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THE STATE AND HOUSING PROTEST

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SYNOPSIS

This study attempts to show that it is myopic to analyse housing protest by merely considering activity only at the local level. The causes of housing protest, we shall contend, are not usually local, and involve wider social and economic forces in society. An analysis which ignores these is inadequate.

Chapter One looks at five ideal-typical models of the agency towards which housing protest has become increasingly directed, the state. Each perspective implies a different view of the state, its position in society and its potential for reacting to institutionalised or non-institutionalised protest.

Chapter Two considers theories of the local state. As the on-the-spot provider of housing, the local state is the recipient of much housing protest, and we examine the efficacy of the five perspectives for analysing the local state's position. We select three perspectives which have potential for explaining different aspects of protest, namely - the internal workings of the local state, the protest groups themselves, and central/local government relations.

Chapter Three examines state involvement in housing, and relates this to the explanations posited by the five perspectives as a test of their efficacy in explaining such involvement. We also examine state housing policy as a basis for protest, and find that such a basis exists in at least three areas of policy.

In Chapter Four we consider the protest groups themselves, how and why they form, and barriers to that formation: we also categorise protest activity according to its source, the level of activity, and the types of activity.

Chapter Five describes the Gorbals Anti-Dampness Campaign, as an example of housing protest, as well as drawing out some points from an examination of the squatting movement. In Chapter Five and Chapter Six we attempt to relate the theories of the state, and their implications for analysing protest activity, to these campaigns, and draw some conclusions from this.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter One - The State

In this chapter we shall examine the different perspectives of the role of the state in society and the reasons put forward for its involvement and provision of collective consumption - housing, infrastructure provision, and so on. Housing protest, as well as protest over other issues has increasingly been directed against the state, at the local as well as the national level. The vast expansion in state provision of services has effectively politicised many issues concerning the extent and distribution of such services. (Habermas, 1974) In housing provision therefore the activity of tenants has been increasingly targeted towards public rather than private landlords. To understand the nature of housing protest therefore, we must be aware of the situation of the institution towards which it is directed, for as we shall see this situation conditions to a great extent, the ability or willingness of those who represent the state to respond to protest. We shall consider therefore the role of the central state in capitalist society and its involvement in the housing field. Most housing protest is directed towards the local state and the provision of that institution must be assessed, we shall do this in the following Chapter; additionally the relationship between the central and local states also must be looked at since the actions of each may be contingent on the nature of this relationship.

During the early stages of capitalist development, the intervention of the state in the economy was minimal, and mainly geared towards the provision of basic infrastructure and guaranteed freedom of contract, trade, and property rights. In 1900 the ratio of public expenditure to gross domestic product was 14.4%, in 1950 it was 39% and by 1976 it had risen to 60%. In 1901 5.8% of the working population were employed directly by the state but by 1975 some 25.8% were so employed. (Dearlove 1979 p.223) The activities of the state have not only increased in volume, but in their variety: housing, social security, social services, industrial development, health and welfare form only a small part of an ever expanding list. In the field of housing provision the expansion has been massive: even before the First World War the state was involved in the private housing market by setting minimum standards of building
and service provision. Slum clearance but very little rebuilding, had been undertaken in many of the large cities. (Gouldie, 1974) We must consider the implications of this expansion, however, in general terms. Housing is merely one aspect of the state's activities, and cannot be seen in isolation from the more general theory of the state. It is to that which we now turn.

There are various explanations for the expansion of the role of the state and its position in society. These can be usefully grouped under five main headings:

1. REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY
2. PLURALIST
3. MANAGERIALIST/CORPORATIST
4. FUNCTIONALIST/STRUCTURALIST (MARXIST)
5. CLASS CONFLICT/DERIVATIONIST (MARXIST)

Each of these implies a certain view of society and the state, posits a theory of the rise of the state, and suggests the types of pressure to which the state may be susceptible. Similarly, these theories implicitly or explicitly suggest methods of research, and areas of interest on which research should be focused. Also, each perspective involves a view of society which can be classified on an axis of consensus - conflict. We shall consider each of these theories in turn.

Representative perspectives share in common the view that the state is neutral and is independent of any class interests. Indeed, the view of society involved is one of societal consensus and the state of a set of political institutions outside of society, and open to influence by any group. It is at the same time omnipotent since it legitimised the use of force, and subservient, in that it responds to pressure. The emergence of the British and other welfare states is viewed as the result of a benevolent state gradually eliminating social evils. Welfare provision and economic management are seen as having effectively controlled the iniquities thrown up by the play of market forces, in order to change the system in the interests of all citizens.

Closely related to the representationalist perspective is the pluralist. In this formulation the state is again seen as neutral and responsive to pressure, but the pressure comes from groups, rather than individuals.
There are no enduring power elites, and power is widely dispersed and distributed in communities at both the national and the local levels. Although elites may exist, they are numerous and no elite dominates in any given society. The state is seen as a pawn up for grabs by contenders for political power and again is omnipotent and at the same time subservient. In a study of the local political system in New Haven, Dahl (1961), for example, argues that economic class divisions do not constitute the major lines of cleavage in political conflicts. Conflicts are non cumulative and so those in opposite camps on one issue need not necessarily be adversaries over the next. The picture is one of changing alliances between different groups formed around different political bases according to the issue at stake at the time. "Hence it is not only inefficient but unnecessary for entire classes to mobilise themselves when the preferences of class members are pressed and often satisfied in piecemeal fashion." (Polsby 1963 p118). The vehicle for satisfying these preferences is the state: the outcomes of political conflicts reflects "the relative intensity of preference among the members of a group" (Dahl 1956 p135). Thus pluralists accept that some groups are better able to express their preferences, and get them accepted than others but again, not in a consistent way.

The state therefore is not seen as the instrument of any one group or class. This neutrality is guaranteed by the plurality of groups and the diffused nature of power, and also by the electoral process. This ensures political accountability and ensures that politicians respect public opinion and are responsive to needs. Thus elections, plus constant competition for leadership ensures popular control over the state.

Both the representative democracy and the pluralist perspectives however take a consensus view of society. In this view, society is seen as a system of competing individuals, but between whom there are no fundamental differences of interest. Class rivalries are considered to have become subsumed beneath an underlying consensus and agreement on basic issues.

"With such a consensus, the disputes over policy alternatives are nearly always disputes over a set of alternatives that have already been winnowed down to those within the broad area of basic agreement". (Dahl 1956 p132 - 133)
Similarly, although political conflict exists, the ground rules are accepted by the participants. Dahrendorf (1959) calls this the institutionalisation of class conflict. The basic ground rules of politics have become accepted by all in society, and various institutions have developed to manage conflicts. Dahrendorf's theories are particularly interesting in the context of this study, since they typify the pluralists approach, and emphasise the management and control of conflict by means of institutions, and the acceptance of ground rules.

Dahrendorf sees conflict as being endemic in society, but around certain agreed norms, within the rules of the game on which participants agree. Like the traditional pluralists, Dahrendorf emphasises the separateness of different spheres of activity, and therefore the improbability of one group holding power consistently in a number of spheres. He particularly stresses separateness of the economic and political spheres and thus rejects a theory of classes based on economic criteria. All pluralists tend to stress the acceptance by competing parties of the ground rules for conflict as indeed do those who propose theories of representative democracy. Mann (1970) identified the basic tenets of such consensus theories, although different theorists stress different components. 'Core values' are said to be accepted by members - values such as 'equality' or 'achievement': social norms, especially a commitment to the rules of democracy are also stressed, as are beliefs in the harmony of society, and the benevolence of those who lead.

Thus whilst pluralism appears to propose a theory of conflict, this conflict is narrowly defined, and is limited to conventional politics and the study of actual observable conflicts which result in decision taking. The state in pluralist approaches then, is simply a set of institutions in which the supply of decisions comes to balance the level of effective demand. The outputs of governments are therefore merely the results of the inputs of pressures, and it matters little which persons hold office. The mechanism through which decisions are made is as anonymous as the market in the economic model, and the causes of state action lie outside the state itself. "As a result, no government can fail in the not very long run to respond to the wishes and demands of competing interests". (Lukes, 1974). In the concluding section of this chapter we shall criticise
5.

pluralist assumptions and views of the state, as well as consider the implications for research, which as we shall see are rather narrow. Meanwhile we will consider the third perspective, the managerialist/corporatist which takes a different view of society and the state.

While the pluralists see policy outcomes as resulting from external pressures on the state, corporatist/managerialist perspectives contend that the state itself is capable of producing change. This perspective can be traced back to the work of Max Weber, who proposed that there is no necessary relation between economic and political domination in modern societies. Weber believed that parties can develop around a wide variety of social bases, of which class membership is only one, albeit the most important one. As we have seen in the work of pluralists, for example Dahrendorf, this separation of economics and politics has perhaps become over emphasised, to an extent Weber himself never intended. (Giddens, 1974). A second main tenet of Weber's work has also been extracted and expanded on to form a theory of the state: Weber believed that the mode of domination in modern societies is bureaucratic, and focused on the state. The bureaucracy is considered to be independent and neutral with respect to class interests and therefore that the state is not necessarily class biased. Also, the increasing rationalisation of administration reduces the possibility of effective political control of the bureaucracy such that the technical experts are able to dominate with regard to policy formation and implementation. (Weber 1947).

At the level of the national state, the influence of Weber is most obvious in the work of the corporatists. (See Pahl and Winkler 1974, Winkler, 1976). At the level of the local state, the work of the managerialists is most obvious, (Pahl 1970) and we shall consider this in the next section. In the corporatist view, modern societies are increasingly typified by a situation in which capital, although privately owned, is controlled and directed towards certain goals by the state. These goals include the need for order in the economic sphere, the need for unity in achieving economic success, and the strong commitment to nationalism in achieving these, as foreign competition increases. (Winkler, 1976). The state, then has moved from being facilitative of production, to being supportive of the private sector, to finally directing and controlling business in terms of setting objectives, controlling resources and so on.
While it is true that the state has become more involved in directing production, and long term economic planning, it would seem to be premature in claiming that the state controlled the private sector, (See Warren 1972) indeed the poor success of such planning indicates that this is not so. However, corporatists see the state as having independent purposes, based on a strong bureaucracy.

The state is therefore autonomous, and dominated by a bureaucracy, the aims of which are economic efficiency, rather than equality or social justice. Thus, in research terms, the proper area of study is the internal workings of the bureaucracy and more specifically the ideologies of the managers involved in decision taking. The democratic institutions are seen to be only a means of legitimating decisions that would have been taken anyway, for technical, rather than political reasons. The corporatists tend to have no specific theory to deal with the local state, but in the form of urban managerialism, tend to focus research on the personnel of local government. The central state is seen as dealing mainly with production as we have seen, whilst the local state is seen as dealing with consumption issues, generally those which are dealt with by bureaucratic allocation. We shall deal more fully with the urban managerialist perspective in the next section and now must consider a fourth view of the national state, the structuralist.

This perspective is basically a Marxist one, and generally involves a functionalist view of the state. Usually such a perspective also expresses allegiance to a class conflict view of society, in which the state is forced to be responsive to the demands of the subordinate class, such as in the work of Poulantzas (1969), Castells (1977, 1978) and Cockburn (1977). However, these authors and others who share the structuralist perspective tend to emphasise the institutional structure of society, and tend to neglect class action, especially the possibility of effective class action;

"this institutional structure is seen to be a seamless web of institutions which are unambiguously supportive of capitalism. Each institution is 'explained' by being related to the total society. Contradictions whether between or within institutions, are ignored. More importantly, the development of such institutions
(parliamentary democracy, the welfare state etc.) as a result of class struggle is ignored in this functionalist analysis. We have a peculiar Marxism which allows class struggles only in permitted areas, for example work, grass roots politics etc..." (Young, 1979).

Whilst this quotation may overstate the position of most structuralists, for analytical reasons concerned with their respective views of the state, and the local state, it would be prudent to separate the structuralist from the class conflict perspective, as we shall call it.

Nevertheless, the structuralist view is a Marxist one, and is based on a class analysis of society. The state is seen as an instrument, a thing to be possessed by classes, specific to the mode of production, is an instrument of class domination, and is chiefly concerned with repression. Poulantzas view of the relative autonomy of the state is relevant here. (Poulantzas 1969). The state is a representation of the balance of class forces in any particular society at any given time. Since, in Poulantzas view monopoly capital is dominant at the present time it follows that in the long term the state necessarily represents the interests of monopoly capital, as a fraction of the capitalist class. Nevertheless, the working class is not powerless and the state generates policies to favour working class interests, even against the short term interests of the dominant class. Also, it serves to unify the divergent interests between fractions of capital, again to protect the long term aim of accumulation. On the other hand, it serves to fragment the unity of the working class by arranging concessions where necessary to the dominated classes, to defuse situations of mounting class conflicts. Thus the state maintains a relative autonomy from all classes, that serves the interests of the dominant fraction of capital. Therefore the state could never intervene to fundamentally alter the system of capitalist property relations, and every reform introduced, no matter how far reaching must by definition be an attempt to fragment the working class.

It is difficult to see how such a theory of the state avoids an implicit economic determinism. Poulantzas follows Althusser in separating three levels of activity in society, the economic, the political and the ideological, each of which he claims are relatively autonomous from the others, but/
that in the last instance the economic is the determinant. As Walton and Gamble (1972) point out "there is no other way the principle of determination by the economy in the last instance, could be followed except by assuming that the economy is also determinant in the first instance". Thus, it would appear that there is no necessary correspondence between economics and politics, and therefore that the state may not function in the interests of any one class: it therefore seems that the state is external to classes, and independent of them. However, if one accepts the concept of relative autonomy, which structuralists do, then the state becomes a force in possession of the dominant class, and in the end they revert to a functionalist analysis.

The work of Castells (1977, 1978) illustrates the rather ambiguous view of the state which most structuralists exhibit. Castells in some works adheres to Poulantzas' concept of relative autonomy of the state, and sees the state as a mechanism for organising the interests of dominant classes. In other work however, he displays a rather more functionalist view of the state, which comes to be seen as creating the conditions necessary for capital accumulation. Castells points to the increasing tendency for the state to intervene in the provision of collective consumption in capitalist societies. By collective consumption he means the provisions of social goods, which are collectively provided such as health and welfare, housing, the provision of infrastructure and so on. Thus, Castells sees an inconsistency between the increasingly socialised nature of consumption, and the domination of provision of goods and services, in general, by private capital. This increase in collective consumption is viewed by Castells to have been the result of long term structural tendencies in capitalism, namely the concentration and centralisation of capital, its battle against the falling rate of profit, the growing power of the working class, and the intervention of the state into the economy.

Very often, and we shall see that this is true with regard to housing, the provision of collective consumption is not profitable, although it may be necessary for the reproduction of labour power, and thus for production. Castells notes that the goods involved in collective consumption are not special in some way, rather goods become collectively
produced and allocated by the state because they are unprofitable for private capital. Some goods such as housing may fluctuate from one category to another, or may be supplied by the state and private capital simultaneously. Thus, if goods are not profitable, "it is at this point that the intervention of the state becomes necessary in order to take charge of the services which are less profitable (from the point of view of capital) but necessary for the functioning of economic activity and/or the appeasement of social conflicts." (Castells, 1972 p18)

This intervention is seen to be:--

"functional and necessary to the monopolies, even though it is often done in opposition to some capitalist interests. In effect is assures the necessary reproduction of the labour power at a minimum level, it lessens the cost of direct salaries........ while at the same time easing demands" (Castells, 1972 pl8).

So we can see that the intervention of the state for Castells is largely a matter of necessity. The reproduction of labour power is an essential function, yet private capital by itself is unable to accomplish it, so the state steps in of necessity. Allen (1979) lists the categories of state expenditure in the following way. First, social investments: this could be otherwise referred to as capital investment and includes provision of roads, sewers and so on. These have the effect of raising the rate of profit by increasing the productivity of a given amount of labour - consider a new road for example. Second, social consumption: this includes expenditure on education, health, housing, social benefits and the effect is to lower in theory the costs of reproduction of labour power to capital, by allowing lower direct wages. Third, social expenses: which includes expenditure on the police, social services and welfare support services which are not directly productive, but which serve to maintain the legitimacy of existing class relations. Thus, social investments are concerned mainly with production issues, social consumption concerns collective consumption in Castells' terms; and social expenses concern the maintenance of class relations either by coercion, or more commonly, by supporting legitimating agencies - social work, education and so on.

As we shall see later, structuralists tend to distinguish between the
local and central state in terms of the different functions each fulfills for capital. The central state is relatively autonomous from all classes yet acts in the interests of monopoly capital. State intervention can never fundamentally alter class relations, and is limited to reformism, to buy off the dominated classes. Castells however, does contend that the intervention of the state raises new contradictions, around which conflicts will emerge, primarily over issues of collective consumption. His theory of urban social movements has much to commend it as a basis for studying conflict and protest at the local level, even though its view of the state as repressive and non-responsive is perhaps not a fruitful one. We shall consider this later, in the context of the local state, but for the moment the last perspective, the class conflict one, deserves consideration. This view has been put forward by Duncan & Goodwin (1980), Foster (1974), Dearlove (1979), Corrigan (1977) and Gough (1975). It can be seen in a sense, as a reaction to the previous perspective of structuralism. This account lays less stress on state intervention as a function of economic development and political dominance by capital, and more on the role of class struggle, particularly regarding the development of welfare services, including housing since the war. This perspective recognises the social control functions of the state and it is not assumed that all interventions occur as a result of pressure from below. However, such policies are developed in relation to, and in the presence of, the working class. Thus, social expenses and welfare provision are partly determined by the organisation and form of that presence, and they may be able to gain concessions over and above what otherwise would have been granted. Indeed, according to Gough, the strength of working class pressure can roughly be gauged by the comprehensiveness and level of social benefits and services. (Gough, 1975).

