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SOCIAL NETWORKS IN EAST CLEVELAND:

A STUDY OF POWERLESSNESS AND NON-PARTICIPATION

by

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March, 1982



22. MAY 1984

Abstract

This thesis is based on material gathered as part of a larger, multi-methodological study of public participation in Structure Planning in Cleveland County in the North East of England. The variations in local responses to planning policies were investigated through the use of the social networks approach, in which the interaction between individuals and sets of individuals was the main focus of the analysis. The case-study in this thesis covers an area in which there was little, if any, response to the Structure Plans. It is, therefore, primarily an explanation of non-participation.

The former ironstone mining settlements of the Skelton and Brotton area of East Cleveland are marked by declining employment opportunities, poor roads and facilities, and much old and obsolete housing. The image of dereliction, fragmentation and deprivation is reinforced by the planners' treatment of the area, both in the plans and in the way that public participation in the area was managed. Analysis of interaction in networks shows some interpenetration of group membership, but no coherent, enduring involvement by participators from more than one village together, raising questions of cohesion and conflict. Within the context of fragmentation and competition between villages, the impact of major demolition and renovation schemes is assessed.

The explanation of non-participation in a situation of clear inequality and disadvantage necessitates the use of power theory of a more radical type than that which has usually been applied to the inherently political process of planning. A theoretical framework adequate to deal with the powerlessness of a population whose interests are adversely affected by those in power, is a modified version of Lukes' three-dimensional approach. Ideological factors such as deference can thus be related to the acquiescence found.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis is the result of fieldwork undertaken in the North East of England in 1974-76, under a grant from the Centre for Environmental Studies in London. The project was based on my own original idea and was then developed in conjunction with Professor Norman Long, whose enthusiasm, endurance and tactful direction of the research I would like to gratefully acknowledge.

There are many people with whom I have discussed the research, both at the University of Durham and at Teesside Polytechnic, but of all these I owe the greatest intellectual debt to my husband, Steve Cornish, whose thorough grasp of the subject matter made him an invaluable sounding board for my thoughts. His help in domestic chores also enabled the completion of the work.

In addition, I would like to thank the many students from the University of Durham and Teesside Polytechnic who contributed to the completion of the sample survey; their cheerful, careful efforts in administering interviews were highly appreciated by the main research team of myself, Miss Rosemary Lumb and Mr. Declan Lynch.

I am also very grateful to my many friends and neighbours in Lingdale and the surrounding area, for their encouragement and their help in taking care of my son, Michael, so that I could have time to write this thesis. Thanks especially go to Joan and Pauline.

Last but not least, for their encouragement and support over untold years, I give my thanks to my parents; to Dad, who now will not read this, and to Mom, who has all the time to do so. Where he gave me single-mindedness, she gave me the broader powers of reasoning.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

There has been much debate during the 1960's and '70's about the necessity for comprehensive planning and the related phenomenon of participation by the public in the planning process. Some have espoused an "ideal of comprehensiveness" without adequately defining it, while others have rejected the notion that comprehensive planning and unified public goals could be realised within practical programmes (Hague and McCourt 1974). While this debate has been taking place in North America as well as in Britain and Europe, it has particular significance in Britain for two main reasons. First, with the introduction of a new system of planning in the early 1970's, each county has been obliged to undertake a comprehensive planning exercise to encompass a twenty-year period. The Parliamentary Act defining this new system¹ also entailed new methods for incorporating public participation within the process, for the ideals of generating public goals from the grass roots and co-ordinating private and public interests on more than an ad hoc basis were seen as essentials in a democratic state with a mixed economy.

The second reason for the immediate significance of the debate for Britain has to do with the rising currency of the notion of worker participation, throughout the later 1970's, a period which has seen increasing turbulence within the Labour Party, and within the Labour Movement as a whole. Although it may have been a hope of those articulating the ideology of participation that increasing the workers' ability to control their working environment would lead to broader avenues of participation within the community as a whole, some studies have cast

1 The Town and Country Planning Act, 1971.



doubt on such an outcome. For example, Harvey (1974) argues that there is an inverse relationship between those who take an active part in guiding community affairs, and those who are activists within the union, or in the workplace. In Oxfordshire, Simmie found a similar separation of participation in these two fields of activity (1971). This theme will be pursued further below; in this context perhaps a more pressing issue arises from the fact that the relevant literature on theories of democracy and participation has been written prior to the sustained increases in unemployment the country now faces, and prior to the 1981 Labour Party disorders. As participation through work declines dramatically in these circumstances, the more probable outcome will be the shrinking of the base of democratic socialism, at least in the form that was anticipated.

The Development of the Research Problem

Cleveland County in the North East of England is an area which has experienced high levels of unemployment over several decades, and it was also one of the first counties to undertake the new Structure Planning process in the late 1960's. The groundwork for the plan began well in advance of the Act becoming law, and was seen by planners and the Ministry alike as somewhat of an experiment. These factors, together with the convenient fact that I was living in the county, made it an ideal location for a study of social responses to planned change.

Studying change in an area where one is living presents its own unique advantages and difficulties; while it has been possible to see the implementation of many aspects of the plan and to further gauge public opinion on a variety of issues, it has also sometimes been difficult to stop collecting data. There is the problem of perspective as well, since development takes

many forms, and when viewed from an everyday perspective it can be like watching the back of one's hand. Over ten years it does not appear to change, for there is the intervening variable of familiarity. While the "anthropological present" of this study may be taken as 1975 when the majority of the data were collected, certainly the formulation of the research problem and the analysis of the data span a decade, during which time events within the county and the country as a whole have informed my understanding of the "study" in its narrow sense.

The roots of this research, however, lie even further back, in my interest in the social networks approach, situational analysis and the extended-case method; in short, in the general orientation of the Manchester school. It seemed to me that the usefulness of this more recent "little tradition" in anthropological research was in its attention to small-scale situations in complex societies, a departure from the older traditions of general ethnographies of small-scale societies on the one hand and cross-cultural comparisons of cultural traits on the other. Such an approach seeks to define units of research and analysis at a level between the local village and the national polity; it aims at an illumination of links between local, regional and national levels of society. As a form of micro-analysis it has found many applications, from African tribesmen in urban situations to inter-ethnic relations in Norway, to varieties of co-operation and organisation in English families. Their common thread was the moving away from structural-functionalism, towards a more actor-oriented framework, while still maintaining a strong sense of the relevance of the social structure and institutional context. Though my early commitment to this method developed prior to the discovery of the research problem, at the same time it helped me to perceive the kinds of areas in

which I felt a useful study could be done.

In 1972, I began with an exploration into the ways in which the individual perceives the environment he lives in, which implied doing some form of community study inevitably involving processes of social change. The relationship between urban and rural areas emerged as a central concern, as the study area was narrowed from North East England in general to Cleveland County in particular. Within the context of changing communities, the very tangible process of structure planning brought together all the themes of the research and at the same time enabled me to ask questions about peoples' reactions to change which otherwise would have been purely hypothetical. Planned change presented issues which crystalised notions about "community" which normally remain muted and intangible; it heightened public awareness of some issues, to a degree, and at the same time presented a useful research context.

While the responses to the structure plans provided a specific focus for the fieldwork, the study naturally included a broader range of investigations into the relationship between residents in a given locality and their local government; in assessing the flow of information within the social networks we were looking at a crucial element in that relationship. Since planned change must entail asking questions about the formulation of public goals, how people relate their private and sub-group goals to these, and how public goals are determined and implemented (see Swartz 1968:3), the research was therefore set within the framework of local-level politics. Political processes in their formal, institutional, as well as informal manifestations became a major factor in the study.

This "history of the research" has briefly set out the

origins and the development of the central themes and methodology adopted; it was out of these origins that the more explicit problem focus emerged. In using the social networks approach it is particularly important to have a well articulated research problem, because of the difficult problem of setting boundaries to the research. There has to be some logical closure of the system to be analysed, or else the "number of variables that may be relevant...are beyond the anthropologist's control" (Kaplan and Manners 1972:82). In the process of tracing relationships of various sorts between individuals and sets of individuals, we could continue ad infinitum until we ran out of people, theoretically (Barnes 1972). The boundaries of villages, towns, groups, institutions, etc., cannot be used for closing down on a system because we are explicitly studying ties which cut across such spatial and social boundaries. The view of Gluckman and Devons was that the "system" must be bounded with reference to the demands of the particular research problem, and that the researcher must be prepared to redefine the boundaries on the basis of the fieldwork, as a more precise view of the pattern of interpersonal relationships becomes more visible.

Networks and Closure of the System: Political Actions and Power

The central problem in the Cleveland Project was how to explain the variations in responses to the structure plans in different localities in Cleveland County. Were such variations mainly a function of the different issues arising in the given situations, or were they attributable to differences in social class or population structure, or to the existence of leaders (or lack of them, as the case may be)? These were some of the types of explanations previously put forth in participation

studies, but they were felt to be inadequate in the sense that they could only partially explain the varieties of responses to plans. A more useful explanatory factor might be the patterns of interaction in local social networks. The research project¹ was therefore designed to examine how particular individuals and sets of individuals define and assess the relevance of various strategic and local planning issues, and how involvement in certain types of social networks affects the ways in which they present their views and seek legitimacy and support for them. By choosing certain individuals who would serve as "reference points" (Barnes' term for the starting points from which the researcher begins his exploration of network ties), and then documenting these links in terms of exchanges of information, favours, services, support, and the like, a detailed description of the ways responses to planning policy ramify within and across networks can be built up. Logical closure of this system would, in principle, be based upon the "content" of the relationship represented by network links; those with an observed or putative political significance would be followed up, and those without would be excluded. However, in practice this might often have led to the exclusion of relationships which may not have entailed political involvement in themselves, but which were instrumentally used in the gaining of access to information through some indirect route. Hence the drawing of a line in the field was often based on intuitive judgment over and above carefully conceived principles.

The difference between a tidy notion of overlapping partial

1 Funded by CES under the direction of Norman Long, within the Department of Anthropology at the University of Durham, from 1974-76.

networks and the tangle of actual human relationships found in real situations is one confronted by all researchers; it is the gap between the empirical and the analytical levels in essence. Analysis in the field is a continual process, and it is this aspect which no doubt led Gluckman and Devons to make their comment about redefining boundaries on the basis of fieldwork. In doing social networks research it assumes perhaps even greater significance because of the emphasis placed on the patterns of relationships. One important example of this is a germinal essay by Granovetter (1973) on the strength of "weak ties", which will be discussed at greater length below. The use of a given relationship as an indirect path giving access to information is an example of the usefulness of the notion of a weak tie. It can only be shown to have such significance as part of an overall pattern of strong and weak ties which are manipulated by the chosen reference point from which the links in the networks were traced. And the relevance of his manipulations must be seen in the context of a working definition of what is a political activity. It is clear that seeking mass media publicity, calling public meetings, lobbying governmental departments, writing letters expressing opinions on public issues, and the like are political activities in that they entail the formulation of group goals and the relating of these to larger public goals (Swartz 1968). Many of these activities are embodied in the activation of a network link; yet would every such use of a link be a political action? The answer is obviously "no", and the nature of the links must be judged in relation to the wider context and consequences of the transactions taking place in the networks.

Political activities such as writing letters, calling public

meetings, etc., which Bailey (1960) says constitute the "language of micro-politics" are commonly used in transactions between residents and agencies or persons outside a locality, as well as between co-residents. Politics in this sense may sometimes correspond to the institutional activities of local and national government in the sense that the persons principally involved in manipulating information and initiating contacts or distributing favours are elected representatives and members of a political party. However, there may be many political actions which are not so clearly set within the institutional framework, by individuals who are neither party members nor members of explicitly political groups, but who nevertheless seek information about local issues and who become part of the web of confrontation and support through what Birch (1969) calls the "small-politics" of their daily lives.

Barnes considers that the analysis of local politics consists of isolating "those processes whereby individuals and groups attempt to mobilise support for their various purposes and to influence the attitudes and actions of their fellows" (1969:52). Hence, political action may be distinguished from other modes of action by characterising it as that which is ultimately concerned with the distribution and use of public power. Such an analysis is, by definition, concerned with power, though presumably it may demonstrate a distinction between those individuals and groups which seek to improve their power for one particular issue (that is, on a temporary basis) and those which seek to acquire and maintain a power base of a more permanent nature.

In studying the fluctuating phenomenon of participation, in which public issues run a course of rising and then falling

involvement, such a distinction in the notion of power can be most useful. Put in social networks terms, then, relationships which seem essentially non-political (because they are validated with reference to non-political norms and values, e.g. kinship and friendship bonds) may under certain circumstances have political significance, not solely for the individuals directly involved but also for others who form part of their networks. When an individual uses personal relationships with others outside the locality in order to increase his political standing in the local context, such action also has political significance as a "bridge-action", to use Bailey's term (1960), linking outside groups and institutions, and local residents. Although it may initially represent the instrumental use of a network link by a particular person, later it might serve as an important channel for information and open up the possibility of developing other similar relationships for other members of the local grouping. Indeed, it might bring the core of local persons in the individual's network a step closer to the formulation and realisation of their goals vis-à-vis local planning proposals. On the other hand, it might be regarded rather as a jealously guarded resource which the initiating individuals seeks to preserve as his own, improving his political standing by lending him a mystique of expertise and "connectedness".

The Relationship of the Cleveland Project to This Thesis

To analyse such a range of political activity through social networks across the whole of Cleveland County would clearly be beyond the scope of this thesis, which focusses on one of the three case studies from the Cleveland Project, that of the Skelton-Brotton area in East Cleveland. It is an area destined for "limited development" within the terms of the structure plan,

a designation which merits particular interest in relation to the overall "growth orientation" of the Cleveland County Structure Plan. Tracing the relationships between East and West Cleveland and between urban and rural Cleveland in terms of the plans and of the types and levels of public participation observed, should serve to generate a broader comparative context with which to illuminate the particular problems of the Skelton-Brotton area. This rural-urban, East-West framework was chosen to guide the Cleveland Project, particularly in the selection of localities to be studied, and it is reflected in this thesis to the extent that the general findings of the survey phase of the Cleveland Project provide a comparative dimension for the case study. Operationally, the phases of the fieldwork tended to overlap, and my involvement in each type of data collection is described in more detail in Chapter II. For the purpose of this thesis, I propose to draw mainly on my own fieldwork notes from the case study and from the survey data and pilot interviews conducted in the six localities.

The overall findings of the Cleveland Project must be considered incomplete at the present time, as the data from the entire sample have undergone only the most basic stages of analysis. There are many more complex statistical manipulations to be performed, particularly in relation to the social networks section of the data. However, the nature of those data are such that they would mainly describe the frequency of contact, type of relationship and physical distance of a range of kin, neighbours and friends of each respondent in the sample; the phenomena of information flow and transactions within networks, and the processes entailed in network manipulation and expansion over time, would not be directly evident from the survey data.

As such, I do not expect the absence of these results to undermine the arguments in this thesis.

Fragmentation and Cohesion; Conflict and Consensus

The central debate which arises from the Skelton-Brotton case study revolves around the two related notions of cohesion and fragmentation. When viewed by outsiders (for example, planners from the North Riding or from the Cleveland County Planning Office), "fragmented" is the immediate and lasting impression of this area as a whole; Skelton itself on the other hand was singled out by planners for its "social cohesion".¹ This demonstrates at the very least that some planners evidently attempt to see the communities they act upon in something approaching sociological terms. But there was no explicitly presented evidence to support their description. Indeed, the area was generally under-researched by both planning authorities involved in the preparation of the structure plans.² Nevertheless, whether the notions of "fragmentation" and "cohesion" are used by casual observers or by social scientists studying communities and the social relationships in them, the two terms have come to be used in a variety of ways which must be clarified.

In the main, cohesion refers to the extent to which members of a community co-operate with one another for their common benefit. It is a measure of the integration between various elements in the given locality, and of the degree of success in minimising conflict. Such a definition presumes that there is such a thing as a community, with geographical boundaries coinciding with a pattern of population distribution. The traditional type of community study made such an assumption, as

1 NRCC 1973

2 One outcome of the Examination in Public was that supplementary studies of housing and industry in East Cleveland were ordered, with certain policies resting on the findings of these.

Warren observed: "all of these basic approaches, in some way or another, come to grips with the inescapable fact that the clustering of people for residence and sustenance involves a relationship of social interaction within a geographical locality" (1966: vi). In trying to bring order to the chaotic range of over ninety definitions of "community", Bell and Newby observed that one of two principle bases of the concept underlie most uses of it. There are those which emphasise the geographical, or sense of place, and those which are more concerned with "the degree of involvement" amongst the individuals in the place (1971:16). They point out that the latter group usually are associated with attempts to contrast community with non-community, to identify and locate the community somewhere on a continuum between the Gemeinschaft and the Gesellschaft elements first extrapolated by Tönnies in 1887. This dichotomy contained a moral judgment engendered by the industrial revolution, that Gemeinschaft or community as an ideal embodied intimate human relationships, a homogeneous culture, enduring institutions, ascriptive rather than achieved status, and low physical and social mobility, while Gesellschaft was the opposite of all these. The impersonal, bureaucratic, contractual ties that are characteristic of relationships in the sprawling, urban, industrial centres were seen as symptomatic of the loss of solidarity, for the gain of rationality which has been identified as a central feature of western capitalism. Even more crucial in this dichotomy was the notion that Gemeinschaft or true community entailed an "emotional cohesion, depth, continuity and fullness" (Bell and Newby 1971:24). As originally used, this was the core of the concept of community, though its more recent use by most sociologists involves the notion of solidary human relations in

a particular place.

Thus it can be seen that the traditional concept of community entails an assumption that cohesion exists, in a sense holding things together. In such a model the emphasis is on how strong moral codes are used to enforce adherence to tradition, a continual process made possible by the fact that everyone has a certain place in the social structure and is known to everyone else. The relationships could be characterised as multiplex, or involving several normative contexts, so that kin, neighbours, patron and client, etc., might be seen as different aspects of one and the same interpersonal relationship. With each individual bound to many others in a number of ways, there is a cross-cutting of ties which acts as a mechanism for minimising conflict. A disagreement arising in one context must be set against obligations and duties in another; the multiplexity of the relationship makes it possible and indeed necessary to find the means of keeping controversy from reaching an extreme.

In exploring the themes of conflict and consensus, and fragmentation and cohesion in the context of local level politics and public participation, this discussion will try to avoid the assumption that community is inherently based upon cohesion.

My grounds for dismissing such a line of reasoning are, firstly, that the processes being analysed by their nature span several "communities" so that this is not a "community study" per se, bounded spatially and institutionally; and secondly that the dualism of the consensus versus conflict argument disguises the essential elements of power relationships and forces a false choice between a model which explains only stability and one which explains only change. As Wrong has argued, all power relations entail both a consensual pressure towards

legitimation and a resistance to coercion, "whether the interaction of these pressures leads to change or persistence" (1979: 90). Similarly, the localities in the case study may seem to be characterised partly by cohesion and partly by fragmentation, while the interplay of these tendencies results in the area having a variable image when seen by outsiders over time. Depending upon the focus of the onlooker, the phenomenon observed may be one or the other; if there is fragmentation between groups there must be cohesion within them (Wrong 1959:92). Granovetter may have been making a similar point when he argued that the hypothetical social structure comprising social networks characterised by a high incidence of weak ties¹ may be highly fragmented, but only when viewed as it were from above, at an analytical level. When looking at the specific, local manifestations of the networks, one would see a pattern more cohesive in appearance (1973:1374).

