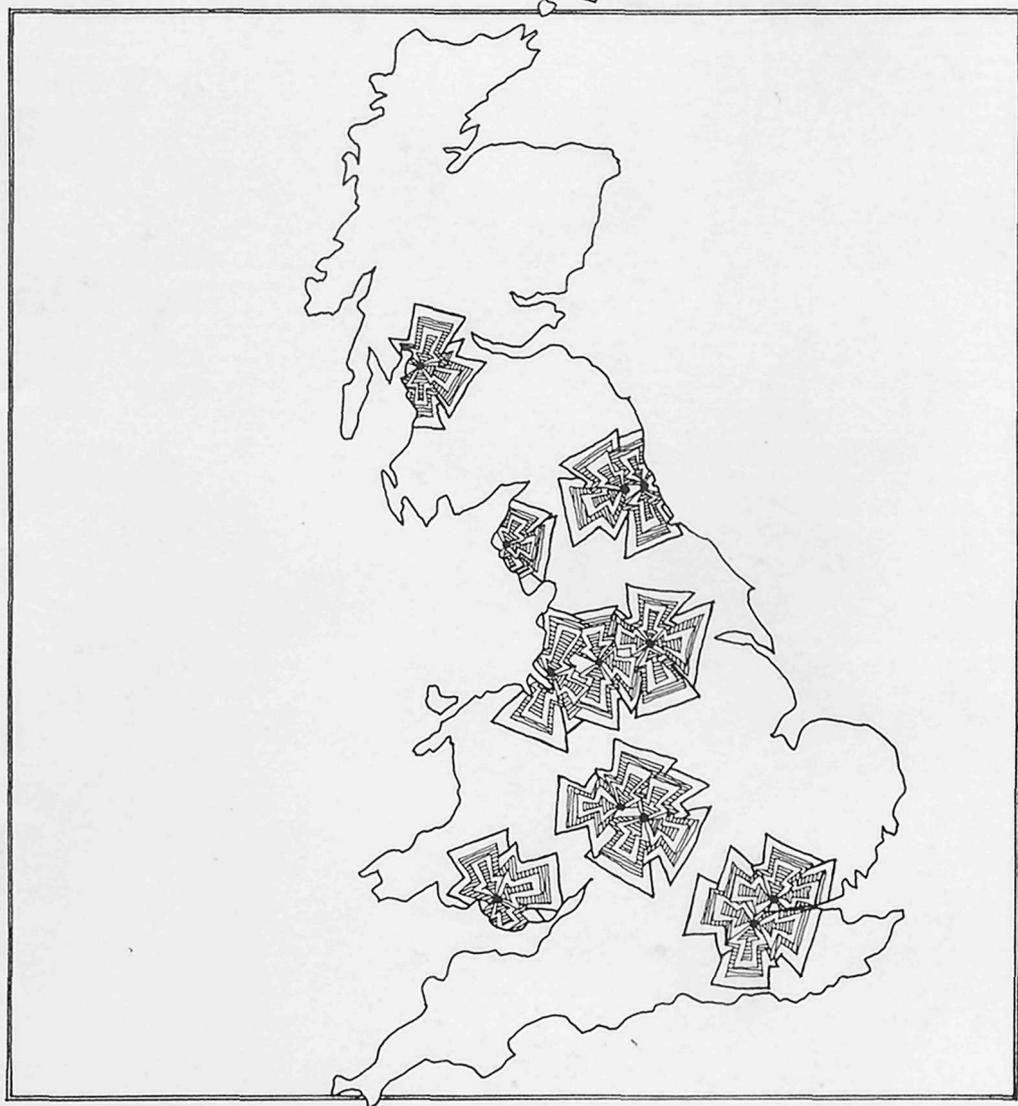


# THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT



**INTER - PROJECT REPORT**

This report is the result of collaboration between the twelve local projects involved in the national Community Development Project. In Summer 1973, the government called for progress reports from the projects, and in response individual reports were prepared. However local projects were anxious to emphasise that many issues they faced locally were not isolated problems, but symptoms of more basic underlying processes. Twelve separately prepared local reports could have missed these common themes, and it was decided to produce a general inter-project report. This was submitted in November 1973.

Local projects also wanted to make the report available to a wider audience, to stimulate debate on CDP, and provide information on the changes that have taken place in CDP's programme and objectives since it was launched in 1969. This published version is the same as the original, with the exception of minor changes, and the inclusion of 1971 Census data.

The report was prepared by a working group (see Appendix 1) drawn from the projects, using material from the local reports (see Appendix 2). At times, however, the group has had to supply its own emphasis or interpretation of the underlying themes, and for this reason each local project does not necessarily agree with all the arguments or conclusions. Nevertheless, the report is broadly supported by all twelve projects involved in the experiment.

The CDP Information and Intelligence Unit is handling the distribution of this report on behalf of the local projects. Individual copies can be obtained from the Centre for Environmental Studies, 5 Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, London NW1 4JL (price 40p). The addresses of local projects are listed at the end of the report.

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February 1974

## Contents

	page
1 Introduction	1
2 Organisation and Development of CDP	1
3 The Context of the Twelve Areas	5
4 Action and Research Strategies	23
5 Issues	28
6 Expectations from the National CDP Experiment	48
Addresses of Local CDP Projects	53
Appendix 1	54
Appendix 2	54

## List of Tables and Diagrams

### Tables

1	Details of CDP organisation	2
2	Population changes 1961-1971: four selected CDP areas with comparative county borough figures	10
3	Age structure of the population of the 12 CDP areas, compared with that of the whole of Great Britain, April 1971	12
4	Country of birth of residents of six CDP areas, compared with the country of birth of residents in the whole of Great Britain, April 1971	13
5	Male unemployment and female employment in the 12 CDP areas, compared with the whole of Great Britain, April 1971	15
6	Household tenure in the 12 CDP areas, April 1971	18
7	Household amenities in the 12 CDP areas, April 1971	20
8	Large households, overcrowding and sharing households in the 12 CDP areas, April 1971, the first compared with the whole of Great Britain	21

### Diagrams

1	Build up of the National CDP Project 1967-1974	4
2	Outline of CDP Areas	6
3	Models of Social Change and Possible Strategies on Three Levels of Operation	24
4	Outline of Local Project Activities	40-47

## 1. Introduction

- 1.1 In this report we begin by sketching the organisation and development of CDP, particularly its original assumptions, and then turn to outline the "context" in which local projects operate. We try to go beyond thumbnail portraits of the areas or catalogues of ways in which they are "deprived", to an analysis of some of the more underlying causes and processes. Next we look at different strategies of action adopted by local projects, and suggest, as a first shot, a schematic way of comparing different approaches. Finally local action and research programmes are examined in more detail, and possible outcomes and conclusions of this work are mapped in.
- 1.2 The national CDP experiment includes both local and national organisations. To avoid confusion in the main body of the report, Table I lists the sponsoring local authorities, the name of the project area, and the affiliation of the research team; it also sets out details of the three "national" elements in the CDP organisation.

## 2. Organisation and Development of CDP

- 2.1 It is now four years since the Home Secretary announced in Parliament the launching of CDP as "a neighbourhood-based experiment aimed at finding new ways of meeting the needs of people living in areas of high social deprivation". The experiment was originally conceived and planned on a number of basic assumptions. It was assumed that problems of urban deprivation had their origins in the characteristics of local populations—in individual pathologies—and these could best be resolved by better field co-ordination of the personal social services, combined with the mobilisation of self-help and mutual aid in the community "even among those who experience most difficulty in standing on their own feet". To this end, CDP's were to be established in small areas of severe deprivation with local authority teams employed to identify needs; to promote greater co-ordination and accessibility of services at the field-level; to foster community involvement and to build a communication bridge between the people and local services. Research was to be located in local universities or polytechnics to provide data, advice and evaluation. In its formative stages CDP thus clearly followed perspectives on social problems dominant at the time; particular influences were the Seebohm Report and the growing emphasis on the development of professional social work, and from abroad the first wave of anti-poverty programmes in America and the idea of small-scale experimental projects.
- 2.2 Local CDP projects were to be placed in neighbourhoods of 10-20 thousand people, in cities and in small towns which seemed, on the basis of certain social indicators, to have concentrated pockets of multi-deprivation. In

Table 1 Details of CDP Organisation

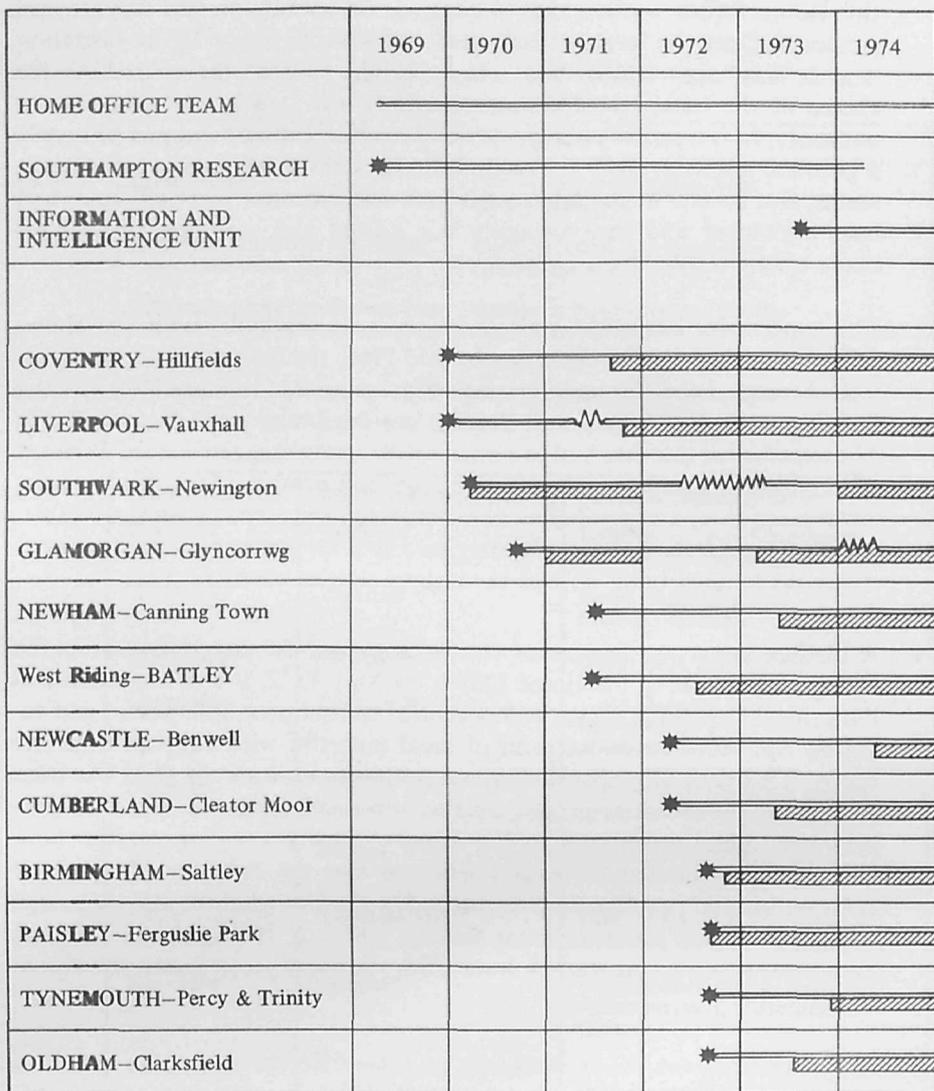
	<i>Function</i>	<i>Organisation</i>
National	Central Team	Community Programmes Dept. Home Office
	Research Consultant (previously Central Research Team)	Dept. of Social Administration Southampton University
	Information and Intelligence Unit	Centre for Environmental Studies

Local	<i>Local Authority</i>	<i>Name of Project Area</i>	<i>Research Team Affiliation</i>
	Coventry	Hillfields	Institute of Local Government Studies, Birmingham University.
	Liverpool	Vauxhall	Social Evaluation Unit, Oxford University.
	Southwark	Newington	South Bank Polytechnic
	Glamorgan	Glyncorrwg	Town Planning Dept., University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology.
	Newham	Canning Town	Centre for Institutional Studies, North East London Polytechnic.
	West Riding	Batley	Social Administration Dept., York University.
	Paisley	Ferguslie Park	Dept. of Social & Economic Research, Glasgow University.
	Newcastle	Benwell	Dept. of Sociology & Social Administration, University of Durham.
	Cumberland	Cleator Moor, Arlecdon/ Frizington	Social Administration Dept., York University.
	Birmingham	Saltley	Social Evaluation Unit, Oxford University.
	Tynemouth	Percy and Trinity	Dept. of Behavioural Studies, Newcastle Polytechnic.
	Oldham	Clarksfield	Social Administration Dept., York University.

practice too, local authorities had to be receptive to the notions contained in the Home Office outline, and willing to co-operate in the approaches proposed. Once the local authority had accepted the Home Office invitation (and at least one refused, and others initially resisted the courtship), the choice of the most relevant neighbourhood was largely left to the local authority. In the earlier projects, the choice of neighbourhood was primarily a political decision made by local authorities before the arrival of project teams. But several of the later areas were selected after the CDP team had been appointed and their selection was guided and modified by analyses made by the team.

