"THE SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF URBAN RENEWAL"
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Introduction

    The central problem to be dealt with in this paper will be the contradiction between the implicit aims of urban renewal in a "democratic" society, and the actual results of the renewal process. A "democratic" society assumes "pluralism" and needs to minimise segregation on a number of variables. Whilst planners have aimed to minimise such segregation, their activities to date have resulted in the opposite effect. The question is: "Where there are measurable differences between populations in localised areas affected by urban renewal, are these differences caused entirely by urban renewal or are they latent differences which are simply enhanced by it?" This paper will take as a case study the County Borough of Salford in Lancashire and show the operation of other forces such as market forces and migration as well as the housing policies of both central and local government.

    The data to be used consists of two waves of a survey carried out in 1964 and 1965 in Salford as part of a project sponsored by the DSIR (later SSRC) to study the effects of local authority housing policy on industrial location and job mobility. Researchers on the project felt that rehousing, far from causing, was simply enabling and accelerating an ecological differentiation process and that this was because of the way in which the policy had evolved and had been administered. At the time they had neither time, skill nor machinery for a thorough statistical examination of the data to test their hypothesis.

    The areas studied in the household surveys were a district of late nineteenth century terraced housing scheduled for clearance (Lissadel Street), a city centre redevelopment of low-rise maisonettes with one larger block of balcony flats (Trinity) and an estate of houses with gardens on the overspill development at Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancashire (Mount Skip). On a variety of measures, the overspill population could be said to be "advantaged" and the clearance area population "disadvantaged". From our own work and that of colleagues in the University of Salford, it seemed that certain areas in Salford were in the process of becoming ghettoes of problem families, elderly people or both, and that the outlying estates were becoming populated by quite "desirable" tenants.

The city of Salford is completely surrounded on all its boundaries by other urban authorities. One third of its area is composed of railways, roads and canals and it has very little building land within its boundaries. Until the mid-1950's housing policy had been to build new houses on overspill sites and deliberately to run down the population. This policy was reversed when a decision was made to concentrate on slum-clearance and when it became obvious that the city was losing population at a faster rate than expected thus endangering its status as a county borough. The new policy was to build high-rise blocks within the city. Overspill sites had also been difficult to find. It had not yet been accepted that high densities could be obtained with low-rise housing and less public open space.

There were/main ways of getting into a council dwelling. First was arrival at the top of the housing list (often after periods of 20 years or more), second was current residence in a dwelling required for immediate demolition or declared as unfit for human habitation, and third was housing "need" as determined by a points system based on overcrowding, health, age of children etc. In theory people qualifying for rehousing were to be given a choice between a house on overspill or a flat in Salford. In practice we know they were not. Two other choices remained open for them. First they could arrange to exchange their offer with someone else on the housing list and move into a similar sub-standard dwelling; secondly they could choose to move away from the area without waiting for a council offer. We know that in addition to the official exchange list there was a kind of black market in exchanges, in which offers were touted round the occupants of likely districts. We also know that substantial proportions of the younger residents of Lissadel St. had paid upwards of £200 for houses with a site value of £50 in order to improve their chances of being rehoused and that they regarded the loss as "key money".

If we consider other forces operating such as differential tolerance of travelling long distances to work, differential ability to adjust to new environments and life-styles, or to afford higher rents and travel costs, differential motivation and competence in "achieving" the better council dwellings then we can see how residential segregation increasingly reflects segregation on other indices. This would pose no problems if residents on the different areas were equally satisfied with their situations, but this is manifestly not so. Market forces have over-ridden bureaucratic rules to produce inequality, yet the implicit assumptions of planned intervention through housing policy are that inequality should be minimised.

Proposition A Planned intervention in the form of urban renewal leads to increased social segregation by residential area.

Social segregation can be defined by homogeneity within and heterogeneity between areas. Whilst the two concepts of homogeneity and heterogeneity are interrelated, the preliminary hypotheses treat them separately.

Hypothesis 1. The effect of the renewal programme has been to increase the homogeneity of the populations in the three study areas.