In terms of doing network research, Granovetter's article draws a useful distinction between studies which stress the encapsulation of an individual by his immediate social network, and those which stress the way networks are manipulated by the individuals in them. His own study falls into the latter group, as does this thesis, in the way that it looks beyond the immediate contacts of the reference point, to the contacts of those contacts. In questioning the established view that close-knit networks made up of multiplex, strong ties were the basis of traditionalist, cohesive communities, he broke new ground with his evaluation of network links in terms of their effectiveness as

¹ Strong ties are those based on long and frequent contact, emotional intensity, mutual confiding and reciprocity of services; weak ties show a lack of all these features.

bridge-actions. This led to the suggested hypothesis that "the more local bridges (weak ties) in a community and the greater their degree, the more cohesive the community and the more capable it is of acting in concert" (Granovetter 1973: 1376). While it has yet to be specifically tested, the hypothesis could have a certain appeal, if it were not for the way it begs the question of cohesiveness by placing it upon a situationally dependent basis. The effectiveness of the bridges would only be seen in the context of certain issues being played out. Acting in concert when faced by a common threat might not imply cohesiveness so much as a high level of political skill and network manipulation on the part of several "brokers" or bridges in the community, suggesting rather a fragmented or factional social structure which appeared cohesive in certain situations. This will be discussed further in Chapter IV; the extent to which weak ties can be seen as contributing to an individual's opportunities and to his integration into the community, as suggested by Granovetter (1973:1378) is a matter which should be established empirically.

Social Change and the Rural-Urban Continuum

Reflecting on these various uses of the concepts of conflict and consensus or fragmentation and cohesion, it is evidently very difficult but nonetheless necessary to avoid treating them as opposite poles of a continuum; they have far more vitality as analytical tools when seen as inter-related tendencies engendering one and the same process. This orientation towards process is consistent with a view which regards conflict as a natural consequence of social structure, since the latter is not assumed necessarily to be coherent and consistent but rather is seen as a system of norms and values which are

situationally manipulated by individuals in pursuit of their own interests and ends. This departs somewhat from Gluckman's use of conflict as a term reserved for oppositions more fundamental than the rifts occurring on the surface of everyday life; oppositions "compelled by the very structure of social organisation" and "discrepancies at the very heart of the system" which set in motion the processes that may change personnel in certain social positions, but do not change the pattern of those positions (1965:109). While his notion of conflict as part of a process is similar to mine, his view of a social structure rests on an assumed systemic consistency. For change to occur in the structure, this consistency would have to be challenged by irresolvable discrepancies which he calls "contradictions". My conceptualisation of the social structure as not necessarily coherent and consistent thus enables the possibility of contradictions being taken into account as inherent products of social processes. Where inequalities are created as a result of ongoing power relationships, as will be shown in Chapter II, for example, ideological components may be manufactured which deal with such contradictions, thus preventing rupture of the social structure. Social change would indeed entail a challenge to consistency, but would primarily necessitate alterations in the processes of the manufacture of ideologies.

Commenting on Gluckman's typically anthropological treatment of social change, Long points to the description of these analyses as "successive equilibria": comparisons made of the major social groupings, social positions and institutional frameworks of a given social system at successive time-periods" (Long 1968:6). Such accounts are too idealised and too concerned with consistency and continuity, Long says, to show

precisely how new elements or exogenous factors give rise to new types of social situations, relationships and values. "Nor can it give adequate coverage of the variability and flexibility of particular social systems" (Long 1968:7). His solution is to combine situational or extended-case analysis with the notion of the social field, which denotes an "area of social life defined in relation to certain types of social action" (1968:9). This kind of analysis is particularly compatible with a social networks approach in that it considers the economic, or political, or other fields of activity each with its relationships and inherent sets of values, rather than focussing strictly upon the formal institutions within a society which represent those fields. Although Long's research was set in rural Zambia, in its methodology and analytical frame it lends itself to a wider application. This broader approach with its action frame of reference is by far the most appropriate for the consideration of local level politics in modern, complex societies, as it means the researcher can relate actions in one field to those in another, showing the processes by which changes, both planned and "natural", occur and ramify.

In considering social change we have come full circle, returning to the rural-urban dichotomy which underpins much of the older work on communities and which has long been discredited as a theory of social change, as a typology for classifying communities and as an empirical distinction within British society. Not only is the present study set within "a wholly urban society", as Dunleavy characterises British society, (1980); it also specifically avoids the dichotomous mentality characteristic of urban studies of the 1950's and 1960's, and of early community studies. As Pahl has observed, the continuum

notion can be said to have arisen as a reaction against the polarisation of the rural-urban dichotomy; it has also been used to represent the process of urbanisation (1968). For Redfield's folk-urban continuum was merely an adaptation of Tönnies' notion of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, in postulating that the folk (rural) end of the continuum was made up of small, isolated villages with homogenous cultures, and intimate communications, while the urban end was characterised as large, heterogeneous and impersonal. All change was assumed to entail a move along the continuum from the folk to the urban, never in the other direction. Hence villages were increasingly being penetrated by urban forms and ideologies, the peasant and his rural traditions becoming lost and dislocated within the urban settings to which he moved in great numbers.

The inadequacies of this scheme are obvious in the numerous case studies surveyed by Benet (1963). While Lewis (1952), Tax (1939) and others have demonstrated that many relationships at the folk end of the continuum were manifestly urban in character in villages relatively separate from the urban sphere in Mexico, Gans (1962), Abu-Lughod (1961) and others have shown how cities often contain colonies of rural immigrants who maintain their own institutions and indeed invent new ones if necessary, to survive in the urban situation. Benet's aim was to criticise the urban sociology of the Chicago school by demonstrating the faulty ideological basis, lack of historical perspective and weak conceptualisation of the continuum notion, and in doing so he considers a collection of case studies from South and Middle America to North and West Africa. His belief that we can put "teeth" into the rural-urban typology by infusing a notion of "process" into the few shreds of it that he has left us,

undermines much of his argument. There remains the assumption that morphologies somehow generate ways of life in a uni-directional process, and that the processes to be studied will somehow take a similar shape to that assumption. Pahl seems to conclude likewise, that it is social process which ought to be the focus of research, rather than any continuum; his emphasis, however, (perhaps more usefully) is on what he calls "the confrontation between the local and the national" (1968:286). Thus, for example, he explores the interaction of status groups in commuter villages in Britain; the local system within which the villagers interact with incomers is seen as a social laboratory for viewing nationally determined categories of status in a locally defined situation. Pahl's plea is for a sociological frame of reference rather than a spatial one.

Dunleavy, in his political analysis, goes a step further in stressing the way local and non-local institutions are involved in decision-making processes when he says that in Britain the locus of effective decision in the social processes examined (in the study of urban politics) is predominantly non-local. He dismisses the rural/urban dichotomy or continuum as irrelevant to his analysis, which is based on the notion of "collective consumption".¹ Thus he argues that:

To the extent that the development of collective consumption processes follows different paths in inner urban, sub-urban or quasi-rural areas, then spatial variations are legitimate objects of enquiry in urban political analysis. But these variations do not reflect the influence of autonomous spatial factors or different physical environments

1 This is derived from Castells, who defines collective consumption processes as those "whose organization and management cannot be other than collective given the nature and size of the problems" (quoted in Dunleavy, 1980:45). Examples include education and health care services, social welfare, environmental facilities, cultural facilities, highways, public transport, public housing, land use regulation and urban planning. Dunleavy includes the last two because their primary impact is on the other collective consumption processes.

or different "cultures" in these areas. Rather they are aspects of a national-level differentiation of functions and activities within a society which is itself wholly urban. (1980:52).

While I agree at this theoretical level, the rural-urban distinction is irrelevant, nevertheless it remains as an artifact which must be dealt with, particularly since it determines the thinking of a majority of planners. It has passed into common usage, so that the reproduction of these categories through the planners' interpretation of the areas over which they have dominion represents a use of the rural-urban dichotomy as an ideological tool (Cornish and Cornish 1974). This aspect of policy formulation and presentation will be discussed further in the next chapter and in Chapter IV.

Structure of the Thesis

As we have seen, the explanation of variations in local responses to planned change is a complicated enterprise, requiring a politically bounded social networks approach which allows an analytical framework rigorous enough to deal with the political structures and at the same time to encompass an action frame of reference. The central issues of fragmentation and participation in the case study area must be considered within the context of the county plans as a whole, and to some extent within the wider contexts of the regional and national political structures. These themes have been explored initially but not exhaustively in this introductory chapter.

In Chapter II, the close relationship between method and theory will be emphasised, as the social networks methodology is reviewed in the light of major theories and paradigms which underlie its use. The theory-method relationship is further explored in the chapter, as the consideration of methods used

in this study leads to a broadening of the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter I. In particular, after the literature on participation is reviewed, the related notions of power and inequality are explored in some depth. Refinements to the three-dimensional approach to power theory are discussed, together with the ideological problems inherent in the study of non-participation.

A description of Cleveland County, its geography, history and socio-economic structure follows in Chapter III on the background to the study. I should make it clear that I only call this material the background for want of a better term; it is equally essential and intrinsic to the central themes of the thesis even though convention has it that such material forms a background. Also presented in the Chapter are the re-organisation of local government and its effects in Cleveland, the political context - particularly local and national - which determines policy, and a synopsis of the structure plan policies and the issues they generate. The concept of public participation as a phenomenon that is both generated and inhibited by these three spheres will also be considered.

From this wider context, the discussion moves to the case study of the Skelton-Brotton area, the central focus of the thesis. The notions of fragmentation and conflict are further developed, as a more detailed account of participation in the area is given, set against a socio-economic and historical description. The patterns of interaction in social networks are analysed in terms of the processes of identifying local interests and of negotiating the rules of political access. A major concern of the case study is explaining the relatively low level of participation and general lack of response to the structure

plans in the area. In part the explanation is sought in terms of the inherent fragmentation and competition between villages, and in part in the role of the local state in managing the participation process. The political institutions and their role in this process are thus important factors to be considered, especially the questions raised by the lack of Parish Councils in the case study area.¹ The debate about whether or not to have them, and which parts of the district they should comprise as well as how many there should be, highlights many of the points arising from the discussion of fragmentation and conflict.

Following the case study, Chapter V provides a comparative context, with a brief description of the experiences of participants in Marske, and some analysis of the general findings of the Cleveland Project Survey. Finally, the question of the implementation of the plans is considered in the light of changing population forecasts and spending cuts which set the reality of the plans far short of their idealised form.

In the final chapter, the argument that the explanation of variations in response to planning policy in general (and the non-participation of significantly large sections of the population in particular) must take account of power relations is further reinforced in terms of the notions of "local interests" and the manufacture of ideologies. Power relations in the area are put in a historical perspective by relating the deferential attitudes of East Cleveland ironstone miners to the general level of present-day acquiescence. Finally, the meaning of public participation as a component of representative democracy is evaluated in terms of the Cleveland experience.

1 For particular reasons, the study area had no Parish Councils prior to Local Government Reorganisation, and did not request any until the review of 1979.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL NETWORKS METHODOLOGY AND THEORIES OF POWER

This chapter contains a review of the literature on social networks, participation and power theory, as well as a description of the methods used in this study. As such it covers a range of theoretical and methodological issues, emphasising the nature of the relationship between these. Since the pioneering work in social networks methods reviewed below, much of the more recent research in this area has been done in the United States, by adherents of the sociometric approach. In presenting the reasons why I do not adopt such an approach, I will be discussing the distinction between the individualist and the structuralist positions in social science research, and relating these to the notion of "process".

Varieties of Social Networks Approaches

The importance of using a social networks approach in the study of social processes in the context of social change has been discussed above, in Chapter I. However, it is worth pointing out that there are several varieties of social networks approaches, and that not all therefore will be similarly useful. From the time of Barnes' early attempt to turn the concept into an analytical tool, more useful than it had been as a mere metaphor (Barnes 1954), there has been a gradual progression towards clarifying the conceptual frameworks within which the notion was used, and towards strengthening the quantitative aspects of the method. These advances have been somewhat uneven, however, as Mitchell noted in 1974, when he contrasted the "sophistication of the conceptual framework" in networks studies with the "inadequacy of data reporting" (1974). Two main groupings can be discerned amongst sociologists and

social anthropologists using this approach; on the one hand are those concerned with achieving a more refined analysis of network features through ever more careful use of these in a more standardised way in fieldwork, and on the other hand are those concentrating on establishing empirical generalisations through sociometric methods with a view to raising the status of social networks from paradigm to theory.¹ This distinction will be discussed in some detail, for it has important implications for the relationship between theory and method, and for the claim by studies in both groupings that this approach effectively bridges the gap between micro- and macro-sociological analysis.

Before considering these points, I wish to emphasise that this study does not use sociometry as a way of analysing network data, for several reasons. Firstly, the method entails artificially limiting the size of ego's network, not only because the data are collected via survey questionnaires but also in order to standardise the measurements of each characteristic or feature of the network. Thus, for example, it is usual to ask each respondent which three persons in his network (be it the network of friends, of workmates, of neighbours, of kin, or all of these) he prefers.² Then the distance between ego and each of these is ascertained, together with frequency and duration of contacts, and the like. The variation in these features is then cross-tabulated with characteristics which the researcher considers analytically decisive, such as the ethnic and religious

1 The latter group are most heavily represented in American social networks studies, and the former in British studies.

2 Because they base their analysis on Heider's balance theory, such sociometrists have tended to emphasise sets of interacting individuals, usually three in number, who are in a balanced, stable, positive relationship.

affiliation used extensively by Laumann (1976), regardless of the relative importance of such characteristics to the respondent. This leads me to the second criticism, that the method depends too heavily on the respondent's version of the content of the relationships which are recorded; their variability over time and their reciprocity are difficult to verify in the field. Thirdly, to the extent that these studies tend to rely on the single method of data collection, the survey, the use of the sociometric analysis to obtain empirical generalisations leads, in my view, to a confusion of the notions of structural regularities and social structure. Where Leinhart considers that he and his colleagues are making "concrete the notion of structure or pattern in social relations" leading to a "specification of structural regularities and an examination of the consequences of structure" (1977:xxx), I believe they are discovering very limited sorts of rules governing relationships which are situationally bounded; for me, social structure comprises far more than this. It should include even the conflicts, discontinuities and contradictions which pertain whether in manifest or potential form. It is not enough to subsume these under the notion of the disfunctional, indicating that the social structure imposes external constraints to the individual's choice of action: "Not all forms of social interaction occur" is the way Leinhart puts it (1977:xxx). The tidy paradigm of social networks is seen as a bridge between the micro- and macro-levels of analysis because it focusses on the "geometry" of the network rather than "the characteristics of the things that network describes" (quoting William Goode, in Leinhart 1977:xxx). But since in practice they are derived of many "individual empirical realizations" (1977:xxx), it is in fact the characteristics

that become the focal point of the analysis, and they are suspect. Finally, in their excessive concentration on form these studies virtually ignore the processual element of interaction.

As its starting point, the above-quoted study takes the notion from Radcliffe-Brown that the task of the social anthropologist is to discover regularities in social life, which will effectively demonstrate the form of social life. In pointing out the deficiencies of this structuralist stance, Barth noted that it makes the assumption that peoples' actions are based upon moral decisions, but does not attempt to explain how the forms of social life are generated (1966). Although Leinhardt would agree with Barth that the patterns of behaviour are generated through everyday interactions, Barth sees these interactions as an ongoing process or series of processes. By building the processes into his model he can allow for the cumulative effects of actions and the situationally determined components of behaviour in roles. Barth's research was not an explicit use of the social networks approach, but his emphasis on the transactional nature of inter-personal relationships renders his model an implicit type of social networks analysis. In stressing the variable degrees of reciprocity in a relationship, he brought a crucial element into the concept of interaction as a process.¹ Such a view of interaction is essential for the use of the social networks approach, although it implies a much more difficult strategy in terms of fieldwork. It is this relationship of the theoretical framework to the methodology to which I would now like to turn.

¹ The discussion returns to Barth's model below.

Method, Theory and Paradigm

So far in this thesis, social networks have been referred to as an approach, a method of collecting and analysing data, and a paradigm. These are all quite distinct aspects of research, but they are of course interrelated. Taking a certain approach means bringing a particular world view to bear on the subject of the research, and it is in this respect that I would prefer to use the term "paradigm". Confining it to the notion of a model gives it too narrow a connotation. Prior to conducting substantive research, the social scientist is guided by a set of theoretical orientations suggesting which questions to ask, what sort of analysis to apply, which data are relevant and which are not, and even the general type of explanation to follow, though not the particular substance of that explanation. Kuhn calls such a theoretical framework a paradigm in his treatise on how scientific inquiries in both the natural and social sciences are related to the social context in which they are conducted (Kuhn 1962). For Kuhn, the social scientist undergoes a socialisation process in which he learns the current paradigms of how to conduct research, what constitutes an explanation, etc. But there are really two levels of paradigms to be confronted by the social scientist, as Ryan has pointed out:

...the level of the scientists' theories about the phenomenon, and the level of the theories which are held by the phenomena themselves. Since the "phenomena" here are social beings they already have an account of what they are doing and why, and an elaborate, if not necessarily very explicit, set of beliefs about why this makes sense (1970: 142).

The role of a paradigm, in Kuhn's view, is to set "puzzles" for the researcher, as well as standards for their solution, and this is the way forward in a field of inquiry. In these terms,

the social networks concept depends upon other theories such as exchange theory, game theory, balance theory, and others, but does not rise above the status of an analytical or heuristic model. Such models by themselves cannot provide satisfactory explanations of phenomena; in their theoretical context they may, however, pervasively influence the nature of the explanations drawn from wider theories.

The role of a theory in social science seems no more uniformly conceived than the role of a paradigm, for many so-called theories have little ability to predict or to explain. Ryan distinguishes between models which show that phenomena behave as if there were such and such a structure about them, and theories which assert that the phenomena do have that structure and therefore behave as they do (1970:94). This is a useful distinction, allowing as it does for some models to become theories after achieving a suitable degree of empirical success. It is in this sense, I would argue, that the sociometric school of social networks researchers expect to turn their "paradigm" (which I call a model) into a theory, for they believe they are achieving structural explanations of phenomena which transcend individual empirical realisations. In my view, social networks, as a concept and as a method, give rise to models which are less suited for evolving into theories precisely because they form a bridge between the action frame of reference in which social interaction is carefully scrutinised, and structural or holistic frameworks; between micro- and macro-analysis.

Contrary to the vogue for identifying oneself as an adherent of one or the other of these major axes of social research, I prefer to seek an appropriate balance in making use of both.

