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SOCIETIES IN THE MAKING

A Study of Development
and Redevelopment within a County Borough

by

HILDA JENNINGS



First published in 1962 by
Routledge

Reprinted 1998, 2000, 2001 by
Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
or
270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

First issued in paperback 2010

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A CIP catalogue record for this book
is available from the British Library

Societies in the Making
ISBN 978-0-415-17597-5 (hbk)
ISBN 978-0-415-60567-0 (pbk)
The Sociology of Culture: 9 Volumes
ISBN 978-0-415-17824-2
The International Library of Sociology: 274 Volumes
ISBN 978-0-415-17838-9

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original may be apparent

CONTENTS

FOREWORD by D. A. Clark	<i>page ix</i>
I THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HOUSING AS A PUBLIC SERVICE	1
II THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF BARTON HILL	
1. Place. Physical Development	15
2. Economic Development	28
3. Development of Relationships and Institutions	47
III THE LOCAL AUTHORITY STEPS IN	76
IV ADAPTATION TO CHANGE	
1. Homes and Families	101
2. Old and New Neighbours	109
3. First Removal Areas:— Layout, Facilities and Ties with other districts	114
V THE HUMAN AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF POST-WAR ESTATES	121
VI MOBILITY WITHIN THE CITY	147
VII BARTON HILL IN TRANSITION	165
VIII THE NEW BARTON HILL	189
IX SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	208
APPENDICES	
Statistical Tables	243
References	264
INDEX	267

MAPS

Barton Hill in relation to Industrial Centres, Shopping Centres and Housing Estates of Bristol	<i>page</i> xii
Barton Hill and adjacent areas of East Bristol	16
Barton Hill Compulsory Purchase Area	77
Barton Hill: pre- and post-redevelopment	188

FOREWORD

by D. A. Clark

*Chairman of Barton Hill Redevelopment Research
Committee of the University Settlement, Bristol*

THE University Settlement has been established in the Barton Hill area of East Bristol for nearly fifty years. It has seen many changes in the social and economic life of its neighbourhood, but none so profound and far reaching as the redevelopment plan launched in 1953.

It seemed to the Settlement that it was in a very special position to study the effects of this redevelopment as it proceeded and thus perhaps to throw light on human problems which were being encountered in many similar schemes for the rebuilding of central residential areas of large cities. With the help of generous grants from independent Trusts, a comprehensive survey was undertaken up to the stage at which the first new block of flats in Barton Hill was occupied.

The Settlement Council appointed Miss Hilda Jennings, M.A., the Warden for many years, to direct the research. Towards the end of the project Miss Jennings retired from the post of Warden but kindly agreed to complete the research. A Research Committee was also set up, with the following members:

D. A. Clark, B.A. (Chairman)
H. E. Bracey, Ph.D.
I. L. Durham, M.A.
P. H. K. Kuenstler, M.A.¹
Miss Kate Liepmann, Ph.D.
Miss L. A. E. Shaw, M.A.
John Spencer, M.A., Ph.D.
Mrs. F. H. Towill, M.A.

The Committee regarded its function as essentially advisory. It felt from the beginning that the results of the research must be presented as Miss Jennings' own report because she had personally directed the project and because of her deep knowledge and understanding of Barton Hill and its people.

¹ Mr. Kuenstler served on the Committee until his departure from Bristol.

Foreword

We wish to acknowledge the help and interest of members of the City Council and officials of the Housing, Education, City Engineer and Planning Officer's Departments. It should, of course, be made clear that those Departmental officials who have generously given us their help take no responsibility for the views expressed in the report.

It is impossible to thank individually all those who have helped in the research but we wish to record our appreciation of valuable assistance given in field-work and in other ways by:

Miss R. Adams
Mrs. K. Brown
Miss A. M. Clewley
Mr. K. Cottam
Miss P. J. Evans
Miss E. Hillier
Mr. J. Hodgkins
Mr. and Mrs. P. Nokes
Mrs. I. Rex
Miss W. Roberts
Miss P. M. Rose
Miss S. T. Woods

We are also grateful to the Housing Managers of the London County Council, Birmingham City Council and Liverpool Corporation for information which they kindly provided.