Thus, in this view, the state may be generally controlled by a dominant class but is forced from time to time to make significant concessions to the working class.

"A key feature of the capitalist state is the extent to which this threat has been recognised and entrenched in, at the same time as it has been legitimised through, the extension of the franchise. " (Dearlove, 1978 p225)
This does not mean that the development of the welfare state, for example, resulted directly from universal suffrage, rather that it provided access for the working class to attempt to control the state. Thus, the institutionalisation of class conflict, as Dahrendorf (1959) termed it, can be rather more effective than the structuralists allow.

There is a wide measure of agreement amongst historians, that pressure from the working class was one of the main reasons for social reforms in the early 1900's. Barratt-Brown (1972) has no doubt that the power of private capital can be challenged by labour. This is most obvious in the production field where successful working class pressure for increased living standards, combined with international competition has resulted in a fall in profits from 25% in 1950 to 21% in 1964 and 12.1% in 1970 in the UK. (Gough, 1975)

If we accept that class action is important in capitalist societies, where does that leave the state? Obviously the state is first of all a set of physical institutions - government, civil service, local government and so on. But in the class conflict perspective it is much more. To quote Elson (1979):

"Instead of thinking of the capitalist state as an entity or area, we should think if it as a social relation in which an abstract form of social comparability is established between members of society, not as expenders of labour power, but as citizens, not though the market, but through the law."

The state therefore, is the product of social relations, particularly relations between classes: but of what do these relations consist?

We should remember that capitalist states have developed historically, as one part of the relationship between subordinate and dominant classes. Thus, although the evolution of capitalist states may function to resolve the interests of capital, we must also remember that dominant class behaviour rests on its relationship with subordinate classes. Capitalist states may fail to carry out such functions, or may invoke the wrong policies, there is no guarantee of functionality. Thus, the state is seen as an historically developed, and developing, form of social class relations. These relations can be seen as legal relations,
revolving around the idea of citizenship and the mechanism of the contract.

"In the capitalist state real socio-economic relations between classes, sexes or races are transformed into the legal relations of supposedly individual, equal and identical citizens.... The state form reproduces bourgeois relations so that working class consciousness or action becomes transformed into the less threatening behaviour of abstract and atomised citizens."

(Duncan and Goodwin, 1980).

Thus the social relations embodied in the state help to maintain an illusion of equality in an inherently unequal society (by definition) in the same way as the market does in the economic sphere. Additionally this involves the separation of the economic and the political. As we have seen the pluralists take this for granted, and Dahrendorf (1959) saw this as being the hallmark of a capitalist society, as do authors of a non pluralist persuasion. (Giddens, 1973). Indeed, the working class in social democracies usually have two separate organisations for the separate spheres, a political party as political representative, and trade unions as economic representative. This approach, however, unlike the structuralist allows the possibility of extensive social change via the state as a result of working class pressure even against the interests of capital, with the risk of the domination of capital being challenged, as new forms of social relations develop.

In considering these perspectives on the state, it is important to realise that they are not mutually exclusive, except as ideal types. In practice, there is some cross fertilisation. Most structuralists claim to see the state, for example, as a form of class relations, but in practice tend to resort to analysis of structures. For example, Castells,(1977)

All the perspectives agree that the state's activity has expanded enormously although they differ with regard to the reasons for this. The representationalist perspective, and the pluralist see the state as neutral and responsive to pressure. For the corporatists, the state is independent of society and dominant although it supports dominant interests. These three theories tend towards a consensus view of
society, in which the rules of conflict are closely defined. The two Marxists perspectives also see the state as being supportive of dominant interests. The structuralists however, usually implicitly resort to a functionalist analysis, while the derivationists stress the pressure of class relations in pressuring the state to provide more collective consumption than would necessarily be provided in the interests of capital.

Curiously all the perspectives except the corporatist, see the growth of representative democracy as being important. The importance of this for the representational perspectives is obvious, but the Marxists also stress it. For both, it is a means of institutionalising class conflict but for the pluralists the class basis of society is denied. For the structuralists it results in reformism, and the maintenance of class relations. For the derivationists it is important ideologically, and forms the basis of the social relations of the state. As such it is potentially dangerous for the dominant class, as the process of the reproduction of existing class relations is constantly under threat. The corporatists see representative democracy as only being important ideologically also, but as a means of legitimating technical, rather than political decision making.

The separation of the economic from the political sphere is accepted by all the perspectives, often implicitly, as in the representational. Thus, working class protest is split between the workplace via trade unions, and the traditional political institutions via political parties. However, only the Marxist perspectives, and to a lesser extent pluralist, allow consideration of pressure against the state from outside traditional political spheres. Indeed, the considerable rise in direct action in much of Europe in the post war period has caused some pluralists to revise their analysis more toward the conflict model, (see Dahrendorf 1967 for example), albeit one in which there are no fundamental conflicts.

In all the perspectives, the functions of the state are seen to be important, whether to respond benevolently to needs or to support capital accumulation. As we have seen, the state has gradually extended its
sphere of activity into collective consumption, as Castells termed it. Although the local state is responsible for much of this activity in housing, social services and so on, the central state usually determines the level of resources to be devoted to collective consumption, and usually sets constraints on actual policy provision such as housing standards and subsidy types.

The extent of such constraint is in dispute, and varies depending on which perspective we take on the nature of the state. Yet it is vital to establish this, if we are to assess the ability of the local state to express local needs, and respond or not to respond to local protests which centre around collective consumption issues. Much protest is directed towards the local state as the on-the-spot provider of such provision. The view we take of the central state conditions to a great extent the way we see the local state, its functions, and its relationship to central government. It is to consideration of these questions which we now turn.
Chapter Two - The Local State, Urban Politics and Housing

Section 1.

Introduction: Theories of the Local State

As the on the spot provider of housing, and as we shall see the institution towards which much protest is directed it is vital that we understand the nature of the local state. Local authorities have considerable autonomy from the central state in the production, management and allocation of housing. (Dickens and Gilbert, 1979). However this autonomy is partial and local authorities are constrained in many ways by the central state especially via the system of local government finance and, finally, recourse to law, as we shall see. In this chapter we shall examine different views of the local state, based on the perspectives we examined in the last chapter. We shall see that the view they take of the central state to a great extent conditions the way these perspectives see the local state, its relation to the central state, and its degree of autonomy. We shall consider the two Marxist perspectives in some detail, one which concentrates almost entirely on protest movements, and one which considers all aspects of urban conflict. Additionally, we will look at application of the managerialist approach, which in the field of housing, with its bureaucratic allocation procedures, has much to offer.

That the local state is a mere arm of the central state is a theme which tends to dominate orthodox political thought and could be termed the conventional wisdom.

"The ideal that local authorities are mere agents of the central government has a long history in the orthodox literature of local government studies where there is entrenched an explanation which centres on the fact that he who pays the piper calls the tune." (Dearlove, 1979).

Broadly speaking, with the exception of the derivationist/class conflict perspective, all the perspectives we examined in the last chapter take such a view, and see the separation of local and national state as being primarily a functional one.

Representationalist perspective tends to echo this: the local state is concerned with those functions which central government entrusts it.
Local democracy is about the distribution of the resources conceded by central government, and is normally seen as being healthy. The pluralist perspective tends not to have a specific view of the local state. However, it would seem the local state as a focus for the activities of pressure groups, is seen to be concerned with the allocation of resources conceded by central government. Ironically, the structuralist perspective similarly sees the local state as being an arm of the central state, "local councils don't spring from ancient rights of self government, but are, and under capitalism always have been, an aspect of national government which is in turn part of the state". (Cockburn, 1977 p2). Very often, this support is seen to be specially specific in that the local state is said to be supportive of local business, if not controlled by them. (Dearlove, 1979 p215)

There is considerable evidence that the local authority in Glasgow, for example, via redevelopment plans has attempted to restructure the infrastructure in the city to facilitate economic development. (Inner Ring Road, Interim Report as an example, 1962) Business controlled pressure groups may influence policy, especially over roads, and the local authority's acceptance of the theory that roads do bring economic development seems to be unquestioningly accepted. (Cable, 1974). To say however, that the local authority is controlled by local business is quite a different matter, and would seem to be overstating the case.

However, it seems prudent to draw out an important consideration which emerges from perspectives which view the local state as an arm of the central state. It is that such an approach at least recognises that the activity of the local state is not isolated from national activity. This is certainly the case in housing policy. Thus, the local state can be seen as "a miniature political system". (Stayner, 1976). Stayner contends that it is theoretically possible to abstract the political behaviour in localities, in the same way that national political systems can be abstracted from the international system. However, as in most systems, the external environment in practice, is seen to affect activity in the miniature system. Thus, the environment in this case is defined as everything outside the system, especially central government. This permits us to consider the autonomy of local government from central
government, and the former's ability therefore to resist central control. It may be that different policy areas have different degrees of autonomy, and a fruitful analysis must allow for such a possibility. We shall now consider an application of an approach which does treat local government as a miniature political system, influenced by central government. The main protagonists however, are bureaucrats, rather than politicians or protest groups.

Section 2.

Urban Managerialism and Urban Politics

As we saw in the last chapter, the urban managerialists focus on managers stems from the legacy of a Weberian concern with the growth of bureaucracy in modern societies, both in terms of scale and power. Indeed, in his early work, Pahl (1975) referring to bureaucrats as social gatekeepers was able to state "populations limited in this access to scarce urban resources are the dependent variable; those controlling access, the managers of the system, would be the independent variable". (1975 p201). These managers would include not only local authority bureaucrats, but council members, social workers, building society managers, estate agents, private landlords and so on. Indeed, any identifiable group which administered a system of access to any resource. Thus, research should be focused on such managers, particularly on their ideologies, goals and values which underlie their decisions concerning the allocation of resources.

Pahl's work has generated a great deal of research on the role of these social gatekeepers, and especially on the influence of local administrators on decision taking within local authorities. March and Simon (1959) contend that professional groups bring bounded rationality to decision making - a view of reality which is limited by their, and the organisation's ability to perceive and interpret the world. Such processes for information on which to base decisions are limited, activity and value systems are often highly specialised and limit choice and prevent optimum decision making. Thus, much research has been focused on actual decision making processes within local authorities, particularly on the committee system. This system which dominates most local authority decision taking has caused Young to write "the particular interpretation given by Scottish political groups democratic control is
of detailed decision taking by committees which generally respond to administrative rather than political pressures. " (1974) Dearlove (1979) contends that the re-organisation of local government has potentially increased the power of professional groups over decision taking with the promotion of corporate management techniques which emphasise organisational efficiency, rather than political decision making. In Glasgow, it seems true that power has moved increasingly into the hands of leading members, in consultation with officers, and away from back benchers. This appears to be a common pattern, following reorganisation. (Dearlove, 1979, Sanders 1979, Young 1974). Issues therefore may be seen as technical, rather than political, as we shall see happened in the anti-dampness campaign.

However, in the later work of Pahl (1977) we can detect a revision of his position. First, toward the study of local authority bureaucrats exclusively because of the increasing importance of the local state's activity in determining outcomes at the local level. (This is parallel in the corporatists view of the increasingly dominant and directive nature of the national state, which we discussed in the last chapter). Second, that such study should take account of the relations between the central and local state. Thus managers are seen as playing a crucial mediating role both between the state and the private sector, and between the central state and the local population. Thus, elected officials tend to be seen to be of little importance in the decision taking process. This parallels the corporatists view of state in general that the electoral process merely legitimates decisions that would have been taken in any case, for technical reasons. Thus the possibility for local democracy is severely limited, even within the conventional political system, and certainly for protest groups which use non conventional methods of protest. This constitutes a major flaw in the managerialist/corporatist approach, and tends to diminish the importance played by community groups and recalcitrant local authorities who defy central government.

Sanders (1979), in a notable attempt to operationalise a managerialist/pluralist type perspective, lists the constraints which limit the actions of urban managers as ecological, political and those of the
market. Research, for Saunders, is largely a matter therefore of studying independent, if bounded, managers. The boundaries set by ecological constraints concern the inherent inequalities of space and whether or not urban managers can effectively determine whether one group or another should benefit from locational advantages. If we restrict our analysis to urban managers, these ecological forces are undoubtedly a major constraint on their actions. Saunders himself however points out these ecological constraints are not total and local authorities have considerable powers (via planning controls) albeit negative ones, to determine special outcomes as well as powers of direction over the provision of housing, education and so on. In the pluralist type analysis, Saunders shows how competing groups can help to determine special outcomes, and therefore that these outcomes are as much the result of power relations as the result of 'ecological forces'.

A second constraint, those of the political, consist of limitations on managers' actions which result from the internal organisation of the local state itself, and the limits imposed by local government's integration into the larger state apparatus. The first of these directs us into the relationship between elected officials and the bureaucrats, and Saunders concludes that "the increasing complexity of local government and the growth of corporate planning strategies have served to insulate council officers from the political pressures exerted by the elected members". (1979, p192) However, Saunders concedes that leading members of the majority party may have considerable power and therefore they must be considered in any analysis.

The third major constraint. Saunders cites is the market. By this, he means the necessity of maintaining the conditions of existence for private production, and the ability of local authorities to generate funds for spending on items not directly related to production. On the first Saunders points out their expenditure on roads, infrastructure etc. varies greatly between local authorities and concludes that those who control the state apparatus enjoy some discretion in determining how best and how far to support capital accumulation. Thus, local variations in expenditure are the result of decisions taken by those who control the state, that is, urban managers. Saunders also points out that the local state is constrained by its reliance on the private sector for
revenue, and a limited revenue base in the locality. Increasingly, councils are constrained by the large repayments of interest charges on capital borrowed, and that all constraints Saunders sees the ability to finance social expenditure as being the most significant of all.

A number of criticisms of the basis of Saunders' work, the managerialist/corporatist perspective and his empirical analysis can be made. First the managerialist approach is essentially descriptive rather than explanatory and fails to explain why the local state performs the activities it does. We are implicitly thrown back to a functionalist analysis, and indeed, Saunders combines O'Connor's (1973) and Cockburn's (1977) to arrive at a taxonomy of the key functions. Second, such analysis failed to consider why resources are scarce in the first place. Urban managers are merely seen as allocators of such resources that exist. The fact that the scarcity depends on economic, political and social relations in society remains unexplored, although Saunders himself does examine the activity of pressure groups. Third, in the traditional managerialist approach, by concentrating analysis on individuals, each of who is defined by his attempt to maximise his own power and gain, the approach neglects the determination of local policy by general social structures and forces. Indeed, Saunders' work can be looked on as an attempt to define the local state as the unit of study for urban sociology, despite his consideration of external constraints. (Duncan and Goodwin, 1980). Finally, starting off with an identification of the national state as a classless corporate state, the local state becomes a pluralist state of conflicting interests and interest groups concerned with the distribution of consumption. Local political activity therefore becomes "urban politics", isolated from production, and therefore incapable of being analysed in terms of economic class divisions.

However, there does seem to be much of value in the managerialist approach. The national state does appear to be becoming more corporate in nature, labour unions, big business and government involved in economic planning. There is little evidence that the state controls industry, indeed its inability to do so has been well documented. (Warren 1972)
At the local level, we do need to consider the power of urban managers, especially when, as in housing, resources are allocated bureaucratically. This does often involve technical debate, rather than political debate. However, by focusing on urban managers, and the state, the managerialist approach leaves us no basis on which to consider the activity of protest groups as potentially effective activity. We shall now turn to the perspective which switches the research of this away from the local state and almost exclusively on to the protest groups themselves.

Section 3.
The Local State Again, and Urban Social Movements

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, the structuralists tend to see the local state as being an arm of the central state, which performs functions concerned with collective consumption. Cockburn's 'The Local State' (1977) remains an important example of the application of a structuralist approach to the local authority context although we must consider the work of Castells, for an analysis of protest movements.

To Cockburn at least, the position of the local state appears unambiguous and is seen as an arm of the national government which itself is a part of the state, and supportive of capitalism. The local state is a functional derivative therefore of the national state, primarily concerned with the reproduction of the labour force, and the reproduction of capitalist social relations. The first is achieved through state services such as housing, and the second through the provision of institutions for the inculcation of values consistent with the needs of capitalism. There is no doubt a great deal of truth in this, it would seem that the local state does perform functions Cockburn alleges. Yet, to say that this is its raison d'être is arguable. Unless we accept that the state is merely an agent of capital, Cockburn's analysis tends to remain at the level of the descriptive, rather than being explanatory and explaining why the state intervenes in the way it does.

However, Cockburn's acceptance of the device of relative autonomy, another feature of structuralism, allows what is essentially an ahistorical model of the state to proceed. Thus functionalist analysis effectively rules out potential for gains being made by the working class via the
state that are against the interests of capital and the dominant classes.\(^{(c)}\)
The local state, then, is seen as repressive, and unresponsive to protest and Cockburn's analysis tells us little about such movements. For this we must consider the work of Castells.

Castells, as we saw in the last chapter, also adheres to the view that the state functions to assist the dominant fraction of capital, monopoly capital, in the accumulation process. The state is forced to take over areas of production which although unprofitable are necessary for production to continue. We shall see in the next chapter that this is true for housing. The provision of infrastructure is of course one example, as social investment, but the provision of collective consumption aimed at the reproduction of the labour force is equally important, and this function tends to be fulfilled by the local rather than the national state.