- 2.3 The experiment has taken over three years to assemble, with the Home Office "central team" in operation by mid 1969, the first of the 12 local projects (Liverpool and Coventry) getting off the ground in January 1970 and the last (Tynemouth, Oldham and Paisley) not beginning until October 1972. The experiment thus has had to contend with a very staggered start. Perhaps more seriously for local projects, most have had to wait a long time—sometimes more than a year—before research resources have become available. Even now research staff are still being recruited for some projects. Diagram 1 shows the lengthy build-up and the ragged start to many projects.
- 2.4 A further important feature of this long setting-up period has been the change in the role of the Home Office. In May 1972, it was announced in Parliament that there would be less central control over both action and research and more encouragement of local initiative with support from the centre. This shift of responsibility and authority towards the field has been reflected in greater inter-project collaboration and initiative. The local projects now relate collectively to the Home Office through a regular Consultative Council; and the experiment now has the back-up of a central Information and Intelligence Unit, funded by the Home Office and sponsored by the Centre for Environmental Studies, which is managed by a steering committee with representatives from CES, the local projects and the Home Office.
- 2.5 As Diagram 1 shows, projects are at very different stages of their 3-5 year cycle, some already deeply committed to action, others just setting out. At this point growing inter-project discussions and collaboration have stimulated more critical reflection and commentary on CDP's early stages and its assumptions. We are beginning to identify and analyse different strategies of action, and get a clearer idea of what may be expected from the project. This paper marks a first and long overdue step in opening up some of these developments for wider debate.

Diagram I Build up of the National Project, 1969-74



Key:-

✱ Action Director starts work

▨ Joint Action Research in operation

⚡ Change of Action Director

Note: in Paisley and Southwark research got underway before action. Newcastle has had a researcher since October 1972 but a research team has yet to be appointed. Details for 1974 are provisional.

### 3. The Context of the Twelve Areas

- 3.1 The CDP experiment is focussed on small areas suffering severe disadvantage. In the selection process an attempt was made to include several different types of area (in addition to using indicators of social stress), and for this reason the *most* disadvantaged districts were not always chosen. Thus, at one level, project areas represent many disparate types of disadvantage, and provide further dramatic evidence of the persistence of poverty and inequality in many forms across the country. Some of the areas' basic characteristics are set out in Diagram 2.
- 3.2 But from another angle, many of these apparently different forms of disadvantage spring from essentially similar processes of urban and industrial change. And it is this aspect of the projects' context we would wish to underline, though clearly the way these processes operate in any one area is partly dependent upon intervening local and regional factors.
- 3.3 So first the diversity. Two of the projects (Glyncorrwg and Cleator Moor) are set in small economically declining and isolated settlements within a context of regional decline; the rest are in urban areas ranging in size from Batley to disadvantaged sectors of the major conurbations, particularly districts traditionally linked to industries now in decline. Some, like Vauxhall in Liverpool, suffer in acute form the decline of city and region; others, like Hillfields in Coventry or Saltley in Birmingham, are disadvantaged neighbourhoods in more prosperous cities in a context of regional growth. And the two London projects (Canning Town and Newington) show the same pattern on a larger scale; they form concentrated sectors of already disadvantaged boroughs again within a context of regional growth.
- 3.4 In almost all areas there were originally close links between industry and housing: most were housing development for workers in local industries as they expanded in the 19th century. Much has changed; industry has declined, shut down or moved elsewhere; and the areas have been redeveloped, or newer and more transitory groups have replaced the more stable working class as the status of the area declines.
- 3.5 Several of the projects—Liverpool, Newham, Tynemouth and Newcastle—are in docks or riverside areas, suffering the effects on jobs and the environment of the structural changes in the ship-building, port and refining industries. Several other projects are in depressed areas suffering from longer-standing decline in the traditional local economic base—the decline in the textile and woollen industries in Oldham and Batley, the collapse of

Diagram 2 Outline of CDP Areas

Note: Population figures as at 1971 Census.

London Boroughs	Other Cities	Towns	Small Towns/Rural Areas
	<p><i>Saltley (Birmingham)</i> Population 13,900. Sector of declining middle ring between redeveloped inner-city and more prosperous suburbs. Basically Victorian terracing built for skilled working class, now occupied by an elderly white working class population being replaced by mainly Asian immigrants who now form perhaps 35-40% of the population.</p>	<p><i>Clarksfield (Oldham)</i> Population 25,300. Inner-sector of Lancashire textile town. The borough has lost population to surrounding urban districts, and suffered a steep decline in the textile industry. 25% of the total 1951 housing stock has been cleared in the period 1955-72.</p>	
<p><i>Canning Town (Newham)</i> Population 42,400. Outer London Borough with inner ring and dockland characteristics. Loss of jobs locally far outstrips decline in population. More than 6,500 houses built in Canning Town since the war.</p>	<p><i>Vauxhall (Liverpool)</i> Population 14,100. Dockside and warehousing area occupied by long established Irish Catholic working class population. Population reduced by clearance, now living in council housing ranging from inter-war walk-up flats to high-rise blocks. Area shot through by redevelopment and major roads including second Mersey Tunnel</p>	<p><i>Ferguslie Park (Paisley)</i> Population 12,300. Local authority housing estate mainly built in 1930's for slum clearance, which is highly stigmatised. Population has been declining since mid 1960's due to difficulty in letting houses. About 200 houses have been demolished and one in six of the rest is empty.</p>	<p><i>Cleator Moor (Cumberland)</i> Population 11,200. Two parishes in depressed semi-rural area. Old mining and metal working district. Decline in population since late 19th century, but now levelled out. New opportunities and employment develop elsewhere. Few facilities for people particularly, who look to Whitehaven on the coast.</p>
<p><i>Newington (Southwark)</i> Population 13,600. Inner-city working class residential area housing unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Now undergoing extensive redevelopment with subsequent loss of population. Much of the local employment opportunities is in low paid service work.</p>	<p><i>Hillfields (Coventry)</i> Population 16,500. Decaying inner-city area experiencing redevelopment and decline in population. A multi-racial reception area with up to one third of the population classified as an immigrant in 1971.</p>	<p><i>Percy and Trinity (Tynemouth)</i> Population 16,120. <i>Percy</i>: primarily 1930's council housing built for population cleared from early 19th century riverside working class dwellings. <i>Trinity</i>: mainly late 19th century working class housing built for employees of river front industry</p>	<p><i>Glyncorrwg (Glamorgan)</i> Population 8,600. Six villages in South Wales coal mining valley, where pits closed in 1970. Severe contraction in local employment and high dependency on welfare and social security payments. New opportunities develop at growth points on the coast; difficulties of transport and cost.</p>
	<p><i>Benwell (Newcastle)</i> Population 14,400. Riverside area built 1890-1910 to house shipbuilding workers. Rapid decline in population and loss of jobs, particularly at Vickers. The area is under redevelopment.</p>	<p><i>Batley (West Riding)</i> Population 42,000. Textile town in the West Riding, where the main industry is in decline. The population is stable, with about 10% being immigrants. Over the last ten years, major housing redevelopment has taken place.</p>	

coal-mining and iron-ore extraction in Glyncoerrwg and Cleator Moor. Others display a range of inner-city characteristics: Saltley—once a settled middle ring area, now an area of cheap housing, frequently changing hands and deteriorating in the process, under mounting pressure now that the city core has largely been redeveloped; Hillfields, again providing cheap housing as a “reception area” for newcomers to the city; Newington, a lower working class “residual” area, but now affected by blight and redevelopment; and Ferguslie Park, built as a slum clearance estate in the inter-war and post-war period, with a growing number of empty and vandalized houses, and a reputation as a “ghetto” estate.

- 3.6 In addition to these basic disadvantages, there is frequently a mixture of other features, cutting across traditional definitions of deprivation. There are multi-racial pressures and tension in Oldham and Batley as well as Coventry and Birmingham—where immigrants form more than a third of the project area population; some stigmatised council housing in Newham, Liverpool, Tynemouth and Oldham, as well as in Paisley; problems arising from clearance and redevelopment in Newcastle, Batley, Southwark, Paisley, Tynemouth and Coventry.
- 3.7 The project areas are affected by an array of governmental and local authority improvement measures besides CDP. Eight of the twelve project areas are in designated Special Development or Intermediate Areas and thus qualify for industrial incentives. At the local level, project areas contain designated Educational Priority Area schools, Community Industry schemes, GIA's and other environmental improvement programmes.
- 3.8 Administratively there is a bewildering set of different arrangements. Seven are presently set within county boroughs with a full range of powers. Batley, Glyncoerrwg, and Cleator Moor are covered by a Town, Urban District and Rural District Council respectively, with many decisions affecting the area in the fields of health, social services, education and planning being taken at a county level. Under the 1974 local government reorganisation, the city areas retain most of their powers, but the smaller towns will find themselves part of much larger district authorities. Of the two London projects, Southwark is an inner London borough, though with responsibility for education lying with the ILEA and for strategic planning with the GLC; Newham has a fuller range of powers, though again with the GLC as planning authority.
- 3.9 Given the criteria by which areas were selected, it is hardly surprising that further evidence of poverty and inequality should have been uncovered. What is revealed by small area analysis is the extent to which data for larger

areas can mask how badly small areas are doing. As an example: in February 1973 when the national rate of unemployment was 2.9% and the figure for Liverpool was 7.8%, a survey using official records found the Vauxhall figure to be 14-15%.

- 3.10 Despite their wide diversity, projects have all identified similar symptoms of disadvantage, indicating the now familiar profile of poverty. All areas do not share identical elements, but most include the following: lower than average incomes; disproportionately high rates of unemployment; high dependence on state benefits (in Glyncorrwg it is estimated that almost every family is partly or wholly dependent on social security benefits); poor health records—particularly high infant mortality rates in certain areas; and poor housing—lack of amenities, overcrowding, dilapidation or stigma.
- 3.11 This syndrome of “multi-deprivation” or disadvantage is not a new discovery by CDP, nor is it restricted to a few scattered small areas. However it is in tracing the underlying causes of such disadvantage that CDP has been forced to challenge and move beyond the early assumptions of the experiment, and indeed the assumptions which inform other related experiments in this country and in America.
- 3.12 Analysis of the wider context of CDP areas has led us to recognise what many social scientists have been asserting in recent years; that problems of multi-deprivation have to be re-defined and re-interpreted in terms of structural constraints rather than psychological motivations, external rather than internal factors. The project teams are increasingly clear that the symptoms of disadvantage in their 12 areas cannot be explained adequately by any abnormal preponderance of individuals or families whose behaviour could be defined as “pathological”. Even where social “malaise” is apparent it does not seem best explained principally in terms of personal deficiencies, so much as the product of external pressures in the wider environment.
- 3.13 **Industrialisation and Urbanisation:**

The 12 CDP areas have all, in different ways, experienced the negative repercussions of industrialisation and urbanisation. The majority of project areas have experienced steep or sudden decline in key industries, while others (notably Birmingham and Coventry) have experienced economic growth. In both cases changes in the pattern of industrial investment have imposed on these small areas negative costs which are felt in terms of jobs, housing and the environment, social provision and the overall quality of life. The following account sets out some of the linkages in this complex chain.

- 3.14 City regions of rapid industrial growth have attracted large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled newcomers to the areas of cheapest (and worst) housing vacated by the more affluent and mobile workers. Side by side with these newcomers are a residue of the economically dependent (the unemployed, the sick, the unsupported mothers and the elderly) who cannot afford to move to better houses in more salubrious areas. The latest immigrants to these areas are more likely than established workers to be employed in low paid service industries or to be made redundant in times of recession. This group and the economically dependent are likely to be ill organised politically to press for improvement in their conditions and, even if organised, are likely to lack real political power.
- 3.15 Areas of industrial decline suffer a loss of population. The people who leave tend to be the young with skills and sufficient capital to find work and homes elsewhere leaving behind concentrations of the unskilled and the dependent. Such jobs as are available are likely to be low paid; higher than average proportions of the population will be unemployed. As those more competent to compete move out of the area to more prestigious neighbourhoods, the area they leave behind increasingly develops the brand of stigma which accelerates its decline.
- 3.16 In both cases there are special pressures on housing, the environment, education and community services. The lack of private incomes in these small areas tends to be compounded by a worse share of public goods and services. Local authorities have to meet the external costs arising from the rapid decline or growth in key industries and hence of the work-force. In the case of reception areas within growth areas, pressures result in overcrowding, lack of play space, homelessness, whilst in areas of decline, insufficient funds will be available to tackle the areas of worst housing and environment, and to meet the needs of the dependent. The demand for services in periods both of growth and decline outpaces the resources available from rateable property; and the movement of the more affluent from the urban centre may place them residentially outside the local authority boundary altogether, though it continues to be their place of work. In both cases there will tend to be higher than average proportions of people at risk (the unskilled and semi-skilled; the immigrant; unsupported mothers; large families and the elderly) and these are likely to be concentrated in areas of the worst housing with poorer public facilities and services.
- 3.17 The way these processes work out in more detail can be seen by looking at population movements, employment and housing in the CDP areas.

### 3.18 Population:

With the exception of Batley where population rose 6% between 1961-71, and Cleator Moor where the numbers remained steady, all the areas experienced population decline: rapid and dramatic in areas of redevelopment and clearance, less so in areas undergoing more gradual change. Table 2 shows clearly the comparative trends for four city areas.