Like Dunleavy, and following the logic of Ryan's criticism of hypothetico-deductive theories, I think it unlikely that explanations deduced from structural features can adequately account for social processes (Ryan 1970; Dunleavy 1980:54).

In this context, Dunleavy quotes Lukes, who argues that

...Social life can only properly be understood as a dialectic of power and structure, a web of possibilities for agents, whose nature is both active and structured, to make choices and pursue strategies within given limits, which in consequence expand and contract over time. Any standpoint or methodology which reduces that dialectic to a one-sided consideration of agents without (internal or external) limits, or structures without agents, or which does not address the problem of their inter-relations will be unsatisfactory (Lukes 1977:29).

These statements more than adequately express my own view of methodology and theory even though in most cases they were written after the formative stages and fieldwork period of my research. The greatest debt in initial guidance in networks research however, I owe to Mitchell, whose writings on the role of social networks analysis have always clearly stated that it may have been generated as a reaction against the narrow confines of structural-functionalism, but it does not totally supplant structural theory. In his introductory chapter to Social Networks in Urban Situations, he develops an argument for considering networks and institutional analysis to be complementary. They both emanate from the same basic empirical data, but whereas institutional studies simplify the complex web of inter-relationships by looking at what are really partial networks within the bounds of a single normative framework at a time, social networks analysis expressly sets out to consider "the way in which people may relate to one another in terms of several different normative frameworks at one and the same time" (1969:49). Because the behaviour in one normative

framework is directly related to that in another, empirical demonstrations of the interconnections between institutions can be achieved, rather than these connections remaining a postulate. Before considering social networks methods in more details, there are two further methodological issues of primary importance in this study; the use of multiple methods, and the need to achieve an appropriate comparative perspective.

Multimethodology

The need to use more than one method of data collecting revolves on the twin axes of finding suitable types of data to answer the questions posed, and being able to judge the validity of those data. Thus it may be considered insufficient to interview a more or less self-selecting sample of participators who place themselves in the public, political arena by writing letters to planners, if the question asked was "why do people decide to participate?" For in fact the question implicitly raises the inverse consideration of why other people do not participate, and to tap this dimension a random sample would be necessary. Though it is possible to observe the actions of the participators in their groups, at public meetings, and the like, this is clearly impossible in the random sample. Yet observation is a principle method of checking the substance of material obtained in interviews. This leaves a gap to be filled, since survey interviews of non-participators cannot be cross-checked through participant observation in any systematic way. However, if the questions asked of the random sample are carefully constructed to relate to those asked of the small group of participators, at least part of that gap may be filled by a process of well-informed inference.

Furthermore, it is possible, through a prolonged period of

fieldwork, to piece together in a mosaic form, as it were, the myriad forms of evidence showing types of relationships between actors, symbols (linguistic or otherwise) of the ideological dimension, and the forms of reasoning which underlie many commonly held attitudes, especially what might be called the "unofficial", orally transmitted versions of local history-of-recent-events. Using such methods in conjunction with the sample survey can provide a richly cross-textured range of sociological evidence. Taking this small, confined example as one illustration of "methodological triangulation" (Webb et. al 1966), it is possible to see the way a variety of methods may be used, all building upon one another, in the interest of verifying the evidence found in one context and at the same time ensuring that the data collected can adequately provide an answer to the analytical questions posed by the research.

Social networks research particularly utilises methodological triangulation, in that it must combine informants' assessments of their relationships, an objective cross-check in the form of fieldwork notes on actual interactional sequences, and the combined and variable assessments of other informants whom the researcher has already interviewed. Although useful results in a number of studies have been achieved without the use of survey techniques, in this study these were seen as a necessity, as the above example showed.

The Comparative Dimension

Achieving such a range of methods is not always possible owing to the limited resources of many research projects, a point which also governs the extent to which it is possible to obtain appropriate comparative data. The most common type of comparison found in research projects limited to one person is

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reference to other studies of similar subjects. While this is naturally preferable to the absence of comparison, it does have the inherent disadvantages of the research designs being based on widely different approaches, and of the research situations varying in their spatial and temporal dimensions, not to mention the problem of the disparity in the types of categories in which data are ordered and the ways in which these are conceptualised. Also affecting the possibility of useful comparisons, the degree of detail in reporting data is highly variable, a point which Mitchell was concerned with in his critical look at the empirical state of recent social networks research. Some of these problems were discussed by Schapera, commenting on the use of comparative methods by social anthropologists (1967). Although in arguing for greater use of intensive regional comparisons he was suggesting a solution to the problem of units of comparisons, (whether societies, or villages were to be taken as the base), his main point that the researcher should take a comparative perspective on a regional basis has some general applicability. In a study of a political activity such as public participation in a complex society, this would take the form of selecting contrasting locations all of which were subject to the same overall plans, with a similar history of political and economic relationships within a given regional context. Returning to the fact that this is rarely possible in terms of the funds and time available, it may be that Schapera's emphasis on the need to identify the types of (for example) kinship and marriage systems characteristic of various people in a region implies a kind of research very different from the present study. The project of which this thesis is a part was set up as a team effort,

with the explicit purpose of making comparisons between social processes within a comparable theoretical and methodological framework.

Social Networks in the Literature

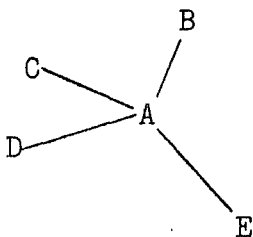
Some of the general elements of social networks analysis have already been mentioned in relation to the introductory discussion of the research project and problem focus, the question of delimiting relevant categories of behaviour, and the notion of social process. However, a more systematic view of how the concept has been applied is needed in order to demonstrate its usefulness in this study. As with any relatively new approach, this one has accumulated a confusing array of different applications and conflicting usage of key terms, as Barnes notes and tried to ameliorate in his 1966 paper¹ which he called "a reluctant exercise in unapplied methodology" (1969: 53). After his early study of Norwegian networks which constituted one of the first really analytical uses of the concept, subsequent applications by others were highly diverse, due to attempts to modify the model to fit particular research problems, varying empirical situations, or just to different personal interpretations of what Barnes had written. To avoid diverging into a discussion of these differences, this thesis will adopt mainly those terms and usages which Barnes indicates, as well as drawing substantially from Mitchell's view of particular features of networks, which he specifies in more detail than does Barnes.

In defining a social network, Barnes referred to his "image ...of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The

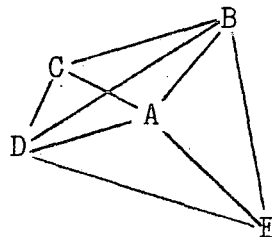
1 Although written for a conference in 1966, it was later published in Swartz:1968 and in Mitchell:1969. References here are to the 1969 source.

points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other" (1954:43). The nature of this interaction is of central importance in the analysis, for it may be characterised by strongly positive or negative feelings between the persons involved, just as it may entail either reciprocal or asymmetrical regard. Any two persons between whom some interaction is indicated may harbour quite different feelings toward each other, or on the other hand might equally approve or disapprove of each other. As we have already seen, sociometric studies concentrate on positive, symmetrical relations, whereas in a study of local-level politics it is very often the asymmetrical relationships and those of mutual dislike which prove the most interesting. At the very least, however, the indication of some form of interaction by drawing a line between two dots (see Figure 1) makes those persons adjacent, and the procedure continues in this way, first to indicate who is adjacent to A, and then to indicate which of those who are adjacent might also be said to interact with each other. Barnes distinguished these steps of the analysis by calling the first a star, and the second a zone.

Figure 1.



First Order Star



First Order Zone

The same information could be conveyed by using a matrix, which is commonly done when the more highly mathematical analyses are undertaken. Depicting the network as a star or a zone does tend

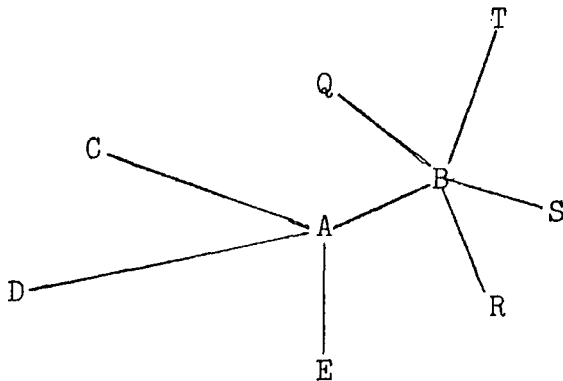
to imply a degree of actuality in the overall set of relationships which might be misleading, on the other hand. This possibility prompted Barnes to caution us that social relationships do not "exist" in the same way that people do, and it is important to keep in mind the fact that the network model is derived analytically, in the hope that it might closely approximate the empirical reality (1969:56).

To make the distinction even more troublesome, it is also true that networks are a folk category: the notion of the "old boy network" and of women "ringing round the network" to mobilise support for a jumble sale are examples. In the Cleveland study a more specific example existed in the form of the Community Advancement Project, with which many of the participants were connected. This organisation defined itself as a network of resources, and functioned throughout the North East as a support group for local groups in need of advice, experience and information. Such use of the idea of a network makes the above warning all the more important. Out of the total possible social relationships generated by the whole of social life of the community or locality being studied, (i.e. the total network), certain sorts of relationships are extracted by the researcher for analysis, and these are best termed "partial networks" (1969:73).

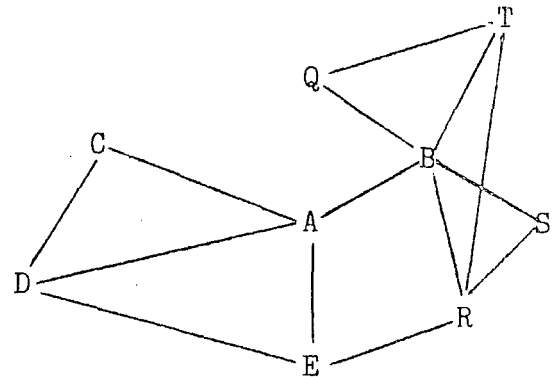
A partial network may look very complex, for it will usually include several zones. That is, A may be adjacent to a set of persons in his star, and through one of those he may have indirect links to the persons adjacent to that second person's star (see Figure 2). This second order zone, as Barnes called it, is in effect an extension of the first order zone, and need not imply any necessary relationship between

A and those to which he has access by virtue of his relationship with B (Barnes 1969:58-60).

Figure 2.



Second Order Star



Second Order Zone

These simplified diagrams illustrate the principle, which may be expanded indefinitely to fit the complexities of the field under study. Indeed, two-dimensional "graphs" such as these sometimes seem too restrictive to adequately represent even the abstracted partial networks with which many studies deal.

So far, this presentation of the concept of social networks has covered mainly the underlying notion of linkages and how these might ramify in a simple sense. Analysis of networks has also typically been concerned with measures of the density of the zones depicted, that is, the degree of connectedness between the nodes represented. Many of the studies concentrating on this particular feature are following in Bott's footsteps, drawing a distinction between "loose-knit" and "close-knit" networks. For Bott this entailed looking at the affect which this degree of density had on the way the couples in the London families she studied divided their domestic tasks. Those with more close-knit networks were found to have greater segregation between their conjugal roles, whereas those with

loose-knit networks showed more role sharing (1957:60). Thus her analysis took social networks as an intermediate variable, intervening between institutional structures in their contextual form (class, neighbourhood), and behaviour. Close-knit networks were the mechanism through which pressures of a constant and informal sort worked on members of the network to bring about a "consensus of norms", thus ensuring a similar degree of role segregation (1957:60). The contrast between such consensus, and the "loose-knit" characteristic of a lack of social control occurring when there is little interaction amongst the persons in the network and few links between A's contacts, points to a strong dependence of this analysis upon functional-integration concepts, as Mitchell noted in an unpublished seminar paper in 1974.

In his study of personal networks in Ndola (then in Northern Rhodesia), Epstein developed Bott's use of the loose-knit and close-knit distinction by showing how one person's network, if traced out thoroughly, could exhibit both of these features in its various parts. That is, rather than characterising the networks as mainly of one type or another, he argued that one network might be highly connected in parts, with a high degree of interaction among all those connected to A. Epstein called this the "effective" network, whereas those contacts who were not so interconnected and tended to have less interaction with A formed a part of the network which he called "extended" (1969: 110-111).¹ Taking into account the content of the relationships, he tried to show how social networks can be seen as a mechanism of social control through which norms of behaviour are first

1 First published in 1961, this paper is included in Mitchell's collection of network studies. Page references are taken from the 1969 source.

established and then maintained.

Epstein, like Bott, was setting social networks characterised in terms of their density as the independent variable, and the behavioural component as the dependent variable. A somewhat more dynamic version of this model was used by Philip Mayer in his study of migrants to London (1961). Those with close-knit networks were culturally conservative, conforming to their original customs and refusing to adopt any new habits, while those with loose-knit networks engaged in the activities of several different institutions, thereby experiencing several different but specialised "cultures". The more the first set of migrants kept within their strict customs, the more their networks remained closed, and because of this "closed" quality, less cultural innovations could occur. As the second set of migrants became more diversified in their customs, the more loose-knit their networks became, which brought about still greater diversification. Thus Mayer introduced a notion of "feedback" into the model of the affect of network density upon norms of behaviour.

Applying the density measure at an even higher level of abstraction, Srinivas and B eteille suggested that the different institutional areas commonly analysed by anthropologists, such as those of politics, religion, economics and kinship, could usefully be distinguished by characterising them as being mainly composed of either loose-knit or close-knit social networks. They felt that in India the same processes of social change which were leading to the expansion and loosening of economic and political networks might also be leading to the shrinkage and tightening of kin networks (1964:167). Thus the loose-knit/close-knit dimension was considered a crucial

element of network research, with the loose-knit type becoming more and more common as social and geographical mobility increased. It was no longer possible for persons with loose-knit networks to depend upon their kinship, caste or village relationships, so that adaptation and innovation became necessary. While close-knit networks were characteristic of traditional India, these were fast disappearing, as it was becoming necessary to have network ties which span the boundaries of territory and caste.

Reaching this level of abstraction in their analysis, Srinivas and B eteille underline the notion that the analytical network is a separate entity from the concrete counterpart we see in complex human interaction. It is just as well to remember, at the same time, that the well used feature of being close- or loose-knit is also an analytical construct, for in the way it has come to be written about this dimension sometimes takes on the rather absolute aspect of two ideal types, as Craven and Wellman noted (1974:16). The process of abstracting such networks as the political, or economic, or kinship networks, rests on several related definitional characteristics of networks which should now be described.

As each link in the network represents a relationship, it becomes important to assess the nature of the interaction between each dyad in the network. In doing so, the central characteristic to be established is the "content" of the relationship, or in other words the purpose of the interaction as seen by the parties concerned. Thus, the researcher may report relationships in which the interaction reflects primarily economic transaction, or kinship, or neighboring, political manipulation and other possibilities. In some cases, more than one content

may apply, so that the interaction observed by the researcher may include examples of several contents at once (neighbours who are also workmates developing a friendship, perhaps). Such a relationship is called multiplex and by its very nature entails a greater frequency of contact than the contrasting type in which only one content is relevant, the single-stranded relationship. If the latter type of ties predominates over the former within a network, the phenomenon observed will be a sparseness of interaction, most of which is specifically related to one sphere of activity at a time. The analytical assessment will show that the networks are comparatively loose-knit, and there is a low level of integration between institutions.

Such patterns are characteristic of large-scale, industrial societies, as Mitchell notes (1969:48; see also Gluckman 1962: 8, Barnes 1954:44 and Frankenberg 1966:257). As might be expected, a corresponding correlation between multiplex relationships and close-knit networks is generally seen as characteristic of small-scale, traditional societies (see for example, Srinivas and B eteille 1964). However, it is still best to regard both types of society as having both types of relationships within its social structure, since the dynamics of social processes so often turn on the contrast between them. Mitchell points out that multiplex relationships lead to consistency of behaviour as a person interacts with the same set of people in several different contexts; this notion therefore underlies the idea that social systems are in a kind of equilibrium, held together by integrative processes (1969:47). On the other hand, we have seen in Chapter I that this view of the process has been challenged by Granovetter (1973). The essential point

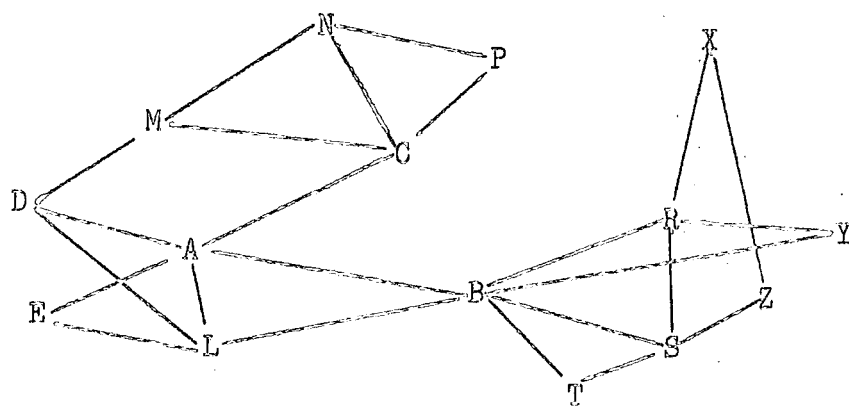
relevant to both analyses is that they make the matter of interrelationships between institutions an empirical one, rather than letting it remain at the level of an assumption (Mitchell 1969:47).

Although social networks in urban situations are characterised by a high degree of fluidity, in the sense that they expand and change over time, the principal aim of those studying the networks has been to discern an element of pattern amongst the formal and interactional features of the networks. Thus, in addition to the many and somewhat variable attempts to measure the density of social networks, another crucial feature is their range. This can be defined in terms of any order of contact, if necessary, but usually refers to the number of people with whom the reference has direct contact. Taken together with density, range helps to establish the overall structure of a social network. A dense network with few members might show very different properties than a network with the same density but many more direct contacts (Craven and Wellman 1974:4). Kapferer (1969) looked at range in relation to an individual's ability to mobilise support in the context of a dispute, while Wheeldon (1969) combined the measure with an assessment of the social heterogeneity of the contacts involved, showing that in effect the range of a network was greater if the contacts had a higher degree of heterogeneity than if they all came from the same background. Whether range varies systematically with certain other features, such as density or the durability of relationships, for example, has not been explored very extensively yet, as Mitchell observed (1969:19). Is a network with a small number of contacts likely to have a higher proportion of durable relationships (in which

the underlying set of mutual obligations and expectations extend beyond the specific activation of the link at a particular point in time)? Conversely, should we expect to find less durability in networks of greater range? These correlations are still under-researched.

One feature which has received considerably more attention is the "reachability" of the network, as Harary et al. termed it (1965). More commonly viewed in terms of the notion of paths, reachability concerns the way in which an individual can get in touch with others in his network, whether they are in his first, second, or third or whatever-order zone. By implication it also involves their ability to get in touch with him. In relatively dense networks, most contacts can be reached in one or two steps, whereas in loose-knit networks it may take a great many steps to effectively activate a link. Seen another way, (see Figure 3), A must activate several links in order to establish contact with X, from whom he may need some specialised form of information or skilled help, for example.