Castells defines the city in terms of collective consumption, that is as a unit of collective consumption, the limits of which are defined by the limits of commuting. The term 'urban' however, refers to three specific theoretical fields, the political, politics, and the urban itself. The first refers to the structures by which a society exercises control over the system of production, distribution and exchange. Politics refers to the system of power relations, where power is defined as the capacity of one social class to realise its objective interests over another. Of course, as in all structuralist analyses the state is seen as the major structure, and the major organiser of class relations in the age of monopoly capitalism. The urban, as well as referring to the process of collective consumption, also includes more general problems relating to the social organisation of space, problems which Castells analyses in his "Urban Question" (1977). Castells follows Althusser in his definition of the mode of production which consists of an economic-political and ideological system, of which the economic is determinant in the last instance. In the capitalist mode, ownership and appropriation relations (meaning the appropriation of surplus value) are homologous. That is, those who own the means of production and labour power also control the process of production. Also, in the capitalist mode, the economic system is not only determinant but is seen to be dominant.
The two fundamental elements of the economic system are those of production and consumption. These are manifested at the level of the urban, as a specific means of production (factories producing goods, services etc.) and as collective consumption (housing etc.). Also, two further elements, exchange and management, derive from the first two. Exchange refers to the exchanges which take place between the production and consumption elements, and within them, such as transport and shopping facilities, as the urban result of such exchanges. Management concerns the process of regulation of relations between the first three elements and include local government and urban planning.

Now, according to Castells, the study of urban politics, that is class relations at the level of the urban, can be broken down into two distinct analytical fields, urban planning and urban social movements. Urban planning concerns the resolution of contradictions between and within the elements of the social formation. These contradictions arise spontaneously out of capitalist production, and appear to consist of inconsistencies within and between each element of production. For example, Castells cites one contradiction between the economic and the ideological systems in the housing field. Economic imperatives tend to induce the building of large blocks of flats, which can produce alienation or apathy among the inhabitants, ie produce effects at the level of the ideological.

Thus, each contradiction throws up a set of problems and these must be resolved, especially if they arise out of the dominant economic mode. The state and the local state has taken an active role in achieving this, via planning,

"The capitalist state functions as a general palliative and steering device, treating practical problems that are immune to resolution via the spontaneous, and chaotic rationality of a capitalist civil society and leading society onward to collectively rational options consistent with economic social and property relations". (Scott & Roweis p19)

In Castells' view a major contradiction results from the imperative of
the state's increased intervention in the field of collective consumption. The reliance of capital on "the increasingly collective and inter-dependent character of the process of consumption and its domination by the interests of private capital" (Castells, 1972). Thus, major crises can occur over the level of state spending, for example, which private capital needs, but on the other hand is seen to lower the rate of profit, via taxes. As we saw, other contradictions also arise, within the area of collective consumption.

So, the state is seen to be reactive to the needs of capital, via the local state, at the level of collective consumption. Since, as we have seen, structuralists tend to see the state in this way generally, and as serving the interests of the dominant classes, it is hardly surprising that they see the local state as being non responsive to working class pressure, at least within the institutions of conventional politics.

"A reading of the structuralist studies of urban social movements in France makes clear the emphasis on the role of popular mobilisation and non institutional means in achieving urban effects. By contrast institutional action is de-emphasised........ this is regretable since it obscures the fact that urban effects may be obtained by institutional as well as by non institutional means." (Pickvance, 1977 p207,209).

We shall define institutional action as action which takes place within existing political institutions - voting, petitions, legal demonstrations, legal action or within the framework of law. Non institutional action therefore includes illegal action - violent demonstrations, direct action and so on.

So, Castells research focus steers us away from the local state itself to the formation of protest groups against the state. Indeed, he sees urban social movements as the source of social change. It is taken for granted in structuralist analysis that the state will not grant changes which threaten the stability of the mode of production. Indeed, it would appear as Pickvance points out, that local authorities and the state will not grant concessions of any scale without the intervention of social movements. (Pickvance, 1977). The state itself is limited to the
resolution of contradictions, and the only source of social change in fact lies with protest movements. This is of course in direct contrast to the managerialist approach which focuses attention on the internal workings of the state, ie the bureaucracy, to the virtual exclusion of activities external to it. It is however, rather similar in some ways to pluralist accounts, and is subject ironically to similar criticisms which we will take up later. Thus we can see that the view of the state, in each of the perspectives discussed so far conditions the view of the local state their research focus and their view of protest movements.

In Castells view the contradictions inherent in collective consumption result in inequalities in society which reflect wider class relations, and these form the basis for protest ie within the urban system itself. As we shall see in the next chapter, the state's intervention in the housing market, as regulator and producer, can indeed be looked upon as a basis for housing protest, whether or not we identify contradictions, and take a Marxist approach. Such contradictions are the starting point however for the analysis of urban protest movements in Castells' work not the organisations themselves. Organisations are seen as the means whereby contradictions are expressed, and are the locus of observation. The focus of research however, is on "the stakes, issues, or problems" which the organisation pursues, and the determination of these by the structure of society. So the form of the organisation is de emphasised and instead the effects are stressed. Castells defines an urban social movement as:-

"the system of practices resulting from the articulation of a conjuncture of the system of urban actors and other social practices, such that its development tends objectively toward the structural transformation of the urban system or towards a substantial change in the balance of forces within the political system as a whole". (Castells, 1977 p155)

Thus, when these effects are not obtained, by definition the organisation is not an urban social movement. Therefore, if issues remain within the area of collective consumption, then the organisation involved cannot be termed an urban social movement. Such issues must be linked to a
wider political or economic aspect of class struggle - for example to a political party or to a trade union.

The potential for this because of state involvement in collective consumption is high, but is contingent of course on organisations making such links. The role of the state and the provision of collective consumption has politicised an area of life that was previously left to the market, and was in a sense self-legitimating. Habermas (1976) shows that the invisible hand of the market was accepted as being in some way "just exchange", but that state intervention both politicises these areas, and requires some mechanisms of legitimation. The level of political activity around such issues has grown considerably, specially since the late sixties, as we shall see in a later chapter.

We can therefore classify protest movements according to their effects. Castells identifies two lower levels of conflict, "reform" and "control". The first refers to a change in an element in the urban system without any change in its relations with other elements. Most protest in the UK context would be classified as reform under this definition, since it does tend to be confined to one element, usually collective consumption and not linked to wider conflicts. Squatting is one arguable case which we shall deal with in a later chapter. Control refers to the simple reproduction of the urban system, and implies some kind of participation by protest movements in urban planning, and their incorporation by the state in its task of resolving contradictions. An example of this would be public participation in planning. In housing, the promotion of owner-occupation and tenant co-operatives by the state could also be categorised as being geared towards incorporation, and the reproduction of existing relations. We shall discuss this more fully in a further chapter.

We can see that the movement centeredness of structuralist approaches may tend to over-emphasise the effects of protest movements on policy. Their view of the state in general excludes analysis within the state, and therefore ignores the possibility of policy changes emerging from within the state itself. Dunleavy (1977) makes some telling criticisms
of structuralist and pluralist approaches, which he shows are similar in some ways. He points out that protest groups are almost always assigned importance in influencing policy, although pluralist see decision makers as being responsive to the electorate whereas structuralists do not. In both cases, policy changes do not originate in the authority. Second, Dunleavy criticises both approaches for focusing on issues and thereby being empiricist. Thus, by concentrating on actual issues, both approaches fail to consider why grievances do not become issues, or why they are not seen as grievances at all. Thus, the phenomenon of non decision making in which the agenda for political debate is set is virtually ignored by both approaches.

These criticisms bring us rather closer to the class conflict view of the local state which we discussed in the last chapter with reference to the central state. In this formulation, the local state is seen as a particular form of the development of social class relations at the local level. At the level of locality, social consciousness is assumed to be extremely important. The development of the state, as we saw in the last chapter, has been conditioned historically by the relationship between the dominant and subordinate classes, and particularly a power struggle between the local and national states, involving the extent of central control. Thus, as Dearlove (1979) states:

"The particular problem of local government derives from the fact that local government is neither an instrument of business, nor a mere agent of the central state......but the particular and enduring problem of local government centres on its relative autonomy from both the concerns of the central state and the impact of dominant classes. Related to this, local government is especially vulnerable to working class demands, pressures and even control." (p244-245)

Class relations, in this view are not just a given category, but involve relations and intersubjectivity, that is, an awareness of class divisions. Consciousness therefore can be seen as a guide to action, and potentially class based action, as Cockburn recognised. Local democracy is not seen
as being necessarily healthy, as in the representative perspective. It has however, the potential for class action, because of high class awareness based on local experiences. As we shall see in chapter four, housing issues as with other consumption issues, are experienced by people in everyday local experiences. Thus protest develops on a local level. The state derivationist perspective however does allow us to consider the possibility that the local authority itself can protest and defy central government. More importantly, the local state can act against the interests of local capital. This is in contrast to the structuralist perspective in which the state necessarily acts in the interests of capital and is repressive to local groups.

Duncan and Goodwin (1980) give examples of so-called "red enclaves." For example, Oldham in the mid nineteenth century, Poplar in the nineteen twenties, and Claycross in the nineteen seventies. These "enclaves" defied central government over various issues, but all three were committed to high spending on social welfare often at the expense of local ratepayers. Camden is a more recent example of such defiance (Panorama, BBC 1, 16/3/81). The Labour dominated council are committed to the highest standards of service provision, and are also committed to the redistribution of wealth within the area from the commercial sector to the domestic sector. Some 65% of Camden's rate income comes from the former sector, and rate increases of 20-40% have been scheduled for this year. Thus, we can see that in the case of Camden the local state can and does act against the interests of local capital. As in the other three cases of red enclaves I have cited, central government will no doubt win in the end, by recourse to law, or indeed by changing the law.

However, probably much scope exists for the local authorities to manipulate legislation and government circulars to their own ends, without openly defying the government. Thus, Labour councils tend to be high spenders.

"Labour councils were more active in services with a significant impact on the overall role of government. They were bigger spenders on the bigger services........they were more active where the service appeared to benefit sections of the community supporting
The central state has responded to such challenges in various ways, but usually by attempting to control local spending. Some functions, such as subsistence, public transport and health services have been withdrawn from the local state over the past century. Some of these have been taken over by the central state, whilst others have been given to non-elected bodies, such as development agencies, water boards, new town corporations, and more recently urban development corporations and enterprise zones. These last two can be seen as attempts to free entrepreneurship from the control of the local state, by reducing state burdens or planning controls, for example. The 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act, which introduced such non-democratic institutions, also reformed the system of financial support for local authorities, and this can be seen as the logical extension of the attempt by the central state to curb local government spending, especially those authorities which were defined as being high spenders. In the early nineteen sixties the government insisted that local authorities develop capital expenditure programmes and incremental expenditure for three to five years ahead. The creation of the rate support grant in nineteen sixty seven, coincided with the public expenditure freeze that accompanied the devaluation crisis. In this system a complex formula is used to match local needs to central and local resources - and to control local spending. Since the mid nineteen seventies, cash limits have been enforced fairly rigorously, and to a large extent can explain large rate increases as central government's contribution to the local authorities was cut in real terms, i.e from 66.5% in 1975 /76, to 61% by 1977/78 (CSE Group, 1979). The 1980 Act gives central government power to investigate every aspect of local authority spending in order to determine standard charts of expenditure and deviations from a defined norm. This appears to be a major step towards central control, where central government rather than the local authorities themselves assess local need. Local authorities can be penalised for overspending as defined by central government.

The above measures can be looked upon as an attempted tightening of
central government control over local authority spending as the need to cut public spending in general becomes an accepted economic truth. Decisions as to the levels of spending appropriate can now be taken at the centre, and enforced. Dearlove (1979) points out that the restructuring of local government into larger units and concern over councillor calibre can be looked on as a means of introducing more corporate, technical decision making by sensible councillors and officials. The implication is that if councillors were more responsible, then "municipal Marxism" ie high spending would not occur. Thus the battle for local autonomy, and high welfare spending is seen by the state derivationists as being a form of class struggle, but one in which the odds are stacked against local government in the long run.

For our purposes however, it is important to note that the implied research focus is on protest and conflict of all kinds, whether it be institutionalised or not. It may be between local authorities and central government or against the local authorities themselves. Of course, the local state does exist in terms of its institutions, but its importance for these theorists is that it is a focus of class struggle. Thus institutional action must be considered and unlike the structuralists seen as a means of inducing change that can go against the interests of capital, especially at the local level.

There is much interest in each of the perspectives for a study of protest. The representational perspective is perhaps less important as a guide for research, than as an accepted truth - the conventional wisdom, by which many elected representatives resist protest groups by saying that they are unrepresentative as we shall see. The pluralist perspective directs our attention to the activities of pressure groups and sees the state as being easily manipulable. As we shall see in the next chapter this does not bear out the reality of protest, at least in housing. However, their emphasis on conflict as a means of achieving change is one worth considering, even although conflict is defined as institutional action, and is rather more appropriate for interest groups who undertake extensive lobbying activity, over a long period of time,
than community groups which tend to have a limited life. The corporatist/
managerialist approach, as we have seen, has advantages in that it
tends to focus attention on those who listen to protest, the urban
managers. There is little doubt that urban managers are important in
dealing with the allocation of council housing, and dealing with protest.
In such cases, their reaction can be one of defence of bureaucratic
allocation methods and technical decision taking, as we shall see in the
anti dampness campaign. This approach also gives us some insight into
the influence of managers on policy making, which is probably increased
with the introduction of corporate management techniques. The struct­
uralist analysis is one of two Marxist analyses which we have considered
and provides the most thorough theoretical basis for the study of
urban protest movements. Stakes are important and organisations should
be judged by their effects, rather than the fact that they allow part­
icipation in politics. However, as we have seen, the structuralist
and pluralist approaches are preoccupied with organisational activity,
and fail to consider the importance of activity within the state itself
admittedly for different reasons. As we shall see in the next chapter
the form that organisations take is important in determining the out­
comes of conflict. Also, both the structuralist and pluralist persp­
ectives fail to take account of non-decision making, and the ways in
which issues fail to emerge as issues. As we shall see in the attempt
of the anti dampness campaign, such issues can remain at the individual
level for some time before they become translated into group action.
The state derivationist approach is perhaps the least well worked out
in terms of research consequences, but it allows us to consider inst­
itutional action and non-institutional action as both being potentially
important in achieving change, and that we should not necessarily see
the state as being unresponsive to working class pressure.

However, the question remains as to how local protest groups influence
local government, and the responses of the latter to such influence;
or indeed whether policy changes are the result of protest groups' act­
ivity, or changes in internal policy of the local authority. It seems
that the means of influencing local authority decision making are
governed by rules of access operated by local authorities. Groups which
operate within the rules of the game are more likely to be heard than
those which operate through more direct action, arouse the hostility
of councillors and officials and generally raise the level of conflict.
Perhaps a major achievement in the anti-dampness campaign strategy was
to maintain pressure on the authorities, whilst remaining within the
rules of the game, as we shall see in a later chapter.

Activity in these local political systems provides a connecting link
between central government policies and local housing problems. Housing
provision by the state can be seen as part of provision of collective
consumption, and is the subject of political activity. In the next
chapter we shall see how different authorities spend different amounts
and provide different quantities and standards of housing. As an
aspect of collective consumption, housing policy has become politicised
and the subject of conflict at national and local levels. Also however
it can fragment protest, as policies tend towards the reproduction of
class relations. Local authorities are in a sense caught between the
demands of the electorate for better services, and the demands of centra­
lar government to keep spending within reasonable levels. Glasgow's
controlling labour group could not be described as an authority as com­
mited to welfare spending as some authorities who openly defy the
government. Nevertheless, the levels of spending in Glasgow have been
fairly high although this is to be expected with the high levels of
need in the city. The massive re-development of the city is one man­
ifestation of such high spending.

One area of broad agreement among all the perspectives we considered
is that empirical research is necessary to determine the effects of
protest groups on policy. We shall consider therefore the anti-dampness
campaign in Glasgow as an example of a locally based housing protest,
and the UK squatting movement as a country wide phenomenon. In both we
must bear in mind the views of the local state and the national state
we have discussed in these chapters and their relevance for study of
actual conflict. In the next chapter however, we shall consider state
involvement in housing in general, as a basis for such conflicts.
Chapter Three - Housing and The State

In this chapter we shall consider the reasons for state involvement in housing, by looking at the first stages of that involvement. We shall trace the development of such intervention, with respect to the extent to which state action in the housing field has formed the basis of protest. That is, how objective housing conditions, such as housing shortages, can become issues around which protest, usually against the state, can develop. The promotion of owner-occupation, and newer types of tenure will also be mentioned in the context of the potential such developments have for the reduction of housing protest and conflict. The position of protest groups themselves will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Section 1.
Getting Involved

The reasons for state intervention vary with the perspective we choose to follow, as we saw in the previous chapter. We can assume that the provision of housing, historically was in the interests of capital - but improved housing was also in the interests of the working class. However, there seems little doubt that the first interventions by the state were prompted by motives other than benevolence; extremely poor working class housing conditions "created specific contradictions for the existing social order for they reduced the productivity of labour, brought about the ravages of disease to every social class, created impenetrable rookeries of criminal violence, and gave strength to the voices of that subversive tradition which preached revolution" (Merret 1979 p29). Thus, from about the 1850's a series of public health acts introduced minimal controls on standards of water provision, sewage etc. and gave local authorities powers to deal with insanitary conditions. Around the same time local authorities were empowered to clear unfit housing, and erect new housing, but only enough for 50% of those displaced. Also there was no compulsion on authorities to deal with poor housing, and there were no subsidies from central government to encourage them to do so. Some local authority housing had been built by the end of the century, but only in very small numbers mainly in London and Liverpool. A few enlightened industrialists such as Robert Owen, in
New Lanark, had provided housing and other facilities for their workers, albeit with one eye on the advantages of such conditions for instilling labour discipline in the workforce. (Thompson, 1963) Generally however, conditions for the working classes were appalling, and the majority were dependent on the private rented sector, as Gouldie (1974) documents.