Table 2 Population Changes 1961-71: Four Selected CDP areas with comparative County Borough Figures

	Birmingham		Coventry		Liverpool		Newcastle	
	C.B.	Project Area	C.B.	Project Area	C.B.	Project Area	C.B.	Project Area
1961 Figures	1,068,228	14,912	305,780	18,500	745,750	22,671	269,000	25,198
1971 Figures	990,385	13,260 (1)	335,230	16,500	610,113	14,379 (1)	221,000	16,401 (1)
% change <sup>±</sup>	- 7.3	- 11.1	+ 8.8	- 10.8	- 18.1	- 36.6	- 17.8	- 34.9

(1) Because census boundaries change from census to census, these figures are based on boundaries giving the closest match to 1961 boundaries. For this reason, they differ slightly from the figures given in Diagram 2.

The comparison between the Liverpool and Newcastle figures and those for the growth areas of Coventry and Birmingham should be noted. The pattern is closely followed in other areas, with the CDP district losing population more rapidly than the local authority as a whole; Canning Town lost nearly 16% of its population between 1966-71, while the borough declined 11% in 1961-71.

3.19 But as important as absolute decline are changes in the balance and composition of the population. Changes in the age structure are sharply seen in the Saltley area where there were 23% more children below 5 in 1971 than in 1961, despite an 11% fall in the general population. The major loss was in the 45-54 year old age group. Hillfields, too, shows an increase in the proportion of children below 15.

Table 3 gives the age structure of the population in the 12 CDP areas at the 1971 Census. In all but Vauxhall the proportion aged 0-4 years was higher than the national figure, and in Ferguslie Park it was more than half as much again. With the exception of Newington, Benwell and Hillfields, there was also generally a higher proportion of the population in the 5-19 age group. Although the proportion of the population aged 65 or more was in most areas no greater than the national average, six areas had a higher than average proportion of households containing an elderly person living alone. It is this group which is most obviously at risk among the elderly.

- 3.20 Some of these differences in age structure reflect the arrival of new groups particularly immigrants. In Saltley, there are almost two separate age distributions, with the white population typically elderly without young family, and young immigrants with families of pre-school and infant age. Table 4 sets out details of the countries of birth of residents in the six project areas with significant immigrant populations. The two London boroughs have groups from several different sources; in Saltley and Clarksfield, Pakistanis form the major immigrant group, while in Batley and Hillfields the main group is Indian. In all six areas, but particularly in Saltley and Hillfields, there is a growing number of second generation immigrants.
- 3.21 Population changes are often the result of changes in housing and employment opportunities, but they can have an independent effect, if, for example, the arrival of new groups is connected with the declining status of the area, and hastens the departure of the more "respectable".

### 3.22 **Employment:**

The CDP areas are characterised in general by higher than average unemployment for their region, lower than average pay, high concentrations of semi and unskilled workers, and by stressful working conditions (shift-work, dirty or heavy manual work, repetitive work and lack of control over the work routine). In the economically depressed areas (Glyncorrgw and Cleator Moor and in lesser respects Batley and Oldham) the problems are chronic unemployment, low wages, the difficulties and cost of travel to areas with better job opportunities, and the lack of success of policies designed to attract new industry. In the docks and riverside areas the problems centre on redundancy and unemployment arising from major changes in ship-building, heavy engineering, refining and transport industries. They share similarities with the other inner-city areas where the problems are less the overall lack of job opportunities than the change of emphasis from manufacturing industry to service jobs with lower pay and inferior conditions, where the workforce is less well organised to press for improvement.

Table 3 Age structure of the population of the 12 CDP areas, compared with that of the whole of Great Britain, April 1971

CDP areas <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of persons present on census night in each of the following age groups:						Percentage of present private households consisting of one pensionable person	
	0-4	5-19	20-44	45-64	65+	all	no.	%
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
<b>London boroughs</b>								
Canning Town (Newham)	9	25	30	25	11	100	42,369	12
Newington (Southwark)	9	20	33	26	11	100	13,595	13
<b>Other cities</b>								
Saltley (Birmingham)	11	25	32	23	9	100	13,869	11
Vauxhall (Liverpool)	7	29	28	24	11	100	14,073	12
Hillfields (Coventry)	10	22	33	24	11	100	16,531	14
Benwell (Newcastle)	11	22	33	21	13	100	14,449	15
<b>Towns</b>								
Clarksfield (Oldham)	9	24	28	25	14	100	25,280	17
Ferguslie Park (Paisley)	13	34	29	15	8	100	12,260	9
Percy and Trinity (Tynemouth)	11	27	30	21	11	100	16,120	14
Batley (West Riding)	10	24	31	23	13	100	42,004	15
<b>Small towns/rural areas</b>								
Cleator Moor (Cumberland)	9	27	31	23	11	100	11,215	11
Glyncorrwg (Glamorgan)	9	28	30	23	11	100	8,647	9
<b>Great Britain<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>8</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>538,027<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>12</b>

1. *Source* Census 1971 Small Area Statistics (Ward Library), Tables 4, 6, 7 and 18.

2. *Source* Census 1971 Great Britain: Summary Tables (1% sample). London, HMSO, 1973, Tables 1 and 23. Includes figures for England, Wales and Scotland.

3. 1% sample.

Table 4 Country of birth of residents in 6 CDP areas, compared with the country of birth of residents in the whole of Great Britain, April 1971.

Note: In the Liverpool, Newcastle, Paisley, Tynemouth, Cumberland and Glamorgan CDP areas, 97% or more of residents were born in the United Kingdom; hence these areas have been excluded from the following table.

C.D.P. Areas <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of present residents born in:								Percentage of present residents with:		
	New Commonwealth:							All	both parents born in N.C., themselves born in G.B.	both parents born in N.C., themselves born in N.C.	
	United Kingdom	Irish Republic	America <sup>3</sup>	India	Pakistan <sup>4</sup>	Remainder	Elsewhere & not stated				
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	no.	%	%	
<b>London boroughs</b>											
Canning Town (Newham)	94.2	0.8	1.3	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.4	100	42,018	1.8	3.4
Newington (Southwark)	87.1	5.3	1.3	0.2	0.3	2.3	3.4	100	13,505	1.8	3.6
<b>Other cities</b>											
Saltley (Birmingham)	67.6	5.0	5.7	1.4	18.7	0.7	1.1	100	13,748	8.0	25.1
Hillfields (Coventry)	68.3	8.0	1.5	13.0	3.6	3.5 <sup>5</sup>	2.0	100	16,203	7.6	21.3
<b>Towns</b>											
Clarksfield (Oldham)	89.5	1.1	1.5	0.4	3.8	0.2	3.5	100	25,115	1.8	5.7
Batley (West Riding)	93.8	0.5	0.1	3.2	1.3	0.2	0.9	100	41,596	1.7	4.7
<b>Great Britain<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>94.1</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>536,847<sup>6</sup></b>	<b>—<sup>7</sup></b>	<b>—<sup>7</sup></b>

1. *Source* Census 1971 Small Area Statistics (Ward Library), Tables 8 and 13.

2. *Source* Census 1971 Great Britain: Summary Tables (1% Sample). London, H.M.S.O. 1973, Table 3.

3. *The majority of these are from the West Indies.*

4. *Including the present Bangladesh.*

5. *The majority of these are from Africa.*

6. *1% sample.*

7. *Comparable figures not yet available.*

- 3.23 Table 5 gives the rates of male unemployment in April 1971, using the Census definition. In every project area, even the more prosperous Midlands districts, unemployment was higher than the national average. Newham, Cumberland and Glamorgan CDP's had rates double the national figure—or more; Newcastle and Tynemouth CDP's had more than triple the national figure; and the Liverpool and Paisley CDP areas had rates four to five times that of the country as a whole. One reflection of these high rates of unemployment and low wage levels for those in work is the proportion of households with no car. According to the 1971 Census, Vauxhall and Paisley have the lowest levels of car ownership: 92% of Vauxhall and 89% of Ferguslie Park households had no car.
- 3.24 Employment rates for married women in 1971 (Table 5) show wide variation among the CDP's. With the exception of Newham and Liverpool, areas with the highest male unemployment rates also tend to have the lowest rates of employment among married women, again a factor contributing a lower level of household income.
- 3.25 However, these detailed patterns of change in different areas can again be linked to more basic processes, particularly to changes in the structure of industrial investment.
- 3.26 In areas linked to traditional industries the loss of profitability has been a crucial factor. In some cases established industry has moved to more profitable locations, in others it has closed down. The result is a heavy loss of jobs locally. And when new firms have moved in, the opportunities are often for female labour; in Tynemouth the disappearance of mining, and the decline of shipbuilding, marine engineering and dock work over the past 8 years has meant a loss of jobs for men, while female employment with opportunities in light engineering and professional and scientific services has grown. Newham has had a net loss of some 11,500 jobs in the period of 1966-72, a net decline of 29%, as traditional industries pulled out, and activities like warehousing which remain produce few jobs. Glyncoirwg shows the problem more sharply still; here the number of jobs in the immediate area fell by 75% in 1961-71, though the population declined only 8% in the same period. And in general this is the pattern, with the loss of jobs locally outstripping the loss of population. The result is inevitably greater distances to travel in search of work, and concentrated pockets of high unemployment. The worst hit are those least equipped; many lack the necessary skills for new forms of employment, and there is a significant increase in the proportion of non-earners to earners.

**Table 5** Male unemployment and female employment in the 12 CDP areas, compared with the whole of Great Britain, April 1971

CDP Areas <sup>1</sup>	Percentage of economically active males aged 15+ present on census night who are seeking work	Percentage of all present married females who are economically active
	%	%
<b>London boroughs</b>		
Canning Town (Newham)	8	44
Newington (Southwark)	5	56
<b>Other cities</b>		
Saltley (Birmingham)	7	42
Vauxhall (Liverpool)	17	49
Hillfields (Coventry)	7	39
Benwell (Newcastle)	13	38
<b>Towns</b>		
Clarksfield (Oldham)	5	52
Ferguslie Park (Paisley)	22	35
Percy and Trinity (Tynemouth)	14	38
Batley (West Riding)	5	45
<b>Small towns/rural areas</b>		
Cleator Moor (Cumberland)	10	39
Glyncorrwg (Glamorgan)	8	27
<b>Great Britain<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>4</b>	<b>42</b>

1. Source *Census 1971 Small Area Statistics (Ward Library), Tables 5, 6, and 7.*

2. Source *Census 1971 Great Britain, Summary Tables (1% sample). London, HMSO 1973, Table 13.*

- 3.27 In contrast the West Midlands project areas have been confronted by the pressures arising from economic growth. The West Midlands has had a concentration of employment in those manufacturing industries which (during the period of 1961-66) were the most rapidly expanding in the national economy. This economic boom has depended upon a massive and rapid recruitment of labour, since the inter-war period, and much of this labour was recruited from poorer parts of Great Britain and the Commonwealth. The rapid recruitment of young economically active labour of this kind meant an enormous pressure on housing and community facilities. In addition the rapid expansion of industry demanded a heavy public investment in the necessary infrastructure.
- 3.28 The growing competitiveness of international markets in the vehicle, machine tools and metal engineering industries, has resulted in take-overs and the concentration of capital into fewer larger (often multi-national) corporations. The workforce then becomes very vulnerable to strategic, international investment decisions. A classic example can be seen in Saltley with the progression in one local coach building firm—Mulliners—first taken over by Standards which was then incorporated into BMC, later BLMH, and most recently the whole complex has been closed down, and the factory bought by a London-based property development company.
- 3.29 In addition, modernisation in these manufacturing industries has tended to substitute capital intensive processes for the earlier labour intensive operations. This is resulting in an increase in the demand for skilled and qualified staff at the expense of the less skilled, and these areas are now supporting populations whose labour is no longer in such urgent or assured demand. Alternative employment opportunities are also limited. The West Midlands has the lowest proportion of total employment in the service sector of all regions. Those service jobs which are open to the unskilled and semi-skilled tend to be among the lowest paid in the country. The employment opportunities for the populations of Hillfields and Saltley thus tend to be restricted to the most menial and uncongenial jobs within the engineering industry, or to the fewer and relatively much lower paid jobs in the service sector.

### 3.30 **Housing:**

The individual project reports reveal the now familiar snapshots of housing stress. Some are areas which have always suffered in this way, while others have declined in quality and population during their evolution.