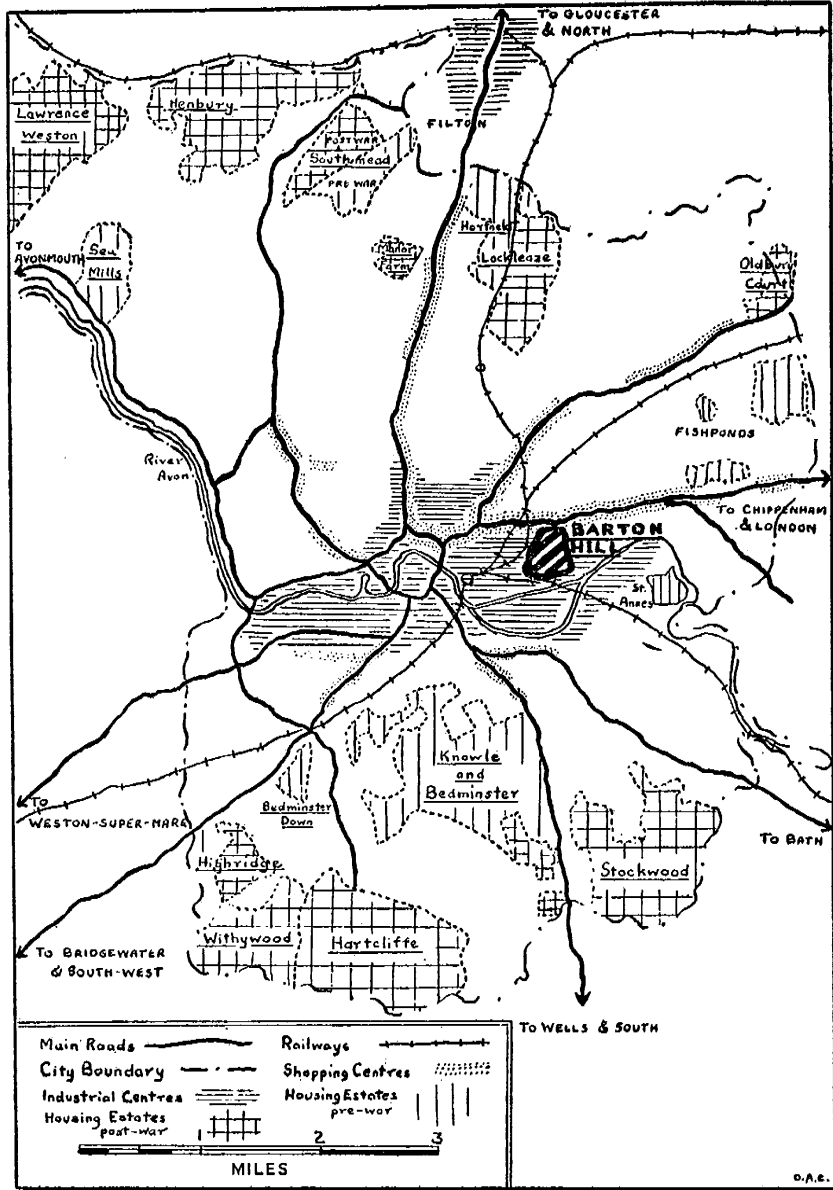
The Bristol University Publications Committee and others have given generous assistance in the publication of this study.

Very many residents of Barton Hill have provided the information on which this report is based and we are greatly indebted to them for the patient and co-operative way in which they have done so.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my warm thanks to all those who participated in the research project on which this book is based. Among others, these include officers of the City Council and members of the University Settlement Research Committee who read and commented on the script, chapter by chapter. Special thanks are due to the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. D. A. Clark, who generously spared his time to help in the preparation of maps, the scrutiny of statistical tables, helped to secure the necessary financial backing and was responsible for the arrangements for publication.

HILDA JENNINGS.



BARTON HILL IN RELATION TO INDUSTRIAL CENTRES, SHOPPING CENTRES AND HOUSING ESTATES OF BRISTOL.

I

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HOUSING AS A PUBLIC SERVICE

OBJECTS, SCOPE AND METHODS OF BARTON HILL RESEARCH

DURING the years following the First World War housing has steadily emerged as one of the most important of the public social services.

The volume of building by local authorities acting as the agents of organized society has increased from a mere trickle of dwellings till it now exceeds that of private building.

Like education and the social security and health services, it has ceased to be thought of as exclusively designed for the benefit of the working classes.

It has been affected also by the twentieth century tendency, seen in the break-up of the poor law, to provide for specific needs departmentally. This tendency has involved the consequence that individuals and families are considered according to categories of needs, rather than as entities. The same man or family and the individual members of the family may at one and the same time come within the province of several different organs of government according to whether they are viewed as sick, old or unemployed persons or as persons in need of accommodation.

In the large county boroughs which contain the great aggregations of population, local government itself has become more remote from the ordinary citizen and from the locality. The achievement of adult suffrage does not in fact mean that individuals in particular localities have any statutory machinery which enables them to voice the desires and needs of those localities. In this the one-tier structure of local government in county boroughs is in strong contrast with that of the counties within which lesser authorities are locally elected and continue to be responsible for some of the vital local interests, such as housing.