At the end of the nineteenth century some 90% of the housing stock was in the private rented sector. (Murie et al 1976) The inability of the private rented sector to produce housing for the working class, especially lower wage earners was becoming increasingly obvious by the turn of the century. Building stock from 130,000 houses per year in 1901 to 60,000 in 1910/14. The public health acts had given local authorities the power to deal with insanitary conditions, and this meant that speculative builders were required to meet ever increasing standards. Yet wage earners were unable to bear economic rents, unless the returns in housing were lower than in other areas of investment, (such as overseas investment), as low as 3.5% per annum. (Gouldie, 1974)

Inflation during the first world war further reduced the incentive to invest in housing, building costs having quadrupled in the 1914/1919 period. (Cramond, 1966) Wartime inflation and an increasing number of evictions appear to have prompted the introduction of controls on both rents and interest rates, which were pegged at their 1914 level by an Act in 1915. This Act was introduced by the government as a response to a threat of industrial action by munitions workers in Glasgow, and a rent strike in protest against speculative increases. (Merret, 1979, Nevitt, 1970) More generally, the increase in the strength of the labour movement (trade union membership doubled during the war), and the return of disillusioned soldiers from Europe resulted in a growth of social and industrial turbulence after the war. In 1919, for example, 34 million work days were lost due to strikes, compared to 5 million in 1918. The possibility of social revolution was one which was taken seriously by the government and promoted action to contain the situation. (Glyn and Sutcliffe 1972)
House building during the war had almost ceased, and deteriorating housing conditions and shortages were seen as contributory factors to mounting unrest, and caused the government to act, when faced with a potential post war housing crisis. Rent controls were continued after the war, and the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act for the first time introduced an exchequer subsidy for local authority housing building.

After this Act, local authorities were given a duty to assess the needs of their area, and carry out building to meet such needs, with the assent of central government. Rents were to be fixed by the local authority, but again central government had to approve them, and losses on such transactions would be borne by the exchequer. At the time, the provision of such subsidy was considered to be a temporary measure to overcome the post war housing shortage, but exchequer subsidies have continued, in varying forms and levels, ever since.

Thus we can see that a number of factors were at work, which prompted state involvement in housing provision. First, the need to have a reasonably healthy labour force. Second, the inability of the private sector to provide housing to a sufficiently high standard for such a purpose, because of low profitability. Third, the threat of social unrest, of which housing conditions were assumed to be a contributory factor. It is difficult to say for a given piece of legislation which of these factors was most important. It is reasonable to say however, that they were all operative at the crucial first stages of state involvement on any scale in the 1915 - 1919 period. We can see therefore that the beginnings of state involvement in housing, as regulator and producer of housing, cannot be looked upon as a benevolent response to housing need. The state was to some extent forced to take action for fear of social unrest. The market which provided working class housing previously had failed, and the state stepped in to fill the gap, by subsidising local authorities house building.

The local authorities were seen as the natural inheritors of housing policy implementation, after all they had administered the health acts, and were best suited to assess local needs. Thus we must reject the representational perspectives' view of the benevolent state, the state was forced to step in and fill the gap in the housing market. Nor was
this first step a purely functional step for capital, pressure from the working class itself was a factor. Thus, a functionalist perspective by itself is not sufficient to explain state involvement. We must relate this not only to the needs of industry, but the increased ability of the working class at this time, through universal suffrage and industrial pressure, to force policy changes of a radical nature, against the laissez faire ideology of the time.

Thus it is apparent that housing protest existed before state involvement in the housing market, and was instrumental in causing such involvement, such as in the Glasgow rent strike in 1915. Perhaps we should not make too much of the effect of protest before this point although as Corrigan and Ginsburg (1975) point out, working class struggles on a local scale have been recorded only infrequently, and one can assume that some protests do occur.

However the increased involvement by the state in housing provision this century is undeniable, and the most striking feature has been the changing balance of tenures. As we have seen, in 1900 some 90% of houses were privately rented. By 1947 this had declined to 61%, and by 1972 to less than 14%. By 1972 the owner-occupied sector had grown to some 50% of houses, from less than 10% in 1900. The public sector had grown from an insignificant amount in 1900 to 31% in 1972. In Scotland, the tenure balance is slightly different, being 30% owner-occupied, 52% state and 18% private rented sector in 1971. (Figures from Murie et al 1976). These national figures of course mask regional differences. In inner cities the private rented sector is often dominant - for example inner London, where 50% of the stock is privately rented in 1965. (Milner-Holland Report 1965) However, even with the increase in the state rented sector, the proportion of rented houses in the stock has been falling, especially since the Second World War, in comparison to owner-occupation, a trend that has been encouraged by governments.

Section 2. The Basis of Protest
We shall consider the implications of this for protest later, but for
the moment we shall concentrate on the state sector, for most housing protest in the post war period has occurred in this sector. We can divide issues around which protest develops as stemming from three basic causes. First, shortages of housing, causing homelessness, and protest around such conditions. Closely related to these actual shortages are allocation procedures, the effects of which can lead to iniquities, and the exclusion from many people from the state sector. Homelessness, coupled with the existence of empty property, much of it owned by the state, can be seen as a basis for squatting. Second, issues can develop around the production of state housing, which can be considered by tenants to be unsuitable for their needs. The production of state housing involves central government, local authorities, and very often private builders, and we should examine the relationships between such agencies. Much modern housing is plagued with problems such as dampness, and protest movements have centered on such issues. Third, the level of rents are subject to negotiation between central government and the local authority. Much protest by tenants and indeed by local governments, has centered on this issue. We shall examine each of these in turn.

When assessing the effects and extent of housing shortages, we should not forget that great progress has been made in this century in combating homelessness and poor housing conditions. In 1914 there were fewer than 9 million dwellings, now there are more than 18 million, of which two thirds post date 1919. More than one third of the houses standing in 1914 have been demolished in slum clearance, redevelopment and war damage, and a substantial number of the remainder improved, so that only 15% of households lack the use of sanitary facilities, for example hot and cold water, wc and bath or shower. Overcrowding has been cut down drastically, as household size has continued to fall, although in certain areas especially the conurbations problems still exist.

In aggregate terms then, there would appear to be no situation of hardship, and the vast redevelopment programmes of the post war period caused many people to believe that the housing crisis had been solved. Indeed, the UK never allocated more than 4% of gross domestic product,
However, these aggregate figures hide shortages especially severe in large metropolitan areas. Pockets of sub-tolerable housing, often overcrowded, and occupied by those with no access to the state sector or means into the owner-occupied sector still exist. Thus, despite a surplus of some 800,000 dwellings by 1977, the number of people accepted by local authorities as being homeless is high, and rising at least between 1976 and 1979. (Wates, 1980) In Glasgow in 1970, for example it was estimated that, despite a massive clearance programme, 75,000 houses failed to meet the tolerable standard. The 1972 Housing Waiting List totalled 53,565, an increase over the previous few years, despite the allocation of some 12,000 dwellings by the local authority in 1972. (Jacobs, 1976) In the same year 15,863 families were classified as being homeless in the city, an increase on the previous year. Thus national figures can conceal local shortages. Other factors contribute to homelessness, when there is an apparent surplus of housing.

For example, there are between 550,000 and 770,000 empty houses in the UK, as well as 150,000 second homes. The latter group can contribute to rural housing shortages and the former to shortages especially in the conurbations. (Wates, 1980). Official figures on both homelessness and empty property are likely to be underestimates. On homelessness, only those accepted by councils as being homeless are included in figures, and if the standard of accommodation is taken into account we find that 700,000 occupied houses are classified as being unfit for human habitation. Such occupants could be classified as being homeless, under a wider but probably more realistic definition. Unfortunately, census data does not distinguish between the public and private sectors with regard to empty property, but for example a survey by the GLC of empty property in London, in 1975, found that of 72,000 homes empty for more than three months, 60,000 were privately owned. (Wates).

We shall consider the reasons why empty property exists in both sectors in a later chapter when we deal with squatting. For the moment, we
must conclude that a combination of homelessness, especially amongst those marginal to the housing market, combine with the existing existence of empty property and is a basis for housing protest, squatting in particular.

The allocation of housing in the public sector is done bureaucratically. Each council is relatively free to decide who has priority on the waiting lists. This is not the place for a full discussion of allocation procedures, but traditionally the local authority sector has been geared to producing housing for families, that is units with two or three bedrooms. However, the structure of households, has been changing rapidly over the past twenty years. The number of one person households for example has doubled in that period. Because of the size distribution of existing stock therefore and allocation rules which favour families, single people and small households are often excluded from council housing. Especially the single, and childless couples can often be forced to seek housing in the private rented sector. The homeless are very often single people therefore, and this can be an important factor in the genesis of squatting as we shall see.

However, it would be misleading to imply that poor families are excluded from the state sector. Indeed, in the post war period the proportion of households in the bottom quarter of the income distribution has been rising. In 1953 for example, 16\% were council tenants, but by 1965 this had risen to 29\%, and by 1976 to 43\%. Even so, this does still leave a substantial proportion of low income families out of the state sector, and dependent upon the private rented sector, and therefore vulnerable to poor housing conditions. (See the Milner-Holland Report 1965 and Francis Report 1971 for a discussion).

So, the expansion of the state sector in the housing field has by no means solved housing problems, at least in the area of homelessness. Another area of housing problems is of course the standard of accommodation provided. As we have already seen, standards overall as defined in the housing acts have been rising and indeed Britain is rather well off in the level of provision compared with the rest of Europe. (Donnison
We shall now consider the production of housing by the state, as a potential basis for protest.

The bulk of local authority housing is built by private builders, rather than by direct works departments. There have been a number of influences which have affected the volume, standards and form of such housing. We can usefully categorise these influences as being: trends in government policy toward high density building; second, trends in the building industry; third, the subsidy position; fourth, the influence of the design professionals. Such factors have led to high density, often high rise building, using new materials, and often industrialised building methods. These factors have led to problems of various kinds in state housing, and serve as a basis for protest.

Post war redevelopment in the UK generally took place in the large cities, as in Glasgow, where housing conditions were appalling, and very often high density. Unless overspill schemes could be instituted, this implied high density rebuilding. Four methods of overspill were open to local authorities. First, the establishment of new towns; second, expanded towns, based on the Town Development Act (1952) which involved agreements between the exporting and importing towns; third, peripheral estates could be constructed, and boundaries extended if necessary, and if permitted by central government; fourth, estates could be built outwith the authorities' boundaries. All four of these solutions were applied in post war Britain, and we shall discuss Glasgow's policy in a later chapter.

Certain factors mitigated against local authorities building outside their boundaries, and thus the tendency was to build at high density within their boundaries. Around 1953, the government affirmed its support of green belts. Thus overspill would have to be at a greater distance from the local authorities' administrative area, and therefore less attractive. Drewett (1973) contends that landed capital was particularly successful in preventing urban sprawl, and feared migration of labour voters from towns into conservative strongholds. The need for conservation was also used as a reason to contain the towns.
The urban local authorities themselves feared that out migration would result in a cutting of the rating base, cuts in central government grants, and the decline in their political base. Thus, although overspill schemes did go ahead in many cities these were smaller than expected, and made high density building a necessity in the inner cities.

The building industry was, by the mid sixties, geared up to deal with such high density schemes. Since the war, the overwhelming trend in the UK building industry had been towards concentration. By 1975 the largest 24 firms produced 15% of total output. 89% of building firms had fewer than 20 employees, and many were dependent on the larger firms of their sub-contractors. The on-site production process, is of course extremely complex involving a high range of trades and sequential steps. The immediate post war housing crisis had led the government to encourage the use of prefabricated building methods, as a means of overcoming shortages of traditional materials and skilled labour. Indeed, throughout the post war period and up to the early seventies, so-called industrialised building methods were seen as being a solution to the various housing crises to which politicians attention was directed. Otherwise known as system building, these methods implied "construction by the assembly of specially manufactured or prefabricated units, or form work or profiles to produce buildings to standard designs." (Stone quoted in Merrett 1980). In the early 1960's the view was taken by central government, local authorities and architects that such methods would rapidly become the chief mode of production of public housing. The National Building Agency was set up in 1964 specifically to promote system building, and yet the many systems (some 400) that had come on the market. Costs, also initially high were expected to fall in the longer term, as increasingly scientific production methods, mechanisation and standardisation rationalised production. (Such a method, used in the Tracoba system in the Gorbals flats is discussed in Chapter 4). However, such methods needed large scale contracts to reach maximum efficiency, and redevelopment of the inner cities on a massive scale became a prime market for systems building. By the mid 1960's, local authorities had to include housing using system building, in order to get loan sanctions from central government. Although there is no documentation of any pressure on government by building firms to use system building, it seems
likely that some of the larger firms encouraged the trend. (Merret, 1980). A few large firms had pioneered the use of system building during and after the war and had imported designs such as the Tracoba. This tended to increase their degree of monopoly. Numerous "package deals" with local authorities were negotiated. These deals included the design and construction of houses and allowed the builders to alter design to increase efficiency. Also, such package deals were in fact used mainly for these large scale contracts for system built designs. (McCutcheon 1975).

The rise of system building methods was accompanied by an increase in the production of flats rather than houses, and an increase in the number of stories in single blocks. The proportion of flats increased to a peak in the mid 1960's and remained stable until the early seventies, at about 50% of new municipal dwellings. The rise of high flats reached a peak also in the mid 60's and declined violently thereafter. Both phenomena coincided with inner city redevelopment.

It is possible to account for these trends, if we consider the subsidy arrangements, and standards of construction laid down by central government. Standards were raised very sharply in the immediate post war period, compared with those before the war, fell during the 1950's and rose gradually after 1961. In 1944 the Dudley Committee recommended a substantial increase in space standards, and the average size of a three bedroomed post war council house rose by 37% on the pre war equivalent. (Merret, 1980). A decline began in 1951 however, under the impact of economic pressures and a need for a greater number of units. This decline was mainly confined to a reduction in kitchen size, but ceiling height was lowered. In London for example, "the statutory insistence on natural ventilation of internal wc's, and the fire regulations were relaxed; the standards of plot ratio and daylighting control were altered to encourage high building." (McCutcheon 1975 p95).

However, such a decline appears to have provoked a counter reaction, and in 1959 a committee under Sir Parker Morris was set up. The committee reported in 1961 and recommended a 6 point improvement plan including increased space, minimum heating standards and improvements
in fittings. Although a number of local authorities did institute Parker Morris's recommendations the standards only became mandatory, and then only the space and heating standards, in 1969. Even so, by 1967, 85% of new local authority dwellings incorporated the two point standard. Unfortunately, the circular which introduced these standards in 1967, also introduced new cost norms, based on current tenders, expressed in terms of building costs per bed space to be reviewed annually. (M.H.L.G., 1967)

Central government could refuse loan sanctions if tenders exceeded 110% of the cost yardstick. "Thus the new design regime was a combination of mandatory minima in terms of space and heating and mandatory maxima in terms of permitted cost." (Merrett, 1980). Tender prices were rising rapidly at this time, and the cost yardstick as it was called tender to become quickly out of date. The likelihood is that bad design was the result, as architects attempted to meet these contradictory imperatives. Cost yardstick also applied only to capital costs, and excluded continued outlays for maintenance — and many of the designs in vogue, such as high rise flats, incurred higher maintenance costs than more traditional designs. Thus,

"In many cases the effect of the yardstick was to secure short term economies in capital outlay at the expense both of higher expenditure on running costs, and tenant dissatisfaction over questions such as dampness, condensation, noise level and ill-fitting doors and windows." (Merret, 1980 p105)

Thus new materials and designs were used, often in all inclusive package deals. Very often the provision of communal facilities was reduced or eliminated in an effort to cut costs. This has proved to be particularly disastrous, especially in high flats, and has contributed to tenant dissatisfaction. (Jephcott 1972)

Additionally, systems building was suited to the erection of high flats, a design concept much in vogue in the 1950's and 60's. High rise building was encouraged by central government in subsidy arrangements. In 1956, an additional government subsidy was introduced for flats above 6 storeys, although above this height the subsidy began to level off.
There is little doubt that architects also encouraged systems building and high rise designs. Le Corbusier's influence was great: he argued that technology could be used to liberate man, and proposed high tower blocks with excellent facilities, near the city centre yet with room for open space. This conception was to influence architects during the 1950's and 60's, when redevelopment schemes were in full swing. However, even by the mid 1960's sociological work had highlighted the adverse effects of high living on tenants, especially young children. The collapse of the Roman Point flats perhaps contributed to such disillusionment. (See Dunleavy, 1977). The same circular which introduced the cost yardstick also removed the extra subsidy for flats over 6 storeys. In any case, government policy was beginning to favour rehabilitation of older housing rather than large expensive redevelopment projects. (See Paris, 1977).

So, we can see that there were a number of influences at work which determined the type, quality and quantity of state housing produced in the post war period. Large redevelopment schemes themselves produced urban protest, as we shall see in the next chapter, but the issues of homelessness and issues around the standards and form of housing served as a basis for housing protest. The third aspect of policy around which protest has developed has been over levels of rent. A convenient starting point in looking at rents is the housing revenue account (H.R.A.). Since 1935 each local housing authority has been required to keep in a standard form a single account for expenditure and income for the houses it rents out. Expenditure of course includes supervision and management costs, repairs, debt charges on capital borrowed and so on. Income includes rents, exchequer subsidy and a contribution from the rates. The need for subsidy has been dealt with earlier in this chapter, and is based on the inability of the average wage earner to pay the full economic costs of housing. The report of the HEC (cited in Cramond) puts this succinctly,

"as is commonly accepted, the maximum proportion of income to be paid in rent that is regarded as socially desirable is 20%, then the annual charges on the house, including repayments of capital and interest, repairs, insurance, management and maintenance must not in the UK exceed 7% of the capital cost. When the
interest rate alone is around 6%, this is manifestly impossible. " (1966, p 13) In effect, the exchequer contribution is paid by central government, the rate contribution by local government, and the rent income by tenants.