- 3.31 Much of the original housing development in the project areas was linked to local industrial development, particularly housing for the poorer sections of the workforce. But the pattern is now far more complex, with subsequent clearance, redevelopment and change of ownership. The areas are now at different points on the housing cycle of local authority intervention and slum clearance. Table 6 summarises the tenure pattern in the 12 areas in 1971. In a few districts the original pattern remains, and here overcrowding and poor amenities are still the major problem. In others, Vauxhall, Ferguslie Park and Percy (Tynemouth), council intervention and slum clearance in the inter-war period imposed a new form of settlement, particularly the "walk-up flats typical of the Vauxhall area. But despite replacing earlier slums, these buildings are now in their turn outdated and overcrowded; and Percy has to an extent inherited the stigma of a slum clearance estate.
- 3.32 Other areas have experienced major housing clearance more recently; some underwent large scale surgery in the immediate post-war period; others have suffered a much longer-drawn-out process leaving environmental scars and economic blight; others are currently undergoing renewal by redevelopment, general improvement or repair policies. The result is a confused pattern of ownership—some council intervention mixed with limited owner occupation or privately rented accommodation, patterns which are changing rapidly under market forces and the threat of redevelopment.
- 3.33 The areas of least intervention to date in the housing field are probably the economically depressed rural areas—Glyncorrwg and Cleator Moor—and Saltley in Birmingham. In Glyncorrwg, the main problem is lack of basic amenities, and in Cleator the problem is one of undersupply of new housing and delays in modernising the old housing stock. Council intervention in Saltley, which is outside the core redevelopment areas, has been limited to one small estate and replacement of bombed houses; but the local housing market is undergoing rapid change, resulting in economic uncertainty for residents, and the spread of blight as the area begins to take over the function previously played by cheap housing in the inner city.
- 3.34 The net effects of these changes in terms of basic housing amenities are shown in Table 7. In general where council intervention and ownership is high, as in Vauxhall and Ferguslie Park, houses are provided with the basic amenities, though several of the Vauxhall flats still lack adequate electrical power points. But in the areas undergoing redevelopment, or where council intervention is as yet minimal, many households still lack basic facilities. In Newham, Saltley, Hillfields, but most of all in Southwark, the situation is made worse by the number of households in shared dwellings where basic

Table 6 Household tenure in the 12 CDP areas, April 1971<sup>1</sup>

	Percentage of private households present on census night which are:							
	owner-occupiers	council tenants	private unfurnished tenants	private furnished tenants	not stated	all		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	no.	
<b>London boroughs</b>								
Canning Town (Newham)	15	50	33	2	0	100	13,926	
Newington (Southwark)	3	38	52	6	1	100	5,074	
<b>Other cities</b>								
Saltley (Birmingham)	48	17	30	5	0	100	4,117	
Vauxhall (Liverpool)	1	92	6	0	0	100	4,064	
Hillfields (Coventry)	38	24	25	14	0	100	5,872	
Benwell (Newcastle)	14	20	63	3	0	100	5,310	
<b>Towns</b>								
Clarksfield (Oldham)	54	29	14	2	0	100	8,975	
Ferguslie Park (Paisley)	1	97	2	0	0	100	3,179	
Percy and Trinity (Tynemouth)	14	53	33	1	0	100	6,825	
Batley (West Riding)	47	34	19	1	0	100	14,417	
<b>Small towns/rural areas</b>								
Cleator Moor (Cumberland) <sup>2</sup>	43	—	56	—	1	0	100	3,533
Glyncorrwg (Glamorgan)	38	47	15	0	0	100	2,597	

1. *Source* Census 1971 Small Area Statistics (Ward Library), Table 18.

2. *A substantial proportion of householders in Cleator Moor are housing association tenants and should be classified as private unfurnished tenants. However because the housing association properties are administered by the council, a number have been erroneously classified as council tenants. The separate figures for council tenants and private unfurnished tenants are therefore not meaningful in this project area.*

facilities have to be shared—if they exist at all (Tables 7 and 8). Table 8 also shows there is a degree of overcrowding in almost all CDP areas. In Ferguslie Park and Vauxhall this is aggravated by the above average number of large families, and in other areas by the number of dwellings in shared occupation.

- 3.35 It is important to underline the scale of redevelopment programmes in the industrial cities and towns, and their impact on small areas. In Batley for example over the last decade approximately 3,500 houses have been demolished and 9,500 people rehoused, roughly 25% of the population. The early stages of this massive slum clearance programme were accompanied by vigorous rebuilding. This has now ended and cleared sites remain vacant together with derelict mills and warehouses. For most people this pattern of intervention has meant a move from one of the 19th century "industrial villages" (which originally housed low paid manual workers for the mills) into either new council property, or one of the poorer pre-war council estates. The Asian immigrant population, however, has remained concentrated in the older property in the south of the town. Since 1971, less than 100 new council houses have been completed, and the waiting list has been growing. In the private sector, there is increasing pressure from people in the Leeds-Bradford area looking further afield for housing.
- 3.36 In Oldham over 60% of the housing stock is estimated to have been built before 1920 and 17% of the present stock is classified as unfit. Between 1955 and 1972 over 10,000 houses were cleared—ie 25% of the total 1951 housing stock. Since the war the council has built over 11,500 new dwellings. Pressure on land has been acute and much new housing has been built on estates outside the borough boundary. These have tended to sieve the population by socio-economic group: managerial/professional groups settling in Crompton, Royton and Saddleworth; skilled and semi-skilled groups at Chadderton; and unskilled manual groups remaining concentrated in the declining population of the county borough.
- 3.37 In Canning Town more than 6,500 dwellings were constructed between April 1945 and December 1971, so that more than 50% of the population now lives in post-war accommodation. In spite of this heavy investment by the borough, a number of major problems remain: the population of the redeveloped municipal area is imbalanced with disproportionate numbers of the old, the young, the unskilled and the dependent; and the new housing has not been matched by adequate improvement in recreational, shopping, and transport facilities, or in the general environment.
- 3.38 Vauxhall and Ferguslie Park raise similar questions about the long-term effectiveness of traditional rehousing policies, either of massive redevelop-

Table 7 Household amenities in the 12 CDP areas, April 1971<sup>1</sup>

	Percentage of private households present on census night with:			
	exclusive use of all amenities	shared or no hot water	shared or no bath	no inside W.C.
	%	%	%	%
<b>London boroughs</b>				
Canning Town (Newham)	59	22	32	36
Newington (Southwark)	42	34	52	14
<b>Other cities</b>				
Saltley (Birmingham)	60	28	31	34
Vauxhall (Liverpool)	91	5	6	7
Hillfields (Coventry)	55	32	36	32
Benwell (Newcastle)	45	19	27	54
<b>Towns</b>				
Clarksfield (Oldham)	65	13	21	32
Ferguslie Park (Paisley)	96	2	4	2
Percy and Trinity (Tynemouth)	63	16	27	36
Batley (West Riding)	80	8	15	18
<b>Small towns/rural areas</b>				
Cleator Moor (Cumberland)	71	12	24	25
Glyncorrwg (Glamorgan)	67	13	19	30

1. *Source* Census 1971 Small Area Statistics (Ward Library), Table 18.

Table 8 Large households, overcrowding and sharing households in the 12 CDP areas, April 1971, the first compared with the whole of Great Britain

	Percentage of private households present on census night:		
	with 6 or more persons	with more than 1½ persons per room	in shared dwellings
	%	%	%
<b>C.D.P. Areas<sup>1</sup></b>			
<b>London boroughs</b>			
Canning Town (Newham)	8	3	9
Newington (Southwark)	5	4	33
<b>Other cities</b>			
Saltley (Birmingham)	16	6	8
Vauxhall (Liverpool)	18	10	1
Hillfields (Coventry)	10	5	5
Benwell (Newcastle)	6	4	1
<b>Towns</b>			
Clarksfield (Oldham)	7	2	1
Ferguslie Park (Paisley)	22	14	0
Percy and Trinity (Tynemouth)	10	6	2
Batley (West Riding)	7	3	0
<b>Small towns/rural areas</b>			
Cleator Moor (Cumberland)	9	2	0
Glyncorrwg (Glamorgan)	11	2	1
<b>Great Britain</b>	6 <sup>2</sup>	— <sup>3</sup>	— <sup>3</sup>

1. Source *Census 1971 Small Area Statistics (Ward Library)*, Tables 18 and 19.

2. Source *Census 1971 Great Britain: Summary Tables (1% Sample) London, H.M.S.O. 1973, Table 26.*

3. *Not yet available.*

ment on the same site as occurred in Vauxhall in the inter-war period, or the creation of new estates as in Paisley to house populations cleared from other areas. We need to look carefully at the physical and social environment which has been created.

- 3.39 These questions are of immediate relevance to areas undergoing or about to undergo large programmes of planned intervention. Many of the current renewal policies appear to be formed with very little detailed knowledge of their actual consequences and often disastrous side effects on small disadvantaged areas like the CDP's.

#### 4. Action and Research Strategies

4.1 Confronted with this wider canvas of population movements, employment and housing changes, local teams have increasingly questioned and moved away from the original "social pathology" assumptions of the experiment. They have begun to develop perspectives which better account for the unequal distribution of both private and public goods and services, and provide explanations for the powerlessness of CDP populations to influence these distributions.

4.2 But in addition they have to locate their own action and research programme in this developing framework. Inter-project debate and discussion have increased awareness of this wider context, and the strategies of several later projects particularly have been influenced by this approach. But in practice on the ground there is great diversity. Programmes and strategies attempted by each team reflect different assumptions and different opportunities for action in each area; and they reflect too the different ideas of how social change is achieved. To understand these differences, it is helpful to set out, systematically, possible strategies open to local teams, beginning by distinguishing three main models of social change. This is a first attempt at such a scheme, and the categories may have to be revised as a result of further analysis and debate.

(i) *Consensus* models of social change are based on the assumption that social problems are "malfunctions" which can be cured by adjustments and re-arrangements within the existing operating systems. The problems are defined mainly in terms of failures of co-ordination and communication, and the focus of change is thus on management and administration and the non-participant. The central tactic is debate.

(ii) *Pluralist* models of social change are based on the assumption that social problems arise from "imbalances" in the democratic and bureaucratic systems. The problems are defined mainly in terms of failures of participation and representation of certain interests in the political process, and the focus of change is thus on politicians, policy-makers and the disenfranchised. The central tactic is bargaining and negotiation.

(iii) *Structural Conflict* models of social change are based on the assumption that social problems arise from a fundamental conflict of interests between groups or classes in society. The problems are defined mainly in terms of inequalities in the distribution of power and the focus of change is thus on the centres of organised power (both private and public). The main tactic is organisation and raising of levels of consciousness.

4.3 These are over simple definitions but they imply important differences of emphasis. Given the possibility of developing change at three main levels—national, local and grassroots—it is possible to distinguish nine different, though overlapping, strategies (Diagram 3). In using this diagram it is important to point out that in practice individual CDP strategies will not necessarily fall neatly into one category. The diagram is intended as a guide to sort out broad differences—not a strait-jacket. In most projects there is a mixture of approaches, and some degree of ambiguity and even contradiction in the strategies being attempted. This is partly because few team members bring a completely clear or consistent set of theoretical assumptions to the experiment; and partly because the problems being tackled are complex and contradictory themselves. In practice, too, a project's strategy on any one issue may vary over time, especially if one approach is tried and found unsuccessful.

Diagram 3 Models of Social Change and Possible Strategies on Three Levels of Operation.

Basic Assumptions Level	Consensus	Pluralism	Structural Conflict
National	1 SOCIAL PLANNING	2 NATIONAL LOBBY	3 NATIONAL PRESSURE
Local	2 ORGANISATIONAL AND SERVICE DEVELOPMENT	5 LOCAL LOBBY	8 LOCAL PRESSURE
Grass-Roots	3 "TRADITIONAL" COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	6 COMMUNITY ORGANISATION	9 COMMUNITY ACTION

4.4 In the following paragraphs we briefly outline the main features of each of these strategies.

4.5 1. *Social planning* aims to bring about changes in policy by planning as comprehensively as possible, taking into account the physical, social and economic aspects of total situations. Problems are defined primarily as technical, rather than political, and conflicts of interest are seen as reconcilable if they are treated within a more total system. Commitment to the comprehensive social plan is sought first from senior professionals and the role of the politician is seen as one of ratification for a rational solution to an agreed problem.

- 4.6 2. *Organisational development and service-delivery* aim to bring about changes in organisational practices, by managerial and administrative re-arrangements. Re-groupings between various parts are made to achieve better communications, both between themselves and with the outside environment. Better communication is assumed to lead to closer co-ordination, and hence a more efficient and relevant service. The overall goals of the organisation are not questioned, so much as the means of achieving those goals. Organisational consultants are often employed to propose, or legitimise, such re-arrangements.
- 4.7 3. "*Traditional*" *Community Development* aims to bring about changes in the functioning of individuals, groups, and "communities" by facilitating their integration into more coherent wholes. The "community" is assumed to be homogenous in its needs and where conflicts of interest are found, these are reconcilable through better communication and inter-group relations. The process of community development is often seen as more important than any product, that is development of community relationships is seen as an end in itself, rather than primarily as a means of solving common external problems. Nevertheless, new more comprehensive structures, like neighbourhood councils, are sought as a means of representing the neighbourhood more effectively in relation to external decision-makers.
- 4.8 Each of these three strategies assumes a basic consensus of purpose between CDP, the client-population and the relevant agencies. The solutions are to be sought through better co-ordination and communication. The original CDP design was based on a simple combination of strategies (2) and (3). The experience of at least two of the pilot phase projects (Coventry and Southwark) has led to a questioning of the relevance of those assumptions and strategies at least to problems like redevelopment. Attempts to improve co-ordination of the clearance operation and increase communication with residents by reasoned well-argued debate with officials, has proved futile in both areas. A number of projects are still basing much of their work (community education programmes, development of services for young people, support for community groups) on this set of assumptions. Pilot phase experience suggests that these approaches may be able to achieve some greater flexibility in the face to face delivery of services, but that they are much less effective where there needs to be basic changes of policy.
- 4.9 4. and 5. *National and Local Lobbying*. Strategies (4) and (5) assume a state of competition and bargaining between different interest-groups within a plural system. They seek changes, therefore, not first in the technical or bureaucratic systems but in the political arena. The arenas for bargaining

over policies and the allocation of resources are assumed to be those of the formal governmental process, so strategies are pitched at politicians, councillors, parties and pressure groups. Support is lobbied on the basis of reasoned evidence, and the expressed needs of constituents.