Yet there are many areas within large cities which still reflect their nineteenth century origin in that their inhabitants find in the locality the focus of many of their interests, and feel that it is a distinct and corporate entity within the city.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

Unlike education and environmental public health, housing and town planning, together with social security as opposed to the relief of poverty, to all intents and purposes originated as public social services in the present century. They have been driven by the history and preoccupations of their time to concentrate thought and action on physical and economic needs.

In the sphere of housing the need to provide the elementary requirement of shelter of a kind conducive to physical health has been accentuated by two World Wars with their inevitable restriction of new building and house repairs, by the operation of the Rent Restriction Acts which often made repairs uneconomic if not impossible, and by war damage. The provision of accommodation for the newly married or others without separate accommodation, for the overcrowded, and for those living in structurally unfit houses has almost inevitably absorbed the energies and resources of those responsible for public provision of housing.

This does not mean, however, that the secondary effects of housing and town planning on the strength and nature of the social bond as expressed through human relationships and attitudes to society, have been entirely lost sight of. It is indeed to the perception of the social effects which inevitably go with physical provision that the idea of dividing cities into neighbourhood units affording 'occasions of acquaintance' and a central focus for common interests is due. Similarly, attempts by voluntary bodies to promote community organization on a local basis have received recognition and encouragement from central and local government departments.

In spite of such evidences of recognition of the social effects of housing, the results of the great endeavours in this field in the inter-war and post-war periods are more often, and certainly more easily, assessed in the terms of the volume and kind of physical provision than in those relating to the quality of individual, family and social life.

When the latter type of assessment is attempted, either as regards inter-war or post-war municipal building, it becomes only too clear that there has not been the same overall improvement in social conduct and human relationships as there has been in physical well-being.

While some of the flagrant abuse of housing provision in the inter-war period, shown in the destruction of fittings or the misuse of the new baths as a store for the coal, do not now occur, vandalism and damage to public amenities are still all too frequent. Better housing is said not always to have brought greater happiness or better-balanced individuals. Indeed, a good deal is heard today of 'housing estate neuroses', especially among the women who spend most of their time

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

in their homes and home areas. Commentators on other aspects of estate life speak of a greater incidence of juvenile delinquency and adult law-breaking, of the break-up of marriages and homes, sometimes as a result of, or side by side with, the accumulation of financial difficulties such as arrears of rent or hire purchase commitments. These in their turn are said to have their origin in the increase of snobbishness, the predominance of material values and the continual strain of the attempt to 'keep up with the Jones'.

There is no sufficient material available to enable it to be said what proportion of the residents of housing estates are involved in such difficulties. Moreover, it is equally difficult to know, where they do exist, how far they are the result of or are aggravated by life on the estates. Some of them, such as the more frequent break-up of marriages, seem to be symptoms of causes which are general rather than local.

That they do exist on a number of housing estates is common knowledge among housing officials and social workers, and there is some evidence that families previously immune from them are affected detrimentally by their changed environment. This environment is of course not merely physically changed by a move from one area to another, but probably more fundamentally in its human content.

In a recent article in the *Medical Press*, the Housing Manager for a London metropolitan borough has crystallized the disquiet felt by many observers and students of the social scene.¹ It is 'inexplicable', he says, that when in earlier days he surveyed 'jungles' with a view to clearance he 'never saw anything but good-hearted fun, maybe vulgar, laughter and happiness. Compare this with the atmosphere of worry, tension, snobbishness and all that goes with these things, which are immediately obvious on any modern housing estate. Why do otherwise ordinary common sensed clean living families seem to change after they have been rehoused?'

Without attempting to judge how far this experience is general, it still seems clear that even a small and partial deterioration of human happiness and conduct as the concomitant of rehousing should not be allowed to remain inexplicable, but demands careful investigation with a view to social action.

This view is re-enforced by the present-day emphasis in housing programmes on slum clearance involving the enforcement of change on individuals in the name of society. Even more than when families are housed at their own request as a result of lack of accommodation or of the need for a change of accommodation, compulsory rehousing, such as is entailed in redeveloping old areas, entails a heavy

¹ Davey, A. W. *Medical Press*, October 1959.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

responsibility on the society in whose name the compulsion is applied. Because of the complex nature of individuals it has to be recognized that they will require more than the physical basis for a satisfying life to compensate as far as possible for the non-material satisfactions which they may have lost.

Despite local variations in size and conditions there are few if any of the large towns in which there are not areas covered by small houses built from eighty to ninety or more years ago, which are fast becoming unfit for habitation. In the country as a whole, in 1956 and 1957 alone, as many as 79,500 houses were found to be unfit and closed or demolished, and as a result of this 148,000 people were moved to other homes.¹

Cities in different parts of the country are all faced with the same problem although difficulties are particularly acute in the industrial north and midlands. In fact 40 per cent ² of the orders confirmed in 1957 related to these areas.