  1.1 Homogeneity is measured by concentration within areas on the following stratification variables:

Variables	Indicators available
Age	Age group
Sex	Sex Females/1000 males
Occupation	Registrar Generals Classifications
Household composition	No. of people in h/h.
	Relationships of people in h/h.
Family cycle	Age of children
Income	No. of earners in h/h.
	Consumer durables in h/h.
Autochthony	Birth in Salford/age of immigration.

  1.2 To detect homogeneity some measure of dispersion is necessary. Where standard deviation is not appropriate then some significant increase in "modal" values and concomitant decrease in peripheral values will be used. This applies to the dichotomous case in which one value will be considered normative (eg. a household containing only of a married couple and their children).

Hypothesis 11   The effect of the renewal programme has been to segregate populations on the basis of life-chances and their orientations towards them.

11.1   That is to say that, all being equal, all people would like a modern home in a "nice" environment, but in reality those who have acquired the more desirable homes and life styles (in this case, almost exclusively on overspill) are characterised as more "orderly", more "flexible" work and residential histories which reflect a more active orientation to life-chances in contrast to the more passive orientation of those who live in either of the two city-centre areas.

11.2   Segregation has also occurred in material and social advantage and disadvantage, so that one may talk meaningfully of "boons" and "banes", and of "winner" and "loser" syndromes. The hypothesis leads us to expect a greater concentration of "boons" and "winners" in the overspill area.

11.3   Heterogeneity is measured by significant differences between areas on the following variables:

Variables	Indicators available
Active-passive orientations	Reasons given for leaving past jobs of male tenant, and for leaving all addresses since marriage.
Flexibility	Correlation between number of jobs and number of addresses.
"Winners"	Changes to better addresses Changes to better jobs held. Tolerance of increased cost of rent and journey to work.
"Boons"	Working status of resident children. Possession of Consumer durables. Number of earners per household.
"Losers"	Changes to Worse addresses Changes to Worse jobs.
"Banes"	Proportion of (households with) children aged 0-4 Proportion of single person households. Proportion of elderly people.

In some cases it will be necessary to use age and/or length of residence as intervening variables.

11.4   Statistical measures of heterogeneity will be differences between arithmetic means, medians, or modes, for interval data, or by appropriate non-parametric tests

Testing the hypotheses of proposition A

Hypothesis 1

Age   If we take the Salford C.B. data as normative, then H_1 stands for both wave 1 and wave 11, with respect to age, for the overspill estate, especially in view of its lack of older inhabitants compared both with the C.B. figures and with the other two study areas. The control area has a marked increase in the proportion of children aged 0-9.

Table A1   Age

Age-group	Salford C.B. 1961 %	Salford C.B. 1966 %	1964 Centre %	1964 Control %	1964 Overspill %	1965 Centre %	1965 Control %	1965 Overspill %
0- 9	15.7	17.6	14	22	14	18	24	14
10-19	15.7	15.7	25	19	28	24	19	29
20-29	12.8	12.5	10	11	6	9	11	6
30-39	12.7	10.8	10	14	11	8	14	9
40-49	13.6	12.5	15	11	23	16	11	23
50-59	13.6	13.9	13	10	11	13	8	12
60-69	9.4	10.0	6	8	4	7	7	5
70 +	6.4	7.0	7	5	4	6	5	3

Sex   Using the ratio of females per thousand males as an indicator, the hypothesis stands for the centre and control areas but not for the overspill. The centre becomes more 'male' and the control more "female".

Table A2   Females / 1000 Males.

Salford C.B. 1966	Centre	1964 Control	Overspill
1075	935	1200	1030

Occupation

Comparison of the occupational structure, as defined by the Registrar General's Classification of occupations, tends to confirm the hypothesis in that overspill is more homogeneous.