It is around the proportions each should pay that conflict has developed, not only between tenants and government, but between local and central government. Rent levels are generally set by the local authority on the basis of housing being able to cover the residue when the rate fund and exchequer contributions have been accounted for, to make the HRA balance. The rent for each dwelling is based on its use value rather than its market potential, or debt liability. The number of rooms, amenities, floor area and so on are assessed, and the rent set. Thus rents are pooled so that those in older housing with low debt charges (or none at all) are in effect subsidising those in newer more expensive (in monetary terms) houses. This system of rent pooling is seen by many local authorities as an important contribution to social justice, since it allows subsidies to be spread among all tenants. Much conflict has occurred around this issue. Successive governments have attempted to concentrate subsidies on low income tenants, by means of rent rebates, on the pretext that higher income tenants do not need such large subsidies. (Little, in such debates is said about subsidies, through tax relief on mortgage interest to owner-occupiers on high incomes). This of course means, if no higher exchequer subsidies were forthcoming, higher rents for all tenants, although those on lower incomes could claim rebates. Rate fund contributions of course could be altered to switch the burden of income between rate payers and tenants. Labour councils tended to set higher subsidy than Conservative councils. Scottish, Labour controlled councils made an average contribution of 35% of expenditure, compared to 5-10% amongst English councils.

It is obvious then that such arrangements have a potential for conflict, between all of the parties involved. This potential has been realised on a number of occasions, the 1956 Subsidies Act, the 1972 Housing Finance Act, and the recent legislation. The issues at stake around these pieces of legislation have centred on the respective contributions
of the protagonists in conflict. The results have been a number of rent strikes, civil disobedience, and at least one local authority defying central government.

We have also seen that the first interventions of the state were as much a result of pressure from the working class as benevolent state action, for a need to reproduce labour power. The impression may have been given in this chapter that the local state in housing policy is merely an agent of central government. This is not so: such conflicts around rent levels particularly have shown that local government has considerable ability to defy central government. Local authorities can and do distort government policy to their own ends, within certain limits. Labour authorities in particular tend to be bigger spenders on services including housing, and to be committed to welfare often against the wishes of the central state to cut spending. Indeed, deepening economic crisis during the 1960's and 70's can be seen to be behind attempts to cut spending, by lowering standards and switching to rehabilitation rather than redevelopment. (Paris, 1977) Also, sales of council houses and the promotion of owner-occupation by central government have been seen as a means to cut spending. It matters little whether such actions actually cut spending. What is important is that governments saw all these measures and others, as being means of doing so. But they were not totally successful in meeting proposed cuts (which they appear not to have been so far) and this is due to a number of factors. At least one is the momentum of state spending via the local authorities, and the fact that these authorities are to some extent autonomous, and able to defy central government policy or exploit it according to their respective policies. The importance of local democracy whether or not it is a sham as some claim - may be that it underpins the ability for resistance by local authorities. Democracy also however, is used to justify central government's policies, and thus the relationship between the two is constantly under negotiation as we saw in the last chapter. This is as true in housing policy as in other policy areas.

This account of state policy has been biased towards the negative aspects
of the government and production of housing. It has been mentioned of course that considerable achievements have been made in increasing the standards of state housing, and in decreasing homelessness.
Also, local authorities have recently been more flexible in their allocation policies to allow previously excluded groups access to state housing. They still of course find themselves constrained by the physical structures they manage, many of which were intended for the traditional family. Thus, the actions of the state in providing more and better housing may actually reduce the basis for protest. Similarly, as we shall see, the promotion of owner-occupation, housing associations and tenant co-operatives by the state may also tend to reduce protest.

Nevertheless, housing protest is fairly common and increased in incidence during the late 60's and early 70's. There is little doubt that the inadequacies of state policy served as a basis for this. Redevelopment itself became an issue. Homelessness and its effects, combine with the existence of empty property to make squatting possible. The use of new designs and materials threw up new problems of dampness, poor insulation and amenities in the 70's and numerous protest movements grew up around these issues. It is to the nature of such protest that we now turn.
Chapter Four - Housing Protest in the United Kingdom

Section 1. - The Growth of Protest

There seems little doubt that there was a general rise in protest during the 1960's, especially towards the end of the decade, and that this protest continued into the 1970's. The incidence of strikes rose rapidly in Western Europe during the late 60's. In Britain the number of days lost per year more that trebled in the five years leading up to 1970 and the increase continued until early in the next decade. (Binns, 1977) Activity extended beyond the workplace however, and Sandbach (1980), has documented an increase in the discussion of environmental matters, during this period. "Without doubt historians of the future will regard the late 1960's and early 1970's as a period when most industrially developed countries became deeply concerned about environmental problems." (1980 pl) This could be seen using a variety of indicators - news media and literature, public opinion and social survey data, pressure group involvement and the introduction of environmental legislation in many western countries. However, such groups generally tended to be composed of the middle classes, as Sandbach points out, and much of this protest centred on issues around the redevelopment of the large conurbations which was in full swing by the late 1960's. In Glasgow, as in other cities in Britain and Europe obsolete city forms had been bulldozed and rebuilt. Urban motorways were a particular focus for protestors, as Aldous (1972) and Sandbach (1980), amongst others have pointed out.

Also around this time, "the rediscovery of poverty" became a catch phrase, and homelessness became an accepted problem and issue. Squatting as a response to homelessness became fairly common, especially around the London area. A great deal of this protest was directed at the state and around the issue of provision of collective consumption - roads, housing, social services etc. After all, the state had extended the range and scope of its activities in these areas during the post war boom. In housing, for example, it was the main regulator of the market, a large producer of housing, and redeveloper of cities. The massive redevelopment which took place in Glasgow was a pattern which was repeated in many other cities in the UK. Many issues arose over compulsory purchase orders and so on which brought groups into direct conflict with local
The state was expected to be able to solve urban problems, and had been found to be wanting by many groups in society. Economic crisis and resultant stringency over public spending further reduced the state's ability to cope with such problems. As we saw in the last chapter the central state had been on the one hand advocating high standards of building in the council sector, while at the same time introducing increasingly stringent cost controls. Promotion of systems building was intended to reduce costs in the longer term. A switch from redevelopment, to rehabilitation also may have been promoted with cost cutting in mind. (Paris 1977) Eventually, in the late 1970's, drastic real cuts in council house building were instituted. Indeed, by 1975 the government was urging local authorities to cut costs in rehabilitation,

"It must be accepted - and willingly - that some houses of low quality meet a real need for cheap accommodation, a need which might not otherwise be satisfied. It would not always be sensible to press for the immediate rehabilitation of all dwellings in an area to the full (10 point) standard or more, or to clear them until they cease to fulfill their present social function."

(DoE 1975)

This admission of inadequacy is in considerable contrast to the grand schemes of the labour government some ten years earlier, to build some 500,000 houses per year up to 1970. This scheme was abandoned shortly after its inception due to the devaluation crisis and the resulting economic stringency. Thus as Castells has noted, a major contradiction exists, between the need for state spending, and the ability of private capital to meet such needs.

It could be argued that coinciding with the increase in inability of the state to meet such need, the public were becoming more aggressive,

"in the 1960's many organisations found that they were dealing with a more demanding public...... These changes have many caused, ranging from a collision between the inflationery expectations and the harsh economic realities of the times, to the appearance of a new
generation lacking the deference to authority which their elders had learnt from depression and the war." (Donnison, 1980 p14)

In housing the effects of the gap between the ability of the state to meet such needs, and the perception of that need by those in the community, often led to the establishment of campaigns to champion various causes. It is the nature of these campaigns we shall now consider.

Section 2. - Types of Housing Protest

We can categorise housing protest activity according to a number of criteria.

(A) First, whether protest comes from people inside the housing system, or from those who are excluded from it. Thus, in the first category there would often be a perception, among those involved of a worsening of their own position. This would involve a change in the status quo, such as a rent increase, or a decline in dwelling conditions, or a threat to the market value of owner-occupied property. We would therefore include anti dampness campaigns in such a category. In the second category, of those excluded from the existing housing system, we would include the homeless, or indeed those living in overcrowded conditions. In this case, the conditions people experience fall below some nationally or locally defined minimum standard. Squatting is one response to such conditions.

(B) Such protests, may or may not be group protests. Thus, we can further categorise activity on an axis of individual protest or group protest. Obviously the latter type implies the existence of an organisation, and usually a campaign. The individual protest may take the form of actual complaints to, say housing departments. We could however consider applications for transfers, and the existence of difficult to let housing as an expression of dissatisfaction with existing conditions, on an individual level. In many cities, transfer request from those within the local authority sector are high, and can be looked on as a kind of protest. There may of course by other reasons for requesting a transfer, such as being in too large or too small a house, but the incidence of requests for high amenity area suggests a certain dissatisfaction with conditions in some areas. (Glasgow Housing Management Annual
Similarly, vacancy rates in some areas confirm an unwillingness to occupy low amenity housing. In one area of Glasgow, pockets of undesirable housing have been identified with vacancy rates of over 16%. (Glasgow Housing Management Report 1979). It would seem, that little work has been done to assess the extent to which such figures can be seen as individual protest, and therefore our analysis will concentrate on the phenomenon of group protest. We shall also consider how protest can escalate from the individual to the group level, by examining how community organisations form, as in the anti dampness campaign.

A third means of classifying protest activity is one which we have already discussed in chapter 2 and concerns the level of the activity. Activity can be institutionalised, or direct. Institutional action includes activity which takes place within existing political institutions and is legal - voting, petitions, lobbying, legal demonstrations, legal actions etc. Non institutional action includes illegal activity - violent demonstrations, occupations etc.

These three means of classifying protest activity can be summarised thus:

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<th>WITHIN MARKET/ STATE SECTOR</th>
<th>EXCLUSION FROM MARKET/ STATE SECTOR</th>
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<td>B</td>
<td>TYPE OF ACTIVITY</td>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>GROUP</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>LEVEL OF ACTIVITY</td>
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In general, we can say that in the UK, housing protest activity of the group type has been institutionalised rather than having taken the form of direct action, with the notable exception of squatting. (For a review see Basset and Short 1980). Also the bulk of protest appears to come from those within the housing market, especially protest directed against the state. Similarly, housing protest tends to be of a local nature, based on local issues, and directed towards the local state. As Corrigan (1979) has noted, "the consciousness of the great mass of working people is around local issues". These local issues are of course manifested as housing shortages, poor conditions and so on. However, as we noted in the last chapter, the causes of such problems are not local
but national, and based on central government policy and changes in
the wider housing and economic systems. Protest is therefore often
based on issues which were seen to be the result of the actions taken
by the local state, as the on the spot producer and regulator of hous­
ing and housing markets. Much protest therefore is directed towards
the local state. As we have already seen the local state has some
autonomy in the housing field. Local housing authorities are democ­
ratically elected bodies, legally independent of central government.
Responsibilities for housing provision set out in statute are often ill-
defined and leave some scope for variation. Although local authorities
are required to consider housing need locally, the responsibility for
direct provision of council housing to meet these needs is limited in
general terms to situations where alternative forms of suitable accomm­
dodation do not exist, or are not likely to be provided by the market.
Local authorities are also free to a great degree to manage and allocate
their houses as they see fit, and a great deal of protest has taken
place over these issues.

Given that local authorities are democratically elected, and are in
that sense accountable to the electorate, why has there been an in­
crease in housing protest in the 1960's and 1970's and protest based
on community groups, rather than on local political parties?
Hindpess (1971) points to what he calls the weakness of labour party
organisation in working class areas of the large cities. Hindpess sees
the labour party in working class areas being based often on constitu­
encies with a varied social mix. Such organisations are often dominated
by middle class constituents. Housing issues tend to be discussed in
general policy terms. Day to day problems, which are important to working
class members who live in council housing tended to be seen as not being
political, and those who raised them at meetings as being parochial and
overly self interested. "At best [these complaints] were individual cases
which the councillor would look into, but there was nothing to be disc­
ussed at ward party meetings." (Hindpess 1971 p76) Thus as Hindpess
concludes the increasing professionalisation of politics at national and
local levels, represents a real loss of power for some sections of the
community. This is especially true for those groups which do not com­
municate in professional terms. Such groups have little alternative
therefore but to form community groups, centred on specific issues, which are outside traditional party politics. Such a case occurred in the Gorbals, where the local Labour Party failed to take on the issue of dampness. The situation was further complicated by the fact that had it done so, it would have been involved in a conflict situation with its own municipal party, who consistently had held office in Glasgow.

Section 3. - Group Formation and Non-Protest

However, we should not infer that if dissatisfaction exists, say in housing, that a protest group will automatically be formed. The first stage leading to collective action is a perception by consumers of housing that there is an unmet need, or need for action by the managers of housing to rectify a situation. Next, must come an appreciation that organised action is both possible, and likely to be productive. We can add to this the proviso that individual action will often have failed. Further, the will to act collectively must be developed, and potential supporters mobilised.

The development of a community group, of course requires not just provocation by external factors ie issues, but internal inputs, in terms of organisation and financial backing, and often facilitative help of an administrative nature. This is often undertaken by community workers, who may have skills of organisation and administration not possessed by the local community. Many groups do have community work input, and the resources that such professionals bring may be crucial to the success of groups. (CDP Inter Project Report 1974).

However, such professional skills, are geared towards different strategies depending on the view the professionals take of society. Gurin (quoted in Butcher 1980), cites three types of strategy, adopted by professionals. First, is "locality development and organisation". The goals of this approach are to induce self help and integration in the community. The problem is seen as being a lack of communication, and the view of society taken is a consensus one. Second, is "community planning". The focus is on problem solving in regard to substantive social problems. Either a consensus or conflict model of society can be used, and a basic assumption is that change can be brought about through rational decision making. Third, is "community action". The
goal in this approach is to change power relationships in the community. The problem is seen as being a structural one, and the strategy is to engage in conflict orientated action against the power structure. Broadly, these three strategies and views of society correspond to the representative perspective, the pluralist perspective, and the structuralist or derivationist perspectives, respectively. The type of action taken in each strategy may vary between the institutionalised and direct action as we have defined it. The Gorbals anti dampness campaign had a community work input, which was based on the third of these strategies, that

"local working class communities must define and solve their own problems, control decision making, and provide the leadership and spokesmen for the organisations which emerge. Community action is the means through which working class groups gain the knowledge, skill and confidence to protect their own interest." (Jacobs, 1976 p13).

This knowledge and skill of course includes the ability to communicate effectively with the recipients of protest, in lobbying, information collection, organising petitions and so on. The reality of protest may steer groups, whichever strategy is favoured by them, toward institutional rather than direct action, initially at least. Dearlove (1973), has shown that those groups which at least get a hearing from the local authority tend to be those which councillors and officials see as being co-operative and helpful.

Thus, any groups which propose high cost measures, or indeed attempt to pressurise councillors are seen as unhelpful, self interested, and disruptive. It has been noted that much protest in the UK has started off as being based on institutional methods. Faced with an unresponsive local authority however, such protests can escalate to direct action. In such cases the protest may eventually peter out, unless as in the anti dampness campaign, the stakes are high. The costs, in terms of time and money to the protestors may be high. The local authority on the other hand has considerable resources to resist protest, as Dunleavy (1977) points out. In such cases, the groups may scale down their demands, or initiate self help schemes if they are campaigning for the provision of some kind of facility.
Such self help schemes often eventually become supported by the local authority, and as Mason (1977) shows, this may be a case of the incorporation of protest. Donnier (in Mason 1977) defines incorporation as "the complex of many pressures by which the local authority has been able to progressively transform the aims and functions of an externally constructed organisation with specific purposes and uses, in order to ensure that it conforms to its own plans and needs." (p 94) This "take over" is effected by a subtle mixture of selective attention to acceptable demands and groups, by controlling grants and subsidies to groups, and by allowing participation only by co-operative groups. Again, it should be pointed out that when the stakes are high, this incorporation is less likely. In the anti dampness campaign for example the only acceptable solution to the problem remained rehousing.

Section 4. - Non Protest

So far, we have concentrated on overt action, either by groups themselves or by local authorities. We must now consider how the basis of protest can exist, but activity either remains at the individual level, or fails to take place at all. We cannot necessarily assume that the absence of protest activity implies satisfaction with existing conditions, so there may be obstacles to the development of the group consciousness, which is necessary for group action to begin.

We can first of all speculate that there may be perceived, or actual differences of interest between those in a community, which could mitigate against group action. Indeed, as Lambert (1975) points out, one group in a community may see another as the cause of a problem rather than the cause being the local authority, or government, or the system. She cites the scapegoating of immigrants for problems in a redevelopment area, and the diverse interests of tenants and owner-occupiers, as making effective organisation against the council very difficult. We can add to this, an acceptance by the working class, of what we shall call an 'ideological hegemony'. Values are transmitted downwards, through education, the media, politics etc. These values tend to be supportive of those who control the institutions which purvey values. Parkin (1972) has suggested that there are three value systems in society - the dominant, the subordinate, and the radical.
Groups draw on these as a guide to meaning, and as a way of making sense of the social world.

The dominant ideology, relevant to our purposes, can be considered as the notion of 'citizenship' - that all persons are equal, and have certain rights. This suggests individual solutions to problems, and the promotion of self help schemes by the state. (Dearlove, 1974) The subordinate value system is one which Parkin sees the majority of the working class as having accepted. It is a system of compromise with dominant interests, as expressed (in the economic sphere) as economism in trade unions. Thus, demands are limited to wage increases, and form no fundamental challenge to dominant interests. The radical value system involves a structuralist analysis of the reasons for working class conditions, and is based on local issues, and in the locality. In housing protests, the issues are certainly perceived and expressed locally. However, the dominant ideologies of individual help, and citizenship, mitigate against a structuralist analysis of society, and more militant action.