Examples of the widespread nature and the variations in size of the problem can be taken from such different cities as London, Birmingham, Leeds and Bristol. During the post-war period up to the end of March 1957, the London County Council and the metropolitan boroughs had undertaken clearance schemes covering 18,191 houses.³ The Birmingham City Council had acquired or proposed to acquire in their central redevelopment area as many as 55,000 dwellings and service tenancies.⁴ Leeds had represented over 5,700 dwellings, of which some 2,000 had already been cleared,⁵ while in the year 1955-6, the Bristol Authority embarked on a programme for the clearance of approximately 10,000 houses.⁶

The process of clearance and rebuilding will be long ⁷ and meanwhile it may be expected that the old areas will be in a state of flux, while many of their former inhabitants will necessarily be rehoused on housing estates in other areas at least over the period of rebuilding.

Thus basically, while the clearance of the old areas presents special human and social problems, these are closely related to the problems

¹ *Ministry of Housing and Local Government Annual Report for 1957.*

² *Ministry of Housing and Local Government Annual Report for 1957.*

³ *London Housing Statistics 1956-7.*

⁴ Information from City of Birmingham Housing Manager.

⁵ City of Leeds Annual Report for year ending 1957.

⁶ City and County of Bristol Housing 1955-6.

⁷ In Birmingham it is estimated that it will take over a quarter of a century to complete the redevelopment of the central area. The redevelopment of the Everton Heights area of Liverpool (see Everton Heights Redevelopment scheme—June 1958) involving the demolition of some 8,000 houses will extend over the next fifteen years. The Bristol Authority hope that their slum clearance operations may be completed by 1965, but anticipate that rebuilding will continue for some years after.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

of the housing estates and cannot be considered in isolation from the study of these. The process of redevelopment with the accompanying movements of populations to different parts of cities and different types of area, indeed may afford an unparalleled opportunity for seeking to discover from the reactions and actions of the people affected in what they found their social satisfactions and social ties. A general picture of the differences found by inhabitants of old areas when they move away is given in the *Seventh Report of the Housing Management Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee*, entitled 'Moving from the Slums'. This is based on evidence taken from a number of local authorities, organizations and individuals. Among the factors creating human problems in clearance are mentioned greater distance from employment, the severance of the tie between grandparents, married children and children and the loss of the 'kindly and convenient' little shops.

Some of these changes are said to be the more keenly felt because the experience of most local authorities is that the clearance areas contain a higher proportion of old people and single people than other districts. 'Many have to leave a familiar district with its friends and neighbours and its strong ties with the past . . .' 'No doubt what most families want is a new house at a low rent near their present home. In point of fact, the new dwellings to replace the old are more likely to be flats in large towns, or, if houses, those will probably be built on the outskirts of a town and well away from the clearance areas.'

The Ministry state in their *Annual Report for 1957* that great interest was aroused by the sub-committee's recommendations and that 'local authorities generally seem keenly alive to the human problems of rehousing'.

Sociologists also have initiated a number of local surveys, which serve to confirm and amplify the main points outlined in the Ministry's pamphlet. In their studies of old areas also, emphasis is placed on physical proximity in congested blocks of streets, localized employment and kinship groups, local services leading to many informal contacts between neighbours, and the effects of long residence and stable populations.

The picture of the old areas both as regards physical layout and the social characteristics of the people does not differ significantly, whether it relates to the inter-war years, as in Ancoats, Manchester,¹ or to the post-war period, as in Oxford² and Bethnal Green.³

While different surveys emphasize different aspects of local life,

¹ *Ancoats, A Study of a Clearance Area*. Report of a Survey made in 1937-8.

² *Family and Neighbourhood*. Two Studies in Oxford, J. M. Mogeey.

³ *Family and Kinship in East London*. Michael Young and Peter Willmott.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

two general conclusions about the social characteristics of the old nineteenth century areas, as compared with twentieth century housing estates, emerge from them.

These are that the people who live in the old areas are more friendly to their fellow-residents in general and that they have a greater sense of belonging to the neighbourhood.

These characteristics are attributed to them not only by the writers of the inter-war period, when it might be expected that the proverbial 'kindness of the poor' would continue to arise out of pressing economic needs, but by those whose studies were made in the post-war period of rising wages and full employment. Thus the Bethnal Green Survey¹ speaks of the inhabitants as having 'a sense of loyalty to each other,' and says that 'in such a district community spirit does not have to be fostered; it is already there'. The Oxford Survey² states that the residents in the old area are 'defensively on the alert' against criticism of their district and are 'neighbourhood centred'.

In contrast to these attitudes, the people living on housing estates are said to be 'family-centred', and the family 'inturned on itself' and suspicious of the largely unknown world which is labelled 'the children at the bottom of the street'.

