, particular locations. Moreover, planning which influences the distribution of environmental and spatial resources will affect the social composition of different parts of the city. Social composition of residential areas cannot therefore be regarded solely as the product of individual choice. It will be partly determined by the actions and ideologies of those who control access to urban resources, including housing.

Table 3, which is unfortunately based on a scheme of stratification which combines semi-skilled and unskilled workers in a single category IV, indicates that there is a hierarchy of housing

Table 3.

Social Class and Housing Tenure England and Wales 1966.

Class (s.e.g's)	Percentage of each class in Tenure Category			
	Owner Occupiers	Local Authority/New Town Tenancy	Private Tenancy	Total
I (1,2,3,4,13)	72.3%	7.1%	20.6%	100%
II (5,6)	57.0	16.5	26.5	100
III (8,9,12,14)	44.3	31.4	24.3	100
IV (7,10,11,15)	29.1	37.9	33.0	100
s.e.g's 16,17	35.3	16.8	47.9	100

Source : Hall et al. (1974)

tenure which bears some relation to the social hierarchy. Owner-occupation represents the most desirable form of tenure, for as well as providing the benefits of ownership there are substantial financial advantages in the form of tax relief on mortgage repayments and no capital gains tax on value appreciation. Council housing has subsidised rental (though on average this subsidy is less than subsidies to owner-occupiers (Central Statistical Office, 1971)) and represents a desirable form of tenure for those who are unable to gain access to owner-occupation. Private tenancies, especially unfurnished, are characterised by poor amenity and overcrowding, but are often the cheapest housing available. Private rental housing is occupied by those who cannot afford or do not aspire to owner-occupation, or who are unable or unwilling to go into council housing.

Competition for housing space is regulated by the institutions which control the housing market. Access to the better owner-occupied houses is controlled by Building Societies which provide mortgage finance. While the methods by which they allocate loans are rarely made explicit, they appear to favour those individuals who expect regular increments in salary and have high job security, rather than those who are employed in less secure occupations subject to cyclical patterns of activity (Barbolet, 1969). Moreover, they show a marked reluctance to finance the purchase of older, pre 1920 property, which would be within the purchasing power of lower-income households. Manual workers are therefore doubly disadvantaged in the owner-occupied housing market. Access to council housing is determined by more complex regulations. Voluntary applicants are subject to a rationing system in the form of a waiting list. Priority in allocation occurs through the length of time an applicant has been on the list and his 'need' defined in terms of present housing conditions, size of family and age. Involuntary movement into council housing occurs through slum clearance schemes and the condemnation of property, though not all the residents of such areas find their way into public housing. In contrast to the public and owner-occupied sectors, private rental operates on a market system of allocation, though rent control, rebates and legislation protecting the tenant from eviction have increased the extent of government control.

The social composition of a residential area will be

related to the tenure of its housing. However, the spatial distribution of particular forms of tenure are both a cause and an effect of the spatial distribution of social classes. On the one hand it could be argued that owner-occupied housing is found in peripheral suburbs because that is where those social groups who desire owner occupation wish to locate, and on the other that the financial benefits of ownership induce high-income households to more peripheral locations than they would otherwise prefer. Whichever is the case, large areas of similarly priced and identical housing will preserve the separation of different social classes while areas of mixed quality and tenure will tend towards heterogenous populations.

The social composition of an area will change through the changing tenure of its houses. The ability to convert private rental to owner-occupation, coupled with financial assistance in the form of improvement grants, may be an added inducement to an inner-city location for high-income households and this process will eventually displace the original population. Urban renewal replaces private rental with public housing, and local authority allocation schemes may separate "the original working-class population into fragments, accumulating the more 'desirable' types on overspill estates, creating pockets of social misfits in the remaining slum areas and leaving the majority of the 'ordinary' working class people in the central development areas" (North West Economic Planning Council, 1972). The West Central Scotland Plan (1974) observed the opposite tendency in Glasgow where inner city estates

housed more affluent populations than the peripheral schemes. Political intervention in the housing market may add weight to our third hypothesis that small scale uni-polerity will be increased within the city.

As well as the more obvious effects of intervention in housing markets, the activity of government and planning may influence the social composition of housing areas by a variety of indirect means. The planning of transport and employment facilities will effect the range of locations in which a household can afford to locate, and development control which restricts the supply of housing increases housing costs. This is particularly evident through green-belt policies which prevent peripheral expansion and raise the land rent gradient in the outer areas. At a smaller scale, density zoning may protect a high-rent area from invasion by lower income groups requiring smaller houses, and environmental amenity is affected by a wide range of policies of improvement and control. Finally, the existence of local authority boundaries influences housing costs through differential rating systems. Cities have characteristically high rateable values while suburbs beyond their borders have lower rates.

1.10. Conclusions.

Social structure is created by differential access to resources. The consequences of the social structure in a market economy are linked to the characteristics of residential areas by the relative economic resources of the different classes, and their values and aspirations which determine how those resources are used.

Economic and social constraints determine the quality, cost and condition of the house a household will occupy and its position in space. There is some evidence that market constraints in British cities have in the past produced zonal and sectoral patterns in which those similarly located in the social structure occupy similar positions in the spatial structure. However, the spatial structure is influenced by those who control land use. Planners may influence the distribution of social classes in the city by their manipulation of urban resources. The patterns produced by the market economy may be reinforced or moderated by planning intervention.

The social composition of a residential area may undergo change through migration, social mobility or demographic change. At the scale of the entire city polarisation may occur as the more affluent move to the suburbs where newer, better housing is available and the low paid remain disproportionately behind in the older urban areas where housing conditions are generally poorer. A number of mutually reinforcing explanations can be produced for this trend. Improved transport speed and comfort, in particular that afforded by car ownership, makes a suburban location economically feasible for high-income households while less mobile workers remain tied to locations close to their work; new private housing is expensive and therefore only available to those who can obtain mortgages; low-paid workers have limited choice in the housing market and may be constrained by kinship ties from long-distance movement; public housing may be concentrated in inner areas. However, within the

inner area of large cities there may be trends towards increasing bi-polarity as middle-income groups move out and high-income households convert existing rental property to owner-occupation. At the scale of the urban neighbourhood social aspiration and local authority allocation procedures may increase the degree of social homogeneity.

The factors which influence migration within the city are many, and their effects on social composition of residential areas will vary with the scale of the area being considered. Moreover, social mobility and demographic change can alter the composition of an area without incurring population movement. In view of the complexity of the factors which cause social change it is unlikely that a full explanation of composition change in any one area will be possible. Nevertheless, analysis of changing patterns of the distribution of social classes may provide further understanding of the processes which determine location in the spatial structure.

CHAPTER 2. Polarisation Case Studies.

2.1. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the results of recent investigations of polarisation in British cities. The preceding analysis of the causes of polarisation indicates that there are three levels of interest. First, it was hypothesised that polarisation at the scale of the entire city might take the form of increasing uni-polarity in which the inner areas have an increasing population of low-income groups while the outer areas increase their proportion of high-income groups. Second, it was hypothesised that the inner areas of large cities might become increasingly bi-polar as the proportions of high- and low-income groups increased at the expense of middle-income groups. Third, it was hypothesised that urban neighbourhoods might become increasingly uni-polar as households locate in close proximity to neighbours of the same socio-economic status. These hypotheses will be tested by recent analyses, which have only been possible following publication of the 1961 and 1966 census which permitted comparison of areal social class composition at two points in time. The case studies will also be used to contribute to the debate on polarisation which has assumed considerable importance in recent planning exercises.

2.2. Polarisation between inner and outer areas.

(a) Migration and polarisation between county boroughs and counties.

Census data has shown that since the Second World War

large towns have undergone population loss while surrounding areas have gained. If towns are defined on the basis of local authority boundaries, then between 1961 and 1966 of the 78 county boroughs in England all but 17 showed a loss in population while all but 3 counties registered an increase (Royal Commission on Local Government in England, 1969). This loss over five years amounted to as much as 8% of the total population in Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle and to over 4% in Birmingham, Bristol, Nottingham and Leicester. In Scotland, the West Central Scotland Plan (1974) noted that Glasgow's population had fallen from over 1.09 million in 1951 to 898,000 in 1971, and the G.L.C. (1969b) viewed with some alarm Greater London's loss of nearly 1 million between 1939 and 1969.

The Local Government Commission for England expressed concern that migration over local authority boundaries might contain disproportionate numbers of the younger and more prosperous members of the population. "As a result, the county boroughs ..... are beginning to lose variety in the social and economic make-up of their populations". To test this hypothesis the Royal Commission on Local Government in England (1969) measured the proportion of economically active males within county boroughs and counties who were in the professional and managerial groups (s.e.g's 1, 2, 3, 4, and 13) and in the 25-44 age group. While we are not interested in the polarisation of different age groups, their analysis of the relative proportions of professional and managerial workers in towns and their surrounding areas between 1961 and 1966 sheds some light

on our first hypothesis.

Because the proportion of professional and managerial workers in the country as a whole increased over the period 1961-66 the analysis expressed the proportion of these workers in county boroughs and counties as idices of the national total expressed as 100. In the five year period the county borough's index fell from 79 to 78, and those 61 boroughs which experienced a net migration loss showed a similar fall, but at a lower index still - from 74 to 73. The counties retained their position relative to the National total at a very much high index of 113. In support of this finding, which the Royal Commission admitted was not overwhelmingly conclusive, 1966 census data on migration was included to show that in the previous five years county boroughs had suffered a net loss of 55,000 professional and managerial workers while the counties had shown a net migration gain of 100,000.

The Commission also attempted to test whether the professional and managerial migrants who left the county boroughs also settled in the surrounding areas. Using a sample of fourteen representative centres and their respective migrant areas the analysis established that the proportional loss of members of this social class to the surrounding hinterland was roughly twice as great as the loss of economically active males in general. Moreover, this pattern was repeated with remarkable consistency among the individual centres. The report therefore concluded that polarisation had "every appearance of being a long established trend" and that there was a "lomg-term weakening effect on the socio-economic character of the major centres".

(b) Migration and polarisation between metropolitan core and rings.

The use of local authority boundaries in a study of polarisation is not entirely satisfactory because the extent to which the boundary includes within it that proportion of the population which is functionally dependent on the city will vary from one city to another. Moreover, using the boundary to define inner and outer areas may crucially affect the hypothesis that polarisation occurs on a zonal basis. A recent study (Hall et al., 1974) has analysed English cities in a manner that more adequately serves our purpose. The study uses the concept of metropolitan areas which are define on the basis of employment functions, and are divided into central cities (cores) and outer areas (rings) on a consistent basis. A metropolitan area (referred to as a Standard Metropolitan Labour Area) is composed of two parts: a core consisting of an administrative area or contiguous areas with a density of five or more workers per acre, or a single administrative area with 20,000 or more workers; a ring consisting of administrative areas contiguous to the core and sending at least 15% of their resident employed population to the core.

By metropolitan area analysis the study was able to measure population changes in metropolitan areas in different regions and changes in the relative balance of population between cores and rings. Between 1931 and 1966 the proportion of the total population of England and Wales which lived in metropolitan areas had remained almost constant at 77 - 78%. However, of the total metropolitan population, while 71% lived in metropolitan cores in

1931 this proportion had fallen to 60% in 1966. During the 1950's and 60's the great majority of metropolitan areas were decentralising their populations into suburban rings, and this tendency was particularly marked for the largest areas both within conurbations or based on free-standing cities. Around London, however, while the city itself was decentralising, rapid growth of smaller metropolitan areas was accompanied by increases in their core populations. Movement of population almost invariably preceded movement of jobs, but by 1966 some of the largest metropolitan areas were also decentralising employment.

A more detailed analysis of five areas of rapid post-war growth confirmed that while these relative gains and losses were made up of a complex series of two-way exchanges between cores and rings, the major flows were composed of short-distance migration from cores to rings. Cities were therefore growing by peripheral expansion, or suburbanisation, but migration into outlying villages and small towns could also be observed. Although in most cases the migration balance in the cores was negative, all gained by long-distance movement from outside the metropolitan area. This trend was accentuated by overseas immigrants who settled in consistently greater numbers in core areas than in rings.

Having established that migration patterns demonstrated a core-ring movement, the study then attempted to test whether migration between 1961 and 1966 had led to increasing spatial separation of socio-economic groups on the same core-ring structure, and whether there were broad correlations between changes in the

spatial distribution of social classes and changes in the spatial distribution of housing under different forms of tenure. The areas chosen for this analysis were the five areas of rapid post-war population growth identified in the migration study. They were the West London Metropolitan sector, part of the West Midlands, Leicester, South Hampshire and South Lancashire/North Cheshire. The generalisations which can be drawn from the data are limited by variations in the scale of the metropolitan areas themselves and the larger metropolitan patterns in which the areas are found. Information from West London is of relatively little value because the metropolitan areas identified were very small, and it follows that economic constraints would be unlikely to have a marked influence on determining location between cores and rings. Moreover, while the study identified places such as Slough and Walton and Weybridge as separate from the London metropolitan area, there are indications that their residential patterns are so strongly influenced by London-based workers that they should be considered as forming part of the London ring. Evidence to test our first hypothesis will be drawn from the North-West, the Midlands and South Hampshire, and data for the representative examples of Liverpool, Leicester and Southampton/Portsmouth is presented in Table 4.

The analysis unfortunately combines the categories of semi- and un-skilled manual workers into a single class IV so that any differences in trends between these two groups does not emerge. While all of the examples show that at each period the proportion

Table 4.

Socio-Economic Patterns 1961 and 1966

Liverpool, Leicester, Southampton/Portsmouth.