- 4.10 6. *Community organisation* is probably the closest description of much of the neighbourhood work going on currently in local projects. The powerlessness of residents to control their own life situations, or to influence the decisions which affect their areas, is seen to be related partly to their lack of information, access to relevant expertise and advocacy, and poor organisation. Information centres, neighbourhood newspapers, legal and welfare rights campaigns, financial and technical support for residents associations all aim to equip the residents of CDP areas with a greater capacity to bargain for the protection of their interests. The provision of "hard" information and "hard" skills seems to have helped resident groups to gain some points of leverage to claim their rights under existing legislation and policy (supplementary benefits, GIA's) and to expose instances of poor quality service from local agencies. However, much of this has been limited to very here-and-now issues, and has been in reaction to agency programmes, rather than any real claiming of initiative for change. The question is how far alliances can be formed between these different action groups, and momentum kept up to sustain the necessary long term processes of improvement and change.
- 4.11 7, 8, and 9. *National Pressure, Local Pressure, and Community Action*. These assume a longer term historical analysis, and aim to relate selectively to the local community, forging links between its more active members and groups, and organised sections of the working class. The intention is to sharpen local consciousness of the underlying problems, and relate action and pressure to the activities of the wider labour movement. The question that remains is whether a clear enough awareness of the underlying issues can be developed to stimulate a powerful movement for change from a local base.
- 4.12 CDP is an Action-Research programme, and research assumptions and strategies must also be looked at briefly. Research was originally seen as a data gathering resource; researchers would both act as "consultants" on action programmes, and evaluate their success or failure. Research teams were based in universities and polytechnics to increase the chances of objective evaluation. This arrangement, particularly in some of the pilot projects, was marked by friction and tension between the two teams, underlining the fact that in action-research the two processes are rarely so distinct that they can be carried on independently by two separate groups. Even

monitoring and evaluation require close co-ordination and co-operation. Increasingly, action and research have moved closer together as a co-operative team in most project areas, resulting in some cases in shared accommodation and shared administrative structure. There is a progressive blurring of the role of action and research, particularly where analysis is called for. Here research can play an action role in that the data it collects may powerfully support a change in policy. With this development the main contributions of research are seen as the following:

- i) *Information:* CDP needs to gather information about conditions within an area and local attitudes towards these conditions. Where appropriate, such findings can contribute directly to the various action strategies described above.
- ii) *Experiment/Demonstration:* Some aspects of CDP, particularly in the field of service delivery, may be tied to an experimental design which will allow for careful assessment and possible replication elsewhere.
- iii) *Processes:* There is a need to describe accurately and to attempt to assess the various issues and strategies that CDP undertakes and to examine the effects of action in different contexts. It is important to have on record what procedures are used and how effective CDP programmes prove in influencing the way policies develop. In this way, both the achievements and obstacles to progress can be mapped in.
- iv) *Basic Research:* Research can explore existing explanations of phenomena which might lead to a recasting of the ways in which problems are identified and resolved.

4.13 The differences in basic assumptions among the projects are gradually helping to develop a more critical assessment of different strategies, but with a general move towards analyses that emphasise structural explanations of the problems of CDP areas. The staggered start of the projects means that some are less able than others to test these perspectives in their work. The earlier projects have much of their work grounded in earlier perspectives and governed by the original narrower definitions of the experiment. However, their experience will be important in showing whether different approaches can produce change, and if so what kind of problems they can solve.

## 5. Issues

- 5.1 Each project has selected a set of issues for its programme of action and research: the choice is determined by the context of the project area, and the analysis of the area's problems made by the project team. Generally in each project, programmes form an inter-related attempt to tackle the problems of an area, rather than a collection of independent activities which happen to be administratively combined. In this section, where we set out some of these issue areas on an inter-project basis, the danger is that by divorcing one piece of action from another on the same project, the overall shape of the project's programme will be lost. It is also difficult to convey the generally close daily contact between project and local residents. Diagram 4 at the end of this section provides tabulated information on the action and research programmes of each project, though even this has to be selective.
- 5.2 The pilot phase of the experiment was characterised by local diversity, and little comparative work. With the full complement of projects there has been an increase in inter-project discussion, and this has encouraged the identification of critical issues in common. In general, projects do not follow a "comprehensive" or "total" strategy—what in practice might easily become a "little bit of everything", but are searching for the key issues. In this section we examine some of these and highlight different approaches.
- 5.3 *Employment* has become an issue of central importance, not merely because of the deteriorating economic conditions of many areas, but because it is clearly a key variable, with repercussions across the board. Thus, several projects' findings have underlined the difficulties which unemployed or low paid people have in obtaining adequate housing, even in the public sector where they tend to be concentrated in hard-to-let and stigmatized "problem" estates. In Glyncoirwg, the project is examining the linkage between economic and social problems.
- 5.4 Four of the projects are developing analyses of the wider dimensions of the employment problem. Glamorgan and Cleator Moor are focussing their attention on governmental policy (regional policy; the "growth point" principle), whereas Newham and Newcastle are focussing on the private sector, particularly the effects of changes in a firm's investment upon the workforce and population of small areas. In the first case, the main emphasis is on a "social planning" approach; the process has included data collection a report by an economic consultant, and the development of a set of proposals for a more sensitive and flexible regional employment policy. These have been used to open up debate with the relevant government departments (DTI and Welsh Office). The Welsh project is also involved in a

working party with the local council examining employment problems in the area and in similar valley communities of South Wales. The Glyncoirwg team is documenting the relative success and failure of their general approach, and it will be important to compare their rather pessimistic experience so far with the alternative approach of Newham and Newcastle. In these projects, data will be gathered on the investment patterns and operations of local firms. The differential effects of these trends will be analysed and discussed with local workplace contacts (Trades Council, shop-stewards committees). The aim is to provide discussion and organisation to look at the industrial issues of the neighbourhood as a whole and plan necessary action.

- 5.5 Seven of the projects have programmes to develop new job opportunities or to improve accessibility to existing employment. Cleator Moor is examining tourism as a generator of employment, while Newcastle is exploring the potential of the local authority in creating jobs. These two projects also hope to promote small businesses and co-operatives. Glyncoirwg has set up action programmes aimed at creating local jobs, and to increase the chance of workers getting to jobs elsewhere it is subsidising transport schemes.
- 5.6 A further group of projects (overlapping with those already mentioned) is focussing on support services for the unemployed. Cleator Moor and Paisley are planning to survey the special needs and problems of the unemployed themselves, and Glamorgan has studies in progress of recent redundancies in both the private and the public sector, and their impact on individuals and the community. They are also working on the development of more relevant retraining programmes for those out of work. Coventry and Liverpool have concentrated on the support services for the young person making the transition from school life to work life. Coventry has commissioned a consultant's report which has recommended major changes in the role and structure of the youth employment service, as well as changes in practice in schools and in industry. The report has now been lodged with the central youth employment executive, and a test-bed for implementing the recommendations is being sought. Liverpool is involved in several schemes for this age-group and a research project is following the progress of a group of school leavers with regular surveys of their job records and experience.
- 5.7 These various measures are valuable in their own right, and may point the way to wider improvements in practice, but they can only have at best a marginal impact on the long term structural problem of employment, described in section 3. These demand a major piece of social accountancy. However, CDP can provide analysis and data on employment conditions of small disad-

vantaged areas—a condition which is often masked by their incorporation for statistical purposes in larger units; these figures alone should be a powerful argument for changes in policy.

- 5.8 *Income and Income Maintenance.* This issue is closely related to that of employment. Project areas generally have higher than average unemployment for their region and higher than average dependence upon state incomes and welfare benefits. In Ferguslie Park some 22% of men were unemployed on the 1971 census figures (compared to 8% for the Paisley Burgh) and in the Newcastle project area the figure was 13% at this time. Here, three-quarters of the unemployed were labourers and more than half of these had been unemployed for over a year; two-thirds of labourers aged 55 and over had been unemployed for more than two years. More than 80% of these unemployed men were receiving supplementary benefit and for more than 70% this was their only source of income.
- 5.9 In Coventry, the differential operations of social security have been approached via survey and research. This has revealed very limited knowledge of rights and an extensive range of unmet need, both among pensioners and other claimants. These findings have been presented to the appropriate departments (DHSS, Cabinet Office) and support gained from MP's, the national pressure groups (CPAG, Age Concern), and from local Trades Union organisation. But the question remains whether this type of approach which has been extensively tried by the poverty lobby for some years can achieve the necessary shifts in policy or practice. The Batley project is attempting to get change at the local level with a concerted programme to disseminate information on welfare rights and stimulate maximum take-up. Part of their strategy has been to place an "expert" within a key agency. As the appointment of "welfare rights officers" to social service departments is gaining momentum, it will be important for CDP to examine this approach carefully and compare its effectiveness with other strategies which aim not only to disseminate information, but to place hard knowledge and advocacy more directly in the hands of claimants themselves. Almost all projects are attempting this by setting up information centres and involving local residents closely in case-work. This is proving to be effective as a crisis service, getting a better deal from social security for individuals in need, but it is not so effective in developing a collective response to the problem. Newcastle is attempting this by informal adult education; Coventry by opening up discussion with shop stewards and the Trades Council; Batley by working through a Claimants and Unemployed Workers Union and other community organisations. Such an approach may be the most effective way of raising awareness of the main issues, and creating the greatest leverage for change.

- 5.10 This raises the question of what is CDP's particular contribution in a field where there are already other well organised pressures at the various levels. Experience suggests that it may be in relating income maintenance and welfare rights to other inter-connected issues, for example legal rights (through community lawyers in Liverpool, Coventry and Newham), housing and planning rights (through a public health inspector in Southwark, planners in Coventry and (shortly) in Newcastle and Birmingham).
- 5.11 Rates are another issue with immediate relevance to income levels, and the recent revaluation, shifting the burden of this tax away from industry and commerce on to the domestic ratepayer, has highlighted the problem. Among domestic ratepayers the burden has also shifted disproportionately on to council house tenants, and in some areas on to the occupants of lower valued property. This has hit many residents of the CDP areas hard. In Birmingham for example, the increased rate contribution from the CDP area easily outstrips the extra amount of money CDP brings in. The two responses are action and analysis. In Birmingham, the strategy has been to employ a worker to prepare collective appeals with residents, and in Coventry information on differential rate levels has been fed out to resident groups and to the local Federation of Council Tenants, and to local councillors where it was linked to another related issue—that of Fair Rents set by the Rent Scrutiny Board.
- 5.12 *Housing* is perhaps the most complex issue faced by CDP teams. Yet housing and environmental problems are most likely to stir resident groups to collective action, and are obviously central to the future of CDP areas. CDP activities here can be divided into action and analysis on the broader policy issues, and the neighbourhood strategy adopted by action teams. The housing dynamics of the CDP areas have been outlined in section 3; several projects have set up research to examine these processes in more detail, particularly the working of new housing legislation and other national influences on their areas. Birmingham is tracing housing movement in the fluid situation of a rapidly changing multi-racial area now under the shadow of a renewal programme, and is looking closely at the micro-level of movements within single streets. The Newham project is charting how the different forms of investment in housing affect people's chance of being housed. They aim to explore ways in which the potential advantages of municipal housing can be more adequately related to the interests of working class people. The Coventry project is commissioning a research study of the wider interests which appear to have influenced the allocation of land, and investment in renewal in the city since the war. They also aim to explore this theme in terms of a social history of decision-making in which the residents of the older housing areas have been important actors. One of the main audiences for this research is seen to be local residents who have organised around housing issues. At the neighbour-

hood level the common method of operation is to organise and support resident groups which form around housing issues, though there may be quite different aims behind these apparently similar exercises. In some cases problems can be tackled at the local level because they centre on small areas—a group of streets with similar physical problems. For example, Tynemouth and Batley have encouraged resident initiatives over modernisation programmes on council estates. Similarly Glyncothrog are exploring the possibilities of linking local job creation with grants for house improvements.