Figure 3.



A Partial Network

There are also several alternative routes or paths which can be taken in mobilising the link with X; the series of

dyadic transactions which take place as a result of an action initiated by A may vary according to the situation, the normative context, and indeed the interactional and formal features of the personal network of A. But the central focus of the reachability notion is that indirect as well as direct links are being utilised in response to an initial action, setting in motion a sequence of actions. Adrian Mayer (1966) called the people involved in these actions an action-set, which by definition is a relatively temporary bundle of mobilised links likely to disappear as an entity as soon as A's goal in initiating the original action is achieved. Barnes observed that in practice we might rarely see the originator of a sequence of activated linkages, and there might also be no obvious end to it, but that such action sequences commonly do spread through social networks. He proposed that they could be traced with reference to A, that is, noting which paths go via A, and which of his primary contacts A uses for which particular purposes (a modified version of Mayer's action sets). There might then be some clear regularities in the paths used for particular instrumental functions, showing some linkages to be of special significance (Barnes:1969:70-71).

This application of path analysis recalls the study of weak ties by Granovetter discussed above (1973) in which certain direct links to which A alone had access (they were not interconnected with other members of his primary star), were shown to be ideal material for a "bridge" between a community or a group, and the larger political or social entity of which it is a part. The path is short and 100% efficient, and as such is likely to be carefully maintained by A, so that the individual involved is kept at a distance from the rest of A's network.

The availability and use of such a resource stands in great contrast to the notion of "lateral linkages" put forth by Mayer (1966) in which several paths might be seen to converge upon an intermediate person in the network, a distinction which may be most useful in analysis.

The most significant element which all of these studies have in common is their concern to show how a given dyadic relationship in a social network is influenced by other adjacent relationships, for it is through this notion that the aspect of "structure" can be abstracted from the analysis of social interaction. The principle of cross-cutting influence is reminiscent of Gluckman's notion of cross-cutting ties, but with the added prospect of systematically showing how the influence ramifies throughout a social network, in terms of the patterns discernible in the features of the network. To enable the analysis to demonstrate the overlap or interpenetration between different institutional contexts, a process of abstraction from inter-related linkages must take place. Mitchell describes the process as follows:

The sequence of abstraction, after the initial act of observation, is from actual behaviour to multiplex linkages in networks, from multiplex relationships to what Barnes calls "partial networks", that is in terms of a single specified content, and from partial networks to the institutional structures (1969:45).

In his view, it should be possible to construct partial networks from a relatively small number of interactions; it is at this juncture that the concept of "role" becomes important. The transactional nature of interactions in dyads whose behaviour is seen in terms of a normative framework encompassing the expectations and obligations of both individuals becomes the essence of the analysis (1969:46).

Put in these terms, the overlap with Barth's approach can be more clearly demonstrated. In his concern to find a way of dealing with the concept of cultural integration which does not ignore the inconsistencies and variety of values and actions within a system, Barth focussed upon the transactional nature of role relationships. His widely discussed model held that roles (seen in terms of patterns of behaviour) were generated from statuses (defined as specifications of rights) according to rules (which he called "impression management requirements"). The rules were a prescription for "the combinability of statuses in social situations" and were necessarily based on the transactional nature of interpersonal relationships (1966). To show the degree of determinacy and consistency between the elements of a social system, using this model one would look for social activities that affect comparison and revision of the values held by people. Since for Barth the values are the actors' criteria for their choice of action, the maintenance and establishment of values through transactional processes over time is therefore of central concern to the analysis.

Barth also explicitly used a notion of frameworks which he defined as matrices of values and statuses acting as constraints and incentives which partly determine an individual's choice of action; this is the essence of normative frameworks as used in networks analysis. Observing this nexus of behaviour or social actions within frameworks through which transactional processes operate, the researcher would have to be aware of the distinction between an individual's "continually shifting profile of preferences" and the more stable judgment of value to which people also subscribe. This too is an important aspect of social networks methods. Applying this approach to his

study of Swat Pathans, Barth described how entrepreneurial innovation could create bridges between previously non-commensurate values. Through "strategic situations of bargaining whereby entrepreneurs are able to present 'package deals' which greatly reduce the field of choice for a population" (1966), values are shown to be modified by transactional processes.

The social field in which the present study was conducted bears a significant resemblance to that of the Swat Pathans study; by changing the word "entrepreneurs" to the word "planners" it could almost characterise the situation in Cleveland vis-à-vis structure planning. Both in the fieldwork and in analysis I have operated with Barth's model very much in mind, for it seems logically to enhance and to combine smoothly with networks analysis. Some criticisms which have been directed to the model, however, will become evident in the discussions of power theory below.

Methods Used in This Study

Fieldwork began in 1973 when I first made contact with various participators in Cleveland. In these initial months, the general research framework had been conceptualised within which the localities had been tentatively selected,¹ but the "Cleveland Project" itself had not yet begun. Essential groundwork had to be done, both in terms of building up a picture of the recent events of public participation, and of gaining an understanding of the plans themselves and the likely issues they would generate in particular places. During this period, two principle resources provided useful starting points from

1 The six localities finally selected for the survey were: Marske and Skelton/Brotton in East Cleveland, North Ormesby and Hemlington in urban Teesside, and Yarm and Kirklevington in West Cleveland.

which it was possible to find out who the participators were. Bearing in mind the fact that "participation" as we defined it had a broad connotation including all forms of interest in local affairs, not merely the "official" responses anticipated by the planners, it was important that both of these resources were available. The first of these was the full set of written comments on the draft structure plans for Teesside and North Yorkshire/South of Teesside, as the East and West Cleveland plans were then called. These were on public display in the libraries, giving names and addresses, so that comments could be sorted according to the locality and types of issues which they suggested. From this list and the occasional letter or article in the local newspapers, it was possible to see at least some of the groups and individuals involved in local issues, and to find out who their leaders were.

Initial interviews were conducted with key persons selected from this list in each of the six localities, to find out how the local groups concerned defined the issues, obtained information, organised their response, and so on. At the same time, some information on the characteristics of the individuals being interviewed, for example their residential history, socio-economic and life-cycle situation, and general experience of participation in Cleveland or elsewhere, was gathered. Respondents were also asked if they knew any of the other letter-writers in their own or in other localities, by referring to names on the overall list. Although at this stage detailed information about their networks was not systematically collected, much of what did emerge was useful in cross-checking later data, as well as guiding the formulation of questions asked in subsequent stages of the research.

About the time these interviews were finished, and before any follow-up interviews were organised, the Cleveland Project was funded and the two other members of the team were engaged. At this point, to avoid confusion and interference, I confined my own network research to the East Cleveland area, except of course for the survey research and the continuation of contacts with individuals and groups in Hemlington and Marske, which were not directly in the purview of my colleagues.

The second important source of initial contacts was a woman whom I will call "Molly". She was the founder and chairwoman of an environmental group which I eventually joined, but before that I met her through a research colleague of mine who had already known her and been in the group for several months. As he was finishing his work in the area, I was just beginning mine, and she gave me access to her own very comprehensive network of friends and members of various local groups, many of which were directly within the social field of the study. Through Molly, I met some of the central figures in CAP, the North East information and self-help network. Since many of those on my list of participators taken from the written comments were also in her network, she was a valuable source enabling the cross-checking of data. Although she lived in Eston (moving to Charltons during the time when the industrial estate issue emerged), she had commented on the North Yorkshire/South Teesside draft plan, as well as the Teesside draft plan, and she had attended numerous public participation meetings throughout Cleveland, not confining her interest to her own town. There certainly were a number of councillors, planners and people who "participate" by means other than those officially recognised, whom I might not have been able to contact without Molly's help. Indeed, she often seemed to know who I ought

to meet, without knowing in detail either the methods or the academic substance of my research.

The interviews done in the earliest stages were open-ended, and recorded on tape; it was therefore possible to abstract from these extended conversations a spontaneous expression of the respondents' categories, whether they were talking about the local power structure, the effects of the unequal distribution of resources, or the problems of effectively participating in a system which seemed expressly to deny people any direct role in real decision-making. Once the interviewing of those who wrote comments began, the collection of data had to be done on a more systematic basis, particularly since more research workers were now involved. The unstructured material was useful in drawing up an interview schedule.

The formal interview contained about forty questions and took varying amounts of time to administer (from half an hour to two hours) depending upon whether the individual concerned was highly involved in groups and issues or only marginally interested in some aspect of the plan. Each respondent was asked about his/her own written comment, why he/she decided to write, and whether there were any other issues he/she considered important. Then several questions were asked on the subject of planning as a process, the involvement of the public, how knowledge about the plan was obtained (e.g. at public meetings, through local groups or through local councillors). If the individual knew of anyone else who was involved in planning issues, several follow-up questions about the type of involvement and the respondent's own connection with that person were asked. This section was followed by a brief number of questions on family and residential background, occupation, education, group and church affiliation and the like. Since we were

still building up an overall picture of the history of particular issues in the various localities, the questionnaire called for any additional information to be written down. The final section, as in the open-ended interviews, entailed a systematic attempt to find out whether or not any of the comment writers knew one another.¹

Network data collected in this way were being continually refined, augmented and cross-checked through observations at public and group meetings, at informal gatherings and through the process of methodological triangulation (e.g. the multiple references to certain people from numerous others, even and especially when these references contradicted one another). In all of the localities except Skelton-Brotton, a central group emerged as being the main vehicle through which opinions about the plans were expressed to the authorities.² In the latter area, a diffuse collection of groups which varied in their durability, membership base and effectiveness made the fieldwork very much more difficult. In general, the collection of network data in each place could begin from within groups seen to be influential in presenting local opinion to the planners. In these appropriate interactional contexts we could examine the processes by which individuals organised their responses to planning through interpersonal relations, showing how interaction within the organised framework of a group led

1 The exception to this was in Marske, where several hundred letter-writers were involved. In this case we eliminated all the "standard wording" letters obviously generated by the Residents' Association, and took the main figures from that group together with commentators who had put forth original thoughts on an independent basis.

2 In Yarm there was a Parish Council; in North Ormesby and Marske there were Residents' Associations, in Hemlington a Community Association and in Kirklevington a Residents' Association vying for effectiveness with a Parish Council.

to the definition of important issues, the formulation of opinion and the expression of views which were presumably a product of consensus, or compromise.

The presence of groups concerned with planning issues raises the question about the reference points of the networks, which was briefly mentioned in Chapter I. Although it is just as possible to study interconnected groups as interconnected individuals, the interactional data upon which the analysis rests would still be based on individuals. After all, groups are manifestly interconnected by individuals who either hold membership in more than one group, thereby establishing a link between the groups, or by the personal linkage between two or more members of separate groups. Thus, in this study we preferred to take individuals as reference points in the networks. Obviously their networks ranged beyond the boundaries of the membership of the group in which they were involved, and so it was a matter of delimiting the social field in terms of participation in planning, and the political processes of decision-making at the local level. Whereas in Yarm this procedure brought up a tidy universe in the form of the Parish Council, and in North Ormesby produced a committee and active fringe in the Residents' Association, in the Skelton-Brotton case study there was considerable overlapping in the membership of groups which formed and reformed throughout the fieldwork period and beyond it. Moreover, much participation took place outside the bounds of these groups, so that there was no tidy universe from which to draw a delimited partial network. These problems will be taken up further in Chapter IV.

The existence of the various groups and their relationship to the social field in the study also raises the question of

which strategy to use in tracing the linkages to be analysed. Craven and Wellman draw a distinction between two commonly used procedures: the "whole-network" strategy and the "personal network" strategy (1974:5). In the first of these, the researcher aims to describe all the linkages between all the units of a population which has been carefully defined beforehand, using non-network criteria. Whereas this has some application in small-scale, bounded populations in isolated societies, it is beyond feasibility in large-scale, urban situations, they argue. But in trying to set boundaries within such situations the researcher may be lead to the illegitimate assumption of the a priori existence of the very thing to be investigated. However, when a bounded group such as a Parish Council emerges as the only vehicle for participation in a given community, it can justifiably be taken as the universe of population from which network data are to be extracted.

The second strategy to be used in fieldwork involves tracing links from an individual¹ and then following up those links by asking each contact mentioned for his or her contacts, in a kind of "snowballing" approach. Such a series of networks would undoubtedly reveal common ties, clustering, and above all the nature of linkages between groups and/or localities. Undoubtedly it is more difficult to do thoroughly, and more time-consuming. In an area like Skelton-Brotton, there is really no alternative to this strategy. All the groups showed a low durability and high turnover in their membership; some of

1 Craven and Wellman use the term "personal networks" whilst maintaining that the units of analysis can be groups or individuals. I find this usage unhelpful, since there is already some controversy over the phrase, "personal networks" (see Barnes 1969:74). I use the term as Mitchell does; Craven and Wellman in these terms would mean "ego-centered networks".

them resemble action-sets rather than organisations. In practice, the two strategies merge, since it often becomes necessary to look beyond the boundaries of a given group, just as it is desirable to achieve maximum coverage of persons in an action-set.

Apart from the nature of the strategy selected, there is some debate about how to determine the starting point or reference point of the social networks to be mapped. In the interviews with comment writers, a great deal of network information had already been gathered, but these were not necessarily the networks which were to form the focus of each case study. Analysis of the first set of interviews revealed some individuals who were more interconnected than others, so that these became the natural choice for in-depth study; the information already collected on these networks was subsequently developed through further interviews and participant observation. In Skelton-Brotton the matrices constructed on the basis of interviews with comment-writers showed two distinct clusters, one centering around a prominent figure in Brotton, and the other similarly in Skelton. It was therefore decided that two reference points should be used in this case study.

As we have already seen, efforts to co-ordinate fieldwork methods between the three case studies were somewhat hindered by the situational differences encountered in the particular localities, but in this phase of the fieldwork we did construct a questionnaire in the hope that similar categories of information could be systematically obtained in the separate case studies, making later comparison easier. This second questionnaire began with a series of questions about the life history of the respondent, aimed at finding out past experience

of involvement in local affairs, along with the usual classificatory information, which emerged through the telling of the respondent's biography. Then the network information was solicited, through a series of questions about all members of the family extending back in time to father's father, and forward to children's children. Next, neighbours and friends (left deliberately open to the respondent's own definition) and finally any others with whom the respondent had frequent interaction, were the focus of a number of questions, including how the relationships originated, what circumstances usually provided the context for interaction, and whether the person concerned took any part in local affairs. There were also other questions designed to give some indication of the directedness, durability and intensity of the relationship in each case.

Using the questionnaire proved cumbersome, in that it took more than one lengthy session to administer. To use such an approach one had to depend upon the willingness of the respondents to an inordinate degree; in Skelton-Brotton the reference points selected "refused" to co-operate in a carefully polite manner.¹ This meant that much greater use of participant observation, especially through involvement in local groups, was necessary to evince enough material to complete the case study. As a result, the questionnaire was used extensively in Yarm, hardly at all in North Ormesby for reasons similar to those above, and only initially in Skelton-Brotton. However, the

¹ After agreeing to take part in the study, and showing a great deal of interest, my best informant came to me and apologised, but firmly withdrew. She would give only the most general reasons, but I was convinced there was a particular one, probably having to do with certain relationships in her network which would have been strained by the question of confidentiality. The other reference point was more helpful, but gradually withdrew by degrees by using a busy and preoccupied manner in ever-intensified levels.

attempt to use it was justified in that it led to a unified understanding on the part of the team, regarding the categories of data necessary to the analysis.

The last phase of the fieldwork in the Cleveland Project entailed a small-scale survey intended to be complementary to the case studies. Being based on a random sample in each of the six localities, it provided cross-sectional data enabling us to assess the representativeness of the small number of active participators in each case. Since the active few were in effect a self selecting sample, it was desirable to find out how unusual they might be in terms of their social characteristics.

The interviewing for the survey took approximately eight weeks and was undertaken by the research team with the help of students from Durham University and Teesside Polytechnic. Working together for one week in each locality, then returning to interview those who had been missed the first time, we completed 554 usable interviews. This was somewhat short of our intended sample of 600 (100 in each locality). Using electoral registers as a base produced certain difficulties when ward boundaries were inconsistent with local definitions of the neighbourhood. This was particularly true in Skelton-Brotton, where the problem was compounded by the fragmentation of the settlements in the case study area.¹ Anticipating a failure rate of 20% due to refusals and unavailability of some of the sample, 120 names for each locality were drawn periodically on a random number basis. When we found that we were falling below the target of 100 in each place, we were faced with a choice of substituting

1 The case study sample will be discussed further in Ch. IV.

for individuals who had moved away or else working with numbers which really were too small. Since some bias towards the more willing and accessible would be present in any case, it was decided to accept more bias in that direction and augment our sample by substitution. To some extent the evaluative and inferential advantages of using multiple methods was able to compensate for the loss of accuracy in error calculation.

The interview consisted of 114 questions, which fell into three sections. In general, it took between half an hour and an hour to conduct each interview, depending upon the amount of interest and involvement found. The first part of the interview contained questions about the socio-economic characteristics of the respondent, including the composition of the household, employment situation, education and residential history, as well as house and car ownership, use of the media and membership of local voluntary organisation and churches.

The second part of the interview concerned the respondent's knowledge of and attitudes towards planning matters, both locally and in terms of the strategies of the county structure plans. In each place a specially adapted set of questions about local issues was included, based on the information gained in the earlier phase of interviewing. Awareness of these issues, as well as sources of information and personal opinions were sought. Other issues which were common to all of the localities, such as increases in the rates, local government reorganisation and the differential treatment of urban and rural areas were also included. With this information on local awareness, details were also obtained on respondents' use of "official" channels of participation, for example whether they had attended any public meetings or written any letters to the planners.

At the same time, since we felt that participation ought not to be so narrowly measured, we also asked about involvement in issues generally (not just planning) and sources of information about local issues, as well as methods of making one's views known. Voting preferences, both nationally and locally, were obtained, and respondents were asked their opinion on how easy it was to get the council to listen to local opinion, and whether attempts to influence councillors' decisions were effective.

The last section of the interview schedule was devoted to gaining information concerning the social networks of the respondents; for the workmates, neighbours and friends (taking the six most requent contacts) data on the occupation, residence, frequency of contact with ego, and involvement in local affairs were recorded. These indicators were included in order to build up a picture of the types of social networks in the separate localities, which in turn was considered important in attitude formation and in shaping the type of response (or indeed lack of it) to the public participation programme.

Throughout the fieldwork period, use was made of a number of secondary sources, ranging from local histories, "town maps" and pamphlets produced by various voluntary associations, records of past local government decisions, newspapers, and of course census data and research reports produced by other academics¹ and the county's Research and Intelligence Unit.