Surveys of housing estates of both periods of development speak of social isolation, loneliness, and in some instances even of 'hostility' to neighbours other than a few selected friends. 'The trend in a planned neighbourhood under conditions similar to these' (in the part of Coventry surveyed) 'would appear to be in the direction of increasing reserve.'³

If, in spite of acknowledged differences in reputation, 'roughness' and 'respectability' even within small areas, the general distinction made in these surveys can be taken as valid, it raises a question of profound importance to society as a whole.

Change, including change from small and to some extent integrated local societies to a kind of life in which interests and relationships are physically dispersed and fragmented, may prove to be inevitable and even desirable. Indeed this particular change from the concentration of interests and activities in one place seems already to have taken place even in some villages and privately developed suburban districts.

Where, however, change is sudden, and even more when it is enforced, the problems of adaptation may be acute, and may have long-term secondary effects.

The important question for the sociologist is not only that of

¹ *Family and Kinship in East London*. Michael Young and Peter Willmott.

² *Family and Neighbourhood*. J. M. Mogeey.

³ *Living in Towns*. Leo Kuper and Others.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

individual happiness, but even more that of the effects of change on the maintenance of the social bond on which the very existence and quality of society itself depends. What in the past has made individuals and groups feel that they 'belonged' and had a part to play? In what has this bond been rooted and how can it find new means of expression?

There is evidence outside the field of housing of the existence of a feeling of 'not belonging' expressing itself in withdrawal from and antagonism to society. Such tendencies, which appear in some modern art, sculpture, music and literature, are to be found also in day-to-day life. How far are these phenomena as seen in the apathy of local government electors, in teddy boys and gangs of young delinquents, due to the same deficiency in the social bond? How far is this caused by a feeling that the individual and the small are lost and insignificant in a society which constantly grows in complexity and in the size of its units in many spheres of life? Has the conquest of space meant that homogeneous societies have found the need to absorb heterogeneous and often apparently opposing elements beyond their immediate powers of adaptation?

Seen in the light of these deeper problems and manifestations the difficulties attending the clearance and rebuilding of old areas in our cities appear small. Yet it is in the fields of housing and town planning that some of the deepest interests, the most sustained and influential relationships, and the most generally accepted obligations and responsibilities, are involved. Because it is rooted in biological ties which have been linked with the emotions the family centred in the home, and still to some extent inevitably involved in human contacts in the neighbourhood, remains one of the most dynamic forces in society.

Moreover, it not only helps to shape its immediate society, but transmits its values and customary codes of conduct, and thus is influential in shaping the future.

While its origins and inner dynamic may seem comparatively easy to explain, the societies in which families function are growing ever more complex. Why in certain societies, such as many of those in old urban working-class areas, does something of the nature of the family bond stretch out to the neighbours and even further afield? Why does this not seem to be happening in certain other areas?

From the studies of the anthropologist, the biologist and individual psychologist, we are driven on into the field of sociology. Yet in this field, the very existence of so many inter-acting forces means that any study which seeks depth and intimacy of understanding, must be in a limited sphere. It is because of this that the local study, and still more the building up of comparative local studies, may prove to be

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

one of the most fruitful in the search for permanent factors and human needs.

If we seek for something which is an enduring bond, we cannot expect to find or test it by looking only at what is contemporary. Yet, because of inevitable limitations in resources, or perhaps in part because their object is seen as limited to the immediate occasion of the inquiry, many of the surveys recently made in this country have tended to be concentrated on one small point of time.

Even at this point absorption in some one contemporary problem may lead to an undue prominence being given to this and to a consequent distortion of the whole picture. Examples of specialization of interest may be seen in studies such as those of Ancoats, Manchester,¹ and of the inter-war Bristol housing estates² which were made towards the end of the long inter-war depression, when poverty and the standard of living were to the forefront in people's minds. Similarly, the studies contained in 'Living in Towns', at a time when the post-war development of large estates was already considerable and further building was imminent, sought to discover the effects of layout and design on social contacts. Later studies undertaken when there was a new wave of movement to outlying areas and a consequent dispersal of the kinship and neighbour groups seek to throw light on the way in which these function.

Whether studies are comparative in the sense that old and new areas are studied together, or, as the case of those undertaken in Liverpool and Sheffield,³ relate only to twentieth century areas, some further selection is usual. Differing degrees of attention are paid to such themes as residential mobility and social or occupational class, or membership of formal organizations. In some cases, it becomes difficult to see the wood in which groups of trees are found.

In order to combat the limiting effects of specialization on one current problem, it may well be necessary to try to obtain a more general and overall picture of historical development. In this way more at least of the interacting factors which may still be operative will be presented.