- 5.13 In other areas problems are more long term and intractable. Most projects service groups concerned with redevelopment. But there are two different approaches. Projects may take up a housing issue, and encourage resident group development as a way of solving that particular problem; or they may see the process of involving people in collective action over housing problems as a means of promoting a wider understanding of the political system, and a catalyst for their engagement in more basic political activity. The experience of the pilot projects with redevelopment schemes underlines some of the reasons for this shift in objectives.
- 5.14 The pilot projects began by dealing with redevelopment problems primarily in terms of management and administration. Concerted attempts were made by Southwark and Coventry to press for a more total approach, more coherent control and more sensitive co-ordination of the whole operation—a better flow of information about rights and about the timetable of clearance; more efficient boarding-up of empty property to stop the chain of dereliction; more participation and choice in the whole question of the future of the area; more forward planning of general improvement areas, and the declaration of whole districts to guarantee their security and arrest blight. Their cases were argued on the basis of both local evidence and comparable experience from other authorities. The central Home Office team added their weight and dialogue was established with senior officials in local, regional and central government.
- 5.15 This approach followed the original Home Office model of change through dialogue—better communication leading to better co-ordination. However, neither team found these approaches effective in bringing about even relatively simple and inexpensive changes of practice. This experience underlined the crucial political interests at stake in urban renewal; it was not merely a question of technical adjustment. Later projects are involved in more sophisticated and long term attempts to tackle renewal problems from a similar standpoint. Birmingham, for example, proposes to set up an environmental team in the period before the renewal programme begins to operate, to work with local authority departments and yet be in a position to respond to residents' priorities. And Oldham is encouraging the formation of representative

resident associations to process problems of renewal. These experiments should show whether intervention at an earlier stage in the renewal process and backed by hard technical skills will prove to be more effective in relating renewal policy and practice closely to local needs.

- 5.16 Following this pilot phase experience several projects have placed much greater emphasis on the second aim of using housing issues to develop wider awareness. Several projects (Newham, Batley, Southwark, Coventry, Tynemouth, Glyncorrwg and Cleator Moor) are servicing groups of residents on local redevelopment issues with technical expertise from planners and public health inspectors acting as consultants to the local group. Although this intervention is on a very narrow front (involving small groups of streets at a time) experience suggests that through this combination of advocacy and community organisation, residents can bargain more powerfully for investment in their area, and in the process they can develop a much clearer awareness of the wider factors governing and constraining their housing opportunities. Newcastle is undertaking research on housing careers in the private and public sectors, which is intended to provide a general analysis and to inform and raise levels of consciousness about these issues among local residents.
- 5.17 Besides the redevelopment issue, several projects are experimenting with ways of stabilising local housing conditions and increasing security in the short-term, as well as "alternative" housing opportunities. Birmingham is involved with problems of industrial intrusion into residential areas, and the problem of short-leases particularly local operation of the various leasehold reform acts, both of which contribute to the immediate insecurity of the area. Coventry has appointed a consultant to study the feasibility and to set up a pilot resident-controlled housing co-operative. The idea of co-operative tenant control is an important alternative to traditional housing relationships. However, experiment in this field is restricted by the fact that such associations are bound by the same national constraints as traditional housing, thus clearly limiting the control which tenants can effectively exercise. Again this raises a basic question for pilot projects when they wish to experiment with new ideas which lie outside the scope of existing legislation.
- 5.18 *Education.* In the first pilot projects education was a major field of expenditure. Education was seen as an important link in the distribution of opportunities, and one open to change. Emphasis on education fitted with the early assumptions of the CDP experiment, and several of the earlier projects took up ideas developed in the Educational Priority Areas programme, but others have avoided involvement in conventional education completely, or have experimented with education away from a school base. The central

question is whether and in what form educational change can promote wider changes, and the ensuing debate has called into question several of the assumptions underlying the initial importance given to education.

5.19 Educational activities in CDP fall into three main types:

(a) *Conventional education development*: improving and extending existing facilities, introduction of new equipment, development of pre-school provision, more teaching resources. The assumption is that the system could be effective but needs more resources to work.

(b) "*Community education*": particularly developing home-school links, the need for a curriculum relevant to inner-city areas, and the idea of the "community school". The aim is to change relationships between school and community and develop "constructive discontent" which will encourage a critical stance among children towards their environment. The assumption is that this can best be done by working through schools.

(c) *Emphasis on work outside schools*, on informal adult education, dealing with real life situations—problems of work, unemployment or rents with groups not already involved in the educational process. The aim is to stimulate knowledge and awareness, and encourage pressure for change among those directly affected. The assumption is that this can best be done outside schools or other formal institutions.

5.20 Liverpool, Coventry, Southwark, Glamorgan and Batley all have work of the first two categories under way. In Southwark, besides work in the school system with the provision of a Home/School Officer, the needs of the pre-five age group are being thoroughly examined. This involves the development of child-minder training and pre-school visiting services using both statutory and voluntary resources. Student-teachers also participate in these schemes, providing important experience of the conditions under which they are likely to work when qualified. Similarly in Glamorgan there is work with homes through a Parents' Forum, playgroups and playschemes, and the setting up of a community resources centre. These developments will add to the experience gained in the earlier EPA programme, though it will be important to collect more evidence on the wider and long term effects of "community education". At this stage EPA approaches seem to have had some success in "loosening up" professional thinking and practice at the level of the local school, and in opening up the possibility of greater interaction on a day to day basis between pupils, teachers, parents and the local neighbourhood. The repercussions for central policy or the allocation of educational resources are more difficult to discern, though in Coventry the Community Education programme has

contributed to a movement of political and professional pressure which has led to a policy of positive educational discrimination towards disadvantaged areas and some shifts in resources. But in general though many children in CDP areas are experiencing more exciting and open teaching, they are still taught in old buildings, with inadequate equipment and without supplies even of basic books; and the very conditions that increase the disadvantage of the area, contribute to teacher turnover and absenteeism, a problem highlighted by the recent report from Newham's Comprehensive Headteachers.

- 5.21 Other projects are developing work outside the school context, an area less well explored by the EPA projects. Newham plans to work with groups of parents approaching the idea of what is "community education" from this angle. But it is work in adult education, informal sessions with resident groups and organisations which develop around concrete local issues, where CDP can make a distinctive contribution. The programmes developed in Liverpool have influenced the approaches to adult education adopted by other projects.
- 5.22 Cutting across these major issue areas, several projects are closely involved with a range of services for particular groups in their local population.

(a) *The Elderly*: Coventry, Cleator Moor and Southwark are all involved with research into the needs of the elderly, though their emphases differ. Coventry is more concerned with the loss of status among the elderly and the possible reinforcement of this by existing welfare services which seem to set in motion a self-fulfilling prophecy of decline. The research aims to form a basis for proposals for radical changes in the structure of services for the elderly, with an emphasis on enhancing rather than undermining their status. Cleator Moor, focussing on felt need and inadequacies of provision, is also attempting to explore ways of involving the elderly in developing plans to meet their needs. Southwark's approach contains both elements—examining the effectiveness of traditional services, and initiating new services where there is a clear need, for example an employment bureau for over 60's, a visiting service using local residents, and supporting self-help initiatives.

(b) *Young People*: Many of the projects, as part of their neighbourhood work or education programmes, have become involved in supporting the development of services for young people—whether this is nursery and pre-school provision, adventure playgrounds, or summer play programmes. Cleator Moor and Southwark, however, are committed more substantially to developing a comprehensive and more relevant pattern of provision for young people. Both have appointed a play organiser to study the needs, set up pilot projects and recommend modification of existing services with an emphasis on the use of locally recruited workers and locally based management and control structures.

(c) *Race Relations*: Birmingham and Batley are both conducting research into the needs of their immigrant (mainly Asian) populations. Both are concerned not only with the special ethnic aspects but with the fairness and adequacy of existing policies. Birmingham has taken up questions on the administration of the "Pakistan Act" which affects many of the project residents, particularly the processing of applications and the problems of access to information. As part of its adult education programme Coventry has established a network of language groups for Asian men and women. These meet in homes, religious temples, schools and in one case on the factory floor, and aim to equip the immigrant with basic skills in communication.

5.23 Interwoven with these major single issues of employment, income-maintenance, housing and education and particular groups serviced by the project are a set of organisational arrangements and developments, ways of increasing the co-ordination of local services by promoting neighbourhood work, of increasing local participation and control, and of making local authority structures more responsive to the needs of CDP areas. Many of these developments overlap, and there are, as usual, quite distinct approaches being tried out by different projects.

5.24 *Neighbourhood Work, Information and Advice*: CDP is a neighbourhood based experiment and all projects have rooted their work in this way. A very similar range of activities characterises the projects:

- (i) shop front information centres, either shared with the project offices or as independent resident-controlled centres;
- (ii) work with community groups offering information, advice, technical expertise (e.g. legal, welfare and housing rights), grants and hardware (duplicating facilities, video t.v. equipment);
- (iii) project news-sheets disseminating information and data, or community newspapers run by local residents with support from CDP.

5.25 Despite these common activities, there are underlying differences. A major distinction is the degree of selectivity over the issues taken up. One extreme would be to respond to any issue brought forward, and the other to define in advance the problems to be handled. Projects are spread out between these extremes, most trying to balance and relate their own views on key issues to resident priorities. These distinctions are apparent in the range to be found in information centres: for example a generalist information service (and Community Resource Centre) at Cleator Moor, consciously trading in the whole range of issues from school bus fares and dangerous parking to vacant housing and welfare benefits; the semi-specialist services (Coventry's emphasis on legal and welfare rights); the selective service, like Newham, which consciously restricts its focus to those individuals and groups who are

potentially going to work for change. Similarly the resident groups which form round these centres, and the supporting community newspapers or newsletters, reflect these differences of approach. In several projects the move has been to strengthen information centres with the "hard" skills of lawyers or planners, or through these centres attach such skills to resident groups. The assumption here is that resident-controlled Information Centres backed by these skills may be a more potent instrument in crisis situations, like eviction, than similar workers inside the local authority or schemes to co-ordinate local services. This strengthening of information and advice centres thus provides an alternative strategy to the currently popular development of multi-service centres or schemes for integrating local authority services.

- 5.26 *Service Delivery*: A major concern of the original CDP objectives was to promote greater integration of services at the local level. Though this has become less central an objective in several projects, in others it remains a major element. Liverpool has developed an extensive Community Services Centre which brings together several local authority services into a common building, and seeks to integrate their activities and policies for the area. The scheme is linked to a resident-run information centre, and related to other changes in the local authority. Paisley is developing a similar centre.
- 5.27 Both these developments in multi-service centres, and information and advice centres in fields as diverse as housing, consumer affairs, career guidance and employment bureaux, are increasingly being turned to as solutions to the problems of disadvantaged areas. Within CDP there is a chance to assess the workings of these two approaches both individually, and in a comparative way, where they appear to play overlapping roles.
- 5.28 *Neighbourhood Democracy*: With its heavy investment in neighbourhood work, stimulating and sustaining resident organisations, it is inevitable that CDP should be drawn into experiment and debate over schemes such as neighbourhood councils. Several projects are moving ahead to formalise the federation of resident groups that have grown up around the project, into embryo community councils. Others like Coventry have found that umbrella organisations of this kind are more likely to succeed as providers of general services (secretarial, banking, administration of grants, to community groups, salaries to staff) than as a representative forum or as a campaigning body on behalf of the neighbourhood. Again CDP should be in a position to compare these different approaches.
- 5.29 *Local Authority*: Change at the local level, neighbourhood work, participation and local control have to be seen in relation to the role of the local authority. CDP projects are in a position, if they choose, to work at both the local

community and the local authority level. But over and above the way particular services operate, is the role of the local authority in distributing goods and services within the area, the way it resolves policy and conflicts of interest and how it is geared to variations in local need. Coventry, Liverpool and Paisley are all involved in research on decision making at the local level. Liverpool is examining the framework of managerial processes within local authorities and in particular the trend towards more centralised and "rationalised" planning, the corporate management structure and its responsiveness to pressures for participation. Paisley is exploring where power and influence lie in local political decision making in Paisley. Coventry is investigating the wider structure of interests which have influenced the allocation of resources (particularly land and housing) locally.

- 5.30 A further major issue which a number of projects have been exploring concerns the finance which is available to local authorities tackling disadvantage. Local authorities with CDP areas are increasingly constrained by the problems of decreasing resources with which to provide services where there is growing demand. The Rate Support Grant formula currently<sup>1</sup> is such as to penalise:
- (i) areas in decline with a high proportion of industrial and commercial property
  - (ii) areas with higher than average family sizes
  - (iii) areas with relatively high proportions of children
  - (iv) areas trying to attract new industrial and commercial development, as any increase in rate income resulting from new development is matched by a £ for £ reduction in the "resources" element.
- 5.31 Though these wider questions may seem some distance from pilot community development projects, they are clearly basic to the local authorities ability to respond substantially to the problem of CDP areas. With the help of the Central Information and Intelligence Unit, projects plan to examine in more detail suggested variations in the Rate Support Grant formula, and ideas like that of "Old Town Development Corporations" for their possible effects on small disadvantaged areas.
- 5.32 As an appendix to this section we set out in Diagram 4 schematic details of work in progress in the twelve projects under six major headings. It should be remembered that projects are at different stages of their development and thus may be at a preliminary point in their investigations, or may have detailed

1. From April 1974 a new Rate Support Grant formula comes into operation. This new formula deals with some of the points made here. See White Paper Cmnd. No. 5532—"The Rate Support Grant 1974-75"

work underway. It has only been possible to present brief descriptions for each activity, and readers are referred to individual project reports for more detail. Where appropriate, activities under each heading have been split into neighbourhood and policy strategies, on the grounds that CDP effort is channelled in these two separate directions—to grass roots action or involvement, or to changes of policy and practice in the activities of central or local government.