Finally, in addition to the varied methods of data collection described above, I would add the extended affect of living in the study area beyond the temporal confines of the formal period of fieldwork. This made it possible to develop an

1 These include, most notably, the Linked Research Project into Public Participation in Planning by a team at Sheffield.

increasing awareness of folk-categories, local values and attitudes to those in positions of authority, which might otherwise have remained at the level of presumption. This more informal aspect of studying a particular problem in a given area was often objectified by writing up notes in specific instances, but more often took the form of accumulative subjective impressions. Though subjective, nevertheless they have confirmed and strengthened the inferential process called methodological triangulation.

Out of this consideration of the methods used in the Cleveland Project and more specifically in the present case study, several questions arise concerning the nature and meaning of participation. These questions ultimately lead, in my view, to the subject of the differential distribution of power in a society and in its subdivisions, and this will be taken up in the final part of this chapter. Before doing so, however, it is important to review some of the ways in which participation has been discussed in the literature.

Participation in the Literature

In earlier chapters I have shown how the forms of participation recognised by the Department of Environment and managed by each county planning authority were very narrowly defined. Attending meetings, writing comments or objections, and taking part in the Examination in Public are only three types of activity out of a possible repertoire of many different political actions, from mobilising support to seeking information, signing petitions and manipulating information. Among these, being a member of one or more voluntary organisations would count as one of the more visible or easily identifiable forms of participation in local affairs, although such involvement does not

necessarily entail any direct connection with public participation in structure planning. Some groups may exclude such topics from their agenda by the way they define themselves, while others will take up planning issues as their primary interest. Organisations less directly involved can, nevertheless, act as channels of communication, albeit inefficient and counter-productive at times, since information tends to become mixed with erroneous impression and inuendo. In terms of the definition of political activity used in this study, these channels, however imperfect, are as much a part of the field as are the more obviously planning-oriented organisations. Similarly, a person seeking access to information through planning personnel is participating, in real terms, as actively as one who sits in a meeting and says nothing, or who writes a comment on a form afterwards. Therefore it was felt that using the "official" definition of active public participation might exclude (and thereby resign to the category of "apathetic") a significant proportion of the sets of interacting and individual groups which we were studying. In this sense, participation in structure planning is only a specific type of involvement, to be distinguished from the wider notion of citizen participation used in much of the literature, and the nature of the distinction should be clarified.

Terms such as "civic culture" and "participatory democracy" have been used by many to describe the ideological system in which participation generally is said to have an important role. Classical theorists such as Rousseau and Mills saw citizens in a democracy being educated by their experiences in a decision-making process at the grass-roots level, a cumulative kind of learning which would give the individual an awareness of how

consensus may be reached through the articulation of differing opinions. The concept of a social contract served to convey the sense of society being an entity within which individuals are bound, whilst at the same time they exercise the rights and duties of actively voicing their views. From student councils in primary and secondary schools, to the "town meeting" form of local government in some parts of the United States, there are many examples of how this ideology serves to maintain the political system. What begins as an element in the formal educational institutions broadens into an accepted norm; individuals should have opinions and should voice them.¹

Following in the tradition of the classical theorists, Cole argued that the individual learns about democracy by his participation in local voluntary groups, and he extended his argument to the workplace, where participation was seen as essential to the workings of a successful democracy. Implicit in his observations is a view that alienation, that inevitable element of modern industrial society, might be inhibited by participation. As he put it:

...over the vast mechanism of modern politics the individual has no control, not because the state is too big, but because he is given no chance of learning the rudiments of self-government within a smaller unit (Cole 1919:157).

The lessons of democracy may therefore be learned more effectively, it is argued, in a relatively small context which has immediate relevance for the individual. A similar description of the function of membership in voluntary associations was put forward by Hausknecht who wrote that this form of participation "provides factual knowledge of events; tends to promote insight

1 It may be that the transformation of participatory ideology into practical activities has been pursued more deliberately in the United States than in Britain, where by contrast the formal educational institutions place less overt emphasis on direct involvement in decision-making processes.

into and understanding of the significance of events, and a knowledge of, as it were, the mechanics of government and society generally. Since the association is part of the political and social processes of the society, it may also help train future leaders and serve as a channel for their emergence into the society" (1962:10).

On the other hand, in their research on the ways in which an individual becomes politically active, Almond and Verba (1963) saw the process as beginning in the family and school, before the political significance of actions are realised. By taking part in decision-making processes in such pre-political contexts, the individual gains "subjective competence", a sense of ability to influence decisions which later can become a belief in one's political efficacy. According to this model, someone who already has subjective competence will benefit from political experiences, as they will confirm his values (whether or not he scores a clear success), whereas someone without subjective competence will refrain from political involvement, interpreting any experience which he does have involving decision-making as a confirmation that it is not possible to influence the really important decisions affecting one's life.

Thus the concept of subjective competence may contribute to an understanding of the lack of participation found in many cases where some form of response might reasonably be expected. An individual may be drawn into group activities through his involvement in social networks, but what he may learn about decision-making processes will be limited by his perception of himself in relation to the overall system of which he is only a small part.

In Bonds of Pluralism, Laumann was testing a theory of mass

society in which the functioning of voluntary associations is seen as a significant integrative force in modern, industrial, urbanised society (see Kornhauser 1959). In true classical tradition, the argument centres around the assumption that increasing the people's understanding of decision-making processes is essential for achieving a responsible citizenry. As those decisions become more and more remote from public scrutiny, understanding of issues and processes is diminished, resulting in greater apathy. Laumann saw membership in "second order intermediate groups" (for example, voluntary associations) as an effective counteraction against the apathy and alienation resulting from a concentration of power which reduces the possibility of influencing decisions significant to the individual's interests (Laumann 1973:134). However, far from providing the anticipated evidence to support "Mass Society Theory", he found that the "effects of membership in voluntary associations are largely an artifact of the differential distribution of membership along socio-economic lines" (1973:153). In other words, participation processes were functioning to reproduce the inequalities of class divisions, rather than fostering the image of a society made up of political equals in an open democracy.

This tendency for voluntary associations to comprise mainly middle class members who take the major role in running them is a common theme of most of the literature on local social systems and community politics in Britain, from Birch and Stacey, Willmott and Young to Pahl, and throughout the literature on participation in planning. As Pahl expresses it, "By and large for the working class, community life is no different from family life, whereas for the middle class community life often implies joining voluntary associations" (1970:83). Whatever

the avowed purpose of a given organisation, its real function is to provide social interaction, according to Willmott and Young in their study of a London suburb (1960:90). This being the case, such organisations are more likely to be socially homogeneous, as Stacey pointed out in her study of Banbury (1960:77). Pahl sees the separation of the social classes in British commuter villages as an expression of the changing social structure. He argues that the middle class people come into rural areas in search of a meaningful community and by their presence destroy whatever community there was. While denying that they are 'class-conscious', they use their efforts to join local organisations and to take an active part in village life as proof that they are egalitarian and liberal. But it is those very activities which serve to perpetuate class divisions (Pahl 1970:97-99).

While Pahl was specifically interested in the behaviour of working-class and middle-class commuters, other studies of participation have taken a different stance, arguing that socio-economic class is not a useful explanatory variable in understanding the variability of involvement in different locations. In Oxfordshire, Simmie (1971) found an unexpected distribution of social classes in the categories of participators in his study. The very active participators came from the two extreme ends of the class spectrum, while most of the parishioners who would only react when an issue impinged directly on their daily lives, were drawn from the skilled manual workers. The unskilled labourers were more involved in local affairs than skilled workers in positions of responsibility. This led Simmie to turn his attention to the notion of "stakes", or what an individual might stand to gain or lose by participating

(or by not participating), and these stakes were then assessed in relation to that individual's place in the social structure. Thus, someone with high status in the workplace would have less reason to seek status in the village. It was also evident that active participators had fewer kinship links locally, which brought Simmie to the view that participators were using their activities primarily as a mechanism for building up their friendship networks.

Whether or not class is taken to be the independent variable in studies of participation seems to me less important than the fact that it is treated as a central element in participation exercises, as they are conducted by planners. This was clearly demonstrated, for example, in Batley's research in Newcastle, where differential treatment of the middle-class area called Jesmond and the working-class area called Byker was shown to be in part due to the actions (or inaction) of the inhabitants, but even more importantly was shown to arise from planners' and councillors' own perceptions of the two areas. Having begun in Jesmond with a policy of openly inviting involvement by residents, they were stung by criticisms that the involvement was only being allowed at a very late stage after the formulation of strategic options, with the result that they were reluctant to continue their "enlightened" participation policy in areas less "ideally suited" than Jesmond (1972:96). Having initiated their participation policy well before the guidelines were set down in the new planning system with the 1971 Act, they were thus in an embattled position by the time the new system was beginning. As he was conducting his research during this phase of disillusionment, Batley came to question whether public participation would ever work in places where there was, in

effect, no demand for it. He wrote,

There is a danger that these areas could be jostled even further away from resources and consideration as the more vocal areas which have always demanded attention take full advantage of their rights under the new system (1972:95).

Batley's study of Jesmond and Byker raises the issue of the differential perception by planners of the areas for which they have responsibility. While clearly representing the values of middle-class participators, planners are expected to produce a single hierarchy of community objectives which are ultimately in the best interests of all (Hague and McCourt 1974:143). Yet they must also take into account a great variety of local opinion, as well as dealing with interpretations of the meaning of public participation which differ substantially from their own. These contradictions inherent in the new system led Hague and McCourt to write,

An ideology which sustains notions of comprehensiveness and an overall public interest is incompatible with an acceptance of the tenets of public participation (1974:145).

To understand how such a problematic process as public participation ever came to be a necessary part of British planning, we should review the philosophy of the Skeffington Report (1969) which formed the basis of it, as well as the general context of the 1960's when it was researched and written. There was an upsurge in social movements, particularly in the United States where the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Movement and the protest against the Vietnamese War generated greater public interest in participation, by giving a broader range of collective actions some currency, the prime examples being demonstrations and sit-ins. However, it is not very useful to draw simplistic parallels between participation and protest, for these are distinct processes, as Dunleavy has pointed out. It

has become fashionable to apply the term "urban social movement" indiscriminantly, even in reference to voluntary organisations and interest groups. He reserves the term for grass-roots organisations using protest tactics outside the formal political institutions in the pursuit of changes in the issues of collective consumption: squatters in the 1970's are one example given (1980:157). For Dunleavy, the wave of interest in and protest about urban issues and policies in Britain in the 1960's and 1970's had the effect of "shattering the credibility of the dominant ideology of urban economic growth embraced by city politicians, local authority planners, developers and property interests" (1980:157). He then sees this wave, which he describes as a "process of ideological rupture" extending into many other areas of ueban public service provision, such as the disillusionment with huge mass housing complexes and highrise flats, and the opposition to motorway construction in several parts of the country.

Saunders similarly draws attention to the new forms of community action throughout the late 1960's and the 1970's, over issues which are increasingly raised outside the channels of formal political institutions (1979:286). In a more analytical way, he distinguishes between participation and protest, by applying Mathieson's proviso that any genuine political alternative necessarily must have two elements - competition and contradiction (Mathieson 1974). Thus participatory groups are in a position of "competing agreement" vis-à-vis those in power, whereby they compete as they assert their right to be heard, but in reality they are competing over nothing, since those in power merely allow them to debate issues of relatively little consequence. On the other hand, protest movements stand in

"non-competing contradiction" to those in power. They fundamentally disagree with the policies and ideology of the state and its agencies, but do not propose themselves as an alternative organisation for formulating and implementing decisions. (Saunders 1979:288-91). The success of participatory groups is rarely redistributive, or as Castells puts it, participation functions to reproduce the system of domination rather than to challenge it (quoted in Saunders 1979:288). They give credibility to the image of the political system as accountable and pluralistic. The success of social movements, on the other hand, would tend to be seen in the furtherance of the process of ideological rupture outlined by Dunleavy.

If the emergence of such new forms of community expression generated increased interest amongst the population generally, it also variously inspired certain intellectual circles and alarmed governments.¹ It was in such a climate that the Skeffington Report was written, deriving many of its arguments in favour of greater public participation from the philosophy of the classical theorists (Pateman 1970). The authors of the report considered that the ignorant and apathetic public would be led toward greater understanding by the participation process, which would also generate consensus and constructive action. Over time, the public's lack of confidence in its ability to influence decisions would be replaced by a sense of political efficacy (Levin and Donnison 1973). Presumably through the engendering of consensus, public participation was expected to get rid of the costly delays which had been such a feature of the

1 The effect of the 1968 student strikes and demonstration on the Nixon Administration was well documented during the Watergate hearings.

old appeals system of planning; in this sense it was strongly argued that "participation was an administrative necessity if the whole British planning system was not to disintegrate" (Damer and Hague 1971:221).

There may be some grounds for the Report's optimistic view that participation would lead to wider acceptance of the decisions taken in the plans. At least some of the potential opposition in a given locality will effectively be "screened out of the political and administrative process" (Dunleavy 1980:154) through each group's own process of formulating a coherent set of statements about the plans. Groups may also be encouraged to join together in temporary alliances, as we will see in the next chapter. In these ways the clamour of reaction to publicised plans may be reduced to manageable sets of responses which are expressed as nearly as possible in the language used by the planners, precisely because the groups are seeking a favourable understanding of their position by the planners. Hence planners as well as councillors in general much prefer to deal with groups which show a high degree of civic responsibility, which can be said to have a wide representative base, and which contain an element of professionalism among their members.

Put in these terms, there is a strong case for saying the system favours those best able to make their views known. Over time it is to the planners' advantage if articulate community groups become incorporated into the planning process, or in other words if they come to form part of the planning system itself and are institutionalised (Cockburn 1977). Though the majority of examples from the literature show this process happening primarily to middle class groups or individuals, as S. Cornish argues (1980), Saunders gave an example from Croydon

which showed the tenants' movement as the only alternative channel for working class participation, starting out in a militant fashion in the 1950's but then becoming "more responsible" in the 1960's and 1970's. There was a gradually increasing tendency to "withdraw from contentious issues" until in the late 1970's the tenants felt fully recognised by the Council, but in fact were only successful where the Council allowed them to be (1979:282). This example shows incorporation taking place in the wider participatory context, whereas Cornish and Cockburn both discuss it in terms of the planning process. The provisions of the Skeffington Report thus make participation a "mechanism by which implementation of plans could be made easier by preparing the public in advance" (Cornish 1980:6). Public participation exercises are thus in effect management formulae for the control, by manipulation, of a population whose acceptance of the plans is deemed ideologically desirable.

While some critics of the system decry such tactics for their interference with the rights of individuals and therefore their anti-democratic effects, the authors of the report clearly saw such management techniques as justifiable. This is consistent with the Report's basis of classical theory; as Almond and Verba wrote in 1963, "democratic civic culture is a myth which can only work to keep a balance between governmental power and the responsiveness of the people as long as both sides believe in it" (quoted in Batley 1970:114). The reasons for planners and councillors to "believe in it" have been discussed above, while it seems clear that at least some participators must believe in it.

Some studies of participation in planning have advocated

a need to improve the process by making more and better information available to interest groups (see Stringer and Plumridge 1975, Walker and Hampton 1975, Boaden and Collins 1975, and Goldsmith and Saunders 1976). According to this viewpoint, it is the timing, methods of dissemination and quality of information that are crucial. Provided these aspects of a public participation programme are managed in such a way that disadvantaged areas are given more equitable treatment, such writers feel that participation can be a meaningful part of the planning process itself. It is essential that people feel as though planning decisions emanate from their expression of their own needs and wants; thus the process of putting forth options and discussing them would have to take place before firm decisions had been made. This aspect of the new system was perhaps appreciated by MacMurray, who wrote about the changes that some local planning authorities were already making in their whole approach to consultation with the public, a change which preceded the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act.¹ He expresses an ideal with which many advocates of participation might agree:

It is hoped that public argument and discussion over a flexible and non-statutory plan will involve the public and vent objections on route to plan making. There are opportunities here for using plans experimentally, to float ideas of example, or to educate the public to understand the context of their local environment... Thus the keynotes are flexibility, informality and consensus planning, all of which are complementary to an inductive participation oriented planning approach (1970:24-25).

While this kind of ideal approach may have oriented the

¹ See Batley's example (1970) in Newcastle prior to the 1971 Act. Also in 1974, the Middlesbrough District Planners undertook this form of "inductive participation" in preparing plans for the semi-new town area of Coulby Newham.

authors of the Skeffington Report, the system of strategic planning which actually emerged from the 1971 Act was inflexible, formal and non-conducive to the formation of consensus. The concept of public participation was imposed upon a representative democratic system already demonstrably unresponsive to local wants and needs,¹ and characterised by an elite political structure. It was never seen in any way as involving a transfer of power but instead was expected to improve the efficiency of the planning system (Hague and McCourt 1974). The public will be invited to make their views known but the planners and councillors are not obliged to allow these views to influence policy. So, as Hague and McCourt point out, "attempts have been made to stimulate participation while still paradoxically holding firm to elitist principles" (1974:153). Thus they argue that participation programmes were launched with no regard to the political concepts involved, by which they mean that the Skeffington Report implied that any problems arising over the acceptance of draft plans would be caused by misunderstandings and lack of communication between participators and planners.

Such problems were not seen by Skeffington as conflict of interest stemming from material and ideological differences between the planning authority (planners and councillors) and the groups of participants, although Hague and McCourt consider these more fundamental conflicts to be a central feature of the planning process. They write,

...it can be argued today that physical planning...tries to consolidate the privileged position of certain groups in society, most notably the suburban, car owning, home owning middle class and, on the other hand to alleviate

1 See below, the discussion of Dunleavy's political insulation in Chapter III.

the very real social and political problems of the less privileged groups in society by a curious mixture of utopian utilitarian reformism, benevolent paternalism and (still) naïve environmental determinism (1974:151).

In the same vein, considering how planners control participation by making it available on their terms, Styles remarked that "given the existing situation, the effects of starting a programme of public participation must be to increase the inequalities among respondents" (1971:166).

While political conflict was not confronted by the Skeffington Report, either as a possibility or as an inevitability, the planners and councillors inaugurating programmes of participation quite clearly saw potential conflict as a cloud of uncertainty standing between the plans as drafts and as accepted, established policy. Their concern was to contain controversy and avoid any disruptive activity through careful management of the participation programmes. As we will see, much of this containment was achieved automatically as a result of the impact of the very formalised procedures; Cox has pointed out how such formality tends to reduce the impact of public protest (1976:187).¹ Further techniques for reducing the field of objectors through group meetings will be discussed in Chapter III. Since planners also administer the publicity for the plans, they control the type of information (how much detail) and the timing of its dissemination, as well as the content, location and length of public meetings to discuss the plans.

Even more fundamentally, however, it is the structure of

1 It now seem ironic that the former system of public inquiries was thought to be a hinderance to public involvement because of the formality of the procedures; the new system was supposed to help participators relax and cope better with the expression of grievances through its ostensibly more informal structure.

the participation process which serves to contain potential conflict. As Batley summarised (and many participators in Cleveland observed personally), at the structure plan level of planning, not enough detail is given for participants to know how their interests are going to be affected, but at the local plan level, their objections are met by references to the structure plan by local planners (1970:95).¹ The 1971 Act made planning a two-stage process, which in some areas took the form of simultaneous progress on both levels, while in Cleveland the strategic and local stages were separate. In any case the impact is similar: whether the participants are trying to understand how their own interests will be affected, or whether they are trying to express their opposition in a meeting, the cross-referencing between these two levels of planning reduces their protest.