We can also consider overt action on the part of the state as being a means of reinforcing a dominant ideology, and thereby tending to reduce protest. In housing, the self help ideology finds expression in the promotion of owner-occupation, as the preferred tenure. Conservative politicians are quite explicit about the positive effects of home ownership on stability, "property ownership is valuable in itself, encourages independence of character, acceptance of responsibility, as well as the savings habit." (1957, Conference Report, in Murie 1975). At the same conference another speaker outlined the prospects if people were not encouraged to buy their homes, "if they are not, the chances are that the country will be littered with council estates, and that class consciousness will increase". (Murie 1975). The idea of the property owning democracy has been pervasive in conservative thought, and has culminated in compulsory sales of council houses to those who will to buy. The state sector has become a symbol of inefficiency and bureaucracy, and increasingly the sector of the last resort. The Labour Party, when in government has to a great extent accepted such ideology,
although there is resistance to sales of public assets at knock down prices.

Regardless of the finer points, public tenants have come to be seen, as a highly subsidised group. It seems that some council tenants have internalised such a notion. To protest therefore for more, for better housing would seem to be ungrateful. (Dearlove 1974) This could only mitigate against protest of a collective kind, and possibly of an individual kind as well. (Corrigan and Ginsburgh 1975). This is not to say that owner-occupiers do not protest. Indeed, the hugh redevelopment of the inner cities in the late 1960's precipitated many conflicts, especially over compulsory purchase orders and planning blight. (see Aldous 1972). However, generally it does seem that protest among owner-occupiers is fairly low, especially when related to housing specifically. The state housing authority is an identifiable target for protest, as the main and often the only landlord in some areas. A similar situation existed in the early part of this century, when the private rented sector was dominant. The landlords were easily identifiable as a target for protest. This is not so in the owner-occupied sector in which building societies usually have a dispersed clientele.

A number of studies have however, rejected the notion that the working class unquestioningly accept dominant values. (Moorhouse 1973, 1974, Mann 1970, 1973). These authors point to the disillusionment of working class people with traditional democracy. This results, in a feeling of powerlessness, or pragmatic acceptance of existing social conditions, because of their powerlessness to create change. Moorhouse (1973) has however identified the basis of a counter ideology among the working class. In a survey of rent strikes in London, over the 1972 Housing Finance Act, he concluded that dominant attitudes to property were being questioned. A majority, for example, did not think that people should be allowed to own more than one home when others were homeless. 75% accepted the need for direct action by homeless families to occupy empty houses. This appears to amount to a rejection of market principles, and instead a commitment to allocation on the basis of need, even where private property is involved. Mann (1970), in a literature review,
concluded that value consensus did not exist to any significant extent among the working class. Indeed, the lack of value consensus within the working class constituted a barrier to protest activity. However, he did find that the working class is more likely to support values against dominant ones, if these could be related to concrete everyday life, rather than abstract political philosophy. This would seem to be borne out by the fact that protest over collective consumption issues takes place in localities and is usually directed at the local state.

To summarise, we have seen how an increase in protest activity in the late 1960's and early 1970's can in part be attributed to the state's inability to meet ever increasing demands for higher standards by the public. The huge redevelopment schemes of the period themselves were a basis for protest. Their aftermath, in terms of poor housing conditions and so on also created dissatisfaction. Although a basis for protest may exist there is no automatic reason why protest groups will emerge. Protest may not be expressed at all, and we can assume that ideological factors do tend to inhibit protest to an extent, or protest may remain at the individual level. Crucial to the formation of protest groups appears to organisational and administrative skills, and these can be imported into a community by outsiders. These include skills in communication to make grievances heard effectively. The receivers of protest, normally the local authorities, are well placed to hold out, and attempt to undermine the protest group. Faced with such intransigence the protest group can either scale down its demands, or resort to more militant action. Overall however, protest tends to be institutionalised, even if groups use a variety of tactics. Rarely it seems, is illegal direct action used, and local authorities tend to listen groups they see as being co-operative and reasonable. We must not however see a local authority as always forming a united front. Different departments, councillors and officials, may have different interests and protest groups may be able to use this to their advantage.

Much of this, of course depends on the stakes involved. The local authority would doubtless be more willing to concede small demands. But then, the larger the stake, the more likely it is that a protest group
will form, so long as there is some reasonable chance of success. It is probably true however that much housing protest goes unrecorded, although this has been much less true in recent years, with increasing interest in protest. In the next chapter we shall examine two campaigns, the Gorbals anti dampness campaign and the squatting movement. The first as an example of protest from within the state sector, manifested locally, but part of a wider problem of dampness in post war council housing. The second we shall examine mainly in terms of Castells' theory of urban social movements, and its relevance to the UK context.
Chapter Five - The Campaigns
The Gorbals Anti-Dampness Campaign

Section 1. - A Background: Redevelopment in Glasgow

We have seen that the State's involvement in the economy and urban development grew enormously during the post-war period. In order to understand the state's role in the housing market, and the resultant production of built forms, we must consider urban redevelopment policy as a whole, rather than merely housing policy itself. This is particularly true in Glasgow, a city which embraced redevelopment wholeheartedly, and utilised various types of legislation - not just the housing acts - to facilitate redevelopment.

Up to 1969, for example, the Corporation issued more than 15,000 closing orders, 17,500 demolition orders and actually cleared a total of about 33,500 dwellings. (Municipal Journal, November 1969). Doubtless the poor housing conditions in Glasgow prompted the civic leaders to undertake such massive clearance, but there were other influences at work.

Clearance of slums had progressed steadily between the wars in Glasgow as well as in other cities. Under housing legislation, however, slums were demolished on a worst first, piecemeal basis. Also, in the immediate post-war period slum clearance was virtually abandoned, because of pressure on resources from two overriding aims. First, the need to construct war damaged areas. Second, the need to solve the housing shortage by new building.

Two reports, the Barlow Report (1937) and the Uthwatt Report (1941) were to have profound consequences for forthcoming planning legislation and urban renewal. The former report stressed the need to reduce journey to work time by redeveloping large areas at a time, at high densities, and thereby improving the functioning of urban areas. The Uthwatt Report sought to ease post war reconstruction by recommending comprehensive compulsory purchase powers in war damaged areas and recognised the inadequacy of housing legislation for such use. Both reports stressed the need for comprehensive planning, to replace so-called obsolete areas with spatial layouts which were seen to be more
conducive to economic development.

The main recommendations of these reports were embodied in the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act. A further Act in 1947 consolidated the need for urban planning in the concept of the Comprehensive Development Area. CDA's, as they were known, could be declared by local authorities to deal with war damaged or obsolete areas, or to achieve any other purpose outlined in development plans. Thus, local authorities were for the first time given powers to redevelop areas even if private developers were interested. Previously, the local authority could only step in if private capital refused to develop.

CDA declarations were initially confined to the war damaged areas of the south east of England. After the post war housing shortage had been solved, in the view of politicians, attention turned to slum clearance. In 1954 the Corporation of Glasgow decided that a CDA in the Hutchesontown area should be established to test the efficiency of the new powers. These eventually proved to be much simpler and more effective than the housing legislation in enabling clearance to progress. By 1957 there were 29 CDA's in Glasgow. These decisions coincided with the government's agreement to permit increased resources to be devoted to slum clearance, rather than for general needs. In the view of the Corporation, the Gorbals area, like many central city areas in Glasgow, "is one of bad layout and obsolete development, and that the only satisfactory way of dealing with it is to define it as an area of comprehensive development under the Town and Country Planning Act 1947." (Gorbals CDA written statement 1956). The CDA was to be "a complete planning unit, bounded by existing or proposed principal traffic routes, rivers or open spaces, to be developed as central area precincts." (Hart, 1968).

In Glasgow, as in other cities then, CDA legislation came to be seen as an opportunity to stimulate industrial and commercial development, rather than merely for being for slum clearance. The existing spatial layout was considered to be unsuitable for modern industrial development,
having industrial sites near residential areas, and poor transport arrangements, particularly poor roads. Industry was to be separated from residential areas by zoning, industrial sites provided, and extensive infrastructure installed. This was intended to increase the inflow of industry to the city, while at the same time improving the quality of life for the inhabitants. An extensive system of motorways was envisaged for Glasgow, and a proposed inner ring road bisected a number of CDA's. It was felt that development would take place at access points to the road, and that the provision of community facilities combined with new residential areas would make these formerly obsolete areas prosperous. (Interim Report on Glasgow Inner Ring Road, 1962)

As we have seen already by the late 1950's, government policies and subsidies encouraged the building of high density, often high rise flats rather than low density low rise designs. In Glasgow, the Corporation was anxious to rehouse at densities much lower than the then 400 persons per acre, but at a higher density than central government considered desirable. While encouraging slum clearance, the government was also promoting Green Belts, to contain the cities. Glasgow corporation throughout the 1950's, feared that overspill schemes, with a consequent loss of population would weaken the city, and its rating base. Not least, the Labour administration feared the undermining of their political power base, as overspill pushed Labour voters beyond the city boundaries. (Hart 1968).

Therefore, Glasgow during the 1950's maintained pressure on central government for the approval of higher densities than the 150 rooms per acre (165 persons) the government advocated. A request by the Corporation in 1959 for the raising of density in the Anderston CDA to 167 rooms per acre was firmly refused by the Department of Health. It was pointed out that building at such densities would be extremely expensive and that open space and sunlighting standards would be reduced to the minimum. The Corporation therefore had eventually to accept the government's density level, one which still required high density building in the inner city.
This insistence by central government on the maximum density figure meant that after land had been reserved for other uses, the land allotted to housing could not contain more than 40,000 dwellings. (Municipal Journal, November 1969). Thus, we can begin to see the logic of housing development in Glasgow, inner city redevelopment, the building of huge peripheral housing estates and a minimal reliance on overspill.

The production of housing by the local state is then subject to numerous influences, from central government, various lobbies, and political expediency at the local level. Government insistence on densities, its subsidy system which encouraged high rise building, and the imposition of unrealistic cost yardsticks, conditioned the type and the quality of house building at the local level. The perceived necessity to maintain a Green Belt, and the political necessity to maintain a power base, necessitated high density redevelopment in central areas, and massive peripheral estates just inside the city boundaries.

A genuine need to replace much sub-standard housing as quickly as possible combined with a shortage of building labour led to the use of industrialised building systems using new techniques, designs and materials. This trend, which was encouraged by large building firms and central government, led to numerous problems after habitation, of which the Roman Point collapse was the most spectacular. Dampness, if less spectacular is a rather more general problem in system built flats, and much housing protest has centred on this issue. The situation was further exacerbated by the installation of electric heating systems especially in high flats, which low income tenants increasingly found to be too expensive to operate.

Section 2. The Brave New World: The Gorbals

The Gorbals is situated immediately south of the River Clyde, just to the south of the city centre. It is divided into two parts, Laurieston to the west and Hutchesontown to the east. Both areas, still with CDA status today, are nearly complete, but have had a chronic lack of community facilities. The total population of the area has fallen drastically since the 1950's, but especially during the 1960's.
Whilst CDA powers allowed complete redevelopment, clearance actually proceeded on a piecemeal basis, a process which led to the area being blighted for many years. Although redevelopment is almost complete, the area induces a sense of alienation in the visitor as in the residents. Like many other redeveloped areas,

"this is often an area of multi-storey housing, adjacent to factories, with meagre amenities... the whole is put down as scattered individual units in a vast sea of land, lacking the homogeneity which kept cities together in the past, and experiencing a self-created micro-climate of wind and cold. It is the world of the car and the bus - pedestrians must pick their way over long distances, through a maze of roads, exposed to wind and rain on the overpass and to physical attack on the underpass." (Finlayson 1977 p8).

Apart from such environmental hazards, the Gorbals has a variety of social and economic problems. Despite the bold schemes of the sixties, unemployment is well above the national average and has been consistently so for many years. Income levels therefore, tend to be lower than the national average. This is possibly due to the lack of skills in the area, but it has been estimated that one in five of the population are wholly or partly dependent on social security and welfare benefits for their main source of income. (Bryant 1978).

Section 3, The System: Tracoba in the Gorbals

The Hutchesontown 'E' development consists of twelve blocks of 7 storey low rise deck access type and two 24 storey high rise blocks. There are 1,143 flats in the development, 759 are in the low rise, and 384 in the high rise. The flats were built between 1969 and 1973 by the large contractor Gilbert Ashe using a system of building known as Tracoba.

The flats are constructed of pre-fabricated heavy weight concrete panels and solid pre-cast floors, walls and ceilings. The external walls are of sandwich construction, with a filling of polystyrene for insulation. The system was reported to compare favourably with other systems with regard to economy of production. It was developed in France, and is based on the use of a site factory in which large pre-cast concrete
elements are manufactured on site without transport restrictions, "and
with only limited capital outlay, largely offset by savings in trans­
port costs." (Daiment 1967 p21). The site factory can therefore be
designed to suit the specific requirements of the project, thereby
ensuring high productivity coupled with the necessary rate of production.
Heating systems can be incorporated in floors at the factory stage, as
so can windows, external finish and there was no need for plastering of
internal walls. The possibilities for cutting labour costs using such
systems are obvious, with the potential for increased profitability for
private contractors.

Tracoba system flats have been built in France, Algeria and elsewhere
in the UK, and the SSHA have built 900 in the city. The system seems
to have been successful in France but of course climatic differences
make comparisons pointless. The system was improved by a government
agency in France in 1958 and first used in 1959. The National Building
Agency issued an appraisal certificate for the system in 1966, but
this did not include the use of Tracoba for low rise flats.

Section 4. Dampness or Condensation?

The term dampness is used in Glasgow to describe certain symptoms of
excessive moisture retention in homes, wet, black walls, fungus on
interior furnishings, damp beds and unpleasant smells. The cause of the
problem is condensation: this has never been in dispute, but the reason
why these particular flats are prone to such effects most certainly
has been. It seems that the first complaints about dampness were inti­
minated to the contractors only a few months after the first tenants
had moved on. During the first year, the responsibility for the maint­
enance of the flats rests with the contractor, although the recipient
of the complaints would have been a clerk of works employed by the Cor­
poration. Despite numerous complaints, the flats were passed as being
fit for human habitation, after being inspected by the new owners. No
attempt appears to have been made to ascertain the cause of the dampness,
since the cause was considered to be the living habits of the tenants.

Throughout a long campaign, the local authority continued to maintain
such a position, despite considerable evidence to the contrary. Officials
accused tenants of excessive heavy breathing, of over occupancy, of hanging up wet clothes and numerous other unusual actions. The solution appeared to be, accordingly to the officials, in the hands of the tenants. They were often told to open all windows and turn the heating up full. Subsequent events showed that the actual cause of dampness in these flats was due to construction faults, as well as the use of dense concrete as a building material. The lack of natural ventilation, defects in ventilation systems, and massive increases in electricity charges further exacerbated the problem.

Numerous studies have been made of dampness in these flats: the most extensive and authoritative was made by the National Building Agency in 1976. The investigation concluded, "the problems of Hutchesontown 'E' are not due to any one factor. Deck access type blocks are particularly prone to cold bridging problems because of the complicated design and construction details around the access decks. As in Hutchesontown, they often contain flats which have additional exposed surfaces because of the access decks and are, as a result difficult to insulate and heat."


The so called cold bridging problem appears to be the key problem however. At the joints between walls and floor the polystyrene insulation sandwich is missing, presumably because of the need for strength at these stress points. Thus, the flats are difficult to heat, particularly those adjacent to access decks, or those with many exterior surfaces. Moisture tends to appear round such areas, and the resultant fungus, smell and so on quickly follow. The living habits of tenants may have at times exacerbated the problem, but certainly did not cause it. The Corporation's solution, of heating being turned full up, with windows open is one that is financially out of reach of most tenants in the area. An architect called in by the anti-dampness campaign concluded, "It is theoretically possible to remove all the moisture from a room by means of a high rate of ventilation, but the discomfort caused by such a system would not be practicable". (Wilson 1975).

In any case, if the rate of air change slowed down - while the tenant was out at work say - condensation would continue to build up, despite
good heating and thermal insulation.

Before we consider the campaign it is necessary to mention the very real physical and mental distress that was caused to tenants by the dampness in these flats. Common sense denotes that such an environment - mould on walls, damp furniture and beds etc - would not be healthy. Local GPs felt that the dampness was a health hazard but they could not say that it caused medical complaints. Upper respiratory disease, rheumatism, asthma and some other conditions are however made worse by dampness. The depressive effects of living in such conditions no doubt affected the housebound and housewives. The constant smell, staining of decorations and furnishings and so on must have been extremely frustrating and embarrassing. Some rooms were unusable, thus effectively many houses were overcrowded, with the occupants sleeping in the living rooms.

It should be added that many other complaints were voiced by tenants concerning the design and living conditions in the flats. Poor sound proofing, lack of privacy, flooding of verandas, lifts not working regularly, and lack of play space made the flats, in many tenant's opinion a total disaster.

Section 5. The Campaign

It is important to remember as we consider the campaign that the cause of dampness in these flats lies in construction and design faults and not with the tenants themselves. Dampness is now acknowledged to be a widespread problem in state housing in Glasgow and in other cities. It is to the credit of the Gorbals campaigners that they were instrumental in achieving this realisation.