Diagram 4 Outline of Local Project Activities

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
BATLEY Policy Strategy		Worker based in social services department to develop comprehensive welfare rights campaign and stimulate take-up.	Study of older private housing stock, and potential and proposals for general improvement.	Community education programme in schools curriculum development, home-school links.	i) Project office as information service. ii) Support for tenants and community groups.	i) Survey of income, employment and leisure. ii) Study of local decision making and the effect of project strategies. iii) Study of immigrant needs. iv) Evaluation of Welfare Rights Campaign.
Neighbourhood Strategy		Advocacy through Information Centre and claimants groups.	i) Community work and technical support for residents fighting housing issues. ii) Setting up Housing Association.	Work with parents on pre-school needs and alternative forms of provision.		
BIRMINGHAM Policy Strategy	Consultant employed to investigate economic structure of surrounding industrial belt and history of local trade union activity.	Analysis of rate revaluation effects on the project area.	i) Leasehold issue. ii) Environmental team (Planner, Public Health Inspector).		i) Project office serves as information/advice centre. Information and priorities of callers fed into action programme. 75% of callers came about leasehold. Urban renewal, Pakistan Act. ii) Support for community groups.	i) Household survey. ii) Race-relations research. iii) Nature of leasehold problem; effects of legislative change. iv) Employment position in the surrounding industrial area.
Neighbourhood Strategy		Worker appointed to process collective rate appeals.	Servicing resident groups concerned with short leases and urban renewal.			

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
<p>COVENTRY</p> <p>Policy Strategy</p>	<p>Research and Consultant's report on role of schools, youth employment service and industry in assisting young people in transition from school life to work life.</p>	<p>i) Research on knowledge of rights and extent of unmet need. ii) Research into income maintenance for elderly.</p>	<p>i) Study of the wider interests which have influenced the investment in urban renewal since the war. ii) Research and Consultant's report on city's general improvement policy.</p>	<p>Community education programme in 13 schools involving nursery annexes curriculum development and home-school relations.</p>	<p>i) Community worker appointed to specially formed independent body. ii) Annual grant to umbrella community association to support local groups and initiatives. iii) Hard skills and advocacy from community lawyer and community planner.</p>	<p>i) Status and needs of the elderly. ii) Structure of interests and ideologies which influence allocation of resources (land and housing) in city.</p>
<p>Neighbourhood Strategy</p>	<p>Possibility of co-operative improvement industry.</p>	<p>i) Resident controlled information centre and advocacy for claimants. ii) Community lawyer. iii) Collaboration with Trade Union groups in campaign for legal and income rights.</p>	<p>i) Community planner offers consultancy and hard skills to resident groups campaigning for GIA investment. ii) Appointment of consultant to set up resident controlled housing co-operative.</p>	<p>Adult education work with informal groups in pubs &amp; clubs and with Asian immigrants in homes, temples and factory floor.</p>		

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
CUMBERLAND Policy Strategy	i) Analysis & critique of regional policy. ii) Study of tourism potential.		Housing study (data and interviews).	i) Study of young peoples needs. ii) Further education research.	i) Information and action centre and mobile unit. ii) Newsletter. iii) Support and servicing of community groups.	i) Needs of the Elderly. ii) Needs of Young People. iii) Transport.
Neighbourhood Strategy	i) Promotion of small business and co-operatives. ii) 'Detached' work research among and support for unemployed.	Shop front information and action centre.	Neighbourhood and group work.	i) Appointment of Area Play Organiser. ii) Local forum for services for children and young people iii) Support of cellar youth project.	iv) Community work course/seminars/lunch clubs.	
GLAMORGAN Policy Strategy	i) Critique of Regional Policy. ii) Schemes to improve transport to job opportunities.	Proposed joint CDP/CAB information service.	GIA programme recommended.	i) Community resources centre. ii) Teachers' forum with CDP team.	i) Parents forum ii) Community workshop.	i) Linkage between social and economic policies. ii) Migration study: motivation and extent. iii) Job getting and job holding within the local economic base, and regional policy iv) Research on housing, community resources. v) Education. vi) Survey of Transport Patterns and Latent Demand.
Neighbourhood Strategy	i) Schemes involving information, education, training & retraining. ii) Alternative employment schemes miners' museum.		i) Co-operative house improvement agency. ii) Support for action groups.	i) 'Mother and infant groups. ii) Play schemes and activities groups.		

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
LIVERPOOL Policy Strategy	Study of employment conditions and levels of unemployment locally.	Appointment of DHSS liaison officer, at multi-service centre.		i) Community education programme. Home-school relations. ii) Educational resources centre. iii) Experimental reading scheme.	i) Resident run information centre. ii) Neighbourhood newspaper. iii) Support for community groups and federation into neighbourhood council. iv) Multi-service centre.	i) Local authority management structures for participation. ii) Local community organisations. iii) School to work and early job experience. iv) Development of multiservice centre.
Neighbourhood Strategy	Study groups on unemployment. Contact with work group over issues of local redundancy and closure.	i) Resident run Information Centre. ii) Old people's welfare council.	Servicing tenants groups in implementation of improvement schemes with planner and architect as consultants.	Adult education programmes. Playscheme. Adventure Playground.		
NEWCASTLE Policy Strategy	i) Research into role of major firms in West Newcastle. ii) Analysis of regional and city employment policies on the local work force.		i) Analysis of housing careers in private and public sectors.	Development of school-community links.	Project office as Information Centre with local resident worker. Neighbourhood lawyer and community planner.	i) Study of unemployment in Benwell, analysis of industrial opportunities. ii) Study of effects of clearance and redevelopment. iii) Data bank for groups.
Neighbourhood Strategy	Discussions with Trades Unions about promotion of employment e.g. co-operative house improvement agency.	i) Information Centre with resident worker. ii) Neighbourhood lawyer. iii) Adult education programme. iv) Collective rates appeals.	i) Information about housing rights. ii) Advocacy by community planner.	i) Detached adult education work. ii) Pre-school-provision. iii) Work with local groups to set up play facilities.		

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
NEWHAM Policy Strategy	Study of local industrial investment, and its effects on the project area. Report to be lodged with central government.		i) Charting of how different forms of investment in housing affect people's chances of houses. ii) Study of limitations of municipal housing.		i) Project Office as selective information service. ii) Newsletter. iii) Lawyer. iv) Video programme.	Small area case study tracing effects on project area of private and public investment policies, particularly in employment and housing.
Neighbourhood Strategy	Report to be discussed with workplace contacts with a view to setting up a unified body to take effective action.			Clarification of educational issues both with parents and teaching profession.		

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
OLDHAM Policy Strategy	General study of employment and experience of immigrants and other groups.		i) Study of housing policy on council estate. ii) Examination of redevelopment policy.	i) Study of educational needs of immigrants. ii) Examination of youth policy. iii) Scheme to initiate parental involvement in schools.	i) Formation of representative associations, reflecting local interests supported by advice, grants and equipment with inputs of professional and technical skills. ii) Study of structural channels of communication with local authority by formation of Local Members' Committees working in conjunction with local groups.	i) Contextual data collection and intelligence. ii) Data collection for community groups. iii) Neighbourhood case studies. iv) Evaluation of intervention. v) Needs for provision for the elderly. vi) Assessment of local authority/ CDP Committee structures. vii) Housing career patterns.
Neighbourhood Strategy	Feasibility study of co-operative improvement agency.	Information and advice Centres locally organised.	i) Employment of Consultant to work with residents and the local authority to draw up improvement scheme on council estate. ii) Formation of representative resident associations to process problems arising in redevelopment and GIA's.	i) Work with local schools and community groups over vandalism, litter etc. ii) Formation of resident-controlled playgroups. iii) Adult education work with Asians.		

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
PAISLEY Policy Strategy	General study of the unemployed.	Commencing general investigation of economic deprivation.	i) Investigation of rapid deterioration of area. ii) Report on compulsory rehousing. iii) Report on rent rebate take-up.	Investigation via working party of pre-school needs and community school relations.	i) Multi-service centre. ii) Information centre. iii) Community newspaper. iv) Play activity project. v) Servicing issue oriented groups.	i) General household survey. ii) Study of economically vulnerable groups. iii) Re-allocation of tenants affected by demolition programme. iv) Rent rebate survey. v) General data collection.
Neighbourhood Strategy		i) Welfare benefits campaign. ii) Information and action centre.		Formation of resident controlled play-group.		
SOUTHWARK Policy Strategy			i) Demonstration "public participation in planning" exercise. ii) Monitoring of Local Authority processes at consumer level.	i) Home/School Liaison Officer. ii) Leisure/recreation Officer. iii) Preschool play-groups and play-schemes.	i) Project office as information service. ii) Stimulation of network of street groups. iii) Over 60's employment bureau.	
Neighbourhood Strategy		i) Shopfront information/advice. ii) Work with local groups to campaign on pensions.	i) Appointment of public health inspector. ii) Organisation of street groups of residents.			

PROJECT	EMPLOYMENT	INCOME MAINTENANCE WELFARE RIGHTS	HOUSING	EDUCATION	INFORMATION and ADVICE	RESEARCH
TYNEMOUTH Policy Strategy			i) Implementation and level of Fair Rents in council property ii) Study of local authority alloca- tion policy.		i) Information and Opinion Centre support to community groups. ii) Formation of tenants group.	i) Community attitude survey. ii) Housing con- ditions and tenants' wishes survey. iii) Fair Rents comparative study.
Neighbourhood Strategy		i) Information centre with resident worker. ii) Collective rates appeals.	Work with tenants in relation to housing conditions.	Resident con- trolled provision of pre-school playgroups play- scheme, play organiser.		

## 6. Expectations from the National CDP Experiment

- 6.1 The majority of Community Development Projects are still at an early stage. But it is already possible to draw from their work so far some idea of the areas where the experiment can be expected to contribute to drawing up a programme directed towards solving the problem of urban deprivation. In this concluding section of the inter-project report we point to major areas where work is being undertaken and suggest, where possible, the implications that CDP work might have for national policy.
- 6.2 *Strategy:* In spite of the growing emphasis in current discussions of deprivation on comprehensive plans, "total approaches" to deal with disadvantaged neighbourhoods, this is not an approach generally being followed by CDP. Instead, the assumption is that there are certain key areas of change where maximum leverage can be achieved. The shift towards examination of the structural context of project areas noted in earlier sections has left most projects on the one hand attempting to make use in the most effective way of resources now available in their areas, and on the other seeking to establish the longer term programme and method that will ensure vigorous community life. It is likely that the national experiment will throw up ideas on the management of small run down areas and on the investment needed to transform conditions without destroying or scattering their populations.
- 6.3 *Industry and Employment:* With a minor qualification in the case of the two Midlands Projects, Coventry and Birmingham, all the CDP areas are areas of industrial decline with most areas losing jobs at a dramatic rate. It is quite clear that the national system of industrial incentives is having little effect on these small areas for two reasons. First the rate of job loss far exceeds any gains from fresh investment; and second the development area policies do not seem to allow investment to be channelled where it is most needed by the community. Within each region investors choose the most advantageous conditions, favouring new estates over the areas of industrial decline with their established community links. In this way pockets of increasing industrial poverty continue to grow in both "prosperous" and "deprived" regions. Regional policy and the "growth point" principle need to be extended to cover areas like Glyncoerrwg that at present feed such growth points. It is to be expected that local CDP's will challenge existing policies in this area, produce evidence to argue that grants should be given more selectively, and suggest that these should be administered from a base of integrated local experience probably at the lower tier of local government. At this point it would clearly be useful if the relevant government departments would discuss with CDP the variations in policy that can already be tried or which could be used as a basis for experiment in the local context.

- 6.4 At a more fundamental level several projects have started to focus on the inter-relationship of the interests of private investment, public investment and community interests at the local level. It is being observed that in many CDP areas jobs are controlled by successful profitable companies who create redundancies by rationalisations, and convert investment to more profitable areas without having to bear the social costs of their actions. Nationalised industries, too, like the Coal Board or British Rail, have brought about similar effects, as a result of changes in national policy, through pit closure or contraction of networks. Vulnerable local communities need a greater say in these developments and would perhaps have greater protection if the legislation relating to redundancy was more directed towards preserving jobs than compensating people. With the advancing pace of technology, authorities who subsidise investment by offering incentives to prospective developers will need some insurance that the benefits to the community will be enduring. CDP should bring forward proposals in these areas.
- 6.5 It is quite clear that the resources available in CDP areas for informing, preparing and training people for the pace of industrial change are woefully inadequate at the present time. Research inquiry and small scale initiatives concentrated on preparing adolescents for work, on setting up various types of employment information and agency service, and examining employment difficulties and communication problems of particular groups should clarify issues in this area and pave the way for large scale innovation.
- 6.6 One feature that remains constant over CDP localities is the fragmented nature of local organisations concerned with work, with environment and housing, and with social activity and welfare work. Working from a small neighbourhood base CDP projects are playing a part in bringing together all these interests to deal with threats of redundancy, redevelopment proposals and other community issues in a unified way.
- 6.7 A last area in this section recognises the efforts that are being made to create jobs in local areas both by attracting investors and by forming work units. There is a wide interest in setting up co-operative industries particularly in the construction industry and it is to be expected that this work will lead to a re-examination of the role that local authorities themselves can play in creating work for their residents.
- 6.8 *Housing and Environment:* Recent changes in housing, planning and related legislation and in current thinking in management, have given local residents far greater responsibilities in matters concerning their environment. Most CDP projects are involved in developing techniques to make these changes work—and in assessing how effective the legislation is in achieving its

objectives—in improving older housing through General Improvement Areas, through subsidies to people by rent and rate rebates, in improving local environmental conditions by involvement of people at a very local level and so on. The projects' experiences should produce an array of approaches to bring local authorities and other statutory agencies closer to the communities they serve. They should provide a critical evaluation of the impact of current legislation on CDP districts and proposals for modifications of practice at all levels, to meet the needs of disadvantaged areas.