Public participation in planning in Britain thus has become a process devoid of meaning as it is disconnected from the inherently political arena in which planning decisions are made. Moreover, the participation process operates to exacerbate inequalities, putting disadvantaged, lower class groups into even deeper political inactivity.

In the United States, where the experience of participation in planning has greater depth (in time) and breadth (in the range of examples), there may be greater emphasis placed on the ideology of participation, but many of the problems evident in the British system have already surfaced in numerous

1 The ultimate example of this is the Compulsory Purchase Order which is virtually irreversible once an Action Area has been declared. To query the C.P.O., one has to fight the Action Area policy, which is justified by a structure plan, with which the individual usually has no acquaintance (Batley 1970: 95).

case studies, particularly of urban renewal programmes in the cities. The types of solutions put forward in the literature are thus being echoed by recent British studies. On the one hand, finding ways of motivating the lower class groups to take more interest in political processes, through education aimed at redirecting their goals from the family to the community was suggested as a means of making participation more meaningful. (Rossi and Dentler 1961). Alternatively, the incorporation of political conflict into the planning process was seen as a more realistic way of bringing groups from the middle- and lower-classes into the participation process (see Davies' 1966 study in New York). As we have seen in this chapter, the former approach tends to ignore the economic and political forces causing the inequalities in the first place, and the latter approach is more likely to lead to groups agreeing with the constraints and identifying with the goals of the planning authority.

In evaluating the participation programmes in Cleveland in particular, there can be few more appropriate statements than this one by Arnstein, who made a comparison of several American case studies:

...participation without the redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the power leaders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of these to benefit. It maintains the status quo (1971:176).

Therefore I will now turn the discussion more directly towards the dimension of power in the participation process, as a more useful theoretical framework for understanding the types of responses to the structure plans found in the Skelton and Brotton case study.

Power and Powerlessness

Recent discussions reviewing the literature on power theory (Lukes 1974, Dunleavy 1980, Saunders 1979 and Gaventa 1980) have usefully categorised the types of approaches taken by various political scientists and the theoretical and methodological limitations of these approaches. In general, these criticisms show that while conceptualisation of the nature of power has been refined and enlarged, especially in recent decades, it is still a subject which generates continuous debate, or as Lukes says, is "essentially contested" (1977:9). From this debate which could fill volumes, I have selected those elements which stress the meaning of the concept within its proper, relational context, and which emphasise the impact of power on the powerless. In doing so, I will be following mainly in the steps of John Gaventa, who related power and powerlessness to participation and non-participation in a coal mining area of Appalachia by applying Lukes' three dimensional approach to the concept of power.

Much of the power debate revolves around the problem of the political inactivity of the working class, whose acquiescence in spite of the persistent inequalities which define their position has been variously attributed to apathy, hegemony, cultural deficiency, low socio-economic status, or even to the notion that the inequalities are not perceived as such by the disadvantaged classes, hence they are not "real" (Gaventa 1980: 4). In part such explanations rely too heavily upon the subjective aspect of the definition of working class interests, as Saunders has pointed out (1979:40). Whether those interests can only be defined in terms of objective evidence, or whether we must rely upon the disadvantaged actually perceiving their

position before we can credit their inactivity to apathy, cynicism or consensus, is one important crux of the discussion. Another is the matter of the mechanisms of power, chiefly in decision-making which reduces the options of the less powerful while enhancing the position of the more powerful. Since it is clear that delayed decisions, decisionless decisions, and a range of sanctions, threats and force invoked in lieu of decisions (or non-decisions) can achieve the same result as decisions, the question of where to draw the line arises. Which acts are to be included and which are not relevant in explaining the exercise of power? How can we take into account the non-events which some of these entail? These questions and the answers to them raise important implications for the study of non-participation amongst disadvantaged populations.

To put these into perspective, it is first necessary to consider the three dimensions of approaches to power theory as Lukes defines them. In the one-dimensional approach, of which Dahl's and Polsby's work in the United States are major examples, the principle premise is that in a liberal democratic system of government, all who wish to participate in decision-making can do so, since the system is open and people will become involved if their need to do so is strong enough. Polsby considers this to be the most effective objectification of peoples' values; "they are eloquently expressed by their participation" (1959: 235). In this open system of decision-making, elites are seen not as elites but as representative leaders of a given population. Such is the pluralist approach, in which the emphasis is on the behavioural aspect of power. In basic terms, "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something

that B would not otherwise do"¹ (Dahl 1957:201-5). To this may be added that the study of power entails looking at "who participates, who gains and loses, and who prevails in decision-making" (Polsby 1963:55). In order to observe power in operation it is only necessary to study decision-making; to the extent that the leaders in a given situation disagree about goals or the means to achieve them, conflict and political combat will be an essential aspect of the decision-making process, and one that ensures that leaders are ever responsive to the needs of all groups and classes. In terms of participation, Gaventa argues that because this approach to power assumes that "people act upon recognised grievances, in an open system, for themselves or through leaders, then non-participation or inaction is not a political problem" (1980:6). It is either ignored altogether, or attributed to inertia or to the individual's own inclination towards being an activist or a non-activist. Thus the analysis focusses upon how political actors use the various mechanisms of power in order to prevail in the bargaining process which characterises the resolution of key issues. Granting favours, helping to secure jobs or positions, wielding influence, gaining votes and the like are the principle mechanisms to be considered.

The two-dimensional approach to the study of power has its origins in the widely quoted and influential work of Bachrach and Baratz in the United States. As Gaventa observes, their work widened the scope of power theory by concentrating on a major criticism of the one-dimensional approach, which is that it effectively blames the victim for his non-participation by

¹ A and B are, of course, hypothetical parties and may represent individuals, groups or sectors of a population (e.g. men and women, working class and middle class, etc.).

depicting his cultural deficiencies, ignorance and unwillingness to change, for example in the way Banfield did with the concept of "amoral familism" in his study of Southern Italy (1958:18). Building upon the work of Schattschneider, who stressed the fact that "whoever decides what the game is about also decides who gets into the game" (1960:105) they showed that power is not only exercised by A upon B, but is also used to exclude certain issues altogether. In this way, the non-participation of certain sectors of a population can be seen as the consequence of many subtle processes preventing their participation. As Bachrach and Baratz express it,

...Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences (1970:7).

This second face of power thus complements the first, but additionally recognises that power and inequality are inevitably linked within the same process, an important aspect which will be discussed further below. At the centre of their conception of power is the creation of barriers, consciously or unconsciously, such that certain conflicts do not come into the political arena. Their use of Schattschneider's term, the "mobilisation of bias" differs somewhat from his original formulation in terms of groups that are politically active¹ but it nevertheless does convey the principle that is central to the two-dimensional approach. Mobilisation of bias is

...a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures ("rules of the game") that operate

1 See the discussion by Dennis Wrong on the implications of this difference (1979:131).

systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests. More often than not, the "status quo defenders" are a minority or elite group within the population in question (Bachrach and Baratz 1970:43-4).

Though Bachrach and Baratz criticise the pluralists for overemphasising the behavioural component of decision-making, they claim that such analysis is useful when put in perspective by combining it with an examination of non-decision-making. This latter concept is defined as "a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept overt; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process" (1970:44).

In addition to non-decisions, a more subtle power mechanism posited by Bachrach and Baratz is the "rule of anticipated reactions", whereby "B, confronted by A who has greater power resources, decides not to make a demand upon A for fear that the latter will invoke sanctions against him" (1970:43). Such mechanisms are by their nature not observable in the way that decisions and non-decisions are; likewise it is more difficult to pinpoint the evidence for "decisionless decisions", in which red tape may be instrumental in slowing or halting institutional actions, or in which minute decisions accumulate to produce unforeseen consequences. Nevertheless, the two-dimensional approach includes these mechanisms so that, as Lukes points out, the boundaries of what is to count as a political issue are, in effect, re-defined. Not only is there a wider array of ways in which power-as-exercised is to be considered, but it is important to discover potential issues which non-decision-making prevents

from becoming actual (Lukes 1974:19). An example of a key issue in this category (and very likely to arise with regard to structure planning) is "one that involves a genuine challenge to the resources of power or authority of those who currently dominate the process by which policy outputs in the system are determined (Bachrach and Baratz 1970:47).

One reason why Lukes considers the two-dimensional approach to need further refinement is that for all that it improves upon the pluralists' restricted observation of decision-making behaviour, it still holds in common with the pluralists the view that power can only be seen when there is actual conflict, whether covert or overt. The analyst must be able to discover grievances, without which, Bachrach and Baratz argue, it would be impossible to determine empirically whether the apparent consensus is genuine or not (1970:49-50). Since in their view the conflict can be said to exist if both parties or the less powerful party show an awareness of it, (in the latter case the power holders are so secure in their dominance that they do not notice the grievance of persons or groups within their domain), a question arises over the reverse possibility. As Gaventa says, "just as the dominant may become so 'secure' within their position as to become 'oblivious', so, too, may such things as routines, internalisation of roles or false consensus lead to acceptance of the status quo by the dominated" (1980:11). This is a possibility excluded by Bachrach and Baratz, who argued that the study of power does not include "how power may affect conceptions of grievance themselves (Gaventa 1980:11).

Hence the three-dimensional approach to power considers the ways in which "A exercises power over B...in a manner

contrary to B's interests" (Lukes 1974:34), but adds that this may be done by "influencing, shaping or determining their very wants" (1974:23). Further, Lukes considers that latent conflict, or in other words "a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude" (1974:24-5) may give sufficient grounds for identifying a power relationship, beyond or in the absence of observable conflict. Also, this approach allows for the inclusion of potential issues and how these are excluded from the political agenda, whether through "the operation of social forces and institutional practices or through individuals' decisions" (1974:24). Such an approach to the study of power is clearly more adaptable to a consideration of how potential issues can be prevented from taking their full political shape, such as might be seen in public participation in planning. But it nevertheless raises further methodological questions, and is not without its critics. The pluralists, as well as Bachrach and Baratz, and many structuralists, dismiss the approach for its attempt to study something that does not appear to happen, and for its implicit need to impute interests and values where they are not manifested by action. It is also argued that extending the power concept to include A's ability to influence the very perceptions of needs and wants of B ultimately reduces the notion of power to the subjective dimension of social relationships in general. To do so is to effectively render the concept useless as a tool of political analysis, they say. These doubts can be answered, as we shall see.

There are several good reasons why mechanisms of power in the third dimension are less understood, documented or developed by political scientists. To identify them properly one would need to study such things as symbols and myths, communications

processes, socialisation, control of information and the like. Gaventa goes so far as to suggest that such a study might entail "a focus upon the means by which social legitimations are developed around the dominant, and instilled as beliefs and roles in the dominated";¹ it may involve "locating the power processes behind the social construction of meaning and patterns"² (Gaventa 1980:15). The study of such processes is traditionally held to be outside the purview of political scientists, though it is clearly congruent with a social anthropological approach such as is used in the present study.

The need to consider both the directly observable and the indirect forms of power is underlined by Lukes' argument that we cannot just assume that power is only exercised in situations of overt conflict. He gives examples from the work of Dahl himself which depict indoctrination in schools, political leaders shaping their constituents' preferences, and even more subtly the way in which a given population shares a sense of the legitimacy of the claim to govern put forth by a dominant group (see Lukes 1974:23, quoting from Dahl 1961). To rule that actual conflict is a necessary condition for power to be present is to "ignore the crucial point that the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent such conflict in the first place" (*ibid*). And, unless we are contending that everyone is always either in a state of actual or of latent conflict, the criticism that this view of power reduces the concept to an aspect of all social relationships becomes a nonsense. It is, of course, a potential in all social relationships.

1 Examples of studies having such a focus are given: Mueller 1973, Milliband 1969 and Mills 1956.

2 Here Gaventa is extending the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966) on the social construction of reality.

It seems that Dahl was aware of the direct and indirect forms of power that reside in the third dimension, but discounted them as being beyond the scope of a political study of power, perhaps for methodological reasons but primarily from the very restrictions of the original premise that in a liberal democracy any real clash of interests will manifest itself in actual conflict. Thus we see that the implications of allowing latent conflict as well as actual conflict into the definition of power not only ramify to the research strategy by widening the boundaries, but are grounded in the type of "theorising about social action" inherent in the sociological orientation of the researcher, as Dawe would see it (Dawe 1978:363). As we have seen, for Lukes the nature of human action is both contingent and creative, as his agents exist within a "web of possibilities" and "make choices and pursue strategies within given limits", but also that in consequence those limits "expand and contract over time" (1977:29). As such, his orientation is of the type Dawe calls the "conversational metaphor"; it side-steps the downward spiral of contradiction inherent in the pluralists' approach to power.

It is in such a light that the ways in which power alters political conceptions should be seen. The direct means such as socialisation or information control have already been mentioned; beyond these are processes involving psychological adaptations, of which Gaventa gives three examples. The first of these is characterised as an "adaptive response to continual defeat": A has repeated victories over B, then the rule of anticipated reactions means that B comes to discontinue the challenge, whereupon over time B's calculated withdrawal becomes an unconscious pattern maintained not by fear of A's power but by

B's own sense of powerlessness "regardless of A's condition" (1980:17). This way of framing the analysis shows Gaventa's position that all three dimensions of power should be taken together, and "seen as interrelated in the totality of their impact" (1980:20). The consequent internalisation of the values and beliefs of the powerful is thus a "means of escaping the subjective sense of powerlessness" (1980:17).

Gaventa's second example stems from the argument that participation depends upon the level of political awareness and knowledge put forth by pluralists, and its obverse as argued in classical democratic theories, that political consciousness is raised by participation experiences. Turning inside out these two views, which are more properly seen as two aspects of the same process, Gaventa extends the argument to the possibility that "those denied participation - unable to engage actively with others in the determination of their own affairs - also might not develop political consciousness of their own situation or of broader political inequalities" (1980:18). In support of this example of the indirect mechanisms of power's third dimension, he quotes from Paulo Freire, Claus Mueller and Gramsci. The first source develops the notion of the "culture of silence" growing out of the inequality of political experience; since consciousness is seen by Freire as "constituted in the dialectic of man's objectification and action upon the world", if such a dialectic process is denied, the resultant "culture of silence" may preclude any development of that consciousness even as the conditions of inequality worsen. The silence of the powerless then appears to legitimise the position of the powerful (Freire 1972:52). Mueller writes of groups unable to "articulate their interests or perceive social conflict", having accepted the version of political reality expressed by those in

the government or dominant classes (Mueller 1973:9). Because attempts to break the silence are necessarily poorly articulated they tend to reinforce the pattern of non-participation until the point of "moral and political passivity" is reached, which Gramsci saw arising from the "contradiction of conscience" characterising the experience of the powerless. So far have they accepted the values of the power holders that each successive instance of grievance renders the decision to act in any particular way impossible (Gramsci 1957:66-67).

From these two aspects, that is from the adaptation to the condition of powerlessness and the relationship of non-participation to non-consciousness in situations of political inequality, comes a third way in which power's third dimension operates, which has to do with what Garson called the "multiple consciousness" of relatively disadvantaged populations. The essential ambiguity of the consciousness of the powerless may mean that "different and seemingly contradictory orientations will be evoked depending upon the context" (Garson 1973:163). Thus the emergent political awareness of powerless groups is "vulnerable to the manipulations of the power field around it" (Gaventa 1980:19). Here Gaventa refers to the use of threat or rumour, or the invocation of myths and symbols, through which the powerful manage the emergence of beliefs and actions in one context in contradiction to those expressed in other contexts. "From this perspective," he writes, "a consistently expressed consensus is not required for the maintenance of dominant interests, only a consistency that certain potentially key issues remain latent issues and that certain interests remain unrecognised - at certain times more than at others" (1980:19).

In adopting this line of argument, Gaventa deepens the

definition of the power relationship; B's response to his situation at any point in time should be interpreted as the sum of B's powerlessness and A's power, seen in terms of the dynamic of the re-inforcing effects of the one upon the other (1980:23). In order to act to remedy his grievance, B has to overcome both A's power and his own accumulating powerlessness. It is hardly even necessary for A to act to maintain his interests, since there is a certain inertia in the situation that serves to ensure A's dominance. As Pokock says in describing the Ancient Chinese rulers, "Once acquired, it (power) is maintained not by exertion but by inaction; not by imposing norms, but by being prerequisite to their imposition" (1970: 69).

This view of power is not necessarily steeped in pessimism, for although unlikely, challenges are possible. B must first overcome the sense of powerlessness by developing an awareness of the "needs, possibilities and strategies of challenge", by a process of "issue and action formulation"; B must develop resources, both "real and symbolic"; B must carry out a "mobilisation of action upon issues" to counter the mobilisation of bias which has characterised A's power position. Although A has ways of counteracting such attempted challenges, there may be a success at some point, upon which further action can be built. Gaventa argues that as power is accumulative in maintaining quiescence, so too a challenge in just one area may have a more widely ramifying effect simply by successfully demonstrating a weakening in the totality of A's power (1980: 24). B will be the more likely to act further if there is one victory; each further challenge will restrict A's options for control. It is therefore in A's interests to anticipate and

block B's actions such that the accumulation of challenge never begins.

This consideration of the mechanisms of power's third dimension reinforces the view that power is inherently related to inequality, in the sense that the dynamics of power relationships tend to maintain and even exacerbate social and political inequalities. As a social anthropologist looking at it from a cross-cultural point of view, Richard Adams develops a framework which sees power as increasing as societies expand. He distinguishes between the independent power so characteristic of simpler societies, and dependent power which acts as a device for subordinating large segments of a society. He perceives a need to explain how the former evolves into the latter. In proposing that all men have some independent power (and to that extent they are equal) but some always have more power than others (and thus have never been equal), Adams thus shows "how the overwhelming concentrations of power in contemporary society are merely the continuing growth of an original element of inequality (1977:409).

As this thesis considers the conception of power as a dynamic dimension of relationships, I have drawn extensively from Gaventa's and Lukes' arguments, which clearly are consistent with this more anthropological approach. Such a view runs counter to that of Dahl or Parsons, for whom power is an aspect or property of the system. Whereas Lukes sees it as operating within a structure, they see it as exercised by one party over another within the context of freely given legitimacy. As Saunders has observed, this is a narrow or specific case of power exercise, corresponding closely to Weber's notion of authority which excluded coercion, inducement or manipulation as

means to achieve particular ends. Without such elements, it is not possible to question the basis of legitimacy (1979:27).