Table A2   Occupation (1964 only)

Registrar General's Class	Salford C.B.(males) 1961 %	1966 %	(all males) Centre %	Control %	Overs. %	(Principal males) Centre %	Control %	Overs. %	head of (household) Centre %	Control %	Overs. %
I/II	7.6	8.0	3	4	3	3	5	2	3	4	2
III n-m	13.4	14.8	8	9	5	5	6	4	4	7	6
III m	45.0	42.8	52	44	56	51	44	57	47	40	50
IV	19.5	18.9	21	26	25	23	25	26	27	28	30
V	13.6	14.2	16	17	11	18	20	10	19	21	12
Base for %			243	200	263	154	154	189	217	223	237

Household Composition

If homogeneity is measured by the absence of single person households, then overspill is more homogeneous. The control is more homogeneous with respect to absence of larger households. If homogeneity is measured by the proportion of households consisting of married couples, either with or without children, overspill is again more homogeneous.

Table A4   Household Composition

(i) Size

No. of people in household	Salford C.B. 1961 %	1966 %	Worsley U.D.* 1961 %	1966 %	Centre 1964 %	1965 %	Control 1964 %	1965 %	Overspill 1964 %	1965 %
1	16.4	18.8	11.7	12.7	21	17	16	15	10	10
2	28.0	28.9	27.8	28.2	15	19	26	27	20	20
3	22.6	19.5	24.2	23.4	15	15	19	16	22	20
4	16.6	15.2	20.4	18.6	20	17	18	20	21	22
5	8.7	8.9	9.8	11.3	15	18	13	12	13	14
6	4.2	4.9	3.8	3.6	8	5	2	4	9	8
7 +	3.5	3.7	2.4	2.2	6	8	6	6	5	6
X̄	(3.03)	(3.11)	(3.11)		(3.40)	(3.54)	(2.50)	(3.36)	(3.61)	(3.62)

(*Worsley Urban District is the Local Authority in which the overspill is located)

(ii)

Household consists of	Centre 1964 %	Control 1964 %	Overspill 1964 %
Married couple (with children)	58	56	64
Married couple (no children)	9	12	18
Other	33	27	18

Family Cycle   The data leads to neither acceptance nor rejection of the hypothesis because we have no adequate definition of homogeneity when two variables are involved simultaneously (ie. age of parents. age of children). Moreover we have no normative data on Salford C.B.

Table A5   Proportion of households containing children where children are aged:

(1964)	Centre	Control	Overspill
All children aged under 15	33	63	44
Children aged both under and over 15	31	14	27
All children aged over 15	36	23	29

Income   No direct measure of income is available. Income must therefore be measured indirectly through number of earners, especially primary earners, per household, and through an index of consumer durable possession. Taking into account all earners the control and overspill areas are more homogeneous than the centre, but taking primary earners, the control area is much more homogeneous than centre or overspill with respect to single primary earner households. The centre is more homogeneous than the overspill.

With respect to the number of consumer durables in the household the hypothesis stands for the control, but not for the centre or overspill.

Table A6   (i) Earners (1964)   (ii)

| | All earners | | | Primary earners | | | Consumer durables(1965)** | | |
	Centre %	Control %	Overs. %	Centre %	Control %	Overs. %		Centre %	Control %	Overs. %
0	17	15	14	17	15	14	0	11	7	2
1	27	39	24	58	77	50	1	29	30	10
2	25	33	36	21	8	33	2	27	33	19
3	20	9	19	4	*	3	3	18	20	28
4 +	11	4	7				4	12	9	26
							5	3	1	15

(*less than 0.5%)

(**Consumer durables are: Television; Record-player/Tape recorder; Washing-machine; Car, Refrigerator)

autochthony

The hypothesis does not appear to stand for birthplace and age of immigration to Salford, except to say that the centre and control areas have fewer immigrants after age 16.

Table A7   Immigration to Salford (1964)

	Centre	Control	Overspill
	%	%	%
Born in Salford	80	78	78
before age 16	9	10	6
age 16 to marriage	7	8	12
after marriage	5	4	4

Hypothesis 11.

Active-passive orientations

Without a recoding operation on the original questionnaires the data is unsatisfactory. Reasons given for changing addresses are difficult to classify, since being moved for clearance or demolition may equally well indicate resolution as passivity. Changes of jobs can at least be classified into active and non-active. "Active" reasons for leaving jobs include reduction of travel time and costs, more pay, a "better" job, and "just for a change". The figures support the hypothesis (centre 25%, control 30%, and overspill 44%)

Flexibility

On the basis of the proposed indicators, the hypothesis appears to be disproved, since the centre appears to be most 'flexible'. This appears to be a case where researchers insights and hunches based on fieldwork cannot be proved for lack of data.