1. Liverpool

(a) Core

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1966	1961-66	1961-66	1961	1966
I	1,2,3,4,13	28,930	25,170	-3,760	-13.0	9.8	9.5
II	5,6	46,840	43,890	-2,950	- 6.3	15.9	16.6
III	8,9,12,14	109,090	99,880	-9,210	- 8.4	37.1	37.7
IV	7,10,11, 15	102,320	93,550	-8,770	- 8.5	34.7	35.3
s.e.g. 16 & 17		7,230	2,530	-4,700	-65.0	2.5	0.9
TOTAL		294,410	265,020	-29,390	-10.0	100.0	100.0

(b) Ring

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1966	1961-66	1961-66	1961	1966
I	1,2,3,4,13	26,550	30,850	4,300	16.2	17.7	19.8
II	5,6	31,420	32,300	880	2.8	20.9	20.7
III	8,9,12,14	52,230	54,180	1,950	3.7	34.8	34.8
IV	7,10,11, 15	37,250	37,560	310	0.8	24.8	24.1
s.e.g. 16 & 17		2,680	1,000	-1,680	-62.7	1.8	0.6
TOTAL		150,130	155,890	5,760	3.8	100.0	100.0

2. Leicester

(a) Core

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1966	1961-66	1961-66	1961	1966
I	1,2,3,4,13	10,550	10,240	- 310	- 2.9	12.0	11.7
II	5,6	13,760	13,020	- 740	- 5.4	15.7	14.9
III	8,9,12,14	41,110	40,650	- 460	- 1.1	46.9	46.5
IV	7,10,11, 15	20,830	23,220	2,390	11.5	23.1	26.5
s.e.g. 16 & 17		1,500	340	-1,160	-77.3	1.7	0.4
TOTAL		87,750	87,470	- 280	- 0.3	100.0	100.0

(b) Ring

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1966	1961-66	1961-66	1961	1966
I	1,2,3,4,13	11,860	14,590	2,730	23.0	18.4	20.9
II	5,6	10,160	12,480	2,320	22.8	15.8	17.9
III	8,9,12,14	27,760	28,840	1,080	3.9	43.1	41.3
IV	7,10,11, 15	13,090	13,370	280	2.1	20.3	19.2
s.e.g. 16 & 17		1,510	460	-1,050	-69.5	2.4	0.7
TOTAL		64,380	69,740	5,360	8.3	100.0	100.0

3. Southampton/Portsmouth

(a) Cores

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1966	1961-66	1961-66	1961	1966
I	1,2,3,4,13	14,130	14,630	500	3.5	10.5	11.3
II	5,6	21,650	23,010	1,360	6.3	16.2	17.8
III	8,9,12,14	51,030	49,520	-1,510	- 3.0	38.1	38.2
IV	7,10,11, 15	34,310	31,320	-2,990	- 8.7	25.6	24.2
s.e.g. 16 & 17		12,800	11,010	-1,790	-14.0	9.6	8.5
TOTAL		133,930	129,940	-4,430	- 3.3	100.0	100.0

(b) Rings

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1966	1961-66	1961-66	1961	1966
I	1,2,3,4,13	16,980	20,910	3,930	23.1	14.1	15.6
II	5,6	18,930	22,700	3,770	19.9	15.8	17.0
III	8,9,12,14	42,760	47,810	5,050	11.8	35.6	35.7
IV	7,10,11, 15	28,280	28,570	290	1.0	23.5	21.4
s.e.g. 16 & 17		13,250	13,850	600	4.5	11.0	10.3
TOTAL		120,200	133,840	13,640	11.4	100.0	100.0

Source : Hall et al. (1974)

of high-income groups is invariably greater in the rings than in the cores, there are regional changes in the proportions in each class which affect the apparent movement from cores to rings. Liverpool metropolitan area, which includes Birkenhead, underwent an absolute decline in population in which absolute losses were registered by all social groups except professional and managerial workers. These losses were almost entirely from the core, a possible result of urban renewal and a declining economic base. Nevertheless, at the end of the period its proportion of semi- and un-skilled manual workers remained the highest for all the study areas. In Leicester, by contrast, all groups registered an increase, and the skilled manual category is particularly well represented. In South Hampshire there were numerical gains in all groups except semi- and un-skilled workers who experienced an absolute decline.

The polarisation hypothesis is clearly demonstrated for professional and managerial workers in Liverpool. While all classes underwent numerical losses in the core and gains in the ring, apparent movement was most pronounced for classes I and III. Shifts in the relative strength of the different groups show a general decline in the socio-economic status of the core and an increase in the ring. This occurred despite large numerical losses of manual workers from the core. Leicester also shows clear evidence of polerisation on a core/ring basis, with the non-manual and skilled manual workers experiencing numerical losses in the core and gains in the ring, while semi- and un-skilled manual workers show a marked numerical increase in the core. This may be the result of immigration from

outside the area. The relative strengths of the different groups at the end of the period show a clear upward trend in the socio-economic composition of the ring and a downward trend in the core. In South Hampshire the results are more ambiguous and are strongly affected by the large proportion of armed forces (s.e.g. 16) in the total population. While all groups experienced numerical increases in the rings, the non-manual workers also increased their numbers in the core. The general direction of movement is towards higher socio-economic status for both cores and rings and this is marginally stronger in the rings.

Table 3 in chapter 1 demonstrated that there is a significant relationship between social class and housing tenure. The second stage in this analysis of polarisation is to ascertain whether changing geographical distribution of social classes can be related to changing distribution of housing tenure. Table 5 shows the proportion of households in each tenure category in the cores and rings of the three study areas in 1961 and 1966. In each of the areas there has been a decline in private rental and a corresponding increase in both owner-occupied and public housing which is superimposed on geographical changes. Major differences in the proportion of each category occur between the metropolitan areas, and may reflect regional or scale differences. Liverpool has low levels of owner-occupation compared to either South Hampshire or Leicester. In Leicester the general trend of polarisation is linked with an unambiguous increase in owner-occupation in the ring, while South Hampshire, with less evident polarisation has a similar

Table 5.

Private Households by Tenure 1961 and 1966

Liverpool, Leicester, Southampton/Portsmouth

	CORES			RINGS		
	Owner-occupied	Public	Private etc.	Owner-occupied	Public	Private etc.
	Percentages of total			Percentages of total		
LIVERPOOL						
1961	25.5	27.9	46.6	47.5	25.4	27.1
1966	29.3	30.5	40.2	51.7	26.2	22.1
LEICESTER						
1961	44.3	23.2	32.5	57.3	19.5	23.2
1966	43.7	27.5	28.8	67.6	14.2	18.2
SOUTHAMPTON/PORTSMOUTH						
1961	45.1	21.0	33.9	51.1	23.9	25.0
1966	46.8	23.7	29.5	56.0	23.5	20.5

Source : Hall et al. (1974).

though less marked trend in the distribution of owner-occupied housing. Liverpool's strong tendency to polarisation is accompanied by increases in the proportion of owner-occupied housing in the ring which are paralleled by only slightly smaller increases in the core. In view of the low level of disaggregation of the data and the extent to which tenure changes may reflect both conversion of old property and the construction of new, the results of this analysis cannot be regarded as conclusive. The data suggests that trends in the geographical distribution of social classes are related to changes

in the geographical distribution of housing tenure, but confirmation of this hypothesis must await more detailed analysis.

(c) Conclusions.

Both studies of polerisation suffer from the same limitations in the data. The time period was a relatively short five years and the socio-economic information in the census is only a 10% sample. Moreover, variation in regional economic performance and the scale of the areas studied provide comparisons with only a limited degree of generality. However, it is clear that for non-manual workers there are not only substantially larger proportions in the outer areas of cities, but that those proportions are being increased by migration to the suburbs and surrounding areas. These trends are demonstrated in Liverpool (and results for Manchester, not outlined here, are very similar) which would lend support to the trade-off theory of location. In large cities economic constraints on housing choice enable high-income workers to choose a peripheral location while low-income workers remain disproportionately behind in the inner city. Moreover, these constraints appear to operate in smaller cities, as evidence for Leicester would indicate. That peripheral movement is related to income and not occupation per se is demonstrated by significant deviation in trends for manual workers. Skilled manual workers are included with non-manual groups in the general movement from cores to rings, and over the period 1961-66 there was a tendency for the proportion of these workers in inner and outer areas to approach equilibrium. Semi- and un-skilled manual workers only rarely moved into ring

locations and their residential patterns were becoming either relatively or absolutely more centralised.

2.3. Polarisation and the Inner City.

In the last decade there has been a long, and at times heated, debate over the nature of socio-economic changes in inner cities. In particular the debate has been directed towards the changes taking place in Inner London. There was general agreement that Inner London's population was declining rapidly. While Eversley (1972) and the G.L.C. (1969 b) regarded the rate of decline as a problem in itself, it was more commonly argued that the problem was contained in the differential decline of socio-economic groups. For the whole of the Inner area it was considered that one of two changes might be taking place. The South East Joint Planning team (1970) cautiously admitted that while "evidence of polarisation is either lacking or at best inconclusive" the 'middle mass' of the social spectrum was moving out and that Inner London was becoming a city of the very rich and the very poor. Conversely, Eversley (1972) argued that the affluent were declining in number and that there was an increasing concentration of low-income groups. The debate was not assisted by the G.L.C.'s (1969a) Tomorrow's London which considered that both changes might be taking place simultaneously and saw no inconsistency in both uni- and bi-polarity occurring in the same area at the same time. At the smaller scale of individual wards or neighbourhoods, there was similar disagreement. Ruth Glass (1964) identified the process of gentrification by which the rich displaced the poor in the private housing sector. While

there would be an intermediate phase of bi-polarity the ultimate effect of the process would be increasing segregation at the micro-scale on the basis of housing tenure. Willmott and Young (1973) concurred with this view, maintaining that between 1951 and 1966 the 'more working-class' sectors had become more homogenous in their class characteristics. Harris (1973), nevertheless, considered that between 1951 and 1966 Inner City wards, whether initially bi-polar or uni-polar, showed a tendency towards a more normal distribution of social classes. These claims and counter-claims will be investigated in the following section.

(a) Polarisation at the level of the entire inner city.

The debate over changes in socio-economic composition of Inner London was carried out before the results of the 1971 census were available. These have now been analysed by Hamnett (1974), and changes between 1961 and 1971 are shown in Table 6. Over the period Inner London[1] underwent an absolute decline in population that is represented here as 18.75% of all economically active males. Numerical losses were experienced by all classes except managerial and professional. In absolute terms these losses were greatest for skilled manual workers, followed by the semi-skilled and intermediate non-manual workers. In percentage terms, however, unskilled manual workers underwent a greater decline than the intermediate non-manual group. At the end of the period the relative strengths of

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1 Inner London is defined in this survey as the Cities of London and Westminster and the Boroughs of Camden, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith, Islington, Kensington and Chelsea, Lambeth, Lewisham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets and Wandsworth. It differs from the G.L.C.'S (1969b) 'A' boroughs in that it includes Greenwich and excludes Newham and Haringay.

Table 6.

Socio-Economic Changes 1961-1971

Inner London

Class	s.e.g.	Economically Active Males		Change	% Change	% Total	% Total
		1961	1971	1961-71	1961-71	1961	1971
I	1,2,3,4,13	136,960	141,750	+4,790	+ 3.50	12.96	16.51
II	5,6	227,400	194,340	-33,060	-14.54	21.52	22.63
III	8,9,12,14	369,760	269,210	-100,550	-27.19	34.98	31.35
IV	7,10,15	171,420	127,840	-43,580	-25.42	16.22	14.89
V	11,16,17	151,320	125,590	-25,730	-17.00	14.32	14.62
TOTAL		1,056,860	858,730	-198,130	-18.75	100.0	100.0

Source : Hanneth (1974), adapted.

the social classes show a weakening in the position of classes III and IV, a slight relative increase in classes V and II (despite substantial losses), and a marked increase for class I. There was therefore a clear upward shift in the socio-economic composition of the population.

The data outlined above (which does not permit comparisons with socio-economic changes in Outer London) clearly indicates that the less skilled are in no sense absolutely, and in a relative sense only marginally, becoming more concentrated in Inner London. As such, the evidence for London, for which such fears were expressed, stands in marked contrast to the changes experienced by Leicester. However, while the 'middle mass', the skilled manual workers, have

decreased most rapidly in both absolute and proportional terms, in view of the lack of increase in unskilled labour it is an exaggeration to suggest that Inner London has become markedly more bi-polar or 'a city of the very rich and the very poor'. There is, however, a definite trend towards uni-polarity with an increase in the number and proportion of highly skilled and highly educated workers. Whether they have displaced other groups by gentrification cannot be ascertained from the existing data, but Hamnett (1974) has indicated that at both ward and borough level the increase in professional and managerial workers is strongly correlated with increases in owner-occupation at the expense of private rental. Displacement may therefore be a more accurate description of the process than replacement.

In the first chapter it was argued that changes in socio-economic composition could occur through migration, social mobility or demographic change. Hamnett (1974) has attempted to determine which of these is the most important cause of the observed changes in Inner London. He compared 1961-66 net migration flows with inter-censal changes for economically active males in each class in Inner London, and found that large migration losses were not balanced by inter-censal change. The most anomalous result was for class I which experienced a net migration loss of 20,000 economically active males while registering only a loss of 3,000 in their total number at 1961 and 1966. There was therefore an increase of 17,000 unaccounted for. While part of the explanation might be in upward mobility experienced by out-migrants, the most

probable cause was to be found in changes in the socio-economic structure of the labour force through retirement, death and differential incidence of new entries to the labour supply. Inner London may therefore be acting as a 'generator' of individuals in the professional and managerial groups to such an extent that it can withstand substantial losses through migration and still show only a small inter-censal loss. Many of the new entrants to the workforce could be migrants from other regions who, coming from school or University, do not register as economically active until taking up their first appointment. Alternatively they could come from the indigenous population. Whichever is the case, structural changes in employment must be considered as an additional factor to the simple migration hypothesis.

(b) Polarisation within the inner city.

Our third hypothesis is that segregation is increasing at the small scale of the urban neighbourhood as these areas become more homogenous in their class characteristics. The extent of separation of different social classes from each other can be measured using indices of dissimilarity and segregation developed by the Duncans (Duncan and Duncan, 1955). The index of dissimilarity measures the extent to which any one class is segregated from another class. When there is no difference in the residential pattern of the two classes the index will be zero. When one class is completely separated from another (complete dissimilarity) the index will be 100. The index of segregation measures the extent to which one class is segregated from all other classes combined. Previous studies (see

Duncan and Duncan, 1955, and Collison, 1963) indicate that residential distance parallels social distance with the most dissimilar groups (Classes I and V) being more separated from each other in their residential patterns than from less dissimilar groups (Classes II, III and IV), and that residential segregation is greater for those with clearly defined status than for those whose status is ambiguous. The index of segregation is characteristically U-shaped if the data is ranked in the same order as systems of social stratification.

Hammett (1974) has used the indices of dissimilarity and segregation to compare the spatial distribution of social classes in Inner London in 1961 and 1971. The data is based on the social composition of 245 wards in Inner London, and although the degree of spatial disaggregation this allows is unsatisfactory and the extent to which wards compared with neighbourhoods can be questioned, enumeration district data was not comparable from one census to another. The results are shown in Table 7.

The index of dissimilarity in 1961 shows the expected distributions. There was substantial dissimilarity in the residential pattern of non-manual and manual groups with professional and managerial workers particularly separated from all the manual groups. In contrast, the three manual categories show considerable similarity in their residential distributions. In keeping with previous results, professional and unskilled workers occupy the most spatially differentiated positions. By 1971 changes in residential dissimilarity had taken place, but they are not very great. However,

Table 7.

Indices of Dissimilarity and Segregation

Inner London 1961 and 1971

		1961						1971					
Class	s.e.g.	Dissimilarity					Segre-gation	Dissimilarity					Segre-gation
		1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5	
I	1,2,3,4,13		19.24	37.91	38.28	42.44	33.26		19.67	37.51	36.02	38.23	34.33
II	5,6			22.54	23.43	28.34	17.66			21.36	21.17	26.34	17.20
III	8,9,12,14				9.46	16.75	15.54				11.87	20.31	22.40
IV	7,10,15					13.06	12.64					15.93	17.12
V	11,16,17						19.35						19.84

Source : Hamnett (1974), adapted

both non-manual groups were becoming less dissimilar in their spatial distribution relative to all manual groups, while manual workers themselves were becoming noticeably more dissimilar to each other. Changes in the index of segregation are more significant. Except for class II all groups increased their degree of segregation, and this increase was sufficiently marked for class III for it to occupy an unusually segregated position. The manual U-shaped curve of the index has been replaced by one more closely resembling a W.