OBJECTS, SCOPE AND METHODS OF PRESENT STUDY

In the present study, the immediate object of which was to inquire into the human and social effects of the enforced change imposed on a rooted community as a result of redevelopment, it appeared more than ever necessary to have recourse to history if we were to under-

¹ *Ancoats. A Study of a Clearance Area.* Manchester University Settlement.

² *Housing Estates.* Jevons R. and Madge John.

³ *Neighbourhood and Community.* University Press of Liverpool.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

stand in what this change consisted. To take only one example, the changes brought about in people's lives by the municipalization of dwellings could not be appreciated without some understanding of the processes by which they had become owner-occupiers or obtained tenanted houses for themselves and their children over a long period of small-scale private ownership.

Similarly some extension from the purely localized study to the city seemed called for, since we could not assume that individual and community life was wholly centred in the neighbourhood before redevelopment commenced.

This partial extension of the field of study both in time and place was made possible in our case by factors which perhaps placed us in a specially favoured position.

The University Settlement Bristol, which sponsored the research project, had been at work as a residential social centre in the redevelopment area for over forty years. Even before 1911, when it was founded, some of the original founders had been intimately connected with the district. The director of the research had herself lived and worked in it for nearly twenty years and had thus known many of its residents and local leaders in various spheres of life and had seen and participated in many local events and changes.

Moreover, much study of local history, conditions and problems had already been undertaken. On the historical side, a local historian, the late Mr. W. Sanigar, had amassed a great volume of material from old records and from first-hand inquiries. The Settlement studies had included such varied subjects as the problems of youth, working wives and old people, the working of statutory and voluntary social services and the social effects of the coming of broadcasting. In addition some thousands of individual family and young people's records dating back to before the First World War were available.

The first task of the director was to study these existing sources of information. This was itself a formidable undertaking. Naturally, there proved to be gaps, and further inquiries were made in certain fields, such for example as the more detailed history of religious bodies at work in the district. Since much of the existing information had been obtained in the course of personal service work and not for purposes of research, it was not always comparative. Nevertheless, there emerged from the records a long-term moving picture of the vicissitudes of the people and the growth of the area in terms of physical development, industry and commerce, and of its institutions.

From this background picture of the classical trilogy of the sociologist—place, work and people—it was possible to gain some idea of the potential forces which might be expected to affect attitudes to

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

redevelopment and to envisage at least some of the problems which might arise during its course.

It was obvious that, as in other surveys, we should have to decide on some limitation of the scope of firsthand inquiries. The method chosen was that of interviewing individual families who left the district, and the first point to be decided was who and how many these should be; the second over what period of time we could hope to maintain contact with them.

It was decided that all the 274 families from the first clearance area should be included together with the 137 families from other clearance areas who voluntarily anticipated the date when they would have had to move and left during the same period of eighteen months following the acquisition of the area by the Corporation. It was hoped that by maintaining contacts with both groups of inhabitants some light might be thrown on the effects of compulsory removal within a short and defined space of time.

Thus, altogether there were 411 families to be interviewed, but four of these were excluded at an early date owing to death, removal out of Bristol or admission to an institution.

There were no refusals to co-operate in the inquiry, either at the start or during the subsequent period. This was no doubt due partly to the fact that the sponsoring body was well-known in the district. It is, however, perhaps worth noting as an example of the existence of a sense of social obligation extending beyond the limits of the known neighbour and neighbourhood, that the reason given for the request for co-operation in providing information was that it might prove of service to other families in districts which would later be affected by redevelopment schemes.

The period for which financial assistance was sought was five years from the date of compulsory acquisition by the corporation in the Autumn of 1953. It was hoped that this would cover a short time before the first removals so that the initial interview might take place in the home area, the interim period before rebuilding, and at least some months after the first batch of occupants moved to the new dwellings. In the event, the visits to the latter families had to be made somewhat after the end of the five years. In addition to the preliminary interview, further visits were planned at intervals of approximately six months during the interim period.

In carrying out this programme the Research Committee were largely dependent on the good will and co-operation, not only of the families themselves, but also of the corporation. The Housing Manager kindly agreed to notify them in advance of the first removal dates from each clearance sector and also of subsequent transfers and removals. Without such co-operation it would in fact have

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

proved impossible to maintain contact with some of the families who moved in the intervals between visits.

Since families were dispersed to the different parts of the city, visiting entailed considerable expenditure of time in travelling. A more serious difficulty was found in obtaining background knowledge of the various new areas. It was felt that some such knowledge was essential for the understanding of individual attitudes and problems. Some information could be obtained from the Reports of the Housing Committee over the inter-war and post-war periods. The study of Bristol housing estates already mentioned also contained a valuable picture of inter-war estates and of housing policy and programmes between the wars. We had access, too, to some background information which had not been published, and had existing contacts with individuals and workers on some estates.