Like Gaventa, Saunders sees a need to explain political inactivity in conditions where action might have been expected. In a searching comparison of the pluralist approach and that of Bachrach and Baratz, he observes that the distinction between consensus arising voluntarily and that imposed from above by various direct and indirect means is likely to be impossible to establish empirically. Where Dahl and Parsons explain political passivity by genuine, legitimate authority, the alternative approach sees inaction in terms of the way non-participants may be prevented from expressing or even recognising their "real" interests (1979:28). The difficulty is in finding a basis for choosing between these two models, for although the first is inadequate in its inability to accommodate the importance of ideology as a source of political stability, the second ultimately rests upon subjective criteria for identifying power relationships. Part of the solution to this dilemma, he suggests, is a study which "takes account of both the subjective and objective situation" to show "whether the interests of [inactive populations] have objectively been met by the actions or inaction of those exercising power 'on their behalf'" (1979:34). Thus Saunders singles out the central premise that identification of the real interests of an individual or group is possible, independently of the way the parties perceive them.

As we saw earlier, the question of objective interests was one of the criticisms of Lukes' three-dimensional approach to power. Unlike power theorists of the first and second dimensions, he is not prepared to leave the matter entirely to the individual or group concerned, whether the components of the definition are

conceptualised as preferences, wants or needs.¹ Rather, he defines interests in terms of the choices individuals would make if they were acting relatively autonomously. Since the relativity of that autonomy can never be assessed with complete reliability, this leaves him open to the charge that his argument rests on hypothetical conditions (Saunders 1979:38). Lukes appears to accept this when he writes, "The notion of interests is an irreducibly evaluative notion; different conceptions of what interests are are associated with different moral and political positions...I would maintain that any view of power rests on some normatively specific conception of interests (1974:34-5).

However, both Lukes and Saunders consider it possible to find some objective criteria for assessing interests. For example, in Crenson's (two-dimensional) study of air pollution in a steel-town in Indiana, if the residents chose to accept air pollution in the full knowledge of its harmful effects and without the constraints of anticipated loss of jobs which could result from firm controls on the U.S. Steel plant, then air pollution would be in those peoples' interests, Lukes writes. But of course, the conditions upon which such a relative autonomy would rest are never likely to occur, so the interests can be objectively defined by Crenson, or Lukes: air pollution is against their interests (see Saunder 1979:39). The point is that the assessment may ultimately have to refer to an individual's own view in situations where the contextual constraints are not as clear cut, and where the interests themselves may be only vaguely or partially recognised. Saunders follows Lukes in his view that interests rest ultimately on a moral basis and therefore are "essentially contestable", but he tempers this

1 The wider discussion of these will not be included here.

with his own approach based on costs and benefits. These may be analysed empirically within a specified action context, which would provide verifiable referents to support the more conceptually derived element of objective interests. The interests are analysed in terms of the costs and benefits, to which they are already linked by the theoretical framework (Saunders 1979:48).

The ways in which groups which do wish to participate both formulate and express their interests and demands is thus closely related to their relative power positions. We have seen how finding an acceptable approach may entail careful tailoring of these demands, and that groups which choose not to participate within the officially defined channels are less likely to derive what they would consider tangible results in their favour. Saunders adds a third alternative to these, namely that groups may just do nothing. Thus he develops the analysis of political inaction in terms of the rules of access (1979:64). In part, his concern to focus upon such rules stems from a wish to avoid the logical impossibility, as he sees it, of causally relating the effects of ideological mechanisms of power to particular individuals or groups. This can be done, on the other hand, for rules of access, as he argues:

...the rules (both formal and informal) governing differential access to political power generate a bias in favour of some sections of the population and against others, and the causal responsibility for this bias can be traced to those who operate the rules. Rules of access are thus rational constraints which are amenable to the interpretation of those who apply them (1979:60).

We can see the rules most clearly in the operation of political routines; they derive their meaning from the interpretations which are applied to them through the interactions in which they are used. It is obvious that the rules will "come

to reflect the values and practical purposes" of those who are best at applying them and in a position to press acceptance of their interpretation. Thus it can be argued that "the rules to which [the decision-makers] are obliged to address their actions do not so much govern and regulate what they do as provide the criteria of acceptability according to which they must reconcile their actions" (1979:61).

In terms of public participation, therefore, the key problem for groups is how to "negotiate the rules of access as operated by local authority's 'gatekeepers'" (1979:62). These are the interpreters who carry out what Parry and Morriss term the "everyday routines of ruling" (1974). There are numerous case studies which demonstrate how rules of access operated by local authorities are a mechanism through which influence on local policy-making is controlled. Saunders cites Dearlove's 1973 study of Kensington and Chelsea where councillors reacted to approaches from various groups on the basis of their evaluation of those groups' respectability, strategies and demands, as well as Miller's 1970 study of Bristol, where the power holders were shown to regard groups using certain types of pressure as "having bad taste" (Saunders 1979:63). His own study of Croydon supports this view of political access. The concept is also central to Williams' approach, as he showed how "access is... defined as the (potential) availability of desired social interactions, and historical examples are used to show how the manipulation of access becomes more complex and more central as a social process, as urbanisation proceeds" (1971:36).

Similarly J. Clarence Davies' study of interest groups in a case of urban renewal in New York City showed access as the goal for which all interest groups strive" (1966). Also resting

on this view of the manipulation of access is Dunleavy's observation that the insistence on the local authority's monopoly of legitimate action concerning the services it provides is "one of the most developed aspects of local partisanship" and underlies the massive hostility of Conservative and right-wing Labour councils to 'unofficial' or 'unhelpful' local interest groups or urban social movements" (1980:147).

Thus it may be seen that Saunders brings to the three-dimensional orientation to power two suggestions which are intended to answer the more intractable methodological objections raised above in reference to Lukes' approach. That is, "different patterns of political inactivity can be distinguished through an analysis of objective interests and rules of access" (1979:64). These improvements should, I believe, be acceptable to Lukes, who has argued that behaviourism fails as explanation because "it focusses exclusively on the narrow thread of actualised possibility, rejecting the unactualised as of no explanatory significance" and that empiricism in its narrower forms fails because it "systematically devalues the explanatory role of counterfactuals and the value of the evidence needed to support them" (1977:29). In particular, Lukes was concerned, in the three-dimensional approach, that the observer should be able to "justify [the] expectation that B would have thought and acted differently", and to "specify the means or mechanisms by which A has prevented, or else acted (or abstained from acting) in a manner sufficient to prevent B from doing so" (1979:46).

Gaventa's more inclusive suggestions for finding the evidence to support the counterfactuals ranges from historical account and processes of communication, socialisation, acculturation

and the like, to identifying the objective conditions serving as indirect mechanisms of power. There is also the intriguing possibility that in some situations the observer could express speculative ideas about challenges to the power holders and then evaluate the responses in all quarters in terms of whether they reveal power mechanisms at work which would preclude such challenges from emerging (1980:27). However, this is still not sufficient to show that B would have acted differently. Further evidence might be found if there were an unusual relaxation of the power apparatus, or if new or different opportunities entered B's field (by external intervention). Lukes argued that if actions or conception of actions then emerged, one could make a case against a previously assumed consensus. The final possibility lies in comparative studies; if similarly placed groups face differing degrees of power and one reacts while the other does not, then the degree of activity could be related to the differences in the power relationships (Gaventa 1980:28).

Though there is much more that could be said in this field, the elements selected here provide a useful analytical framework to be used in conjunction with the social networks approach. It will be evident in the case study that these recent developments in theory and methodology are consistent with the overall approach adopted in this study. They also lead to a more adequate explanation of variations in levels of participation generally, and of public participation in planning.

CHAPTER III

CLEVELAND COUNTY

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL CONTEXT AND THE PLANS

The area chosen for this study, Cleveland County in the North East of England, was subject to one of the first major planning exercises under the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act which introduced structure planning nationally. Since the Act made such planning a statutory duty of the counties, and came at a time when county boundaries were being widely reshuffled in anticipation of the passing of the Reorganisation of Local Government Act, 1974, structure planning at that particular juncture was experimental in two senses. It had to be begun by old local authorities with the anticipated framework of totally new councils, but completed by the new councils themselves, and it entailed new methods of communicating with the public which were called "public participation". To understand participation in Cleveland, it is therefore necessary to have a picture of the administrative and political contexts, as well as the planning context. These will be preceded by a description of the county in geographical, historical and socio-economic terms.

Geographical and Historical Description

Cleveland today comprises an area straddling the River Tees and spreading into the countryside to the north and south over some 233 square miles (Cleveland Structure Plan 1974:32). Its urban, industrial centre spreads from Hartlepool on the coast-line north of the river's mouth, to Redcar on the south coast-line, and inland along both sides of the river up to the towns of Eaglescliffe and Yarm (see Diagram 1). Six major towns

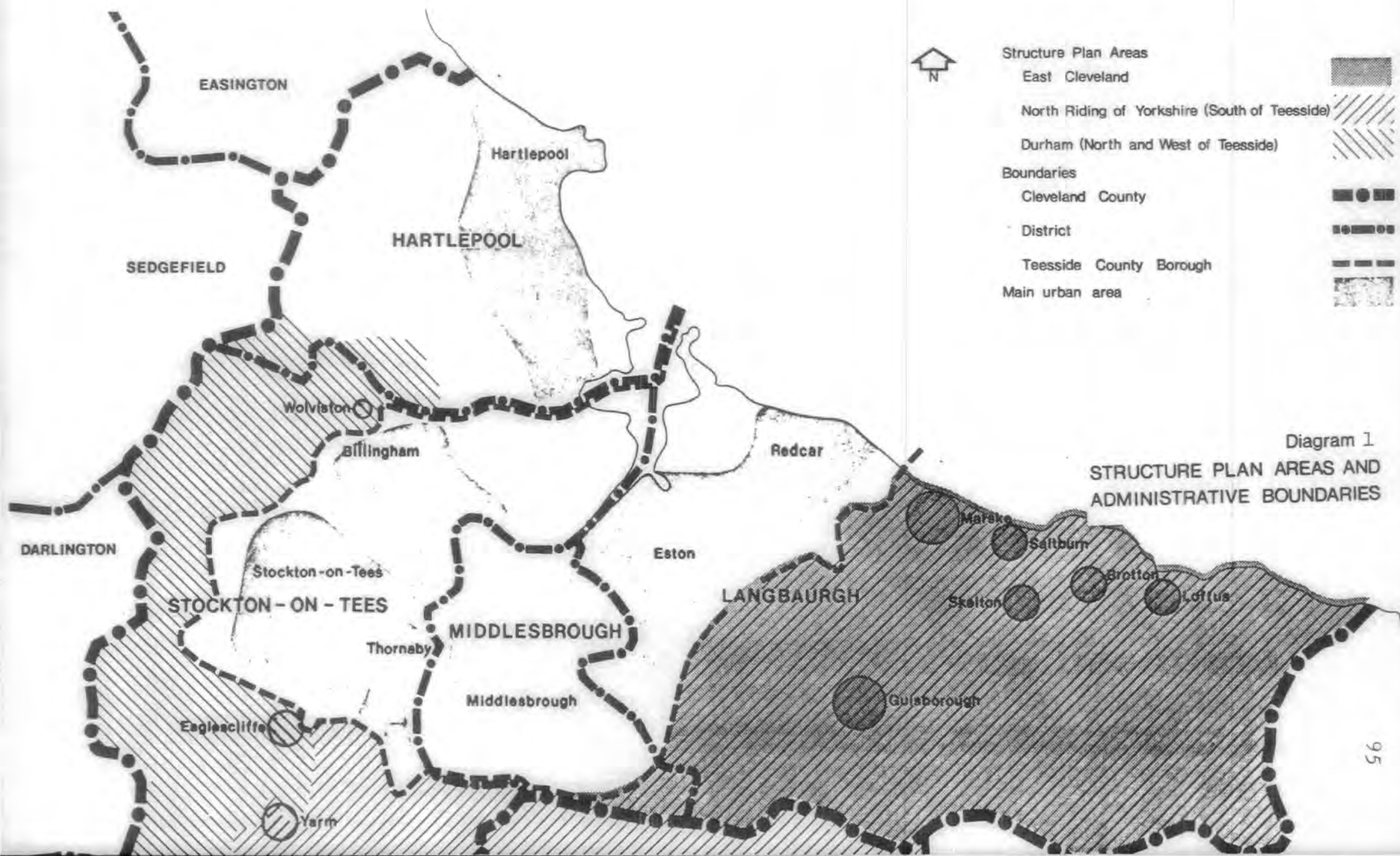


Diagram 1
STRUCTURE PLAN AREAS AND
ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

developed individually in this area from the earliest years of the Industrial Revolution and were eventually welded together in 1966 to form a sprawling conurbation called Teesside County Borough. From Billingham on the north side of the river, to Stockton upriver and Thornaby across the banks from that town, and round to Middlesbrough, Eston and finally Redcar along the south bank, these towns grew with distinct identities and to a large extent remain so despite their amalgamation. The present county stretches beyond that basically urban core to include, on the west and north, some good quality, undulating agricultural lowlands, and on the east and south an extensive coastline marked by several denes cutting seaward across the relatively poor agricultural lands which rise in a plateau to meet the North Yorkshire Moors. Directly to the south of the urban area, a natural boundary called the Eston Hills rises in a sharp escarpment forming a shallow valley with the Cleveland Hills beyond, which are the foothills to the moors.

On the coast to the north and east of the urban centre lies the town of Hartlepool, once part of County Durham. Because it was not considered within the original strategies of the Teesside Survey and Plan¹ this area was not included in the early planning phases of the Cleveland County Structure Plans, and indeed was not seen as an important area in terms of the overall growth strategies for the area. Therefore, although it is part of Cleveland County, it was not included in this research.

The area to the west, south and east of the Teesside urban

1 Commonly referred to as Teesplan, this study was commissioned under the 1963 Government White Paper on the North East, "The North East, a Programme for Regional Development and Growth", and was carried out by a firm of consultant architects and planners, the first draft appearing in 1968.

centre contains nearly sixty towns, villages and hamlets, most of which are primarily concerned with agriculture. However, there are a number of settlements in the east of the area which were created for the extraction of ironstone and are now dependent on other forms of employment, largely on Teesside. This distinction between agricultural and extractive occupational bases is historically important and is reflected in the planners' views of the way the county is sub-divided. Prior to the Industrial Revolution the cultivated lands extended right up to the river, barring huge areas of swampland, with the main port at Cargo Fleet used for shipping grain, and the most important markets at Guisborough and Yarm, which until the Dissolution served as traditional stops in the journey from Whitby Abbey to Durham Cathedral.

Smaller settlements in West Cleveland then were of the same farming base of those of East Cleveland, save that the former consisted of arable land highly cultivated in grains, and the latter were given over mainly to sheep herding and some cultivation for the lesser markets at Skelton, Brotton and Loftus. Along the coastline of East Cleveland from these earliest times were fishing villages at Marske, Saltburn, Skinningrove and Staithes, where salt production was also an important occupation.

Recent local histories of Cleveland usually begin with the iron ore industry and its phenomenal growth from the middle of the 19th century. The periods before that, including the feudal times under the deBrus family and the dominating opulence of the Priory which they founded in Guisborough, through the Dissolution of the Monuments and the decline of the feudal system with subsequent changes in cultivation and land tenure, all remain a grey prelude as far as Cleveland is concerned. Local historians of the Victorian era (for example, Ord 1972) were

predominantly interested in the fortunes of the great families and the monumental churches and halls, while more recent local historians dwell either on the minutiae of iron and steel developments or on the anecdotal and unsystematic vignettes of Cleveland's villages and towns, with occasional emphasis on such local heroes as Captain Cook. As there is no adequate history of Cleveland during these periods, and even more recent accounts give inadequate coverage of the social dimension, any current social research must piece together only the most general historical background.

We know that Cleveland in the 18th century had a population that was "by no means large" according to Graves¹ with its major road being a clay track between Yarm and Guisborough and then on to Whitby. Guisborough itself was a "poor town with one street", and houses which were mostly thatched. There was only one bridge over the Tees until the bridge built at Stockton in 1771 made that town a more competitive port than Yarm (Horton 1979:229). The economy of the area was almost entirely agricultural, with some small enterprises based on salt and alum mining; the former was extracted from medieval times, while the latter dates at least from 1607 when the Chalonsers began their alum mine at Guisborough (Ord 1972:204). These were the chief exports from Cargo Fleet until the beginning of the growth of the coal industry in the early 19th century.

The Local Economy from the Industrial Revolution

Because of its proximity to the South Durham coal field, the Tees was optimally located for rapid economic growth. Straightening the channel of the river from Stockton to Middlesbrough in 1820 greatly enhanced Stockton's role as a coal port.

¹ Graves, writing in 1808, commented also on the lack of "manufactures", which emphasises the dominance of the primary mode.

By 1830 a branch line of the Stockton-Darlington railway had been extended to Middlesbrough, and what had been a small village became a town within a few decades: 154 in 1830, 7,431 in 1851 and 55,934 in 1881. Bullock estimates that the Cleveland area in 1851 had about 85,000 inhabitants,¹ the majority of whom were living in rural areas, in villages and towns of less than 2,000. The growth of each of the towns along the Tees was phenomenal, but none more so than Middlesbrough, which had a population of more than 91,000 in 1901. Bullock observes that in the first two decades of the main growth phase (1851 - 71), the population expansion was mainly caused by net inward migration, after which natural increase was more important in accounting for the overall population growth (1974:80).

It was the discovery of a substantial deposit of good quality iron ore in the Cleveland Hills, at Eston, which boosted the iron industry dramatically in 1850. There had already been a number of entrepreneurs making sporadic searches for ore in the area, for after all ironstone had been mined in small amounts along the Yorkshire coast on and off since medieval times. These were thin or discontinuous deposits, however. The breakthrough in Eston occurred because the major scale of the seam gave justification to extensive investment in Cleveland, for further searches, new mines, often with adjacent smelting plants, and mainly by ironmasters from elsewhere in the North East region.

From this beginning, other mines were quickly opened, so that within a decade the area was producing more than a million tons of ironstone yearly, and by 1881 thirty-one mines were producing 6,500,000 tons and providing 27% of the United Kingdom's

1 This figure excludes the 11,228 inhabitants of Darlington which Bullock included in his study (1974).

pig iron (Bullock 1974:85). The building of smelting plants and blast furnaces had quickly followed the opening of new mines. A major element in the rapid expansion was that the industry found a ready market and built up a significant export trade, mainly in Europe; Teesside in 1871 accounted for a quarter of the U.K. iron exports overseas (Bullock 1974:87). It was not a vigorous enough trade, however, to cushion the area from the effects of a depression which began in 1873 with falling prices and lasted until about 1879. The consequences of this were to be seen in the many newly erected villages of East Cleveland, all recently filled with immigrants from Wales, East Anglia, Ireland and the Midlands as well as from Durham and Tyneside.¹

Much of the early iron was made into wrought iron and rails for the rapidly expanding railway system, not only locally and elsewhere in Britain but also in North America, India and Europe. Within the Cleveland area of course, the expansion of the railway network enabled industry to spread into areas away from the immediate environment of the river. While Teesside ore made a relatively cheap product, other ores nevertheless had to be imported, partly because they were more suitable for the expanding use of the Bessemer process, and partly because production of pig iron and steel was far outstripping local production of ore, even by the 1860's. The ups and downs of prices throughout this period should be seen in the context of competing sources of ore and ever improving techniques of steel production, together with increasing demand for superior steel; it is a legacy which still today has direct effect on British Steel's

1 For further consideration of these local effects see Ch. IV.

major new works in Redcar.¹

Out of the growth of iron manufacturing a variety of heavy engineering concerns developed, servicing the railways and the coal trade, but also giving a great boost to shipbuilding firms. Initially some eleven families had been building wooden ships on Teesside, but this burgeoned into the large firms making iron ships together with the steam engines to power them. By the turn of the century, Teesside was one of the greatest shipbuilding centres in the world.