An explanation for these trends must account for the decreasing dissimilarity in residential distribution between manual and non-manual groups which is occurring at the same time as manual workers, in relation to each other, occupy more distinct spatial patterns. These changes can be explained by differential ward losses of skilled and semi-skilled workers allied with differential ward gains of professional and managerial workers. If it is hypothesised that gentrification is taking place in inner wards which have a high proportion of unskilled workers and rapid losses of skilled and semi-skilled workers, then the significant reduction in dissimilarity between groups I and V coupled with the increase in dissimilarity between manual groups can be explained. Moreover, this hypothesis would account for the increasing segregation of class III if it is also assumed that these workers are concentrated in outer wards which are relatively untouched by gentrification. The odd result for class I, in which it is experiencing both decreasing dissimilarity from other groups and increasing segregation, may be explained by the extent to which the widespread increase in

this group at ward level has been concentrated in particular wards in the North-West sector. The results indicate, therefore, that while gentrification initially causes a reduction in residential dissimilarity between professional and managerial workers and the manual groups, the process eventually leads to the dominance of the former. Moreover, displacement of manual workers has led to increased homogeneity within wards occupied predominantly by manual groups.

(c) Conclusions on Polarisation in Inner London.

Within Inner London as a whole there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that bi-polarity is becoming more pronounced. Rather, the changes taking place, in contrast to Liverpool and Leicester cores, are leading to a marked upward shift in the socio-economic composition of the population. At individual ward level there is a lessening of separation between manual and non-manual groups, but the manual population is becoming separated into more distinct residential patterns.

2.4. Conclusions.

In terms of our three hypotheses the results of the case-studies confirm that there is increasing uni-polarity at the level of the entire city and in Inner London at the level of the ward. Bi-polarity is not evident from any of the cities analysed. However, while most of the examples show a shift towards a higher socio-economic composition in the outer areas, and a correspondingly downward shift in the inner areas, Inner London, when analysed in

isolation from changes in the rest of the city, shows a marked upward trend. As such, the city may be influenced by its unique employment structure, and similar results could not be expected in any other British city. This would also reduce the applicability of the finding that the manual groups are becoming more separated from each other, at the small scale. However, results from the three metropolitan areas would suggest that this possibility is a real one given the divergence in residential trends between cores and rings for the skilled manual and other manual groups.

In view of these trends in polarisation which occurred during the 1960's, is it possible to predict that similar trends will be a feature of the '70's? Two factors, transport costs and supply of housing, may lead to a reduction in rate of separation. If the causes of polarisation at the large scale have been analysed correctly, then assuming that the relative distribution of income and elasticities of expenditure between social classes remain the same and that employment remains centralised, the important factor will be transport costs. An increase in costs per mile relative to income will have the effect of limiting peripheral growth, but of emphasising the existing balance in the distribution of social classes between cores and rings as low-income groups will be less able to move from a central location. If transport costs are increased at a higher rate for private motorists than for other modes of transport, then as peripheral movement has been strongly correlated with car ownership, the net result might be a decline in polarisation at the large-scale. Changes at the level of the

urban neighbourhood are strongly influenced by planning activity. However, voluntary movement to a more desirable location will be influenced by the supply of housing available in that location. If, as some suggest, there is a housing shortage during this decade, then as movement is reduced, so the tendency towards increasing homogeneity at the small scale will be restricted.

PART II.

PLANNING THEORIES OF THE IDEAL RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES

CHAPTER 3. The Origin and Development of the Idea of Social Balance in Planning.

3.1. Introduction.

The idea of social balance has formed a substantial part of a planning idealogy that maintains that planning is involved in "providing the physical basis for a better urban community life" (Foley, 1960). It is an idea that has two central propositions. First, that the spatial separation of socio-economic groups has social consequences, some of which are undesirable. Second, the undesirable effects of separation may be alleviated by re-arranging the location of the different groups so that defined geographical areas contain more even proportions of each group. This chapter will outline changes in the definition of the costs of polarisation and benefits of balance that have accompanied the development of planning practice and planning theories of society.

3.2. 19th Century Model Towns and Villages.

The rapid growth of towns in the late 18th century and early 19th century left them with large areas of filth, inadequate drainage, overcrowding and high mortality rates coupled with inadequate Municipal powers to solve these problems. From the 1840's onwards people were increasingly conscious that districts inhabited by the working classes showed few signs of improvement from within. Numerous agencies, both public and private addressed themselves to the improvement of working class housing, at first intermittently and on a small scale, then gradually

more and more comprehensively (Ashworth, 1954).

With progress to improve towns from within proceeding very slowly, reformers sought the chance to start again and build towns better suited to life and work, avoiding past errors and without the handicap of having first to remove the physical embodiment of those errors. Idealists who considered the possibilities of new settlements tended to be of two kinds: those who wanted to provide a better physical environment, and those whose projects sprang from moral considerations and a concern for social regeneration. Central to the idea of social balance was the concept of an ideal community which rejected existing communities and existing social forms.

In 1849 James Silk Buckingham published an elaborate proposal for a new town which he called 'Victoria'. The town would have "every advantage of beauty, security, healthfulness and convenience with its inhabitants divided in due proportion between agriculture and industry, and between the possessors of capital, skill and labour" (Buckingham, 1849). Although it was never built, it was the earliest Model to combine authentic Owenism with ideas that were to reappear in Howard. A similar scheme of a more practical nature appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine in 1848 following the proposal of a London architect that villages should be erected within a radius of 4 to 10 miles of London. The scheme proposed a village of 5,000 people near Ilford Station with houses costing £40, £30 and between £12 to £18 per annum to cater for people of different classes who would also be provided with

railway season tickets of first, second and third class respectively. The plan also involved "air and space, wood and water, schools and churches, shrubberies and gardens, around pretty self-contained cottages, in a group neither too large to deprive it of a country character, not too small to diminish the probabilities of social intercourse" (C. & R. Bell, 1972). It was never built.

The resettlement of industry and population on new sites had been used by earlier reformers as a means of experimenting with new social forms. The first full-scale attempt at community planning and social mix was carried out by George Cadbury on a new site at Bourneville near Birmingham. His father, John Cadbury, had published in 1849 a plan for a factory town which integrated rural and urban pursuits, enforced temperance and provided for the care of the aged. The object of the new settlement was to "build towns for the working classes and also to create as far as possible a mixed community". This would alleviate "the evils which arise from the insanitary and insufficient accomodation supplied to large numbers of the working classes, and ..... secure to the workers in factories some of the advantages of outdoor village life" (C. & R. Bell, 1972). In order to achieve this Cadbury chose some of the first residents himself with a view to "getting together as mixed a community as possible applied to character and interests as well as to income and social class" (Bourneville Village Trust, 1956). Although the Bourneville experient has been widely acknowledged as a precursor of the Garden City Movement

(Eversley, 1973) and modern British New Towns it deserves equal notice as the first practical implementation of social mix. It is unfortunate that George Cadbury did not set out his reasons for mix at greater length.

The motives for social mix in these early schemes are often far from explicit. However, a common theme of 19th century social reformers was a desire to return to the pre-industrial village of 'Merrie England'. Confronted with the degradation of life in the cities the enthusiasts of the village saw in its mix of classes and vocations an antidote to the new class antagonisms which, Disraeli maintained, had split England into two nations. Thus Mastermann (1904) writing on the growth of cities maintained that "to some observes the change excites only a lament over a past that is for ever gone. They mourn the vanishing of a vigorous jolly life, the songs of the village ale house, existence encompassed by natural things and the memories of the dead - the secure and confident life of 'Merrie England'. To others again the change is one charged with a menace to the future. They dread the fermenting in the cities, of some new, all-powerful explosive, destined one day to shatter into ruin all their desirable social order." It was no accident that Cadbury adopted an architectural style that was a "pantomime version of bucolic England" (C. & R. Bell, 1972). This romantic, conservative and anti-urban theme was to form an important element in British planning and a justification for social mix in the post-war New Towns.

A second theme was utilitarian. Segregation by class and income was a general feature of industrial cities which were also short of housing and essential services (Booth, 1906). A disease-ridden working class could be regarded as a wasteful use of resources. Perhaps mixed communities would function better. The utilitarian Wakefield (1849) recommended planned social balance for this reason in the new colonies of Australia and New Zealand.

A third feature of schemes for social balance was the beginning of an understanding of the problem of accessibility and environment. As early as 1841 the movement of the affluent to the better environment of the suburbs was seen to result from the construction of the railway. Throughout the 19th century evidence was produced to show that working class families were forced to continue living in central areas because their casual employment required that they be on the spot or lose the opportunity of work, and because they must be in a district providing subsidiary employment for women and girls whose earnings were required to make up an adequate family income. The problem was that with good accessibility to work the environment was poor, and with poor accessibility the environment was good. This could be partially overcome by either providing good accessibility cheaply, as in the scheme at Ilford Station, or by decentralisation of industry into a green-field site on which the environment would be controlled, as in the Bourneville estate. While this does not explain why mix should be a feature of such schemes, it is an important idea which

was to be systematically worked out by Howard in his proposals for Garden Cities.

3.3. Howard and the Garden City Movement.

Howard did not invent the idea of new towns. As we have seen, Buckingham had developed the idea of a model city and Wakefield had advocated the planned movement of population. Perhaps the true originator of the garden city as an answer to the problems of urban growth was the economist Alfred Marshall (1884). He argued that there were "large classes of the population of London whose removal to the country would be in the long run economically advantageous". His reasons were that the costs of maintaining some industries in large cities were higher than they would be in smaller settlements, and that as Bourneville had shown, they could be decentralised with both social and economic advatage.

Howard's contribution, expressed most forcibly in his diagram of the three magnets of town, country and town/country was that both good accessibility to work and good environment could be maintained in the same settlement (Howard, 1946). To do this the competition for land which led to high land values and a poor environment had to be controlled. This would be possible if a corporation took land of low accessibility and conferred accessibility on it by building a city which was largely self-contained.

However, in terms of social mix Howard took a step back from the Bourneville example of an intimate mix of social classes. While he recognised that a balance of population in

terms of age, sex, social and educational background broadly approximate to the wider national population was necessary to guarantee the provision of a wide range of service, his garden city was definitely segregated according to class and income on the micro-level. Most of the advocates of the garden city conferred with this idea. Sennett (1905) for example, in his textbook on garden city planning recognised the "mutual dependency of the classes", and admitted that in the modern garden city "every grade of social status must be represented". Like Buckingham, he realised the functional need for a range of employment and like Octavia Hill, he felt that the least privileged residents would "gradually and without unwholesome 'forcing', be raised, so that they could appreciate, conform to, and reap advantage from" contact with the higher classes. However, he did not favour balance at the small scale; in fact, he was passionately opposed to it. Residential segregation by class was essential; any greater degree of mix would mean "a dead level of equality, and hence mediocrity". Nevertheless, he felt that without residential mixing or equality, class co-operation would occur as 'Earl' and 'sweep' rode together, 'the sound of the horn [would] blend all feelings into harmony'.

Most of Sennett's contemporaries in the Garden City Movement followed his lead in advocating residential segregation by class. Only Harvey (1960) was sufficiently impressed by the Bourneville model to advocate intimate residential mixing, which he justified on three grounds. First, aesthetically the 'secrets

of beautiful village building' were derived from the social mix, second, socially the classes would be encouraged to live in kindly neighbourliness, and finally, functionally the factory-worker and brain-workers in the same district was expressly desirable. The idea of the garden city was to be modified by political desires before its advocates were to accept these propositions.

3.4. The Barnett's and the Co-Partnership Movement.

The notion that close association between different classes would elevate the poor was allied to some aspects of the Garden City Movement by the Barnetts in Hampstead Garden Suburb. During the 19th century there were many reformers who were more concerned with improving slum dwellers' morality than with improving their dwellings, and there was widespread support for the proposition that the example set by the middle and upper classes would have an elevating effect. In 1838, for example, a Parliamentary Committee on Public Walks was given evidence that the 'streams of public intercourse' that would pass along improved streets in poor neighbourhoods would give the poor valuable opportunities for 'the observation and influence of wealthier and better educated neighbours'. Later in the century Octavia Hill set about improving the life of the poor and the understanding of the wealthy by sending assistants to work in poor areas. She did not advocate residential mix as such - her assistants only visited poor areas - nor was her intention to bring about mix between rich and poor. Her views were that mix between those who had been 'educated' into raising their standards and those who remained to be uplifted would benefit

the latter. "The near presence of honest, respectable neighbours makes habitual thieving impossible; just as dirty people are shamed into cleanliness when scattered among ordinary, decent folk and brought into the presence of the light" (Octavia Hill, 1872).

Samuel and Henrietta Barnett developed the idea of residential mix as education for the urban poor in two ways. They established the first Settlement House in Inner London in the 1880's in order that education and mutual understanding between rich and poor could be part of a general reform of working class behaviour. "No social reform will be adequate which does not touch social relations, bind classes by friendship and pass, through the medium of friendship, the spirit which inspires righteousness and devotion" (Barnett and Barnett, 1888). Not content with the limited effects of this version of Octavia Hill's strategy, they were concerned to reduce segregation on a permanent basis. Segregation, they maintained "impoverishes the poor. It authorises as it were a lower standard of life for the neighbourhoods in which the poor are left; it encourages a contempt for a home which is narrow; it leaves large quarters of the town without the light which comes from knowledge, and large masses of the people without the friendship of those better taught than themselves" (Barnett and Barnett, 1888). The environment in which social experimentation was to be carried out was the garden suburb, a distorted version of Howard's Garden City.

Garden suburbs were to be built by the Co-Partnership

movement which they founded. The movement was designed to raise capital for suburban development in which tenants would be credited with profits in the form of shares and rent dividends. The movement operated in many cities, but undoubtedly their most influential project was Hampstead Garden Suburb. The aim of this development was to provide a planned physical environment, and for this purpose Unwin was appointed architect and applied his principle that nothing would be gained by overcrowding. However, there was also a social aim "to promote a better understanding between members of the classes which form our nation" (Barnett, 1918). To this end, a portion of the suburb was constructed specifically for the working class. Although the project gained an international reputation, it was socially disappointing. The working classes were not attracted, "a circumstance not very surprising when the somewhat rarified atmosphere in which it was conceived is considered" (Ashworth, 1954). Moreover, "the assumption that if the middle class is mixed up with the working class some of its members will act as unpaid social workers is a form of middle class chauvinism that would have horrified Octavia Hill" (Etherington, 1974).

3.5. Mumford and the Global View of Social Mix.

Mumford was undoubtedly the outstanding philosopher of the planning movement during the inter-war and immediate post-war period. His voluminous writings contain many references to the concept of balance. One of his reasons for advocating social

balance is economic: "a unit that consists of workers, without the middle class and rich groups ..... is unable to support even the elementary civic equipment of roads, sewers, fire department, police services and schools" (Mumford, 1938). He also argued on functional lines: "the city if it is to function effectively, cannot be a segregated environment; the city with the single social class, with a single social stratum, with a single type of industrial activity, offers fewer possibilities for the higher forms of human achievement than a many-sided urban environment" (Mumford, 1938). A further theme is socio-psychological. The 'balance personality' requires 'a capacity for self-fulfilment and social cooperation' that can only be achieved in an environment which offers occupational and social variety (Mumford, 1943).