It was obviously impossible, however, to study all these in detail. It was decided, therefore, to try to make a fairly detailed study of one large and still developing post-war estate, to which a number of families from the old area were removed.

With the aid of the Housing Committee in securing accommodation a resident Settlement worker was sent to this to open a Citizens' Advice Bureau and to assist in any locally sponsored schemes of community service and organization.

The continuous records kept by this worker in both spheres provided a useful background for the information obtained in the course of research visits, and the two sources of information together enabled something to be seen of the evolution of the estate over a period. Thus, new building of dwellings, the gradual provision of services, such as schools and shops, and of religious and secular organizations, could be related to the changing attitudes and the series of individual actions revealed at successive stages of visiting. Similar progressive records of events and movements of population and of the reactions of individuals and institutions to continuous change were maintained in the old area while it was in its state of transition and flux.

It was felt, indeed, that the need continually to relate individual studies to environmental changes as they occurred stage by stage was essential to understanding of the human and social problems of both types of area, and that a static picture of either might well be misleading. The problems both of the new estates and of the old area in transition were seen to be complex and to extend far beyond those of physical provision into the field of values and the building up of attitudes to society. In particular, the plight of the old areas over a long period of gradual clearance and uncertainty seemed to have received far too little study up to date.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

During the course of the research the aim was not only to present individuals and groups in action, but also to make the most of the opportunity offered for participant action by the Settlement in accordance with its traditional objects, and by the members of the research team. As the director of the project was also acting for the greater part of its duration as Warden of the Settlement, it would, indeed, have been difficult to determine in which capacity she was acting. Thus, individual family problems might be dealt with by her either as part of the work of the Settlement Citizens' Advice Bureau or by her or other research workers in the course of their ordinary research interviews. Similarly, the series of public meetings, talks and discussion groups which were arranged with the co-operation of the various departments of the local authority, might well have been arranged by the Settlement as intermediary between the public and the authority, even if there had been no research project.

To the extent to which success was obtained in either field, it might be said that the situation which was being studied had been changed. Against this possible objection to participant observation, it was felt that a deeper and more intimate understanding of the central theme and its many ramifications was obtained.

In individual interviews, the main object was to see the situation from the point of view of the person interviewed. Hence a questionnaire¹ was used only to obtain a limited number of facts which were needed for a quantitative analysis. Occasionally even these were omitted when the mind of the informant was obviously obsessed with other preoccupations which he or she wished to discuss. The fact that, in a few instances, the narratives were highly charged with emotion and that such emotions were sometimes coincident with ignorance of the real facts of the situation, did not seem to us to diminish their value as part of the picture of the effects of redevelopment. Indeed means of communication and opportunities for the expression of feeling are obviously important factors in the social bond and any lack of these in the fields of public policy and administration may have immediate and practical effects. Few sociologists would deny that so far their tools are less adequate for the interpretation than for the collection of factual material. In the following story as many as possible of the related facts have been recorded. The depths in which their relationship is determined may well remain obscure. What we have tried to do is to relate what was actually said to us to the actions of our informants and to the relative persistence of their expressed desires and attitudes as seen in those actions.

Indeed we would suggest that motives and ideas can only be said to exist as dynamic forces when they at least strive to find expression

¹ Specimen questionnaire, page 14.

The Social Significance of Housing as a Public Service

in action. Such action may be the negative one of withdrawal from life and people, or a positive attempt to shape environment, including relationships with other selves and with organized society.

On this view, our two objects of looking both for some practical solutions to the problems arising out of the redevelopment of old urban areas and for the deeper and more permanent factors which affect the social bond in all types of area are one and the same. Unless the policies, programmes and methods of redevelopment are determined by the perception of basic and lasting human needs, they cannot hope to answer those needs. Unless the underlying desires and ideas find expression which is ever renewed in its forms and permeates the daily life of the many individuals who make up society, the ideas themselves will perish for lack of a body. Thus the society, if it continues to exist, will be only an empty shell left over from the past.

SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Ref. No: _____ Name: _____ Date first removed: _____
 Pre-removal address: _____ Subsequent removals (date and address) _____
 First-removal address: _____
 HOUSING PRE-REMOVAL POST-REMOVAL*
 Condition Rent Housing No. Sector Rent

Family composition	Sex. Marital Status. Ages	PRE-REMOVAL Employer				School
		Employment		Industry	Type of work	
		Name	Place			
1						
2						
3						
etc.						

1 2 3 etc.	POST-REMOVAL Employment				School
	Employer		Industry	Type of work	
	Name	Place			

Relationship to (1) or (2)	LOCATION OF RELATIVES OF HUSBAND (1) or WIFE (2)	
	PRE-REMOVAL ADDRESS	
	In Barton Hill	Other area

BIRTHPLACES Husband Wife	JOURNEY TO WORK							
	Pre-removal				Post-removal*			
	Walk	Bus	Cyc.	Rly.	Walk	Bus	Cyc.	Rly.