The Gorbals has a history of organised protest. Numerous issues developed during the period of redevelopment, especially resistance to compulsory purchase orders. Some tenants held out for various reasons, often with the help of others, who picketed the property to prevent sheriff officers from entering. As we have seen, complaints about dampness emerged shortly after the Tracoba flats were built. It soon became obvious to the tenants, by word of mouth, and because of arti-
cles in the local newspaper, that the problem was a widespread one. However the two local tenant associations, decided that a public meeting should be held to assess the severity of the problem and to plan further action. It should be noted that this step was taken because of the non-response of the local authority to individual complaints. There may be a number of reasons why the period of individual protest and complaint continued for some time ie some three to four years, before group action was taken. First, many tenants had come from poor housing conditions and had expected high standards from their new housing. Perhaps the realisation that dampness was prevalent therefore, was psychologically difficult for tenants to accept. Second, since dampness is a progressive condition, it took some time for the problem to be recognised as a widespread one: individual action therefore persisted for some time. Third, a feeling that the local authority should, and eventually would do something to remedy the situation. The authority was, after all a Labour one, and no doubt many of the tenants in the area had voted for the Labour Party. They therefore expected that some action would be taken. Possibly also, ideological factors, which we discussed in the last chapter as well as the difficulty of organising contributed to such a delay. However, to counter this is the feeling among tenants, and indeed among most labour councillors, that public tenants have a right to expect decent accommodation. A public meeting was organised by the tenants' associations in May 1975, in a local school. Officials of the corporation were invited to attend but declined. This reflected the official line that if there was a problem it was a condensation problem that existed because of the lifestyles of the tenants. It is likely, that during the period of individual complaint, this was the response that tenants received from their local authority. Again, this could have contributed to lengthening the period of individual complaint.

120 tenants attended the meeting. A report by a lecturer in building science (Wilson, 1975), who had been called in by the campaign, confirmed the tenants' suspicion that the problem was one of design and construction faults. Also, one tenant had begun to withhold his rent a few months previously, an action which attracted national publicity.
It was pointed out at the meeting that a threatened eviction had not taken place, although at this stage no other tenants joined in such a rent strike.

The major decision which came out of the meeting was that a delegation of tenants would go to the City Chambers with a petition, the specialist report, various press cuttings and photographs of the living conditions. As far as the campaigners were aware, no action was taken by the local authority even after this visit.

There having been no response from the local authority, a further meeting was called in October 1975, at which at least 150 people gathered. Various student reports, from the local information centre, indicated that the mood of the meeting was one of extreme anger and frustration. A dampness campaign proper was formed, and an organising committee was elected with a remit to, amongst other things, examine the possibilities of taking legal action against the authority. Three weeks later, legal action was instituted. The committee was composed of local residents, and was advised by community workers from the Laureston information centre, a local resource and social work training unit. The committee was composed of some outstanding individuals, who were well able to communicate with a rather intransigent local authority. The tone of correspondence throughout the campaign from the committee to the local authority becomes increasingly one of frustration during this period. It is hardly surprising therefore that as in other campaigns the activity escalated, to one of taking legal action.

A letter was sent to the local authority intimating to them that there was a nuisance present in the flats owned and managed by them. It was stated that they were in breach of their statutory obligation in terms of the Public Health Act 1897 and they were given 14 days to abate the nuisance. This drew an immediate response from the local authority and 6 officials appeared to inspect the houses but no further action was taken. The difficulty was that when the local authority owns and manages the houses, it has a twin role of the accused and prosecutor. Prosecutions would be undertaken by the environmental health inspector,
and would be against the housing department, as an agent of the local authority. The ubiquitous position of the former department should be obvious, let alone the dilemma faced by individual inspector, with their own careers in mind. No action was taken by the local authority after the inspection took place, either to remedy the nuisance, or to even recognise the problem.

The local authority did however respond by advising tenants of how to deal with 'condensation' problems. The Corporation's stance had not changed since their initial response, that the problem was due to tenants' living habits. A caravan costing some £10,000 was purchased to tour the city and issue leaflets on how to combat condensation, and give advice as to how to deal with the problem. This rather belated response on the part of the local authority, appears to have served to further agitate the campaigners in the Gorbals.

The caravan spent two days in the Gorbals; the response of the tenants was to picket it, and publicise their own views on the causes of the problem. The demonstration succeeded in bringing the campaign to the attention of the press, radio and television. The TV coverage included a visit to a flat which had a particularly severe dampness problem. Media coverage continued into 1976, and preparation continued for the forthcoming legal action against the authority. It could be said in fact that the use of the media to publicise the problem was one of the main strategies used by the campaigners to put pressure on the local authority.

Suddenly, with no warning to the tenants, an official response was forthcoming. The Chief Executive of the council announced that he had ordered a fullscale enquiry into the condensation problem in Hutchesontown 'E' flats. It is possible that the Chief Executive as the potential recipient of a writ, was becoming rather worried at the inaction of the authority in general, and the architectural department in particular. The report was published in June 1976 and was significant in that it contained the recognition that modern building methods may have contributed to the problem. However, the lifestyle of tenants and increases
in fuel costs were also cited as being contributory factors. The report admitted that there had been a recent upsurge in complaints about condensation problems. The solution in part, was seen to be the use of landlord controlled central heating, to avoid temperature extremes. The Tracoba flats, the report pointed out, were at least up to the specifications laid down by the Scottish Development Department. Therefore, the local authority would be able to mount a legal defence against claims, except if negligence in construction of the flats could be proven. The report concluded that the local authority should do everything practicable to combat dampness and also to discuss with the SDD, the NBA, and the Building Research Establishment, to decide upon the best course of action. The compilation of this report, which only amounted to a few pages, was undoubtedly a tactical move by the local authority, both to play for time, and to preclude legal action. By admitting the problem, and expressing an intention to remedy it, the corporation was in effect preparing a legal defence. The tenants could not claim that dampness was being ignored. However, at this time, the authority apparently approached central government to ask them to contribute towards necessary repairs. (Bryant, 1978). It should be noted that the seeming intransigence of the local authority can at least partly be explained by the fact that the stakes were high. The flats in question represented a large investment by the local authority, and of course contributed to income in the form of rent payments by tenants. It may also have been that an admission that dampness was due to structural problems, would have been seen by councillors and officials, as an admission of incompetence by the local authority. It appears however to have been the local authority's strategy to maximise rent income, and also to pressurise central government to contribute to repairs. This central government apparently refused to do, and the local authority had no alternative but to fight on, to negotiate as good a deal for themselves as possible. Unfortunately for the local authority, as time went on the stakes for the tenants were becoming bigger. Existing dampness was worsening, and gradually more houses were being affected. Worsening conditions, may have further incensed existing members of the campaign, and the spread of dampness doubtless induced more tenants to join the campaign. In a sense, time
was on the side of the campaigners, rather than on the side of the local authority. We saw in the last chapter how local authorities have the ability to sit out campaigns, which they know incur costs to the participants. In this sense the campaign was unusual, although as we shall see later this advantage disappeared.

The Chief Executive's report therefore was an attempt to undermine the tenants' ability to take effective legal action. A further obstacle to legal aid, occurred when a request to the legal aid committee, by the campaigners for permission for one tenant to bring a test case under the Public Health Acts, was refused. The test case proposal was considered an abuse of the scheme, because it was being used to circumvent the paying of an action by a tenants association. Solicitors acting on behalf of the campaign appealed against this decision, but the appeal was unsuccessful.

Although this action was unsuccessful, the local authority in June 1976 issued a summons against the tenant who had been withholding his rent, since early in the year. The solicitor advising the campaign decided that this action should be vigorously defended. The court could be used as a platform on which the right of the tenant to withhold his rent because his house was uninhabitable, could be tested. The potential gains were great, exposure of the authority's case, and if the tenant won, a moral victory. The local authority however preempted this by dropping the case and conceding the tenant's right to withhold rent pending repairs. An admission was made by the solicitor for the authority that there was an apparent defect in the flat and that repairs would be carried out. A similar case was also conceded by the authority a few months later. It is not clear why the authority conceded these cases, but no doubt the admissions in the Chief Executive's Report had an influence on the decision to do so. Also in June the campaign was informed that a survey was to be carried out by the National Building Agency. The NBA had been involved both in assessing the Tracoba design, and passing the Gorbals flats as fit for human habitation. At first the tenants were not pleased at the survey being done by an interested party. The Report was published
in April of the following year. The NBA report placed greater emphasis on technical and design factors than on living habits. The proper maintenance of the ventilation system was recommended, electric ventilation fans in kitchens, and considerably more insulation in top flats and those flats near access decks. The NBA reported that 270 out of 759 flats were affected by dampness, a figure considerably less than that claimed by the tenants. Nevertheless the report was a considerable victory for the tenants and confirmed many of the arguments they had been using. More crucially, while the report was being compiled, significant concessions were made by the authority.

It must be said that during the campaign, the relations between the authority and the campaigners were strained. The tone of correspondence between the protagonists was extremely curt. The authority attempted to give out as little information as possible, especially when the threat of legal action was posed. The campaign found itself corresponding with a number of departments, until eventually the department of legal services began to deal with all correspondence. Both the administrators and at times the authority as a whole attempted to undermine the legitimacy of the campaign, and the representativeness of its leaders.

A certain tension existed, it seems, between the district councillors' role as councillor and member of the housing committee. She was continually defensive with regard to the campaign's claims, and had extremely little contact with campaign leaders. Frequent attempts were made by the authority to undermine the campaign, and question the motives of the leaders. This involved questioning of the technical validity of the campaigners' analysis of dampness. Also the motives of leaders were questioned, they were accused of being self interested and not representative of the Gorbals community. To counter such claims, and allow for discussion of future tactics, a public meeting was arranged. 750 people attended, as did all the political representatives, and press and television. The numbers and the strength of feeling at the meeting indicated the severity of the problem, as dampness affected
more and more flats. The politicians, including the local MP expressed their full support for the campaign, and said that they considered the flats to be uninhabitable. Given the size of the turnout, they probably had little option.

A number of important developments resulted. First the organising committee was re-elected and the mandate for the campaign therefore was confirmed, beyond doubt. Second, the Minister responsible for housing visited the area soon afterwards, almost certainly as a result of the publicity surrounding the meeting. Third, and most important, the local authority agreed to re-house tenants who were in damp houses, and not to re-let flats which were so affected.

Thus, the meeting marked a turning point in the campaign. It appeared that a major victory had been won. However, there was to follow another period of non-response from the local authority. Letters were unanswered, damp houses were re-let and offers were made to tenants not in damp houses. Tenants who had joined the rent strike received threats of eviction. After a further public meeting the campaign leaders decided to force the hand of the authority by a campaign of direct action, and an appeal against the rateable value of the flats in the scheme. Tenants picketed the housing management offices in February 1977. Apart from some temporary improvement in replies to correspondence this did not achieve much. A large meeting in the Citizens Theatre in May 1977 was organised, and 900 - 1000 people attended.

A series of grievances and demands were agreed at the meeting. These included claims for compensation, rent reduction for those in damp houses, no re-letting of damp houses, a request for an NLA survey into other housing problems in the area, and the setting up of a Parliamentary Enquiry into dampness. Following a meeting between campaign representatives and officials of the housing management department, a new set of policy guidelines were instituted. No damp houses were to be re-let, a tenant's previous period of tenancy was to be included in the qualifying time for a new tenancy, and tenants were to be allowed to return to the area of the original accommodation. These were not insignificant
concessions from a rather rigid housing department. Indeed, these ran contrary to stated policy, and amounted to a significant victory for the campaign.

The meeting in the Citizens had given a mandate to institute a rates appeal for two reasons. First because it was felt that the rates were too high for damp houses, and that the change in circumstances required for such a reduction had taken place. Second, the publicity surrounding such an appeal would potentially put more pressure on the authority. The appeal lasted two days and was held in September 1977. A large procession of tenants escorted the witnesses, and the exhibits through the streets to the Court. Various tenants, all the political representatives and experts appeared as witnesses. The advocate for the assessors department used the argument that the campaign was unrepresentative, and that not all the flats were damp. The valuation appeal committee published their decision a few weeks later. Reductions were awarded for some 500 flats, excluding those not recommended for remedial work by the NRM. The reductions were small, between 5 - 7½%; this however, is fairly normal in such cases and still amounted to a considerable political and moral victory for the tenants. It probably also put more pressure on the authority to deal with the re-housing issue more effectively.

Ironically, the re-housing of tenants was a source of faltering support for the campaign. It was literally losing its members, especially those who contributed from day to day with routine activities. These activities of course formed the basis of the campaign, and included rallying support and fund raising. Also, the constant campaigning was beginning to take a toll on the energy and morale of the organising committee. After re-housing had begun then we could say that the time advantage had passed back to the local authority. The campaigners decided that the campaign would continue but on a low key basis. Two committees were set up, one to deal with re-housing and the other to deal with compensation claims. In 1977 the authority had conceded in principle the right to compensation for damaged furniture etc. and removal expenses. Such compensation amounted to a lump sum payment, and
a one third remission of rent, backdated to the date for a tenant's complaint about dampness could be substantiated. Again, these amounted to substantial concessions from the authority, although actual compensation claims have been for higher amounts, and considerable dispute has taken place over the past two years. Indeed, the compensation limit has trebled and higher claims are considered by the authority. As tenants are re-housed, conditions for those remaining in the flats deteriorate and clearance is now being done on a block by block, level by level basis. However, such arrangements appear to be continually negotiable, and continually contradicted by individual cases. The fear of further legal action does however, appear to be keeping the authority on its toes, at least when dealing with the campaign rather than individual tenants. The main role of the campaign is now a negotiating, low key one, as watch dog over the current housing issues. Until recently the housing department appeared to have regressed into splendid isolation. Further negotiations however established clearer criteria for re-housing and compensation, and the attitude of the department has changed to one of rather more co-operativeness.

The Gorbals campaign was one in which many forms of protest activity occurred, and this may have been one if its strengths. Lobbying, petitions, technical information gathering, rent strikes and demonstrations were all used as a means of protest. We can conclude that the campaign was highly successful. Tenants are being re-housed, under favourable conditions not normally extended to transfer applicants, such as a better choice of area, and the option of returning to the tenant's previous area. These are no small concessions from an authority which normally rigidly adheres to an allocation and transfer policy which has been passed by the council.

The victory however, was not a complete one. Some tenants are still living in damp houses, and compensation is often inadequate to cover actual losses. The local authority's stance was generally one of intransigence, and much activity had to take place even before small concessions were made. If there were divisions within the local authority, between departments or officials and councillors, on the issue of dampness, then these were not obvious to the campaigners. Perhaps
the importance of the issue promoted unity or a pretence of unity to outsiders, especially after the threat of legal action.

We shall draw further conclusions from this particular campaign in chapter 6, particularly with regard to what we can learn about the applicability to protest activity of the perspectives we have examined previously. Meanwhile we shall consider the squatting movement as a form of organised protest.

Section 6. A Note on Squatting

We have already shown that during the late 1960's and early 1970's protest activity including housing protest, appears to have increased considerably and that such protest was increasingly directed towards the state, as supplier and regulator of housing. By examining squatting campaigns, it is possible to show that this was also true in terms of protest activity from those outside the housing market. It is also the case that even where empty private property existed, the incidence of squatting was small, and activity focused on state property. We shall consider whether squatting, as a form of direct action had any effects in terms of affecting state policy. The relevance of Castells' theory of urban social movements for such an analysis shall also be taken up.

Squatting is not a new activity. As a response to homelessness it has a long history and dates back to at least the middle ages. In the immediate post war housing crisis appears to have prompted squatting often by demobilised service men, in empty army camps.

Squatting requires of course, not only the existence of the homeless, but the existence of empty property. In chapter 3 we saw how homelessness has been a persistent problem, despite massive state building, and that in 1977 there were some 550,000 to 770,000 empty properties in the UK. In 1971 there were 675,000. (Wates, 1980). There are many reasons for the existence of empty property in both the public and private sectors. In the public sector, a vacancy rate of 4% is considered by most local authorities to be reasonable, and inevitable when property
is being rehabilitated or is between lets. Properties purchased for slum clearance, or road schemes or other forms of redevelopment are also often left empty. Delays in purchasing because of legal complications, and often the sheer scale of redevelopment because of councils pressed for money, often leads to some property lying empty for long periods. In the late 1960's the switch from redevelopment to rehabilitation may also have meant that property lay empty, awaiting rehabilitation, rather than having been demolished. (Additional reasons for the existence of empty property in the public sector are discussed in chapter 3 p 39 - 39).

In the private sector, property can also lie empty between lets, or between purchases. State activity, such as delays in processing planning applications, or the creation of blighted areas because of uncertainty as to future uses, can also lead to private property remaining empty. However, it would appear that a major cause of empty property in the London area at least, was property speculation. In the early 1970's property prices soared. In some areas landlords attempted to evict low income tenants in order to sell their properties, often improved with the aid of government grants, to wealthier newcomers. This process of gentrification transformed a number of areas in London, and in other cities. The boom in property prices therefore, increased the importance of property as an investment asset. Property development companies attempted to buy up areas of housing, hoping to redevelop, or refurbish for more profitable uses. Property could therefore be left empty for long periods, as land and property prices rose dramatically. Returns could be realised, either by refurbishing houses and then re-selling them, or demolishing them and building high rent office blocks. Property then, came to be seen as a financial rather than a social asset. As we saw in Chapter 3, of 72,000 empty properties in London, 60,000 were privately owned.

Given such a situation, we could expect that squatting would have been a phenomenon which was mainly confined to the private sector, at least in London. However, this was not the case and the vast majority of squatting took place in public property. This is in a sense, to be
expected as the state has gradually come to be seen as the agent responsible for homelessness and empty housing - and is an easily identifiable target. The concentration of activity in the public sector therefore tends to confirm Castells' assertion that state involvement in collective consumption does tend to politicise areas of life which formerly were taken for granted, being controlled by the market.