It was, however, in his 'global' thinking that Mumford was most effective. He believed, like Geddes, that 'the city functions as a specialised organ of social transmission' (Mumford, 1938). The city should represent in microcosm the world at large in order to permit 'cultural cross-fertilisation'. That the modern city was failing to do this is evident from the following quotation:

> "The ideal of balance is very close to the Greek ideal of the Golden Mean in conduct; and even of the Renaissance ideal of the gentleman. ..... To achieve balance, a variety of occupations, a variety of environments, a variety of social groupings must be open to the individual ..... to permit a periodic shaking up of routines ..... In the interests of balance, we must look forward as

> Sir Thomas More did in his Utopia, to an alternation of rural and urban occupations ..... We must expect more manual work from the intellectual ..... and ..... more intelligence and intellectual effort from the rank and file of humanity ..... This effort to achieve balance ..... is essential to the creation of a common world, more orderly, more harmonious than was Western Society."
>
> (Mumford, 1943)

While his reasons for wanting social balance and his views on what it would entail may have been beyond the intellectual and practical capacity of many planners, Mumford's importance lay in the simplicity of the solution he offered. Put at its most essential, he considered the large segregated city was undesirable, and should be restructured into diverse and balanced neighbourhoods. Transforming Perry's (1929) concept of the neighbourhood from a convenient physical unit within which community facilities could be provided to maximise accessibility, he gave it a social content maintaining that the heterogeneity of the city should be reflected in a diverse neighbourhood. If the Barnett's reduced the idea of social mix to the level of the suburb, it was Mumford who reduced it still further to the level of the neighbourhood. When allied to Howard's ideas on the garden city it was to provide the social justification for the British New Towns.

3.6. The New Towns and Social Balance.

The objectives of planners in the post-war period were made more easy to accomplish by the existence of comprehensive legislation in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, but quite what those objectives were is not always apparent from either the

legislation or the plans they produced. One fundamental view held by planners during this period was that the large conurbations had to be physically contained as continued in-migration had led to overcrowding, high densities, smoke, noise, a long journey to work and ill health (Abercrombie, 1945). As a necessary counterpart to containment both population and industry were to be decentralised into self-contained and balanced communities. Essentially, there were the views of the Garden City Movement which had been developed almost half a century earlier.

The idea of social balance was an important part of much of the thinking which determined the shape of future development. There was a reaction from the single-class suburb. "The almost unanimous conclusion [of sociologists] is that the general welfare has not been appreciably improved by what is called suburban development. This kind of development ..... has been marked by excessively large areas of housing occupied by people of one income group. The social problems [created by these suburbs] stem from the income and age group segregation of the population." (Abercrombie, 1945). It is unfortunate that Abercrombie's Greater London Plan failed to explain what these social problems were. There was also a reaction from the homogenous working class estate,where in places like Becontree, the government had virtually approved segregation (Young, 1934). The New Towns were not going to be "inhabited by people of one income level and that the lowest" (Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town & Country Planning, quoted in Heraud, 1968). Indeed, it was within the terms of reference of

the Reith Committee on the New Towns (1948) that they should suggest "guiding principles on which (new) towns should be established and developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living". The Committee concluded that the main problem was "one of class distinction ..... if the community is to be truly balanced, so long as social classes exist, all must be represented in it. A contribution is needed from every type and class of person, the community will be the poorer if all are not there." Again, it is unfortunate that the reasoning behind this decision was not made more explicit or that balance was not more fully defined.

One of the reasons that have been suggested to account for this revival of interest in social mix has little to do with the considerations of planners. Observers have seen in the revival a desire to extend war-time 'togetherness' and the removal of class barriers that fortuitously coincided with the election of a Labour party opposed to segregation. Social balance was therefore a condition for the acceptability of new towns as a national policy (Alonso, 1970). This 'togetherness' was often seen in terms of a nostalgic desire to revive village life. Bevan is quoted (in Collison , 1963) as saying that "we have to try to recapture the glory of some of the old English villages ..... where the doctor could reside benignly with his patients in the same street", and the Chairman of Stevenage Development Corporation declared that he wanted "to revive the social structure of the old English village, where the rich lived next door to the not so

rich and everybody knew everybody" (quoted in Orlans, 1952). But not only were the classes to live together, they were to develop a healthy community life with plenty of free and friendly association and considerable intimacy and neighbourliness. Thus, Silkin, speaking in 1948 declared:

> "I am very concerned not merely to get different classes living together but to get them actually mixing together. Unless they do mix freely in their leisure and recreation the whole purpose of a mixed community disappears."
>
> (quoted in Heraud, 1968)

The planned unit in which this mixing was to take place was the neighbourhood, so ardently popularised by Mumford. In 1943 the National Council of Social Service had considered that "though physical planning and administrative measures cannot by themselves change social relationships they ..... can encourage and facilitate the growth of that spirit of fellowship without which true community life is impossible", and that the best means of achieving this end would be the neighbourhood. The qualification in the National Council's observation was largely ignored, and it was assumed that the balanced neighbourhood would foster community relations if it contained facilities which attracted all classes. The most important of these facilities in which 'cross-cutting alliances' would be established was the Community Centre. Abercrombie (1945) in his plan to re-mould London gave two further reasons for his choice of the balanced neighbourhood as the basic planning unit. The first was that it would satisfy the major interests of life, and the second that the necessity for geographical

mobility would be reduced 'by the provision within the community of a variety of houses and dwellings to meet the needs of all population groups'. The balanced neighbourhood would be of an ideal size if it was '(a) small enough to facilitate aquaintance; (b) large enough to provide for diversity of population; and (c) large enough to provide for a full range of local social, recreational and education facilities' (Abercrombie, 1945). In practice the ideal size was considered to be either 5,000 or 10,000 people as this would be sufficient for either one or two primary schools, and residential mixing would be achieved by the simple physical device of building dwellings of different size in close proximity to each other.

As well as attempting to create 'a spirit of fellowship' and producing social stability there were other motives in the desire for balance in the New Towns. The National Council of Social Service (1943) echoed the sentiments of the Barnetts when it considered that "the new municipal estates contain relatively few people with varied experience in social leadership, and where leaders are lacking it is more than usually difficult to build up community life." Social leadership would be provided in New Towns by the middle classes. Orlans (1952) saw in the idea of the balanced community the desire to maintain the status quo and to serve the forces of law and order by middle-class social control. While it is true that the balanced community was not seen as a means of removing the existance of classes but rather of suggesting how they should live together, the concept

of social control is never overtly expressed in the literature of the time. What can be confidently stated is that there were economic reasons for balance, at least at the level of the town. Working-class housing built by local authorities was subject to subsidy from the Government and local ratepayers. The New Town Corporations were not rating authorities and therefore the costs of subsidising rental housing would fall almost entirely on the Treasury. The problem would be eased by building unsubsidised housing for sale. Thus, the more balanced the community, the better the chance would be to balance the budget of the Corporation and Treasury. There was also the view, especially powerful when seen in the context of the time, that a balanced range of employment opportunities would give greater stability in the event of a slump. If prospective employers could be attracted to the town then the Corporation's task of making the town economically self-contained would be all the easier. Similarly, it was considered that a socially balanced town would support a wide range of commercial facilities, thereby assisting the objective of self-containment.

3.7. Re-appraisal of the Balanced Neighbourhood.

In the 1950's and 60's the idea of the mixed class neighbourhood came under attack. The reasons why this occurred are as much bound up with criticisms of planning in general as with the balanced neighbourhood in particular, and it is necessary to outline the broader context. British planning had evolved

largely from the ideas of Howard and the Garden City Movement. One of the fundamental aspects of this movement was the belief that the future could be planned through a single, comprehensive physical design, a belief that is sometimes referred to as 'blueprint' planning. This led to an emphasis on a desired 'idealised future community' (Hall et al., 1974), of which the balanced neighbourhood had become a part. The design bias in planning led it to concentrate on "a mapped representation of the total environment ..... deduced from basic emphasis about the good life, but only occasionally are these explicitly stated" (Reiner, 1963). Broady (1966) has identified one of these assumptions as 'architectural determinism', by which it is assumed that changes in the physical environment will automatically change society, and that the good man is the product of the good environment. Moreover, the obsession with design at the expense of planning method meant that it lacked a tradition of research into the social and economic environment which planners were seeking to control, and this lack of knowledge was reinforced by a belief that all interests were subordinate to the public interest which the planner was able to define in a set of policy measures derived from his own ideology. The planner assumed that there was a general consensus among the whole nation as to values, and coupled this with a belief that the policies he advocated (including the balanced neighbourhood) would automatically maximise those values.

The design bias is immediately apparent in the

concept of the balanced neighbourhood. Classes would be made to live near each other by the simple expedient of building houses of different sizes in close proximity to each other. That this would lead to full and friendly association between classes was assumed, not because there was any evidence that this would happen, but because planners and politicians wanted it to happen. The architectural determinism of the balanced neighbourhood, coupled with a belief in consensus, was accepted because it was ideological, not because it was verifiable. Indeed, what evidence there was at the time suggested there would be difficulties. Osborn (1946) writing on the experience of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City maintained that though there was "less segregation than in other towns ..... whatever town planners may desire, people have a marked tendency to segregate themselves by class or income". Moreover, a survey of likely future residents of Stevenage New Town suggested that the majority would prefer to live in a single class street (Hutchinson, 1947). The following chapter will indicate how far the balanced neighbourhood has been achieved in practice.

The design approach to planning meant that the tradition of systematic investigation of the social environment which had developed from Booth and the Webbs, was not an integral part of the planning process. The "thought processes [of Howard and Geddes] were instinctive rather than systematic; their universe was so wide as to be no longer verifiable" (Glass, 1968). Because the methods of social science were lacking there was no

way in which the balanced neighbourhood (and, of course, the Garden City) could be realistically assessed. It was those people, trained in the methods of social investigation which planning had ignored, who were to question the assumptions behind the mixed neighbourhood. Even in the heady days of the immediate post-war period Madge (1948) had argued that "there are many places in which all classes are already trained to mix without prejudice; the only thing is the home neighbourhood is not one of those places". Campleman (1950) too had maintained that the surest way of hampering the development of the "spirit of neighbourliness" would be "to enforce by planning a mixture of social strata".. But it was Gans (1968) who was the most effective of the re-appraisers. He considered that social relations in a mixed-class neighbourhood would involve "a polite but cool social climate lacking the consensus and intensity of relations that are necessary for mutual enrichment". He also argued that heterogeneity would not necessarily facilitate the process of democracy as political differences would be unlikely to be set aside by the mere fact of living together.

These considerations, and arguably a more realistic attitude to middle class housing desires on the part of New Town planners, have led to a reduction in concern over residential distributions of social classes at the small-scale. However, the question of large-scale polarisation was raised to the level of public debate by regional studies in the late 1960's. The concern now is with the inner city and the possibility of an "urban crisis".

3.8. Regional Planning and Social Polarisation.

While post-war planners concerned with the creation of ideal communities exphasised the benefits of social balance, recent regional planning exercises (for example see Greater London Council 1969a and b, the South East Joint Planning Team 1970, and the West Central Scotland Plan 1974) have been concerned with lack of balance, or polarisation, in the large conurbations. This change in emphasis has come about through the realisation that decentralisation policies pursued since the mid 1940's have not worked to the advantage of all groups in society, and to an increasing awareness of the social consequences of land-use planning. These in turn are related to changes in planning methodology which reject the notion that planning can provide a physical blueprint which expresses some final and idealised state of society. Rather, planning is regarded as a process in which problems are identified by an explicit programme of goal formulation and which permits consideration of a wide range of possible solutions to impediments in the attainment of social objectives.

Given this approach it is no surprise to learn that while each of the studies regarded polarisation as a problem, each in turn rejected the notion of an ideal mix of social classes. The G.L.C. (1969a), for example, states that the question of social stratification in local communities is not an issue, and that their fears over losses of some socio-economic groups did not spring from theoretical considerations of social balance.

Similarly the South East Joint Planning Team (1970) considered that the approach to the question of society's structure should not begin "with a view in the first place to establishing a residential mix of a particular kind in a particular locality". However, from this starting point they reach very different conclusions. For despite the G.L.C.'s affirmations to the contrary, its policies have every appearance of being concerned with social balance. On the one hand, the Development Plan proposed that the planned movement of low-income workers from Inner London should be brought about by public housing programmes in the outer Boroughs, and on the other, that all social groups should be retained in the city because "the good functioning of government and society demands that we should prevent extreme polarisation". Moreover, a specific aim of the policy to encourage private housing and housing associations in the inner areas would be that variety in choice of housing would assist the creation of balanced communities.

By contrast, the Strategic Plan for the South East, contains a more satisfactory use of the problem-oriented methodology. The plan begins with a consideration of the problem of low-income households and accepts that polarisation may be leading to increased concentration of these groups in inner areas of the city. However, because the plan is concerned with a social problem rather than areas of the city <u>per se</u> its approach is to consider alternative ways of solving the problem rather than with 'juggling with mix' or simply considering spatial solutions.

Low income households find themselves constrained to accept locations in the city which lack the urban resources enjoyed by more affluent households, and which restrict their children to a cycle of deprivation which prevents them from being socially mobile. "There is nothing morally or socially right or wrong about people with similar social and economic characteristics from living near each other as long as this does not limit their life chances to the extent that, say, their children's opportunities for social mobility are seriously impaired or their access to resources is limited". Thus, while polarisation may lead to inequalities, social mix must be seen as one means of achieving a more equitable society. But it is only one means to this end, and must not be considered in isolation from other solutions. The plan therefore identifies a number of possible remedies. One is to re-arrange the spatial distribution of social groups by housing and employment policies which permit the dispersal of semi and unskilled workers to more favoured locations. Another is to positively discriminate in housing, education and industrial training provision in areas of multiple deprivation in order to enhance the possibility of social mobility. The plan also considerssolutions outside the scope of physical planning, viz.: by increasing the status and pay of the least skilled jobs, or by replacing those jobs with more skilled ones. Social balance is therefore seen as a means of achieving a more equitable socity, but it is only one strategy that may be used with many others. Similarly, polarisation is

both a cause and an effect of inequalities which are perpetuated and intensified by its operation, but other social processes operate in the same way.

The West Central Scotland Plan (1974) contributed little to the debate on polarisation. As it considered that inequality was hardly affected by physical planning, and that education and welfare were beyond the scope of the report, it was content merely to identify "areas of need" or segregated communities in Glasgow. Few solutions to the problems of low-income households were identified, other than some suggestions for administrative arrangements in deprived areas. However, the plan considered that lack of social balance in Glasgow exacerbated inequalities of service provision and probably contributed to unemployment. An "ideal situation", seen as the solution to the inequalities of an unbalanced population, was a "new equilibrium" in the composition of the population. This would emerge when "a greater variety of people found it worth their while to remain in Glasgow; and at the same time for a greater variety to move out".

3.9. Conclusions.

The idea that the spatial distribution of social classes has important social effects, coupled with the belief that the planner may alleviate undesirable social consequences partly or in whole by re-arranging those spatial distributions so that geographical areas contain more balanced or less polarised populations, has been a very tenacious concept in planning. It

was an important element in a social reformist ideology that developed largely independently of the tradition of sociological investigation, and it continues to be a planning consideration at a time when this tradition is increasingly being incoporated into the planning process. The idea has also survived, albeit in modified form, a change in emphasis from planning for limited spatial or physical objectives to planning as a process of choice between social goals.