ORGANIZATIONS									
PRE-REMOVAL (Claimed attendances)					POST-REMOVAL* (Claimed attendances)				
Religious			Secular		Religious			Secular	
Sunday Services	Sunday School	Weekday organization	Organization	Type	Sunday Services	Sunday School	Weekday organization	Organization	Type
1									
2									
3									
etc.									

* 'Post-removal' refers to information obtained on *first* visit after removal. Subsequent changes to be entered on separate sheet under appropriate headings at date of each visit.

II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF BARTON HILL

1. PLACE. PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

BARTON HILL is a densely populated area which lies to the east of Bristol and at its nearest approach is about one mile from the centre of the city. Its development as a built-up area was almost entirely completed in the nineteenth century and its layout in congested groups of streets without regard to open space is typical of the era prior to town planning.

Since the earliest records of its existence at the time of Domesday Book, the place has selected, gathered in and compelled its people.

In their turn, from 1838 onwards when the coming of a large cotton factory led to the industrialization of the district and the swift growth of population, the people have played a growing part in shaping the place, and in selecting and reinforcing for their use those physical features which best served their contemporary purposes.

Indeed, in any study of place which is designed to throw light on its significance as a shaping force in society, the interaction of natural and man-made characteristics cannot be ignored.

Thus, for example, the boundaries of Barton Hill in the shape of the canal cut along its southern edge and the much older main road to London running out of Bristol eastwards have attained the status of quasi-natural and permanent features. Even those works of man which appear more subject to change or decay, the massive factories which the canal in its turn brought into being and the railway lines which intersect the district, have over long periods helped to enforce and shape its development as a built-up area.

The place as a means of livelihood

Looking at its history, we see also the influence of time in the reflection of changing national trends and structures. Such changes have recently tended to rob place—in the sense of a small, defined locality—of what over many centuries has been its primary function, the provision of the means of livelihood. This process is by no means

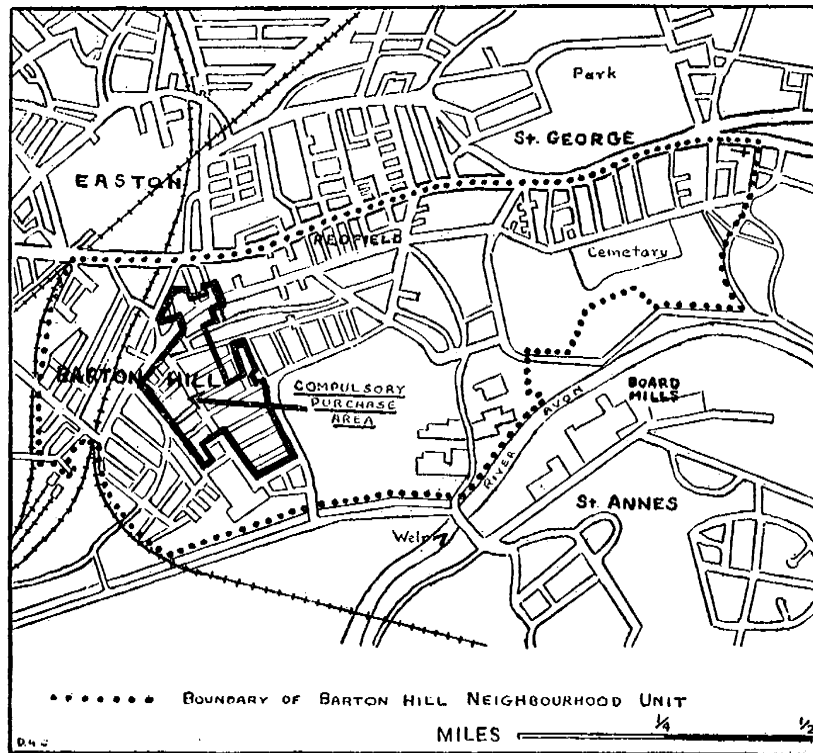
The Historical Development of Barton Hill

complete or universal even in urban areas, but is seen increasingly in the development of wholly residential suburbs and dormitory housing estates.

The functional origin of such nineteenth century areas as Barton Hill stands out in strong contrast to these other and newer districts which owe their existence to the development of modern transport.

Natural resources

The history of Barton Hill illustrates the process of change. In the initial period, there was a mere handful of agricultural labourers on the King's farm or 'Barton' or the lands of great owners. Gradually proximity to the market of the city brought about the preponderance of market gardening: natural resources were also employed in extractive processes in nearby collieries, quarries and brickfields. In addition there were sawmills and adjacent foundries. Then came the



BARTON HILL AND ADJACENT AREAS OF EAST BRISTOL.