Table A8

Number of addresses and no. of jobs of male tenant. (1965)

		Centre		Control		Overspill	
addresses		1.2	3 or more	1.2	3+	1.2	3+
		%	%	%	%	%	%
jobs	1-2	25	33	45	14	23	34
	3 +	17	25	21	20	12	31

Yule's Q = 0.036   0.641   0.254

"Winners"

Using comparative condition of dwelling for all changes of dwelling, the hypothesis holds for centre and overspill residents, but this is only to be expected since they now live in post-war dwellings. Using comparative pay for all jobs of male tenant, the hypothesis tends to hold for overspill with marginal increases in the proportion of changes for more pay, and decreases for less.

Table A9

	(i) Condition of dwelling				(ii) Comparative pay		
	Centre	Control	Overspill		Centre	Control	Overspill
	%	%	%		%	%	%
Better	67	46	65	More	54	60	65
Same	19	24	22	Same	25	16	18
Worse	14	30	13	Less	21	24	17

Centre and overspill residents are not differentiated on the basis of comparative rent, but there is great differentiation on cost of journey to work.

Table A 10	(i) Comparative Rent (1965				(ii) Cost of Journey to work (1964)		
	Centre %	Control %	Overspill %		Centre %	Control %	Overspill %
More	72	53	72	Nothing / 25 p	57	39	23
Same	11	21	12		19	26	9
Less	17	26	16	25-49 p	13	17	12
				50-74 p	4	2	21
				75 p	1	16	13
				Car	6	1	22

"Boons"

Working status of resident children should show whether children aged 15 or over are still at school. This data will have to await computer work. Reference to Tables A6(i) and A6(ii) show that the hypothesis stands. Households in the control area have fewer primary earners and overspill has substantially more. Overspill has overwhelmingly more households with 4 or 5 of the consumer durables listed.

"Losers"

Table A9(i) Confirms the hypothesis for households on the control area with respect to dwellings and Table A9(ii) confirms for households in the two city areas with respect to lower paid jobs.

"Banes"

There are no figures available for the proportion of households with children aged 0-4, but only for proportions of total population. The control area has an abnormally high percentage of these at 14% compared to 7% on each of the others. The two city areas have 8% of their population aged 65 or over compared to 5% on overspill, and also have higher proportions of single person households. The hypothesis therefore appears to be confirmed for "banes".

Some means will have to be found for combining advantageous and disadvantageous characteristics into a single index of location on a 'winner-loser' continuum.

Proposition B: If one assumes a social change pattern in working-class life-styles
                  from "traditional" to either "neo-traditional" or "modern" this
                  movement is influenced towards the "neo-traditional" by strong kinship
                  ties. The tendency will be present on all three areas, but most
                  clear on overspill.

"Traditional" life-styles are characterised by short journeys to work on foot,
cycle or bus; separation of sex-roles in the home and in leisure; intense
interaction with kin and neighbours; involvement in traditional local culture.

"Neo-traditional" differs from traditional only in time and increased degree
of material well-being.

"Modern" life styles are characterised by long journeys to work, substantial
proportions by car; a tendency for husbands and wives to do things together;
privatization; non-involvement in traditional local culture.

Variables	Indicators available
Dependent: Life-style	Journey to work (Time, Cost, Modal Split)
	Sunday lunchtime drinking by men
	Visit to or by neighbour
	Leisure pursuits (Type, Frequency, Alone or with spouse)
Independent: Kinship	Numbers of kin
	Frequency of contact (by husband, by wife)
	Sex of ego
	Sex of kin
	Relationship to ego
	Geographical distance
	Subjective distance
Intervening: Area Age Length of residence Attitude to area	Satisfaction rating Neighbourliness rating Wish to move

Tables illustrating single indicators of variables in Proposal B.