The advocates of the balanced community have maintained that it will provide a number of social benefits. Prior to Mumford, these were seen to be the provision of education for the urban poor, the promotion of social harmony and the creation of aesthetic diversity. Munford held that a balanced neighbourhood would reflect the diversity of the modern world and enhance the process of cultured cross-fertilisation. His writings influenced a generation of New Town planners who saw in the balanced town the best means of ensuring the provision of a wide range of employment and service facilities. Mixing in neighbourhoods would promote social harmony, provide opportunities for increased understanding, encourage residential stability and provide leadership for an active social life. While most of these claims have been re-examined in the light of current understanding of social processes, the balanced community retains some attention in planning as a means of increasing equality of access to urban resources and enhancing opportunities for social mobility. Chapter 5 will examine the validity of the concept of the balanced

community and will attempt to assess its importance as a social goal in the planning process. Chapter 4, which follows, outlines the achievement of New Town planners in their attempts to create mixed towns and neighbourhoods.

CHAPTER 4. Balanced Communities in Practice.

New Towns Case Studies.

4.1. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine New Towns to determine:

(a) How far planners have succeeded in creating socially balanced communities;

(b) Whether the spatial distribution of social classes within New Towns exhibit the features of social segregation found in 'natural' settlements; and

(c) How far the evidence of what has happened in New Towns can illuminate the social processes which operate in towns.

Since the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act all British towns have been 'planned'. However, the New Towns are particularly important to a study of the influence of planning on social polarisation not only because their designers had a commitment to the idea of social mix, but because the influence of planning has been much greater than in pre-existing settlements. This is not to suggest that local authority planners have not affected, or wished to affect, the geographical distribution of social classes, but that their ability to make large-scale changes has been far less. There are three major reasons why the New Town planner has been in a favourable position relative to his local authority counterpart. First, the New Towns have been built by Development Corporations

which have been largely independent of both local and national government. Planners in the Corporations have been responsible for almost every aspect of the development of the town. They determine, in conjunction with the Department of Trade and Industry, which industries will come to the town and where they will be sited. They plan all residential areas, and through the Industrial Selection Scheme, determine who will occupy the houses. The normal process of interaction between planners, politicians, developers and the public is restricted in New Towns to co-operation amongst a smaller range of actors in the development process. Second, in terms of the scale of development, New Town planners are able to work to a grand design in which the implications of planning proposals can be considered and resolved. By contrast, the local authority planner must work incrementally in adapting the existing structure to new demands. Third, since 1959 local authorities have had to pay the full market value for land purchased by compulsory aquisition. A Development Corporation is in the very favourable financial situation of being able to buy land at existing use value.

4.2. New Town Strategy.

The New Towns were to be 'self-contained and balanced communities for work and living' (Reith Committee on New Towns, 1946). While other objectives of New Towns have varied, the desire for self-containment and social balance has been a feature of almost all Development Corporation planning. The

concept of self-containment is not a part of this study of social balance, but as it is related to balance it will be briefly described. It broadly means providing most of the needs of everyday living including employment, shopping and education in the same settlement as the users of these services live there in order to reduce the need for long journeys. It is therefore analogous to the idea of the neighbourhood. Clearly, self-containment is a matter of degree as the principle of a hierarchy of service centres would indicate. Moreover, a Development Corporation cannot guarantee it, but can make it possible or likely by, for example, matching population and employment. Self-containment is related to balance in that a mixture of different social groups will create pressure for the provision of services for those groups. Conversely, the existence of a wide range of jobs would be likely to encourage the sort of people who did them to live in the town. A wide range of types and classes of people would therefore tend to facilitate the provision of a wide range of shopping and other services which would enable the New Town to compete in its service provision with larger, but less balanced settlements.

Social balance was not defined by the Reith Committee, but it was taken to mean the reproduction of some standard or average demographic social and occupational structure (Smailes, 1945). In practice, most Development Corporations have used national figures as the standard of comparison with their own class distributions. The motives for balance have been outlined

in Chapter 3, but it is necessary here to consider the two essential strands of the idea. New Town planners were concerned not merely to achieve balance in the social structure of the town as a whole, but to have a low level of social segregation within residential areas. In order to assess the achievement of the New Towns it is necessary to analyse the extent of balance at the level of the town and at the level of the neighbourhood. The data used in this analysis refers solely to the spatial distribution of different social groups in some New Towns and their surrounding areas. It cannot indicate whether the observed distributions have fostered 'the spirit of fellowship' or intimacy and neighbourliness between members of different social classes. However, changing patterns of the residential distribution of socio-economic groups may give some indication of whether all social groups want to live in a mixed-class neighbourhood.

4.3. Balance at the Level of the Town - 1: London's New Towns.

The content of this section relies substantially on the work of Thomas (1969) on London's New Towns. The eight towns which will be analysed were all designated in the period 1946-1949 which means that they have had a long enough history for social trends to have become established. Originally, under Abercrombie's (1945) Greater London Plan ten towns were to be constructed in the Outer Metropolitan Area to house an estimated population of 400,000 as part of an estimated decentralisation of a million people. The eight New Towns which were established had a combined population of

450,000 in 1968 and their target populations are now 650,000.

Table 8 indicates how far the New Towns approach the social composition of Greater London and the country as a whole. Neither of these comparisons is entirely satisfactory. London has a unique employment structure dominated by offices while the New Towns have most of their employment in industry. The data for the country as a whole includes many rural areas which bear little similarity to the New Towns. However, to compare the social structure of the towns with the Outer Metropolitan Area would be even less satisfactory as the area contains a high proportion of London-based commuters, a residential population which the New Towns, with some success, have sought to avoid.

On average the New Towns have achieved a remarkably uniform social composition. Except for Basildon, which has an abnormally high proportion of manual workers, and Welwyn Garden City, which has an abnormally high proportion of non-manual workers, there are no marked differences in social structure. When compared with the country as a whole, there are some systematically occurring differences. All the towns have a surplus of skilled manual workers, and most have a surplus in both categories of non-manual workers, the most notable exception being Basildon. Most have a deficit of semiskilled workers and all have a marked deficit of unskilled and other groups. These differences may have been caused by employment policies which attracted growth industries which have a high proportion of their workers in skilled and

Table 8.

The Social Composition of London's New Towns 1966.

Percentage of Adult Males by Social Class.

Town	Class: s.e.g:	I Managers and Professionals 1,2,3,4,13	II Other Non-Manual 5,6	III Skilled Manual 8,9,12,14	IV Semi-skilled manual 7,10,15	V Unskilled, Armed Forces, Others 11,16,17
Basildon		8.7%	17.4%	42.7%	22.2%	9.2%
Bracknell		17.2	19.4	38.1	16.7	8.6
Crawley		17.6	21.3	39.9	14.7	6.7
Harlow		16.9	18.5	42.7	16.2	5.8
Hatfield		13.7	19.0	42.9	15.3	9.2
Hemel Hempstead		16.6	16.5	41.5	17.8	7.9
Stevenage		15.7	21.8	39.1	17.4	6.1
Welwyn Garden City		21.7	23.3	32.0	15.5	7.5
Average New Town		15.7	19.4	40.2	17.3	7.4
Greater London		17.2	23.1	34.1	14.3	11.3
Great Britain		15.0	16.9	38.4	18.0	11.9

Source : Thomas (1969a).

professional occupations. Alternatively, they may be related to housing policies which gave priority to key (and by implication, skilled) workers and enabled firms to select employees with the added inducement of subsidised housing. A third possibility is that the age structure of the population, which is strongly biased towards young adults, will have raised the average levels of occupation in that the young tend to be more skilled than older adults.

To determine whether these differences reflect housing or employment opportunities Thomas (1969a) has compared the skills of residents with the available job opportunities in the towns using census data disaggregated by socio-economic groups. His analysis provides three conclusions. First, despite the high proportion of non-manual workers residing in the New Towns there is a marked daily inflow of these workers from surrounding areas. It has been suggested that these social groups are attracted to locations outside the town by the prospect of owner-occupation. However, this cannot be the complete reason for their locational preference as up to 20% of all Corporation towns have been built for owner-occupiers, and the present target is now 50%. Analysis of census data, coupled with a survey of attitudes of residents, in the area around Bracknell (Hall et al., 1974) suggests that non-manual workers use subsidised New Town housing as a transitional stage in their migration from London to owner-occupied housing in the Outer Metropolitan Area. Socially selective out-migration from New Towns to more prestigous locations

in surrounding villages is a process that will in time produce a distribution of social classes between inner and outer areas that will closely resemble the distributions between cities and suburbs analysed in Chapter 2. Second, the balance between skilled and supervisory manual workers in residence and the employment opportunities for these workers in the New Towns is almost perfect. These are the workers who have probably benefitted most from housing allocation procedures which put them at the top of waiting lists. The third conclusion is that there are more unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in the town than there are workers in residence. There is a daily movement of these workers into the towns from surrounding areas. If it is assumed that they were not reluctant to live in the New Towns, there are two explanations for their failure to obtain housing. The first is that they were not given priority in housing allocation on the basis of the Industrial Selection Scheme. The second is that New Town houses were, by definition, new and that older houses commanding lower rents were not available, at least in the early years. There were no policies to subsidise low-paid workers more than other tenants until rebates were introduced in the late 1960's and the conclusion must be that they were unable or unwilling to meet the relatively high rents. The most striking failure of London's New Towns to achieve social balance has been their inability to provide housing for those groups which have the least favoured position in housing markets.

4.4. Balance at the Level of the Town - 2 : Glasgow's New Towns.

The two Glasgow New Towns, Cumbernauld and East Kilbride,

were both a product of Abercrombie and Matthew's (1949) Clyde Valley Plan. Their function was to provide overspill facilities for the city, but because of opposition from Glasgow Corporation only East Kilbride was designated in 1947. Cumbernauld is therefore not entirely comparable with the London New Towns in that it was not designated until 1956.

Table 9 indicates the extent of social balance in Glasgow's New Towns compared to Scotland and Glasgow. While Cumbernauld has a better balance between manual and non-manual groups than East Kilbride, both show the same variations from national totals that were evident in the London towns, except that here they occur in a more extreme form. Compared to Scotland, both towns have a surplus of skilled manual workers, and of non-manual workers taken together. Both have a deficit of semi-skilled workers and an even larger deficit of unskilled workers. Comparisons with Glasgow serve to emphasise these imbalances.

Thomas (1969b) has carried out a similar analysis of job opportunities and the occupational skills of the residents to determine whether these differences in social structure are related to housing or employment policies. The first major contrast with London's New Towns is in levels of commuting. There is twice as much daily movement into and out of East Kilbride than in any of the London towns, and levels for Cumbernauld are even higher. This movement relates to an employment and residential imbalance which generates a net inflow of low income

Table 9.

The Social Composition of Glasgow's New Towns 1966

Percentage of Economically Active Males by Social Class

Town	Class: s.e.g:	I Managers and Professionals 1,2,3,4,13	II Other Non-Manual 5,6	III Skilled Manual 8,9,12,14	IV Semi-skilled Manual 7,10,15	V Unskilled Armed Forces, Others 11,16,17
East Kilbride		14.7%	22.3%	45.9%	13.7%	3.4%
Cumbernauld		12.9	20.4	43.2	17.8	5.7
Glasgow		8.8	17.8	42.3	16.5	14.6
Scotland		13.2	15.8	39.5	19.6	12.0

Source : 1966 Sample Census.

workers and a net outflow of high income workers. Glasgow's New Towns have become residential dormitories for non-manual workers in Glasgow city for two reasons. First, there are fewer professional, managerial and other non-manual jobs than in London New Towns which reflects both regional employment disparities between West Central Scotland and South-East England and fewer incentives for offices to decentralise from Glasgow than from London. Second, there has been a deliberate policy to allow 'Glasgow commuters' to occupy Development Corporation houses in the absence of prospective tenants with jobs in the town. This policy has favoured high-income workers at the same time as the towns have failed to attract low-income tenants. Before the introduction of rent rebates a Development Corporation house was uncompetitively priced relative to other houses in the Glasgow area. For example, in 1965 a three-bedroom house in East Kilbride commanded an annual rent of £72. In Glasgow the average council rent was £32 per annum while private tenants paid an average of only £25.10/- per annum. It was therefore often cheaper for people employed in East Kilbride to keep their house in Glasgow or the surrounding area and commute daily rather than become Development Corporation tenants. A further reason for the deficit of low-income workers, particularly in East Kilbride, is bound up with Glasgow Corporation overspill policies. Unlike London, Glasgow had substantial areas of land within its boundaries on which it could rehouse its population from congested areas. Before the mid 1950's, the Corporation was unwilling to lose any of its overspill population to outside authorities.

Similarly, East Kilbride was unwilling to take overspill families, particularly those without jobs in the town. Since 1959 the situation has changed, and Cumbernauld and East Kilbride have taken nearly half of Glasgow's official overspill. However, few of them appear to have come from the most overcrowded areas, and it may be fairly assumed that only a small proportion were unskilled workers (Smith and Farmer, 1972).

One further contrast between London and Glasgow New Towns has been the ease with which the Scottish towns have attracted substantial proportions of non-manual and skilled manual workers without the inducement of owner-occupied housing. In the South-East the status of the New Towns is fairly low, for although they contain jobs and good housing these are not in short supply in the region. Unsubsidised housing has, therefore, been the means by which London New Towns have attracted non-manual and skilled manual workers who aspire to owner-occupation. In Scotland, by contrast, the status of the New Towns is high and "members of Scotland's middle class have no qualms about living on a Development Corporation estate" (Thomas, 1969b).

4.5. Balance at the Level of the Neighbourhood.

The socially balanced neighbourhood was the second strand in a New Town idology which sought to reduce social segregation. The data used in this analysis is taken largely from Heraud's (1968) study of Crawley New Town. Table 10 outlines the social composition of the nine neighbourhoods in 1961, and for comparative purposes a similar break-down of residents by social

Table 10.

Social Composition of Crawley Neighbourhoods in 1961 and Dagenham in 1958

Heads of Households by Social Class

Social Class		West* Green	Northgate*	Three* Bridges	Langley Green	Pound Hill	Ifield	Southgate*	Tilgate	Gossops Green	Total	Dagenham
		%ages in 10% sample										
I	Professional	3.1	2.1	6.1	1.4	1.4	3.3	3.7	4.3	8.1	3.7	1.0
II	Intermediate Professional	14.1	7.5	9.3	7.4	18.6	14.0	16.1	15.8	20.2	13.4	4.0
III	Unskilled non-manual, Skilled manual	59.4	61.6	66.1	69.1	62.9	57.8	61.7	65.5	62.6	63.5	56.0
IV	Semi-skilled manual	17.2	19.2	15.4	18.4	10.0	18.2	11.1	7.2	3.0	13.1	22.0
V	Unskilled manual	6.2	9.6	3.1	3.7	7.1	6.7	7.4	7.2	6.1	6.2	17.0

* Neighbourhoods in the Inner Ring

Source : B. J. Heraud (1968) adapted.

class is given for Dagenham in East London. The 10% sample of heads of households on which it is based uses the Registrar-General's classification of occupations which fails to separate manual and non-manual workers in its class III. The figures in Table 10 are not therefore comparable with previous tables in this Chapter. A further weakness in the data is that it refers only to heads of households in subsidised Development Corporation dwellings. This failure to include owner-occupiers probably results in a serious underestimation of non-manual groups in neighbourhoods with large numbers of unsubsidised dwellings.