If we consider that the stakes involved were the rights of landlords to keep their property empty while many were homeless, then we can see that squatting raised an extremely important issue. The principle of ownership is one on which much depends, in a capitalist society. Indeed, Marxists argue that the concentration of property ownership forms the basis of the capitalist economic system. (see Westergaard & Resler, 1975). Had squatting taken place in private property to any great extent, this could have been seen as a challenge to the fundamental principle of ownership. In Moorhouse's (1973) survey of tenants on rent strike, there was a questioning of property rights, and a feeling that squatting, in certain circumstances were justified.

Host squatting took place however, in publicly owned property and the political movement which developed did so in opposition to the state, rather than to private owners. Indeed, Bailey (1975) shows how the beginning of squatting as a political movement developed partly because of the inadequacies of the state's attempts to cater for the homeless. Under the 1968 National Assistance Act, the local authorities were obliged to provide temporary accommodation for those in urgent need. Part III accommodation as it was known, often involved the splitting up of families, and consisted of hostel living, often under strict conditions. Councils could interpret 'temporary' to mean a period of three months, after which the family could be evicted, and the children taken into care. Bailey shows how some families decided to squat in the hostels after this period, and husbands also moved in. Eventually, after various court actions, conditions in such hostels were improved, and the attention of the homeless turned to empty state property, in order to escalate the campaign. It appears to have been led by a small group of politically motivated activists at least initially. The
majority of squatters, appear not to have been politically motivated, and the obvious main reason for squatting was the need for accommodation.

The point is, that because of the state's involvement in housing, and the expectation that it should provide for the homeless, a potentially major challenge to property rights was deflected to protest against the state. The issue became the existence of empty state property, and the bureaucratic mis-management that this implied. The right of private landlords to keep their property empty appears not to have been challenged.

There were attempts however, to enable the state to requisition empty private property by means of a Bill introduced to Parliament by Frank Allaun, MP on a number of occasions. The Bill was designed to allow local authorities to take into public ownership property unoccupied for 6 months or more, the owner being entitled to compensation equal to the rateable value of the house. The Bill however, was never made law. Some local authorities themselves, did use existing powers to attempt to bring property into use. 24 out of 33 local authorities in London, used their powers to charge full rates on empty property, a power they received in 1974. 16 out of 33 local authorities used compulsory purchase orders to purchase empty private property, and these were confirmed by central government if the property had been empty for two months or more, and there was a need for its use as accommodation. (Wates, 1980).

Thus, if squatters themselves failed to challenge private property rights, the state fared little better. This is not to say that squatting served no purpose. Wates (1980) estimated that at any time 30,000 to 50,000 people are squatting, who would otherwise be homeless, or forced to use undesirable accommodation. It could also be argued that protest over Part III accommodation contributed to the passing of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977, although there were many other factors involved, including the impact of well organised pressure groups within the traditional political system. We should remember that the vast majority of squatters occupied public property which was in very
poor condition, and often awaiting rehabilitation or demolition. Even
the introduction of licensed squatting by local authorities cannot
really be considered to be a major concession on their part. The local
authorities did however become more concerned to utilise such short
life property, and indeed were urged to do so by central government,
even if it was not of a high standard. (See p 49). This of course was
in keeping with central government policy at the time, a policy which
favoured rehabilitation. Indeed, in some areas housing associations
had been set up to manage such short life property, with financial
help from central government. It could be argued that such management
of housing had the effect of de-politicising the use of empty public
stock, by removing it from the control of the local authorities.
(Swann, 1975) Their boards of management are often not composed of
tenants, and Ferret (1980) concludes that "they have done nothing that
the local authorities could not have done with the same capital finance
used to finance the 'third arm'." (p 119) They are therefore unaccount­
able bodies, in a democratic sense, although they receive funds from
the state. The local electorate therefore have little control over
their policies. (Swann 1975).

Thus, we can see that the effects of squatting have been considerable,
in terms of the number of people housed and the use of habitable
property by those excluded from the traditional housing markets. We
can also confirm Castells' assertion that where direct action occurs
over collective consumption issues, it occurs in the public sector. It
is difficult to see, however, that such action has revolutionary
implications. Attempts to attack private property rights by direct act­
ion would seem to have more revolutionary potential, yet no movement
developed. Similarly, attempts to usurp these rights within the
state itself failed. We can also conclude that the state's action in
this case, tended to diffuse protest by licensing squatting, and fund­
ing housing associations to utilise short life property. It is diffi­
cult however to see that these amounted to major concessions by the
state even if the management practices of the local authorities were
altered as a consequence. Indeed it may be that the most effective
influence on the state to manage its stock more efficiently came from
traditional pressure groups operating inside the traditional legal system, even if the publicity surrounding squatting made their task easier. Thus, social change, in this case many have been initiated by direct action, but this action was not completely successful. There were other influences at work, within the traditional political system, which may have been equally effective in changing housing management policy. The fundamental issues in the private sector remained unchallenged. The mere extension of the role of the state into the economy therefore, appears to be no guarantee of an attack on the fundamentals of the capitalist system.
Chapter Six. Summary & Conclusions

In the first two chapters, we examined five perspectives of the state, as a preliminary, to gain an understanding of the institution towards which much protest is directed, at least in the housing field. Each perspective was found to have a particular view of the local and central states, and this largely determines its capacity for analysing protest.

We also considered the five views of the state, in the context of their explanatory power to account for the beginnings of, and continued involvement with the state in housing policy.

We rejected the representational perspective, on the grounds that the state appeared to react to pressure, rather than purely electoral considerations. Also, this perspective gave us no means of dealing with, and accounting for, direct action by groups. Indeed, as we saw it could be disillusionment with existing political institutions that has contributed to the rise of community protest groups. The pluralist perspective does allow an analysis of conflict, but limits the area of conflict to a narrowly defined institutionalised type, within the traditional political system. Pressure groups are seen to operate within this system, and are relatively enduring and accepted. There appears to be no place for local community groups who take up specific issues, and then fade away. Both these perspectives see the state, and the local state as being neutral and responsive to pressure. We therefore must reject these. The corporatist managerialist perspective appears to see the rise of the state as being accounted for by the increasing need for bureaucratic planning, and sees democracy as merely a means of legitimating such decision taking. The state is seen as being dominant, and controlling capital. There is little evidence for this. The existence of central planning does not imply such control.

Associated with the corporatist view of the central state is the managerialist perspective on the local state. Bureaucrats are seen to largely be in control of the local state, and again local democracy merely legitimised this. Leading local members are seen to have considerable power however, as administration assumes a corporate form. This approach has much to commend it, as a means of analysing decision taking within the local state. Such decision taking appears to be
increasingly bureaucratic and technical, rather than political. It requires research, of course to assess to what extent this is so. (See Sandbach 1980). In the field of housing as we saw in Chapter 3, both the central and local states appeared to see the solution to the housing crisis as being technical, with reliance on new methods and designs. Such decisions were taken by experts, with questionnable influence being wielded by politicians. (Young, 1974). However, such approaches fail to consider generally, the influence of wider societal structures in determining the context of decision taking, in which bureaucrats operate. We shall however, find this type of analysis to be a useful one in explaining the form housing protest has taken in the UK.

The view of the state taken by the managerialist/corporatist approach is inadequate. We must turn to the functionalist/structuralist perspective to gain insight into the part the state plays in society. As we saw this perspective, as an ideal type, takes a functionalist view of the state and sees it as serving the interests of the dominant faction of the dominant class or monopoly capital. It could be said that the representative and pluralist perspectives also take a functionalist view of the local state, but not one based on a class analysis of society. In such a view the local state is seen to perform functions which are necessary for capital accumulation, but are unprofitable. Thus, the state is forced to step in - since after all, it serves the interests of capital. There is some truth in this, the state for example stepped into the housing market when private investment became unprofitable, and failed to produce housing of a reasonable standard. Housing expenditure can be categorised as social consumption expenditure, the effect of which is to reduce the costs of reproduction of labour to capital, by allowing lower direct wages. The local state, is of course seen in this perspective as contributing more directly to production, by the provision of infrastructure for industry. In practice, the local state, as in Glasgow, does act in this way as we saw in Chapter 5. The provision of infrastructure to aid industries, and encourage others to come to the city was a prime motivating force behind the redevelopment of Glasgow. To say however, as the struct-
uralist perspective implies, that industry controls the state, nationally and locally, is probably to overstate the case. There is evidence, however, that more subtle influences are at work which tend to ensure that the state does not as a rule, act against the interests of capital.

To suggest that the state, and the local state is purely functional to capital therefore, is an overstatement, and historically inaccurate. In the provision of housing we saw how the state was forced to intervene in the housing market to appease a working class which was growing in political and economic strength. Thus, we are coming close to accepting a derivationist view of the state. It is seen as both a set of institutions and as a product of social relations between classes. The state in this perspective is the focus of a particular type of social relations ie legal relations in the form of citizenship.

The economic and political spheres have become artificially separated, and therefore real economic and social divisions become translated into the legal relation of citizenship. Class action is therefore diffused, and becomes transformed into individual and for example, legal action. We have seen that this is typical of the type of protest which takes place over housing issues. The local state is also seen in this way, but as an expression of local social relations. Local democracy is not seen as necessarily being a sham, because of the particular way local populations see the world. The working class specifically tend to relate to concrete issues, based on every day local experiences, rather than an abstract idea. Poor housing conditions, or shortages, or high rents are not experienced abstractly but concretely, and serve as a basis for action at the local level. Thus it seems that the local state is particularly susceptible to working class pressure and even control, as these concrete experiences are translated into political actions. So the local state may not simply be an adjunct to the national state, and indeed may oppose it. From time to time therefore, arise 'red enclaves' of local authorities committed to high welfare spending, often at the expense of local capital. It seems, then that the local state can act against the interests of local capital. In such cases, an ideological hegemony which tends to induce the local state to act
'responsibly' ie in the interests of capital and as the central state wishes, can be resisted by local politicians.

Thus, the derivationist perspective has considerable strengths in terms of its ability to allow for a flexible relationship between the local and central states, and the state and capital. Its emphasis on the importance of citizenship as the means of diffusing class conflict is also useful. As we saw in the anti-dampness campaign, this was probably one reason why protest remained at the individual level for so long. We can assume then, that the derivationist perspective is the most fruitful of the ones we have examined in analysing the central local state relationship, as being flexible to a degree.

However, it is to the structuralist perspective we must turn to achieve a proper analysis of the importance of protest groups. Ironically, because of the functionalist view of the state, the structuralists have developed such a theory. Because the state is seen as being non-responsive, and internally capable of producing only measures to correct 'contradictions', the structuralists see community groups as the only source of social change. So as we saw, the stakes must be identified, and these always arise out of contradictions. The action must be assessed in terms of its effects rather than by the fact that people participate in it, for such participation maybe ineffective. Such an analysis seems to me to be a worthwhile one, but by itself it is insufficient.

It concentrates entirely on the community groups, and on direct action. Structuralists seem to deny that any changes to benefit the working class can be brought about by action internal to the state itself, such as decision taking by bureaucrats and politicians. Thus, it tends to ignore action that is defined as being institutionalised. Perhaps this is understandable, and we should not criticise structuralists too much. As Marxists they are interested in potentially revolutionary change, and their research focus therefore steers them away from activity in the state, an institution they see as being incapable of producing such change.
One further point must be drawn out, before we consider the validity of such perspectives for the campaigns. All the perspectives, except the Marxist ones, fail to take proper account of ideological factors. Although, for example, the state may not directly be controlled by capital, it may be that an ideological hegemony causes the state to produce decisions and policies which are generally but not necessarily always, in the interests of capital. In the area of collective consumption for example, we saw that a tension—or contradiction—existed between the need for such consumption by capital, and its ability to pay for it via taxes, etc. The present crisis in state spending is a manifestation of such a contradiction, we could contend. Thus decisions which have been taken by central government to provide housing, have been constrained by the resources available, which have usually been less than enough to meet demand. In an attempt to increase the quantity of dwellings produced, as we saw in Chapter 3, standards tended to fall. Tensions emerged, in the form of housing shortages, and attempts to increase rents, and thereby shift more of the burden of housing to the working class and away from the state. These formed the basis for much protest, as we have seen.

Thus, as Castells (1972) has noted, although the state may resolve crises, these are bound to emerge later, elsewhere in the system. Cost cutting in the production of housing, for example, has led to many problems such as dampness, and tenant dissatisfaction and protest. In the end it seems as if the state, because of mounting protest, may be forced to remedy the situation at huge cost. A recent report, (S.L.A.S.G., 1981, forthcoming) estimates that 30% of Scotland's local authorities' stock is affected by dampness, condensation or heating problems, and 15% is so seriously affected that immediate attention is required. The cost of even these immediate improvements is estimated to be some £500 million. There seems little prospect that the present government will provide such resources, but doubtless, eventually the problems will have to be tackled.

Thus we can see that three of the perspectives each have something to offer on analysis of protest campaigns. The derivationist allows an
understanding of central/local relations on a fairly realistic level, and recognised the importance of legal/social relations as expressed in political activity focused on the state. The managerialist/corporatist perspective seems to be suited to analysing decision-taking within the state itself. This is most important, if we are to assess whether protest groups actually affect policy, or whether policy changes would have taken place anyway, without protest. The structuralist perspective looks almost exclusively at protest groups themselves, and offers a realistic analysis. We shall now consider their relevance to the campaigns we have described.

The local authority in Glasgow, as we saw, could not be described as being a 'red enclave'. It can be said however, that the controlling labour group was committed to relatively high spending, especially on housing. The Corporation took to high rise and systems building to an extent obvious to those who live in the city. To the local authority, then the stakes in the dampness campaign were high. The houses represent a considerable financial investment, and potentially considerable income in terms of rent. Not least, the conflict which developed represented a challenge to the technical competence of the authority. The protest, as we saw was initially individual and some three to four years passed before group action developed. Of course it took some time before residents realised that there was a widespread problem, but we can also explain the delay in ideological terms. The ideology of self-help tends to propel people towards the view that they should solve their own problems. However, a counter ideology may have been at work, a belief among tenants that they were entitled to a decent house. Additionally, there were no social divisions among the tenants which would make organisational unity difficult. There were of course problems in setting up the group, which the on-the-spot assistance of community workers, and the existence of a meeting place in the area did a great deal to overcome.

Once formed however, the group found itself faced with a local authority whose unity appeared to be unquestioned. The cause of dampness, they contended, lay with the tenants' themselves. Now, this issue became
a technical one, especially after legal action was undertaken. Experts testified against expert, and the political aspects of the problem became blurred. By 'political', I mean that there were wider political and economic causes for dampness in council housing, but these may not have been obvious to the tenants. They were concerned with the local problem, dampness in their own housing. Even if they had been aware of these wider problems, their campaign would have benefited little from the knowledge: the local authority is unlikely to have been impressed by such arguments. Thus the conflict remained at the local level, against the local state. We saw that the local authority did approach central government for recompense, but that this was refused. The resistance of the local authority to the campaigners, can be partly explained then, by the size of the stake involved, as indeed can the tenacity of the tenants as dampness worsened and spread.

As we saw in the squatting campaign, protest activity does tend to be directed against the local state, but in the context of protest against the inefficiency of the bureaucracy. Thus again, the political stakes were never apparently exposed to scrutiny, let alone conflict. The rights of property owners remained intact. In the dampness campaign, we could say that the causes of low standards in council housing remained unexplored, and therefore unchallenged.

In terms of 'effects', the anti-dampness campaign would seem to have been successful in that it achieved the re-housing of most, and eventually all, of the tenants. These were however, management concessions which could be said to be at the expense of other waiting list and transfer applicants, rather than the local authority itself, (In no way am I questioning the necessity of re-housing tenants from damp houses). It would seem though, that the local authority lost in several ways: in compensation paid out, in lost rent and rate income and the loss of the flats as an asset. Now that dampness has been recognised as a national problem, the state is set to lose considerably more, as the problem becomes recognised. There are now a number of anti-dampness campaigns in Glasgow, and throughout Scotland. These are beginning to
organise on a city wide basis, and to communicate on a country wide basis. The possibility of a country wide anti-dampness campaign is not an unreal one. The typical pattern of group housing protest has been to start off on a fairly low key basis: if faced with an authority which does not respond, protest usually escalates to other non-institutional, although legal forms. The prognosis therefore, of protest over the dampness issue is that it will grow, at a period when the state is less willing (or the local state less able) to respond, because of the economic crisis.

Public expenditure cuts which have been imposed by the present government are likely, in the longer term, to generate more housing protest in the future. (ROOF November, 1979). Council house building has been cut drastically, as have the funds available to local authorities for maintenance of the existing stock. Thus we can see the potential for further protest by the homeless, or by council tenants in deteriorating properties. The government has already generated some opposition by its action to force councils to increase rents. A number of councils have refused to implement rent increases, and rent strikes and demonstrations have already occurred in a number of areas in Scotland.

It would be unwise to generalise from one campaign, but at least in this case, the local state can be seen to have absorbed protest which had wider social and economic causes. In the squatting campaigns, although there were numerous empty properties in the private sector, most protest was directed to the local state. A questioning of private property rights therefore failed to emerge. The local state then can be seen to direct conflict away from the private sector in the case of squatting, and to regulate conflict by concealing politics behind a state bureaucracy, in the anti-dampness campaign. We also saw however that in some cases, councils which are committed to welfare spending can in fact escalate the level of protest to the level of the central state, by defying the government and causing wider issues to be debated.
To conclude, it would seem that an eclectic approach is required for the study of housing protest, or indeed any form of protest. Three of the perspectives were seen to be of considerable use in analysing different aspects of such protest. Ironically, it is local consciousness, which provided the impetus for much group action but it is precisely this which causes it to remain local. The analyst however should not allow his study to remain at the local level. For a study to be rigorous, we must analyse for example why a housing shortage exists, or why poor conditions in housing occur. These are merely visible and local manifestations of wider social and economic problems, and that latter cannot be ignored.
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