Life-style: Examples are, first, comparison of means of transport of male tenant to first job (at marriage or age 21 whichever earlier) and to present job, second, frequency with which male tenant goes out to various activities, and third, comparison of the number of activities attended at least once a month by male and female tenants.

Table B1   Modal Split (Male tenant: 1965)

	First job			Present Job		
	Centre %	Control %	Overspill %	Centre %	Control %	Overspill %
Walk/cycle	47	40	34	46	36	11
Public	47	52	56	44	49	51
Private	6	8	10	10	15	38

Chi-Square testing has shown no significant difference between areas on first jobs, or between first and present jobs for the centre and control areas. On present jobs the overspill differs from the other areas, and also on comparison of first and present jobs. Using modal split as an indicator, we are led to believe that overspill residents are more "modern". There is also a hint that the centre area is more "traditional" than the "control" judging by the numbers walking or cycling to work.

Table B2   Leisure Activities (1965)

(i) Male tenant's outings   (ii) Number of activities of male and female tenants

	Centre %	Control %	Overspill %		Centre Male %	Female %	Control Male %	Female %	Overspill Male %	Female %
Daily	12	9	2							
Weekly	73	73	78	0	14	25	19	31	19	24
Monthly	15	17	20	1	43	41	30	36	37	43
or less				2	28	26	30	23	26	22
				3+	15	8	21	10	18	11

Table B(i) Shows that overspill is more 'modern' in that male tenants go out less frequently. This is particularly marked in the relative proportions going out every day of the week. Table B(ii) does not seem to reveal any significant differences between areas.

Kinship: There is a vast amount of information available on the kinship patterns, but for the purpose of this paper it is necessary to illustrate only two aspects, composition and intensity. Since the most intense kinship activity centres round contact between female tenants and female kin the examples here show only the contact frequencies of the female tenants with their mothers, sisters and married daughters.

Table B3	(i) Composition				(ii) Contact frequency by female te...		
	Centre %	Control %	Overspill %		Centre %	Control %	Overspill %
				Mother			
No kin seen	36	27	33	Daily	45	43	18
At least one*	64	73	67	Weekly	40	43	54
				Less	15	14	28
* Parents	26	31	31	Sister			
Married children	34	20	28	Daily	20	33	10
Others**	40	49	41	Weekly	51	35	54
				Less	29	32	36
**Husbands Brother	10	15	13	Daughters			
Husbands Sister	15	20	15	Daily	40	41	39
Wife's Brother	22	15	22	Weekly	43	27	47
Wife's Sister	40	31	37	Less	17	32	14
Other	13	19	13				

Rehousing, whether in the centre or in overspill, is associated with an increase in the numbers of households with no kin contact at all, and to a decrease in contact with husbands kin. Rehousing on overspill is associated with a decrease in contact by wives with their mother and sisters, but not with their daughters. Age of tenant and number of kin in each category are necessary as intervening variables, and distance to kin is a necessary component in intensity.

Dummy tables to illustrate mode of analysis for Proposition B.

Table 1 Life-style	City Centre (Trinity)	Control (Lissadel St.)	Overspill (Mt. Skip)
Dependent Y_1			
Trad.	%	%	%
Neo-trad.	%	%	%
Modern	%	%	%

Dependent Y_2

:

Dependent Y_n

Dependent $Y_{\Sigma 1-n}$

Table 2

Life-style Y_1	Kinship X_1	X_2 .... X_m		$X\Sigma 1-m$
Trad.) Neo-trad)	%	%	%	%
Modern Y_2	%	%	%	%

:

Y_n

$Y_{\Sigma 1-n}$

Kinship $X\Sigma 1-m$

Table 3 Life-style $Y_{\Sigma 1-n}$	City Centre Weak	Strong	Control Weak	Strong	Overspill Weak	Strong
Trad) Neo-trad)	%	%	%	%	%	%
Modern	%	%	%	%	%	%

Other analysis should include discriminant function analysis on the whole sample to see if groups do form on the basis of the input variables, and to see where these groups overlap the residential areas. If satisfactory summation procedures can be found for life-style and for kinship, then regression techniques may be applied.