Compared with the much larger Dagenham estate, all of the Crawley neighbourhoods exhibit a better balance between manual and non-manual workers. However, this merely suggests that post-war planners have done better than their pre-war counterparts in this respect. The important comparison must be with a town in which the residential patterns of social classes have evolved largely outside the influence of planning. Table 11 compares the social class distributions in Crawley with Oxford using the indices of dissimilarity and segregation described in Chapter 2. The comparison of Crawley with Oxford is not entirely satisfactory for three reasons. Firstly, the Oxford data is based on census tracts of approximately 3,000 population while the Crawley neighbourhoods vary in size from 652 to 2,156 households. Second, while Oxford's census tract boundaries may distort the observed patterns, each Crawley neighbourhood is a physically separate unit. Thirdly, the Crawley data ignores households in unsubsidised housing.

Table 11.

Indexes of Dissimilarity and Segregation.

Social Class	Oxford 1951 Dissimilarity 1	2	3	4	5	Segregation	Crawley 1961 Dissimilarity 1	2	3	4	5	Segregation
I Professional		15	39	40	46	35		18	16	32	25	17
II Intermediate Professional			25	27	33	25			16	33	10	17
III Unskilled non-manual, Skilled manual				8	15	13				22	15	6
IV Semi-skilled manual					11	8					27	22
V Unskilled manual						18						13

Source : P. Collison (1963 and B. J. Heraud (1968)

Data for Inner London presented in Chapter 2 would indicate that while the general pattern of segregation in Oxford and London may differ in that the former is strongly sectoral and the latter both zonal and sectoral, the degree of residential dissimilarity and segregation tends to be the same. If Oxford is therefore representative of 'natural' cities, the changes which are apparent in Crawley are all the more striking. In general Crawley exhibits a lower degree of dissimilarity and segregation. Residential dissimilarity between manual and non-manual groups is markedly less in Crawley than in Oxford, though professional workers remain more separated from manual groups than for other non-manual workers. At the same time, however, residential dissimilarity between manual groups has increased. The index of segregation, which measures the extent to which one class is separated from all others, is characteristically U-shaped in Oxford. In Crawley, the degree of segregation has been reduced, and while something approximating a U-shape is evident, the pattern is more uneven. Segregation has been markedly reduced for skilled manual workers, but the semi-skilled worker now occupies the most segregated position. Crawley New Town planners have not altered the general structure of segregation and dissimilarity, but there appears to be a loosening in the pattern of segregation, particularly between the non-manual groups and Classes III and V.

It could be argued, however, that the residential situation in Crawley in 1961 represents a transitional stage and

that in time a distribution more closely resembling the Oxford pattern will emerge. Osborn (1946) reflecting on the experiences of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City observed that:

> "Whatever the planners may desire, people have a marked tendency to segregate themselves by class or income. An area in which there are some noticeably large and poor families comes to be regarded as lacking in 'social tone'. The better off tenants ..... spontaneously move to streets in which, even if the houses are no larger, the social atmosphere is regarded as superior. In the less favoured parts rents fall, and in the more favoured parts rents rise, and this intensifies the distribution. Once an area loses prestige it is extremely difficult to prevent the movement from it of the better-off people to an area they like better."

The important question is whether this process is taking place in Crawley.

Table 10 indicates that there are differences in the social composition of the nine neighbourhoods. Three - Langley Green, Northgate and Three Bridges - have proportionately fewer heads of households in the professional and intermediate professional groups than the town as a whole, while all the others have proportionately more, Gossops Green being the outstanding example. These differences reflect the time at which the neighbourhoods were constructed. The oldest neighbourhoods, which are on the left of Table 10 with newer areas on the right, housed the earliest arrivals, who were more strongly represented by semi- and unskilled manual workers than the later arrivals. The tendency for the inner neighbourhoods to have a higher proportion of manual workers than others is also explained by the social composition of

migrants at the earlier stages in the town's development. Thus, while the less-skilled socio-economic groups tend to be better represented in the inner and older parts of the town, a pattern which parallels the zonal distributions in large cities, there is little evidence to suggest that this has come about through a process of internal migration.

Internal movement has, however, been considerable. Some of this movement has been from Development Corporation tenancy to owner-occupation with 15% of all unsubsidised dwellings being taken up by households moving from within Crawley. Movement of all households from subsidised dwellings is proportionately much greater for the non-manual groups than for others and it is likely, though no survey of internal migration has been carried out to establish this point, that these groups move to unsubsidised dwellings in greater numbers than other classes. If this is the general pattern of movement then the location of houses for owner-occupation will crucially affect the social composition of the neighbourhoods in which they are found. By the end of 1959 three neighbourhoods had none at all, four had between 1.4% and 8.5% of their houses in this category, while two, Langley Green and Pound Hill had 20.7% and 29.4% respectively. There has, therefore, been a marked concentration of owner-occupied housing in two neighbourhoods which is likely to exacerbate existing differences in the social composition of different neighbourhoods. Indeed, since then one new neighbourhood, Furnace Green, has been built entirely with houses for owner-occupiers.

While the evidence outlined above is not conclusive in that it lacks internal migration data and is relatively out of date, three tentative conclusions may be made. First, Crawley New Town planners have succeeded in reducing the general level of segregation found in other British cities which have evolved largely outside the influence of planning. Second, by 1961 social imbalances between neighbourhoods were allowed to occur even in Development Corporation housing, and many neighbourhoods had begun to take on distinctive class characteristics. Third, social imbalance has probably been exacerbated by building unsubsidised houses in concentrated areas. It is argued (by Bolwell et al., 1969) that:

> "Something approaching a 'social balance' in the town as a whole has been achieved by allowing those with higher socio-economic status to follow their aspirations [for owner-occupation] within the town [rather than in the surrounding area], although in the process the social balance of individual neighbourhoods has been impaired."

However, the same article in which that statement appears provides evidence that between 1961 and 1966 in the town as a whole there was a 3% increase in the proportion of non-manual workers at the expense of manual workers. Crawley was therefore becoming less balanced in favour of precisely those groups which would be most likely to live in owner-occupied housing. Nevertheless, the dilemma planners found was real enough. Failure to provide unsegregated owner-occupied housing would mean the loss of professional and managerial groups to surrounding villages. The dilemma was solved by "a gradual slipping away from an ideology which stressed reformist

ideas and aims into one which accepted and adapted to what was believed to be the middle-class desire for segregation" (Howard, 1968).

4.6. Conclusions.

The towns used as case studies were chosen because, with the exception of Cumbernauld, they were all designated between 1946 and 1949 and were established with the express purpose of providing overspill facilities. The other New Towns have been excluded either because they have a period of development which is too short for a meaningful analysis of social composition trends, or because the purpose for which they were built necessitated a reduced emphasis on the objective of social balance.

The New Towns in this study have achieved a high degree of social balance in their overall composition. However, this has been achieved at some cost. For:

> ".... if the inspiration for garden cities was to provide a better life for the most wretched in the great cities, as Marshall had argued, how to reconcile that with the need for balance? This is a dilemma which has racked garden city planners ever since. It is extremely doubtful whether either Letchworth or Welwyn achieved complete social balance: their populations were conspicuously lacking in just those sections which Marshall wanted to help."
>
> (Hall et al., 1974)

Evidence from London and Glasgow New Towns confirm that they too have failed to provide housing for semi- and un-skilled manual workers in proportion to their number in the areas from which they

have drawn their populations. In assisting the migration of non-manual and skilled manual workers from the cities, and in failing to provide more adequately for those groups least able to migrate, the New Towns have failed to significantly alter the normal trends of polarisation between cities and their surrounding areas.

Evidence from Crawley, which may not be applicable to all New Towns, suggests that planners have achieved a high degree of social mix at the level of the neighbourhood. As yet, there has been no study of the distribution of social classes within neighbourhoods, so the extent to which separation operates at the small scale is not known. However, movement between neighbourhoods, and between New Towns and their surrounding areas may eventually result in residential patterns more closely resembling those found in other cities. Confirmation of this must await the publication of socio-economic data in the 1971 census. Collison's (1955) conclusion would appear to have some validity, for "although planning policy may do something to modify the degree of segregation it cannot be expected to diminish it completely..... If attempts are made to mix the social classes in close proximity it seems likely that these attempts will be resisted, and as more dwellings become available, increasingly ineffective." This process has been recognised by planners who have accomodated it by a shift in emphasis away from the balanced neighbourhood to the provision of segregated unsubsidised housing. "Most New Towns now accept, though sometimes

with reluctance, that an attempt to promote social mixing by building 'managerial' houses scattered throughout the town and its neighbourhoods, without the alternative of such houses built in groups, has failed." (Nicholson, 1961).

PART III

POLARISATION AND SOCIAL PLANNING.

CHAPTER 5. A Goal-Oriented Perspective on Polarisation.

5.1. Introduction.

In Section I it was demonstrated that a household's position in the spatial structure was largely a product of income and social aspiration. Economic and social constraints, which may be exacerbated or modified by political intervention, lead to areas of the city becoming associated with particular social composition patterns. The case studies indicated that in Liverpool and Leicester in particular, and most cities in general, the outer suburban areas were housing increasing proportions of high-income households, while inner areas were characterised by increasing proportions of low-income households. Exceptions to the downward trend of the inner city were found in Southampton/Portsmouth and Inner London.

In Section II the development of planning concepts of social balance were outlined. In self-contained new settlements, where planners were able to exercise a substantial degree of control over housing and employment provision, it was found that while towns as a whole exhibited a broad cross-section of socio-economic groups, there had been a failure to provide for the least skilled groups of the population in proportion to their number. Moreover, attempts to produce an intimate degree of mixing had, by the mid 1960's, largely been abandoned. Ironically, suburbanisation (the separation of residence from work), a process which the New Towns were designed to render unnecessary, has created a separation of

social classes in existing cities that New Towns were attempting to avoid. Recent planning exercises have commented on the process of polarisation, but there is considerable disagreement as to its effects and whether planning should attempt to alter the present or future patterns of separation.

The following discussion of polarisation will attempt to assess the extent to which the separation of social classes hinders the attainment of desirable social goals. The analysis will therefore approach the question from the point of view of a goal-oriented planning framework in which a problem is defined as a goal plus an impediment to that goal (Chadwick, 1971). It will also be necessary to define the problem and assess solutions from a wider perspective than statutory land-use planning alone. A corporate approach, both in terms of the process of analysis and the solutions considered, will be assumed.

5.2. The Goal of Improved Social Relations.

Polarisation separates social classes geographically. Space is a constraint on movement, and therefore it follows that the likelihood of face to face contact between people will decrease as the distance between them increases. Polarisation reduces the possibility of contact between the classes. By reducing the distance between different social groups the New Town planners assumed that contact in informal neighbourly relations and in more formal voluntary associations would be facilitated. It was also assumed that from contact better social relations and

increased tolerance and understanding would result. The physical framework within which these social relations would develop was a neighbourhood designed to foster both meeting between neighbours and mixing in community centres.

Studies of informal friendship formation on housing estates have shown that while the site planner can enhance the possibility of face to face contact by the way in which buildings are sited, he cannot influence the intensity or quality of the relationships which result. Kuper (1953) found that in Coventry the residents of a council estate chose their friends on the basis of perceived social characteristics. Contact between neighbours could be positive, leading to the formation of valued friendships, but it could also be negative, leading to conflict or withdrawal. The probability of informal group formation was dependent on the social characteristics of the residents, and in a heterogenous area an intimate arrangement of dwellings might disrupt tendencies to group formation. Similarly Carey and Mapes (1972) in a study of a private estate concluded that the main components of relationship formation between housewives were proximity and demographic similarity. Contact develops into friendly relations when people are alike.

Social relations between different social classes are unlikely to be well developed in residential areas because position in the social structure is not merely a question of income, but of values and life-style. Attitudes towards the home, the way children are brought up, privacy and informal

association vary. Differences in outlook and values can cause conflict. Collison (1963) has documented the history of the Cutteslowe Walls erected to divide and prevent access between a public and private estate. Willmott and Young (1967) found that in Woodford informal contact was on class lines and that manual workers were resented for 'lowering the tone' of the area. Antagonism was most sharp in that part of the suburb where the classes lived in closest proximity. Polarisation cannot, therefore, be regarded as frustrating the goal of better neighbourly relations between social classes as proximity in itself does not lead to improved understanding. Social differences are not discarded by the mere fact of living together.

Formal voluntary relations in clubs and associations are similarly divided on class lines. Willmott and Young's (1967) survey of club membership in Woodford established that non-manual workers were twice as likely to be members of formal associations than manual workers. Pahl (1970) holds that the reason for this is that manual workers are more concerned with primary contacts with him and friends, and that membersship of secondary groups is regarded as weakening the solidarity of the primary group. Non-manual workers are motivated to more involvement in secondary relations as a means of expressing themselves or achieving some instrumental purpose. Not surprisingly, therefore, clubs are rarely mixed. Janet Madge (1953) found the two Worcester clubs she investigated had contrasting social compositions, and Pahl (1970) has described a similar division in the associations of a

commuter village. A mixed class situation in a social club is likely to lead to stress through a clash of norms. Moreover, increasing personal mobility permits a wider choice of locations for social mixing, and therefore greater selectivity of those with which a person associates in his leisure time. The importance of the locality for social contact is in decline. Polarisation cannot be regarded as a problem which prevents social contact between classes in secondary relations, as mixing in residential areas does not in itself lead to formal associations with heterogenous membership.

5.3. The Goal of Exposure to Alternative Values.

Neighbourliness is not the only consideration planners have used to condemn the separation of social classes. Elizabeth Wood (1960), in an argument that comes in direct descent from the Barnetts, considers that polarisation is harmful in that it prevents exposure to alternative ways of life. Middle-class leadership permits working-class people to come into contact with ideas and behaviour that will serve as models for their own lives. Frieden and Morris (1968) have stated the negative aspects of the same argument, holding that low-income neighbourhoods produce cultural and social isolation that stultifies their inhabitants.

Apart from the criticism of these views which regards them as a form of 'cultual imperialism' which imposes on one class the task of uplifting its inferiors, there are similar limitations to contact discussed in the previous chapter. Gans (1968) has

shown that while the work of organisations such as Settlement House cannot be disregarded, their function as transmitters of middle class values has not met with outstanding success. He considers that a mixed class situation will assist some people, already motivated towards social mobility, to learn from their neighbours. However, this will be unlikely to happen where social differences are great, or where there is a lack of sympathy between participants.

The traditional arguments for a mixed-class neighbourhood appear well-intentioned but unrealistic. Not only are the premises regarding the benefits of doubtful validity, but the aim of creating small-scale, self-contained social units is probably retrograde and undesirable. Mann (1965) has shown that the concept of the 'inward-looking' neighbourhood in the modern city is derived from a false analogy from the 'isolated' village. While status asserting manual workers may still be strongly tied to a social network that is predominantly locality based, other social groups form friendships and derive their reference groups from those with common interests, education and work. The current trend in society is towards progressive division of labour and interest. It is impossible to recreate the intimacy of a village in a city where the pace of life is swift and where people are mobile and specialised (Cochrane, 1967). Small-scale separation of social groups in the city probably leads to a partial perception of other groups and therefore some ignorance of the group's position of enclosure (Glass, 1973). Nevertheless,

group boundaries provide benefits of refuge, a group identity, mutual aid and an internal status system. 'There are benefits in maintaining socio-geographical partitions of various kinds' (Glass, 1973). While strong social and economic divisions remain in our society small scale uni-polarity cannot be regarded as preventing social relations or social contact. Polarisation at the scale investigated in metropolitan areas may be another matter.