- 6.9 A second major strand of thinking in CDP housing discussions is concerned with the need for a balanced population policy for local areas. It has been noticed that changes in the investment in housing from private to public through redevelopment, from private rented to owner occupied through changes in ownership or status, from low income to higher income households through improvement, has made it more difficult to maintain viable populations in CDP areas. In particular, certain sections of the population such as low income young couples and single working people are becoming relatively less able to secure accommodation within reach of their work and social connections. One result of these developments has been to concentrate young families and elderly people in parts of CDP areas. Local projects are attempting to describe these processes and to point out their implications. Specific studies of rehousing and allocation policies could lead to proposals to change certain local authority practices within their own stock. A number of projects are working on schemes to vary existing tenure arrangements through co-operatives, special leases and other arrangements which if implemented could extend the range and choice of accommodation available to residents.
- 6.10 *Income Maintenance:* Local projects have already produced a considerable body of evidence confirming previous work that the multitude of benefits, supplements and rebates available to people with low incomes just do not get through to all those for whom they are intended. A number of projects have taken steps to make information more widely available. They have established advocates to argue for clients and to draw their findings to the attention of the relevant authorities. It is to be expected that projects will not only produce suggestions for the modification of the system of means tested benefits but will move increasingly to produce proposals for alternative methods of guaranteeing a basic level of income.
- 6.11 *Service Delivery:* All projects have accepted that one of their functions is to create increased awareness and understanding both of the community by the authorities and of the authority by the community. A main instrument in developing this heightened sensitivity has been the creation of advice, information and opinion centres in nearly all CDP areas. These centres must

be seen in the context of similar ventures being supported by voluntary organisations and local authorities all over the country. However, within the action-research framework of CDP, they are likely to be more reflective about their function and it can be expected that we will learn a great deal about their performance and the institutional modifications that they generate.

- 6.12 A number of projects have initiated schemes which bring together two or more services at the local level and others have worked with statutory departments on projects to decentralise services and make them more relevant to local people. Assessments of these initiatives will be produced as the schemes mature.
- 6.13 There is considerable interest in making professional skills directly available to a client community. Work involving the use of solicitors, public health inspectors, planners and architects is under way and projects will both assess the effects of the work and explore the nature of the professional-client relationship.
- 6.14 *Education:* All CDP projects in one way or another are working with groups of local residents, providing information, helping them to organise and enabling them to gain access to necessary skills. In many cases this work is recognised to be not only community work but adult education work in keeping with some of the recommendations of the recent Russell Report. The aim is to stimulate knowledge and awareness and encourage pressure for change among those directly affected. Assessments of this work should promote discussion on the use of educational resources in this type of community learning situation.
- 6.15 Not every project is involved in educational work involving the formal school system but where this has been established it is broadly developing ideas within the framework set out by the national EPA experiment. We can expect this work to add to knowledge particularly in the use of audio visual equipment, the development of links between the home and school and the development of curriculum relevant to local needs. Change in the content of education within the British system is usually brought about by the dissemination of information about "good practice" and reports from the CDP areas should direct more attention to educational practice in the urban areas. It is doubtful at this stage whether the national project will produce recommendations for change in educational provision at government level although there are some signs that the later projects might take up this perspective.
- 6.16 *Local Representation and Control:* The proposition that the residents of small declining neighbourhoods are powerless to intervene in the processes that shape their lives is central to the CDP prescription. It is possible to distinguish

two different approaches in the way that local teams have faced this issue. The first has been to work at ways in which the local area can be connected up to the agencies that serve it. At an initial level groups are encouraged to form in the neighbourhood and to make explicit their demands. Developments of this approach have led to the appointment of advocates to work with such groups and to the setting up of local institutions, a community forum or neighbourhood council to create a semi-permanent framework, drawing together the interests in the neighbourhood and representing them to the authorities. The second approach depends more on reinforcing, often selectively, the existing structures of the neighbourhood's tenants associations, local councillors, social clubs, and trades union organisations enabling the organisations themselves to develop procedures to deal with the stresses in the neighbourhood and to form connections with similar groups, in their own ways.

- 6.17 It is to be expected that the local CDP's will produce case studies of community development practice over the next three years. There will be a great deal of evidence, much of it critical, to feed into the debate on the advisability of creating a system of parish level local councils in the cities and the development of a critique of current participation practices.
- 6.18 *Communication:* Whilst local CDP's are set up by local authorities under the sponsorship of the Home Office it is recognised that the importance of the experiment lies in part in its capacity to communicate its experience not just to the local authorities and government but also to all interests involved in finding a solution to the difficulties facing CDP areas. CDP experience will be presented through official channels and professional journals but it is equally recognised that the projects have a responsibility to get material into the hands of particular interests, political parties, the Trades Union movement and other national lobbies. Projects are particularly concerned to get experience directly into the hands of small local groups working on similar problems in other areas and it is to be expected that some energy will go into discovering the most effective way of doing this.
- 6.19 *Conclusion:* In presenting this inter-project report on the CDP experiment, and setting out some of the possible outcomes, we run the risk of appearing to reduce the problems to separate elements, and missing the crucial inter-connections. The problems of the 12 CDP areas are not reducible to problems of employment, housing, income and education. They are not isolated pockets suffering an unfortunate combination of circumstances. They are a central part of the dynamics of the urban system and as such represent those who have lost out in the competition for jobs, housing and educational opportunity.

6.20 In the same way that problems are inter-related, programmes to solve them have to be complex and far reaching. The problems in these areas are not going to be solved by marginal re-arrangements to take account of their special minority needs. From its small area base, CDP can map the points at which private and public policies are having negative and unequal effects. We can also aim to explore strategies for developing local awareness of these points, and for raising them to greater public attention. But the major response must come from central and local government with substantial changes in policy and the allocation of new resources.

### **Addresses of Local CDP Projects**

- Batley CDP: 13 Commercial Street, Batley, Yorks WF17 5HJ;  
0924 477171
- Birmingham CDP: 186 St Saviour's Road, Saltley, Birmingham 8;  
021 327 5028
- Coventry CDP: 11 Priory Row, Coventry CV1 5EX;  
0203 25555 x 2444
- Cumberland CDP: Public Offices, Market Square, Cleator Moor, Cumberland;  
0946 810093
- Glamorgan CDP: Glamorgan House, Mount Pleasant, Cymmer, Port Talbot,  
Glamorgan; 063 983 491/2
- Liverpool CDP: Community Services Centre, Silvester Street,  
Liverpool L5 8FE; 051 207 4461
- Newcastle CDP: 85-87 Adelaide Terrace, Benwell, Newcastle upon Tyne 4;  
0632 31210/31950
- Newham CDP: 57 Barking Road, London E16 4HB;  
01-511 0931
- Oldham CDP: Community Development Centre, 250 Waterloo Street,  
Oldham OL4 1ES; 061 652 8313
- Paisley CDP: Municipal Buildings, Cotton Street, Paisley PA1 1BU;  
041 889 5400 x 262

Southwark CDP; 38 Braganza Street, London SE17;  
01-735 1595/1991

Tynemouth CDP: The CDP Centre, Reservoir House, Waterville Road,  
North Shields, Northumberland NE29 6BA;  
08945 79725/78886

## Appendix 1

The members of the Working Group were as follows:

John Benington	Coventry CDP
David Byrne	Tynemouth CDP
Mike Cantor	CDP Information and Intelligence Unit
Geoff Green	Birmingham CDP
Ray Lees	Batley CDP
Marjorie Mayo	Southampton University
John O'Malley	Newham CDP
Joan Payne	Birmingham CDP
Geoff Sharp	Coventry CDP
George Smith	Liverpool/Birmingham CDP

Census data processing was carried out by the Nuffield College Research Services Unit.

## Appendix 2

Publications available from the local Projects:

### *Batley*

Batley Community Project—the First Six Months; July 1972 (English and Gujarati)  
Action research in community development; Ray Lees; *Journal of Social Policy*,  
2, 3, pp 239-48  
Report to the Minister 1973

## *Birmingham*

- Preliminary report; 1973  
Second report; strategy; Autumn 1973  
Spotlight on Asian affairs; Mahmood Hashmi; Autumn 1973  
Housing in Saltley; Chris Tyrrell; Spring 1974

## *Coventry*

### Occasional Papers:

- No 1: Coventry Community Development Project, background and progress; ed John Benington; October 1972  
No 2: The Hillfields Information and Opinion Centre—the evolution of a social agency controlled by local residents; Nick Bond; October 1972  
No 3: The Hillfields Community Association—a case study; Rev Harry Salmon; October 1972  
No 4: Knowledge of rights and extent of unmet need amongst recipients of supplementary benefit; Nick Bond; October 1972  
No 5: Homeless Men in Hillfields; October 1972  
No 6: Area Improvement Policies for the inner city; K R Carter, J K Friend, G M Luck, C J L Yewlett; October 1972  
No 7: Tax Credits—some notes on the Green Paper; Research Team; March 1973  
No 8: The transition from school to work; Helen Brown; September 1973  
No 9: A review of research on the relocation of the elderly; Linda Forbes; September 1973  
No 10: Exceptional needs payments and the elderly; B Gearing, G Sharp; September 1973

Revaluing the rates: who gains, who loses; Nick Bond and Lisa Carter; *Municipal Review*, No 529, January 1974

Strategies for change at the local level: some reflections; John Benington (submitted to Routledge for publication in a book of readings on *New Developments in Community Work*)

## *Cumberland*

- Tourism and the community; Stuart Riley; April 1973  
Cumberland CDP: a collection of papers 1972-73; ed J H Pearce; July 1973  
Youth study; A G Tweedie, J Childs, A J Glen, P McIlven; July 1973  
Initial study of the two parishes Cleator Moor, Arlecdon & Frizington; July 1973  
Report to the Minister; J H Pearce; October 1973  
Cumberland CDP: a collection of papers 1973-74; ed J H Pearce; expected March 1974

## *Glamorgan*

Director's report to the Management Committee; Maurice Howell; June 1972

### State of the Community Reports:

Job getting and holding capacities; J D Alden; June 1972

Community health and welfare; Maurice Howell; June 1972

Children and young people; Richard Penn; June 1972

Transport and personal mobility; Paul Williams; November 1973

Director's report to the Management Committee; Maurice Howell; July 1973

Community resources and financial self-support; J D Alden; July 1973

Report to the Minister; September 1973

Research programme 1973-76; J Alden, T Baggs, G Rees; November 1973

Transport and the younger unemployed; John Taylor; July 1973

Action programme 1974-76; expected April 1974

Abercregan housing study; November 1973

Housing in Glyncoed; November 1973

### Working Papers:

The concept linking jobs and home improvement; November 1973

Proposal for an Upper Afan Valley Housing Association

## *Liverpool*

Us and Them; A 45 minute film on Vauxhall; June 1970

Neighbourhood Identity Survey; Linda Craven; August 1970

Survey on Welfare Benefits and Services in Vauxhall; October 1970

Note on Vauxhall CDP; Spring 1971

Report of the Pre-School Survey; 1972

Social Malaise in Liverpool—A Further Analysis; Keith Hope; February 1972

Neighbourhood Community Workers—Proposals for Creating New Posts; July 1972

Report of the Project Director to the Minister of State for the Home Office;  
August 1972

Concept of Need and Formulation of Standards for the Provision of Services;  
N Mellor; August 1972

Vauxhall Project: Policy and Review Statement; Phil Doran; October 1972

Managing Inner City Renewal—Liverpool Corporation and the CDP; Robert  
Cooper; October 1972

Tenant Views of Wilbraham House—Present and Future; November 1972

Community Lawyer Report; Phil Doran; January 1973

The CDP—Description of the Project Area; Phil Doran; January 1973  
Vauxhall Community Services Centre—Featureword Indexing System; 1973  
Unemployment in Vauxhall; Phil Doran; April 1973  
Woodstock Gardens Survey. Section 1 and Section 2; Phil Topping; June 1973  
Report of the Project Director to the Home Secretary; October 1973

### *Newcastle*

Benwell Community Project; May 1973

### *Newham*

Industry and employment in Canning Town; November 1973  
Report to the Minister 1973

### *Oldham*

CDP—a first report; S Bailie, A Barr, N Shenton, S Swidenbank; July 1973

### *Paisley*

Initial report: September 1973  
Report on qualifying incomes for rent rebates and allowances; October 1973  
Rent rises and rebates; John English; *Housing Review*, 2, 2, March-April 1973

### *Southwark*

Report to the Minister; Florence Rossetti; June 1972  
Report to the Minister; Alan Davis; September 1973  
Children's play in Newington 1971-1973; H Honeyman and P Thomas; 1973

### *Tynemouth*

Community profile; June 1973  
Report to the Home Secretary; D Corkey and J Foster; October 1973  
Annual report; January 1974