5.4. Polarisation and Deprivation.

Cullingworth (1972) has drawn a distinction between 'positive' and 'negative' polarisation. Positive polarisation occurs through the desire and ability to choose to live near people of similar status, in an environment which meets the household's aspirations for housing space, fresh air and local amenities. Negative polarisation traps those who lack choice in areas of poor and overcrowded housing with few amenities, or in local authority estates with better housing but similarly poor educational opportunities and environmental provision. The effect of cumulative constraints on low income workers is to tie them to specific localities. In any given locality there will be a particular mix of facilities, jobs, distribution of power, educational and environmental opportunity. High income households are mobile and adapt space to their life-style requirements. Low-income households are trapped by space in a locality that prevents escape in that it provides no alternative houses, jobs or opportunities

for social mobility (Pahl, 1970).

A number of studies have shown that areas with a high concentration of low income workers are associated with a range of social characteristics that are subsumed under the term 'deprivation'. The Liverpool Social Malaise Study (1970), for example, found significant geographical correlations between the symptoms of social malfunction and malaise (crime, debt, eviction and unemployment) and low-income workers. The Central Planning Research Unit (1973) in a geographical analysis of Glasgow found that while areas of concentration of unskilled workers were closely associated with the older housing areas of the city with overcrowding and few amenities, there were serious social and environmental problems in areas of similar concentration on local authority estates. Mansley (1972) has shown that low-income households live in areas where environmental resources, measured in terms of open space, are in short supply. All the studies show that unemployment is almost invariably high in such areas. Deprivation is therefore a general term referring to areas or households which lack social ability, employment opportunity or access to environmental and social facilities. The causes and effects of deprivation are difficult to disentangle from each other. Rather, it is commonly seen as a cycle of causation in which those who lack skill obtain few rewards from the occupational structure and have little choice in the housing market. Economic and political constraints force them into areas which lack communal facilities. Their children have a low level of educational

opportunity and therefore remain in the same situation as their parents. The concentration of unskilled workers in areas of multiple deprivation is a result of the differential rewarding system of the occupational structure. The important questions to be investigated are whether deprivation is made worse by increasing concentrations of low income groups, and whether a planning strategy that has the goal of equality of opportunity should attack concentration (by encouraging geographical mobility leading to a more 'balanced' social structure) or deprivation (by encouraging social mobility) as its first priority.

5.5. The Goal of Improved Social and Environmental Facilities.

> "The slum is the catch-all for the losers, and in the competetive struggle for the cities goods the slum areas are also the losers in terms of schools, jobs, garbage collection, street lighting, libraries, social services and whatever else is communally available and always in short supply. The slum, then, is an area where the population lacks resources to compete successfully and where collectively it lacks control over the channels through which such resources are distributed or maintained."
>
> (Sharrard, quoted in Harvey, 1971)

A number of arguments have been put forward to suggest why polarisation may exacerbate deprivation through the effects of a particular social composition on the level of provision of social and environmental facilities. The West Central Scotland Plan (1974) considered that an increasing proportion of low paid workers in

Glasgow not only created a high demand for local authority services, but reduced the income available to the city through its effect on rates. Moreover, private enterprise, which provides shops and houses on the basis of ability to pay, will be unlikely to expand or improve its existing stock for a permanently impoverished population. Cullingworth (1972) has noted that services in deprived areas lack sufficient staff. Doctors, social workers, teachers and solicitors are in short supply. 'A community which is so heavily unbalanced that it is repellant to those needed for the community services of the area ..... suffers extreme cumulative deprivation which becomes increasingly difficult to ameliorate'.

Allied to the lack of financial resources to bring about local improvements, areas of deprivation lack the social resources, organisational ability and voting power to put pressure on local authorities for change. Jo Grimond believes that a more representative cross-section of the population would provide leaders who could gain control over the political channels through which resources are distributed. 'If more of the top industrialists and beaurocrats lived in poorer districts, a great deal would be done to improve the services offered' (Grimond, quoted in Harris, 1973). This argument assumes that middle class households will provide leadership in local organisations, and that the facilities they demand will benefit all sections of the population.

There is no doubt that the local rating system does

not provide an equitable method of sharing costs over areas within which there are sharp variations in property values (Kirwan, 1973). The poor, as shown in Section I, live on the most valuable land. The rates paid on domestic property per resident are higher in the inner city than in outer areas. The Allen Committee (1964) has shown that domestic rates are strongly regressive. In 1963-64 a household with a disposable income of less than £312 per annum paid 9.1% of that income in rates, while a household with an income of £1,560 or more paid only 2.5%. Since that time, however, rate rebates and a changing distribution of rate burdens have reduced the extent of the regressive effect. Nevertheless, domestic rateable value is a proxy neither for income of residents, nor for wealth, nor for the value of benefit from local services nor for costs imposed. It is simply a tax on residence. Areas requiring most money to tackle the problems of obsolete housing, environmental deprivation, pollution, congested roads, decaying public transport and social needs raise less per head of population than areas with fewer problems requiring lower levels of public investment.

However, not all local authority revenue comes from local taxation, and neither is all the spending in an area a function solely of local authority expenditure. Central Government transfer money to individuals in the form of pensions and social security. Thus in an area the policies of Central Government may determine the absolute levels of income within which local authority schemes must operate. The long-term effectiveness of

local authority capital provision is often lower than it might otherwise have been because of a lack of command over resources by the resident population. A good example is the failure to take up home improvement grants because of low disposable incomes. Central Government, as well as transferring money direct to individuals, provides money for local authorities in the form of the Rate Support Grant. The Grant attempts to provide a more equitable distribution of local authority revenue by a specific 'needs' element.

As well as the Rate Support Grant, Central Government has shown a desire for a more equitable distribution within areas and between groups of beneficiaries, by provision of specific grants and goal-oriented programme funding. The Urban Aid Programme (since renamed the Urban Programme) distributes 75% grants for projects submitted by local authorities to tackle areas of acute social need. Educational Priority Areas receive priority in funding of building replacement, books and equipment, as well as salary increases for teachers. Subsidies are provided for Improvement and Action Areas. However, despite programmes of 'positive discrimination' grants and subsidies from Central Government are not an entirely satisfactory substitute for a truly local system of finance for two reasons. The first is that specific grants may not achieve the re-distributional effects intended as they may be substituted by local authorities for funds out of general finance. The second is that they require some initiative on the part of the local authority in putting up schemes to receive

the grants. The West Central Scotland Plan (1974) has shown that in the region, money from the Urban Programme had not been received in greatest quantity by those authorities whose needs were most apparent. Glasgow obtained less per head of population than other large Burghs because of a failure to identify needs and articulate schemes for improvement. Polarisation, therefore, leads to poor financial resources which make deprivation increasingly difficult to ameliorate.

In the last five years there has been a general shift from capital projects to community action as a means of solving the problems of deprivation. In addition to the beaurocratic initiatives outlined above, action groups for the provision of better housing, more secure tenure, better public services and civic and amenity provision have been growing fast. The value of local organisation as a means of articulating local needs and aspirations and obtaining a more effective response from the providers of goods and services has been recognised by government in the Community Development Projects. Public participation processes in planning are an attempt to generate policies which are more in keeping with perceived social needs. The important question in terms of our polarisation hypothesis is whether populations which lack an articulate 'middle-class balancing factor' are less able to pressurise local authorities to gain the services they require than more affluent groups. Donnison (1973) has argued that 'many of the most deprived areas ..... are poorly represented on their Councils. Since the

Conservatives are unlikely to win these seats they do not get the attention of the party's ablest members, and for the same reason they are not thought to need the attention of the best Labour party members either.' Moreover, while 'people in deprived areas are not necessarily inarticulate, through established organisations (such as miners' or transport workers unions) they can defeat national governments. But they are often poorly equipped for local community action'.

Areas of the city which contain a high proportion of high-income workers are able to exercise political power to obtain the facilities they desire, or to prevent projects that would lead to a loss of perceived benefits. Polarisation which removes upper income groups from the inner city deprives the remaining population of some elements of political power. However, effective use of power means obtaining those resources which the population requires. Can it be assumed that in acting on its own behalf a class may benefit not only itself but other sections of the community? Harvey (1972) in discussing the concept of real income notes that valuation of particular facilities will vary with the social group involved. 'It is very difficult to compare the value of say, open space from one part of a city system to another. Different groups will exhibit different elasticities with respect to their use of it and some groups may have no use for it at all. Consequently, the provision of large parks for inner city dwellers who may not (perhaps) be technically equipped or culturally motivated to make use of them will do

absolutely nothing for them from the point of view of the redistribution of income - it may in fact be equivalent to giving ice cream mixers to the Boro Indians of Brazil.' While Harvey has probably overstated his case, the Barnsbury Case provides sufficient evidence that environmental improvements are not of equal benefit or have equal priority to different sections of a locality population. The argument that polarisation reduces effective political power for a low-income minority is of only limited validity. A more balanced population would provide more resources for local government action, but it would not necessarily lead to a more equitable distribution of those resources between different groups in the population. Lack of local power is better dealt with by specific community development projects than by juggling with residential mix.

5.6. The Goal of Educational Equality.

Education is the main avenue of social mobility in Britain. Residential segregation ensures educational segregation. Those in the privileged occupational groups seek out areas of the city which contain the schools they wish their children to go to. These are schools in which facilities are good, and in which the socialisation of the child is reinforced by a peer group of the same status. Conversely those who are subject to the constraints of poor skills and low housing opportunity live in areas where poor educational provision reinforces the disadvantages of the child. Poor educational achievement means a job with low economic rewards. Inter-generational social mobility is rare.

The Plowden Report (1967) underlined the complex factors which produce seriously disadvantaged areas. 'The outlook and aspiration of their own parents; the opportunities and handicaps of the neighbourhoods in which they live; the skill of their teachers, and the resources of the schools they go to; their genetic inheritance; and other factors still unmeasured or unknown surround the children with a seamles web of circumstance.' The influence of locality can be crucial. 'In a neighbourhood where the jobs people do and the status they hold owe little to education, it is natural for the children as they grow older to regard school as a brief prelude to work rather than an avenue for further opportunities. ..... Not surprisingly, many teachers are unwilling to work in a neighbourhood where the schools are old, where housing of the sort they want is unobtainable, and where education does not attain those standards they expect for their own children. From some neighbourhoods ..... there has been a continuing flow of the more successful young people. The loss of enterprise and skill makes things worse for those left behind. Thus the vicious circle may turn from generation to generation and the schools play a central part in the process, both causing and suffering cumulative deprivation.'

The poor educational performance of the children of manual workers is well documented. The South East Joint Planning Team (1970) found that the reading standards of eight year olds in Inner London were considerably lower than elsewhere, and that these differences were particularly marked for children of unskilled

manual workers. The Team also quotes from another survey which established that ability at age 11 was directly related to the class of the parent, and that the likelihood of staying on at school after the fifth form was similarly class-biased. The Robbins Report (1963) established that only 7% of all students in higher education had semi- or unskilled manual fathers. Children of manual workers are disadvantaged in education provision. Does polarisation exacerbate these disadvantages, and would a less segregated educational system provide better opportunities for the children of low-income parents?

Little and Mabey (1973) have used the results of the Inner London survey of reading ability of eight year old children to ascertain the effects of social composition mix on educational performance. They found that schools in socially mixed areas often contained less than a complete cross section of children. Schools recruit selectively on a class basis from their catchment areas, and parents select schools on the same basis. The survey confirmed that the reading ability of children generally improved as the proportion of children of non-manual parents increased. However, children of manual parents did not always perform at a significantly higher level of attainment if they were in a school with either a high middle-class or low working-class composition. Working-class pupils did do better on average in schools with more than 50% of their pupils of non-manual origin. In general, however, the factor of the social mix of the children was a less important determinant of performance than the pupil's own social origin, the

general deprivation of the school and the support, encouragement and interest of the home. Little and Mabey (1973) concluded that as improved performance from a higher concentration of non-manual children was only slight, and that as these improvements were only evident when more than 50% of the pupils were of non-manual origin, it was clearly impractical to attempt to upgrade schools by enforced mixing as the proportion of children of non-manual origin in the whole of Inner London was only 25%. Mixing produced gains that were too small or was an unrealistic objective given the characteritics of the population. More fuitful policies would be to attack the elements which contribute to deprivation in schools rather than to attempt to change the concentration of particular social groups in particular schools.

The results of the Inner London survey are less obvious than those obtained by Wilson (1959) in California. He found that there was 'compelling evidence' that the social composition of the school affected educational aspiration and achievement. The sons of manual workers in a predominantly middle class school did noticeably better than their counterparts in predominantly working-class schools. However, even with this finding, as only about 30% of all the children in Britain are from homes of non-manual parents, the benefits of mix would be quickly dissipated. A less polarised population might provide better educational opportunities for the most deprived children, but the same opportunities could be provided by a programme of positive discrimination that removes the disadvantages of poor staff and

inadequate facilities from predominantly working class schools.

5.7. The Goal of Increased Employment Opportunity.

The least skilled workers in employment are the most vulnerable to cyclical changes in the national level of economic activity. It is well established that they are the first to be laid off in any downturn in the economy. Areas with a high concentration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers are characterised by persistently high unemployment rates. Community Development Project areas all had male unemployment rates above the national average, with Ferguslie Park the outstanding example with male unemployment at the time of the 1971 census reaching 22% (National Community Development Project, 1973). While high unemployment rates are often the result of national rather than local factors, there are reasons for believing that the increasing concentration of low-income workers in inner cities may exacerbate employment difficulties.

The West Central Scotland Plan (1974) considered that the progressive decline in the proportion of skilled manual and non-manual workers in Glasgow made employment growth difficult to sustain for two reasons. First, the area would be unattractive to mobile industries which characteristically require high levels of skill. Such industries would be more likely to locate elsewhere to avoid the burden of providing retraining facilities, though these are to some extent subsidised by government. Second, a progressive decline in the quality of the labour force makes

indigenous growth less likely owing to the loss of entreprenenial skill. This argument must be treated with some caution, for while there is evidence for a decline in the socio-economic status of particular conurbations, the process has yet to be proven to exist at the larger, regional scale. Nevertheless, the poor managerial ability of Clydeside's entrepreneurs established by the West Central Scotland Plan (1974) as one of the major factors contributing to employment decline, may be due to persistent out-migration of the most talented members of the population.

A high concentration of unskilled workers will attract few industries providing opportunities for skilled work. A local employment structure which lacks promotion prospects will provide little incentive for young people to remain at school or attend courses that lead to more skilled work. The South East Joint Planning Team (1970) has argued that in these circumstances a 'servant caste' could emerge in which sons would follow their fathers into essential service sector jobs which cannot be decentralised and offer no promotion possibilities. Moreover, if a labour market lacks intermediate rungs in the occupational hierarchy, those who aspire to upward social mobility will move away from the area leaving behind a population that is even less able to adapt to change.

The out-migration of skilled workers may, however, enable less skilled workers to fill the vacated posts, thereby stimulating upward occupational mobility. In the long term a loss of high income workers will lead to a net decline in average

earnings. This does not mean that those who remain are necessarily worse off except through the effects of a downward income multiplier. Reduced demand in the service and retail sector may result in redundancies, though this will depend on levels of labour productivity and profit margins.

The effects of polarisation when it is enforced by local authority housing policies have been studied by Kasper (1973). Vast housing estates in peripheral locations were provided with neither industry nor cheaper transport, and involuntary movers into the estates experienced higher unemployment rates for both men and women. The reasons were firstly, that the burden of increased transport costs for the lowest paid members of society were beyond their resources, and secondly, that contacts with sources of job information were lost through movement to the periphery. An homogenous population in a peripheral estate is disadvantaged on both counts. English (1974) has discussed a further problem for residents of estates that have an unfavourable reputation in the area. He considers whether 'the problems of people living in Ferguslie Park are caused or exacerbated by the stigma attached to the area. It is not known, for example, how significant discrimination against Ferguslie Park residents is in contributing to the high unemployment rate. A change of address may, in itself, substantially improve employment prospects.'

There therefore appear to be persuasive arguments for considering that polarisation frustrates achievement of the goal of improved employment opportunity. Unemployment creates a sense

uselessness and lack of self respect and self estimation which must contribute to deprivation. Areas with a concentration of unemployed are subject to a pervasive milieu of low morale. However, while there are good arguments for enabling low-income workers to move to new job opportunities, and good reasons for believing that these are more likely to be found in more balanced communities, the improvement of work prospects does not inevitably mean producing more balanced neighbourhoods. As manual employment has decentralised from metropolitan cores the problems of unemployment may be resolved by facilitating the movement of less skilled workers to the suburbs. However, the experience of rehousing large numbers of inner city residents in a resisting suburb suggests that stigmatisation may increase the disadvantages of the re-housed population. The aim of providing greater proximity to job opportunities does not inevitably call for social mix. An alternative solution to high unemployment in the inner city might be to improve the possibilities for reverse commuting, but if low income workers locate to minimise journey to work costs, this solution is less than equitable. Low income workers would be incurring both high housing and transport costs.

The spatial policies of land-use planning, while they may provide housing in areas with employment opportunities, are not the complete answer to the problems of unemployment. A programme of job re-training for workers whose skills are in low demand would enable low-income workers to adapt more readily to changing labour market demands. Social mobility and spatial mobility are

both necessary to assist the process of providing a more equitable distribution of employment opportunity.

5.8. The Goal of Improved Housing.

Harris (1973) has noted that there are some who consider that the return of high income groups to the inner city would increase the life of the existing housing stock. Polarisation, which leaves housing to be occupied by low income households alone, will speed up the process of decay as the poor or their landlords spend only small amounts on maintenance and improvement. If high income workers remain, or are attracted back into, the inner city they will improve their property and other owner-occupiers, landlords and local authorities will follow suit.

In London, where the case study indicates that high income workers are returning to the inner city, the results are instructive. Holmes (1971) has shown that in Islington more than half the total number of improvement grants have gone to Canonbury and Barnsbury, both of which were rapidly becoming middle class housing areas. Landlords had never used improvement grants, and owner-occupiers on low incomes were unable to afford the initial outlay required. Thus home improvement is a means of upper income colonisation. Cochrane (1967) has shown that 'the beginning of improvement and rehabilitation in an area leads to rises in housing values and the gradual displacement of working class tenants who find the area too expensive to live in. Although the working-class tenant may benefit at first from the increasing variety of

shopping provision in the area and the stimulation of cultural life that such development brings, this is a transitory phase, and rising prices will sooner or later force him to leave.'

Thus, although the return of upper income groups to the inner city does extend the life of the existing stock of housing, unless the process is accompanied by an increase in the overall level of provision of housing it is inequitable. The poor, unable to compete for housing space in an area undergoing upward mobility are forced into increasingly overcrowded areas of unimproved housing. A mixed class composition in a residential area does not necessarily improve the housing chances of the least well paid.

5.9. Conclusions.

A planning process that attempts to realise social goals must take into account changes in the social and economic structure of the city. The evidence outlined above suggests that extremes of homogeneity or heterogeneity lead to inequalities that become progressively more difficult to eradicate. Social heterogeneity in residential areas is not of value in itself. The belief that polarisation should be prevented because it inhibits cultural cross-fertilisation or a fellowship between members of different classes seems unrealistic because heterogeneity does not in itself achieve these objectives. Nevertheless, those who reject the planners' ideal balanced community occasionally commit the same error in their own thinking. Ruth Glass (1973), for example, for

long a critic of the balanced neighbourhood idea, asserts that the upward socio-economic trend in Inner London is a 'risk' because London 'would then be deprived of the vigorous working-class culture'. The position reached by this analysis is that polarisation which results from choice is not by itself bad. 'Everyone exercises some selection over the social contacts that they value, most people choose to live within a fairly restricted cicle with broadly similar social characteristics. The important thing is that everyone should be free to choose' (Deakin and Ungerson, 1973). This 'positive polarisation' differs 'radically from the enforced homogeneity of slums and public housing projects which force deprived people into clearly labelled economic ghettos' (Gans, 1962). Negative polarisation is inequitable because it reduces the housing, employment and educational opportunities of a section of the population which is poorly rewarded in the occupational structure.

If extreme polarisation prevents the attainment of desirable social goals, at what geographical scale does homogeneity become harmful? Harris (1973) has argued that an ideal social mix is impossible to identify because 'for every advantage [to be gained from social mix] there is an associated composition pattern within which it is likely to arise'. Each advantage would be associated with a different scale. Education, for example, would be at the level of a primary school catchment area, while employment might embrace a complete sector of the city. A more helpful approach might be to consider a threshhold scale as 'that point at

which social improvement is held back by the scale of the concentration' (Cullingworth, 1972). This threshhold scale, however, would also vary with the nature of the problem being tackled. Gans (1968) has argued that homogeneity is desirable at the level of the block to allow institutions to function and interest groups to reach workable compromises. Heterogeneity is desirable at the level of the politically defined community because this will assist the process of providing a more equitable distribution of facilities and services. It is neither possible not necessary to define an ideal mix. Rather, it is more productive to identify problems and consider alternative solutions without reference to a fixed idealised geographical pattern. The goal of improving the life chances of the urban poor may neither inevitably require the mixing of classes in a defined area nor the dispersal of inner city residents to suburban locations. While these strategies may assist the achievement of social goals, other policies which increase the freedom of choice of deprived households in situ may have equal validity.

CHAPTER 6. Conclusions and Implications for Planning.

The separation of social classes, whether in the form of zones, sectors or multiple nuclei, is a normal feature of British cities. These patterns have shown a remarkable stability over time, though polarisation is now occurring on an increasing scale through concentric movement. The selective out-migration of households from the city occurs because of the differential rewarding system of the occupational structure, social aspiration, and the operation of beaurocratic and institutional rules and procedures on housing choice.

Planners and reformers have advocated social mix as an antidote to the adverse effects believed to result from social segregation. Some of the claims made for the balanced community appear to have little foundation in fact. What evidence there is does not support the notion that people in mixed areas engage in common cultural or social pursuits, or that residential propinquity leads to greater tolerance of social differences. Very little is known as to whether individuals in mixed communities are motivated to change their ideas and values through a 'spirit of emulation', but it seems unlikely that this will be the case for more than a small minority. Moreover, while it is not known how far people (as opposed to planners) regard diversity in their residential area as a positive element in their standard of living, the New Towns experience would indicate that this is unlikely.

However, while no single strand of evidence is

conclusive in itself, taken together the factors outlined in Chapter 5 suggest that polarisation not only results from inequality but perpetuates it. Position in the spatial structure affects access to social and environmental resources through the local taxation system, influences social mobility through local levels of education provision and aspiration, and determines the range of employment opportunity open to an individual. 'Undoubtedly location of residence is not the only consequence of stratification that tends to have the circular effect of reinforcing stratification itself. But the fact that the underlying social distance is not the sole aspect of the stratification system to be transmitted to future generations is worth noting. The situational factors reinforcing social distance are also transmitted' (Beshers, 1962). However, while polarisation exacerbates inequality, it would be naive to argue that the only way to equality is through social mix. While mixed communities may offer more opportunities to the least privileged, mix is not the only way in which opportunities can be improved. Furthermore, mix may have unwelcome side-effects. High-income invasion in an area where housing demand exceeds supply may be detrimental to the housing chances of the least affluent. Middle-class leadership may bring about improved local facilities, but the benefits are unlikely to be evenly distributed between different social groups. The planner is therefore faced with a dilemma. Polarisation is bad, but mixed communities are not inevitably better. Should he attempt to facilitate existing trends in social separation, or attempt to create more 'balanced' communities?

The question, when put in the form of a choice between two alternative spatial arrangements of social classes, is unrealistic. A better approach is to consider what the planner is attempting to do in the first instance, and the spatial form it will take in the second. Polarisation is a reflection of differential degrees of freedom enjoyed by social groups when making housing and locational decisions. Planning policies should give first priority to the extension of choice or freedom in relation to opportunity or accessibility, particularly for those who are at present most constrained by economic, social and political forces. If this value judgement is accepted then it follows that the planner should be less concerned with making choices for people by offering them a place in a single, utopian blueprint, than by extending the freedom of choice to people who it must be assumed are better able to choose for themselves than others could for them. This also means avoiding devoting resources to the underdog in ways that preserve intact the hierarchies of an earlier social order. As towns develop, the planner should make it easier, not harder, for people to sieze new opportunities.

A review of the policies which have assisted the process of polarisation would indicate that they have tended to benefit those whose needs are least acute, or have provided subsidies to those with least choice in a way that reduces choice still further. First, the operation of market forces in home purchase have meant that ownership is beyond the financial capacity of most semi- and un-skilled manual workers. Subsidies to owner-occupiers in the

form of tax relief are regressive in that they provide the greatest benefit to those who live in the largest and most expensive houses. Second, while post-war planning ideology was particularly aimed at urban containment through development control and green-belt policies, it failed to prevent suburban movement. The effect of these policies has therefore been to limit the supply of land, thereby increasing its value. As land costs have rocketed, they form an increasingly important part of housing costs. Existing owners of houses or land have benefited from inflation, while effective choice in owner occupation has been reduced, particularly at the lower end of the market, and for first-time buyers. Furthermore, development control and inflated prices have protected the suburban and exurban home-owner from unselective housing development. Third, transport provision that assists the suburban dweller by motorway access has been costly to the inner-city resident through its effects on the decline of public transport, increasing congestion and pollution, and a reduction in the housing stock. Fourth, the decline of private rental through urban renewal has been accompanied by the growth of single class estates with one-class schools and dead-end jobs, or no jobs at all. Choice in housing has been restricted by arbitrary powers of allocation. Moreover, direct subsidies in the form of rent rebates or controlled tenancies further restrict geographical mobility.

There is no single or simple solution to the problems raised by polarisation. However, a number of alternative policies are suggested as meriting further consideration. In relation to

the household's freedom of choice, a housing 'voucher' system might be one way in which choice could be extended to those who at present are most constrained by economic and political factors. A household would be granted a voucher of a value calculated on the basis of need through a system of negative income tax assessment. This would permit a greater degree of housing and locational choice than existing subsidies because it would not be related to a particular type of housing tenure. The voucher could be used to pay for all, or part of, a private, local authority or housing association rent, or mortgage repayments. Effective choice would be raised if, in conjunction with the voucher, individual households were provided with information on housing available over wider areas than are at present covered by estate agents or local authorities. The result of this policy would be to enable those who do not have to remain in the inner city to move to the suburbs, while spontaneous gentrification would be less a process of displacement than of voluntary replacement of one social group by another.

The voucher system would increase choice most for those who at present are most disadvantaged in housing markets. However, increasing choice means raising demand, and unless the variety and volume of housing is increased, inflation would result. A number of possible strategies could be considered. The first is that existing policies of development control should be carefully reviewed to establish how far it is possible to expand the supply of housing land, particularly in existing suburbs. Second, in areas which at present have a high concentration of low-income

workers, the voucher would assist the process of conversion of rental property to owner-occupation. It should also make it easier for low income owners to take advantage of home improvement grants. Third, areas of local authority intervention to bring about housing improvement should be more selectively chosen in order to be more sensitive to local needs. Housing associations, which are able to exert a large degree of local control over housing improvements, should be encouraged as an alternative to direct local authority ownership.

Improving housing choice, however, is only a partial solution. The experience of labour market dislocation incurred by housing policies which improved housing by building estates without employment opportunities is sufficient to establish this point. Nevertheless, as manual jobs have decentralised more readily than others, policies which enable manual workers to move to areas where opportunities are emerging will partly overcome existing housing and work disequilibrium. Alternative employment strategies to unplanned decentralisation should be considered. Moving manufacturing industry back into the innter city to alleviate localised unemployment is probably not a viable policy. Few productivity advantages would occur, and the social costs of transport congestion and increased demand on an already over-crowded housing stock would outweigh any gains in employment. It would be more realistic to attempt to relate labour supply and demand over carefully chosen sectors of the city which take into account existing transport provision. The employment opportunities

open to those who lack skills or ability to pay for long journeys to work could be enhanced by subsidiesed and improved reverse commuting or by policies which attempt to promote a greater degree of self-containment in outer or intermediate areas. Employment 'growth centres' which provide a wide range of opportunities would enhance the possibility of social mobility more than the dispersal patterns of uncoordinated decentralisation. Growth centres could be linked to existing housing developments, or could be used in conjunction with housing policies which make local authorities responsible for housing those who work within their boundaries rather than the present system of provision on the basis of residential qualification.

Recent trends in planning and other programmes to alleviate deprivation have been towards more concentrated remedial and social development action in small areas of the city where its symptoms are most in evidence. While the value of locality-based action is not in question, it is considered that it must take place within a wider context of national and metropolitan strategies if the necessity for polarisation is to be prevented at the same time as its effects are cured. The policies outlined above are no panacea. However, they attempt to tackle the problems of differential social and geographical mobility which are of the essence of deprivation and polarisation.

A positively discriminatary housing voucher scheme would provide low-income households with a greater degree of housing and localtional choice. With the possibility of enhanced geographical mobility, such households may choose to disperse from areas of low-income concentration. However, dispersal is not the whole answer.

While Pahl (1970) underestimates the value of improved housing, environmental, employment and education provision that may accompany movement from the inner city to the suburbs, his conclusion is apposite: 'geographical mobility is no substitute for social mobility, social policies aimed at the former without being concerned with the latter simply transfer social problems to another milieu'. A second policy has therefore been to enhance social mobility by the provision of a wide range of employment opportunities in growth centres located to enable low-income workers to have a relatively short journey to work. However, social mobility which leads to geographical mobility for the successful will create further problems for the remaining population. The necessity for movement away from the area would depend on the degree of self-containment in both employment and housing provision.

Local action is therefore relevant on two counts. First, educational priority and industrial training schemes will enable an existing population to more readily grasp the employment opportunities provided in more accessible centres. Second, environmental, housing (including a wider choice of tenure) and service improvements will make inner areas more attractive to a wider range of people. Movement out of the area will not be an inevitable counterpart to upward social mobility. The emphasis is therefore on increasing choice for those who at present are least able to choose. This may lead to more balanced communities, but more importantly, it will make highly unbalanced communities less likely.

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