The development of the chemical industry which represents such a dominant interest in present-day Cleveland occurred more slowly. There was a chemical fertilizer plant at Egglecliffe near Yarm, early in the 19th century, and in 1868 a tar distillery was established at Cargo Fleet to produce ammonia, bleach, acids, etc. With salt production growing at new centres along the north bank of the Tees, and the ironmasters Bolkow, Vaughan and Company taking a subsidiary interest in chemicals, the area had a small but established base in chemical industries by the end of the 19th century.

The impact of the growth in mining and manufacturing upon the agricultural sector was not only the reduction in agricultural employment (losing 700 jobs between 1851-71), or from 27% of the adult labour force to 11% (Bullock 1974:80), but also an immediate differentiation between farmland adjacent to the urban areas and the "rural hinterland". The former were given over either to market gardens or to growing grass to support milch cattle for the urban milk demand and a considerable

¹ What was to have been the largest single-site integrated steel works in Europe has only been partially built as economic vacillation dented the optimism of the early 1970's when construction began.



population of urban horses. As the human population grew, this agricultural land serving the town's needs expanded. Wheat and potatoes were increasingly produced in the arable lands of West Cleveland, while at the same time as a result of improving national prices and costs it became more profitable to keep livestock. Though such mixed farming transformed mainly the lowland farms, in East Cleveland the predominance of sheep rearing may to some extent have given way to wheat and potato growing and other forms of livestock keeping;¹ with the increase in national demand for wool however, there was no diminishing of the importance of sheep on the hills.

During this period of growth, the commercial centres of Teesside were established, reflecting the overall rise in aggregate demand. Also supporting the economic growth was a bevy of professionals in the tertiary sector: the solicitors, insurers, accountants, brokers and financiers. Though their numbers may have been only moderate (employment in this sector did not show the same impressive expansion as in the primary and secondary sectors), their contribution was everywhere visible. The pattern of middle class residential development in the Linthorpe area can be traced to the growth of the professional class in this period.

The early decades of the 20th century were characterised by a steady output from Teesside's industries, interrupted but never really particularly aided by the war efforts of 1914-18. This was also a time when rivals in equivalent industries elsewhere in the world were giving increasingly sharp competition, the effect of which was to diminish Teesside's reputation as a

¹ Indeed, this is largely the combination of activities on East Cleveland farms at present.

world leader, and hasten the concentration and rationalisation of firms, particularly in shipbuilding and iron and steel. Although the depression of the interwar years did not appear to hit Teesside as hard as other parts of the North East, there was still a serious unemployment problem, especially in industries related to extraction of iron ore and production of steel. In 1932, the rate of unemployment in Middlesbrough was 40%, against a national average of 22% (House and Fullerton 1960:71). There was enough improvement to exclude all but Hartlepool from the Special Areas Act of 1934, but the level of unemployment remained high enough to cause a net outward migration from Teesside throughout the 1930's to 1944, and again from 1949 throughout the 1950's. The recovery due to the aftermath of the 1939-45 War can be attributed to natural increase as much as in-migration. Then, as House and Fullerton rather ironically note, there was a shortage of labour in the mid-fifties, especially in urban Teesside, showing a rate of economic growth that again outstripped the rate of reproduction of the labour force (1960:432).

The iron and steel industry, which represented the largest industry in Teesside in 1951, had consolidated into two large firms that subsequently suffered from political vacillations. It was nationalised in 1949, denationalised by the next Conservative Government, and renationalised in 1967. The present image of British Steel as an "ailing giant", with a half-built major steelworks at Redcar which was to have been a major source of "spin-off" for Cleveland County's economy throughout the structure plan period, does not offer a substantial, positive view of the industry's future.

The other mainstay of the local economy in recent decades

has been the chemical industry. Following the extensive mining of salt along the Tees, substantial deposits of anhydrite were eventually uncovered, making a variety of chemical productive processes a worthwhile investment. From this propitious beginning in 1923 at Billingham, I.C.I. continued to grow throughout the interwar years. The 2,000 acre Wilton site at the foot of the Eston escarpment was opened in 1946, continually acquiring new plants in "village" fashion within its boundaries, and even connected by a pipeline to the Billingham site. A major factor in this expansion of I.C.I. was the Development Area status of Teesside, providing attractive profit margins (House and Fullerton 1960:171); in the 1950's and 1960's I.C.I. was competing for labour as the second largest employer in the area, and very conscious of its image.¹ During the 1970's, the competition for workers has petered out and the trend has been reversed, as the processes of chemical production have continually been made less labour-intensive and jobs have been shed. The announcement of record profits can thus be seen against the company's rising ratio of capital to labour. Though it may not continue as one of the largest employers, it will undoubtedly remain a strong feature of the Teesside economy through its continual rationalisation and diversification of products.

Manufacturing industries in Cleveland apart from steel and chemicals have traditionally included shipbuilding and heavy engineering. While the former has been reduced to nothing during the 1970's, the latter continues to flourish. The North sea oil explorations brought contracts for drilling rigs, pipeline,

1 In 1968, a survey was commissioned by the company, giving a social psychologist a brief of comparing (favourably) I.C.I.'s record as an employer and image in the community, with four other main employers on Teesside.

and numerous servicing industries. Oil came on-line to Teesside in the late 1970's. Most of the oil coming into Teesside is taken elsewhere for refining, but with growing port facilities and a versatile petro-chemical giant to maximise the oil opportunities, these seem to be the future growth industries of Cleveland.

It has been suggested that Cleveland is far too dependent on the handful of traditional, capital-intensive industries, and that the economy needs a more diverse structure. This has led to the encouragement of light manufacturing firms to relocate in the area, though a large percentage of these were of a type to recruit women into their labour force, thus keeping labour costs relatively low. As is often the case with incentive schemes designed to spread industries to areas of high unemployment, some of these firms withdrew after the two year tax-free period of inducement elapsed. Thus, the diversification process as an attempt to increase the labour-intensive industries of Cleveland is a continual effort on the part of local councils, while the ratio of labour to capital in the traditional industries continues to fall. With the closure of the last ironstone mines in the 1960's and the shrinkage of Boulby Potash to half its expected employment potential in 1981,¹ extractive industries have all but disappeared. The rapid growth of the service sector in recent years gave some credence to the optimism of the 1960's, but is of course closely related to the success of the manufacturing industries, so

1 Heralded as a major breakthrough providing 2,000 jobs for East Cleveland where mining was a strong tradition, this mine was allowed exceptional leeway in the planning permission (it lies within the North York Moors National Park), yet it is as vulnerable to world price fluctuations as common petrol is.

that dependence on the traditional firms, British Steel and I.C.I. remains the dominant fact of Cleveland's economy.

Socio-Demographic Features

It was the piecemeal "planning" by Victorian entrepreneur dedicated to housing a large labour force quickly and conveniently which gave Teesside its legacy of substandard housing and poor environmental qualities, and led to the spread southward of subsequent urban development. But it was not simply the result of "decanting policies" intended to turn Teesside inside out. These rural settlements to the south had for some time been experiencing a decline in population, but due to their attractive environment and clean air, they became preferred areas in which to live, as the trend towards commuting increased in the 1960's. This was particularly true of parts of West Cleveland and adjoining North Yorkshire, though settlements in East Cleveland also acquired some new housing appendages, in the form of either private or local authority estates. The 1971 Census indicated that during the 1960's more people moved out of Teesside than moved in, while at the same time there were large increases in Yarm, Kirklevington, Nunthorpe, Marton, Guisborough, Saltburn and Marske, and New Marske (forming a clear crescent around the urban fringe - see the diagram), and smaller but significant increases in numerous other settlements including those further south such as Stokesley and Great Ayton in North Yorkshire. The county as a whole was experiencing a net in-migration, unlike the rest of the North East region.

The distribution of the population in terms of socio-economic characteristics was seen as significant by planners, who envisaged some West Cleveland villages becoming "one-class communities, with the lower socio-economic groups moving away,

especially as unemployment in agriculture continues to decline" (NRCC 1973: section 2.34). Analysis of the 1966 Sample Census showed that the two highest social classes comprised 34% of all males in the areas inclusive of West Cleveland, Great Ayton and Stokesley, Guisborough, Saltburn and Marske, compared with 23% in all of the south of Teesside area (Cornish and Cornish 1974: 172). This higher income level may be reflected in the higher car ownership in these areas, which was twice that of East Cleveland, while retirement of the more affluent was more popular in the former areas than the latter, with the exception of Guisborough where new housing in type and price has corresponded with the influx of young families able to take on a mortgage.

On Teesside itself, most of the original 19th century housing has been cleared and some of it replaced with new council-built estates. The trend during the 1960's was to rehouse the urban population in new "greenfield estates", letting the central areas become either new office block sites or else parking lots. As the bankers and solicitors moved farther out to desirable rural locations, the former middle class zone reverted to an area of private rentals and bed-sits, but with the growth of the Polytechnic in the 1970's the Linthorpe area regained its professional image with a high percentage of lecturers and doctors seeking residence there.¹

The redevelopment of the urban centres is still in progress, as is the building of roads to accommodate increased commuting, as well as the process of attracting diversified, labour-intensive industry to sites on the urban fringe (e.g. Thornaby, Marske

1 This was somewhat counteracted by a more recent fashion for remodelling old houses in urban areas to preserve the older communities of the inner areas.

and several small sites in East Cleveland).

The declining employment base in East Cleveland coincides with a higher than average proportion of the employed working in manufacturing industry and a preponderance of families at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Those who do have jobs mainly commute to the steel and chemical works on Tees-side, or to Boulby Mine or Skinningrove steelworks. In recent years there has been some redistribution of the population in local authority housing due to clearances within the industrial villages of East Cleveland, but as a result of Local Government Reorganisation, this rehousing has all been accomplished within the District of Langbaurgh.¹

Local Government in Cleveland: the Impact of Reorganization

The towns and villages in the foregoing discussion were once part of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and as such they formed the northern-most fringe of that very large rural county. Those settlements that were in the rural hinterland of Tees-side felt especially marginal, being remote from the corridors of commercial power on Teesside as well as the administrative and planning centre at Northallerton. From such a position in the region, it is easy to trace the way local beliefs in self-determination become mixed with a sense of being largely ignored. When Teesside County Borough was formed in 1966, local opinion characteristically regarded the agglomeration as a strange and unnecessary creation; it took some getting used to. With the Reorganisation of Local Government in 1974, local boundaries were again redrawn, and new names were applied, so

¹ Housing demolished in Stockton thus had to be rehoused in the same district, and Middlesbrough rehousing took place in the newer fringe estates of Middlesbrough District such as Hemlington. The difficulty residents have had in relating to this policy is discussed further in Ch. IV.

that in the space of eight years the area had received more attention than for many decades. During the fieldwork the most frequent sentiment offered was that "we had hardly learned to use the name 'Teesside' and now we have to call ourselves 'Cleveland'". Many vowed they never would, and have continued to think of themselves as "Yorkshire", despite the ancient association of the new place names with the river and the hills. There was also the cost of a double upheaval to consider, which contributed to a doubling of the rates in the first six years after the creation of Cleveland.

The new county of Cleveland was subdivided into four districts which replaced the old urban and rural districts that formed the previous local authorities in the area. Middlesbrough District covered the town itself, together with Marton, most of Nunthorpe, and the quasi-new towns of Hemlington and Coulby Newham which sprang from the old urban grasslands during the 1970's. As the diagram indicates, a small corner of the former North Riding which was outside Teesside County Borough is also now within the Middlesbrough District. Stockton District contains three of the original Teesside towns; Billingham, Stockton and Thornaby, together with a major proportion of the vast industrial area north of the river, and much of the former rural district of Stockton, including Yarm, Kirklevington and Eaglescliffe to the south of the urban area, and Wolviston to the north. On its border with County Durham is Teesside Airport, which has been challenging Newcastle Airport somewhat unsuccessfully for funds to make it the region's main airport. All of these rural areas together make up what planners call West Cleveland.

Langbaugh District is the third new district, covering

the Teesside towns of Eston and Redcar, as well as Grangetown and South Bank and the wide industrial expanse along the south side of the river to its mouth, together with the rural area referred to as East Cleveland by the planners. The latter includes Guisborough, Marske, New Marske, Saltburn, Skelton, Brotton, Loftus and numerous smaller settlements along the coast and in the former ironstone mining areas, including the ancient village of Moorsholm on the edge of the moors, now a popular commuting village.

The fourth district of Cleveland is Hartlepool, also having a mixture of rural and urban areas, with Hartlepool and West Hartlepool as the main towns, a handful of villages and a large share of the industry along the river - mainly chemicals and oil, and on the coast nearby a nuclear power plant still not complete after more than ten years of construction. The diagram shows that some of these areas were formerly within County Durham, just as areas south of Teesside were formerly in the North Riding. Several villages fought desperate campaigns to stay out of Cleveland; in this effort Great Ayton was successful but Yarm, Kirklevington, Marske and Saltburn were not. Since Teesside overspill affects many of the settlements in the Stokesley area and farther south, it may have made sense to include them, but this is seeing the issue through planners' eyes.¹

At the centre of the debate about how to reorganise local government, which took place throughout the post-war years, were the notions of democracy and efficiency. The former element stressed a concern for the accessibility of local government authorities to the grass roots, while the latter

1 Teesplan even considered building a new town at Stokesley.

emphasised the increasingly unwieldy nature of public service provision. As Dunleavy points out, just how big is too inefficient, or how small is democratic, were left unquantified (1980:87). The Royal Commission set up to study the question focussed its effort on determining what were "home areas", that is, commonly held spatial perceptions of local inhabitants throughout England and Wales. In this sense, it recommended an approach more concerned with the democracy arguments, while the eventual Act favoured the efficiency side of the debate. If the old local government system was characterised by a lack of metropolitan authorities and predominance of quasi-rural counties, making provision of services hap-hazard and turning planning into an exercise in urban containment, the new system only partially amended the structure to conform to the realities of urbanisation. Six conurbations were made into metropolitan counties, subdivided into districts which took in parts of the surrounding suburban localities. Cleveland, with its population in 1961 of 467,000, was presumably too small to become a metropolitan county in such a scheme. The interesting feature of the new non-conurbation boroughs is the way the former "core" county boroughs were subdivided into districts such that the urban populations no longer outweighed the rural (Dunleavy 1980:89).

Dunleavy analyses the impact of these changes in terms of the political structure, on a national basis. He argues that with their former control of quasi-rural counties, the Conservative, low spending local authorities pursued aims of "financial retrenchment" through key services such as education and social welfare, and that their opposition to urban expansion through development control in planning assured them of little

political disruption of their policies through the redistribution of population. Hence the distributive effects of local government reorganisation were not perceptibly altered, in his view, since he sees the new non-conurbation counties as still largely under quasi-rural, Conservative control, and the metropolitan counties as "weak, strategic planning bodies little involved in direct service provision" (1980:88).

In some important respects, the political structure in Cleveland does not correspond to the general picture Dunleavy has presented. The county council was Labour controlled at first, going Conservative for one term in the middle of the last Labour Government's term in Parliament, then sweeping back into power in the next election, showing precisely the relationship between local and national political swings that Dunleavy and others have come to see as typical. In some respects too, the Stockton District Council conforms to his image of a quasi-rural council controlled by Conservatives, but its control was precarious. As a result, the Conservatives in 1974 were backing urban development of an area of farmland called Ingleby Barwick between Yarm and Thornaby (see diagram). The political reason for this was that the proposed housing was to be predominantly private, and the anticipated influx of electors was expected to be mainly Conservative.

On the other hand, in Labour controlled Langbaugh (which swung Conservative for a time like the county council but then returned to Labour) it is the urban councillors who effectively control the committees and the policies of the council, not the quasi-rural Conservatives. And, although the urban leadership in the Labour-run council sees the rural hinterland as a Tory stronghold, many of the Labour party's stalwarts come from the

industrial villages of East Cleveland. There is a continual hostility and competition for allocation of funds between the urban wards and the rural wards of Langbaurgh. Yet it is interesting to note that the electors have only once returned a Labour Member of Parliament.

A third tier of local government, that of parish councils, was retained on an optional basis in the reorganisation. Some localities already had parish councils and wished to keep them; others did not have one, but in effect converted an old urban or rural district council into a parish council. The Local Government Act of 1974 made the existence of parish councils a responsibility of the district councils, so that the matter would be reviewed periodically. For example, the first (Labour controlled) Langbaurgh Borough Council decided that there would be no parish councils for the Skelton and Brotton area, but the present council has decided to have three parish councils created under the current review, to take office in 1982. In the Cleveland Project, Marske, Yarm, and Kirklevington all had parish councils; the other localities did not.

The official circular on parish council reviews (Circular 121/77 from the Department of Environment, H.M.S.O. 1977) describes the two roles parish councils should have. Firstly, they are "units of community feeling and community representation" and secondly they "have practical uses in economical small scale administration". The size and boundaries of new parishes were carefully outlined in these government guidelines; a parish should "reflect a small, distinctive and recognisable community with its own sense of identity, whether it is a hamlet, village, small town, suburb or housing estate". In population the parish should have between 200 and 20,000 inhabitants, or not more

than one fifth of the population of the district in which it is situated.

Such a notion of single-settlement parishes does not fit the Skelton-Brotton area, as will be evident in the case study. The circular provides for such a situation by suggesting that in some places several hamlets may be grouped together, on the assumed understanding that there is "a feeling of community" amongst them. This does not accurately reflect the position in the case study either. Indeed, it seems there are no provisions in the circular which conform to the divisions which have been made under the Langbaurgh Parish Council Review. There was only an expectation that the details of the parish would be based on the wishes of local inhabitants, and even this aspect of the guidelines does not appear to have been met.

Elections to the new parish councils are to take place late in March, 1982. In the three weeks prior to these elections, a question arose concerning their role as pressure groups or watchdogs in the planning process. The offices of the various departments of Langbaurgh Borough Council were being centralised in Cargo Fleet (the closest locality to Middlesbrough, in the urban part of the district) and the planning department announced that with centralisation and the addition of the new parish councils, they could not afford to continue their usual practice of distributing copies of their planning proposals to the parish councils. This produced a great protest from those already existing, since it meant councillors would have to travel to Cargo Fleet to read the plans there, which was scarcely feasible during office hours, and very inefficient generally. This was therefore seen as a further erosion of powers at the grass roots, although the planners argued that

they had to keep copies in the Central Office for members of the public to inspect, so they could not circulate the few copies that were available. As will be evident in the case study, this is a primary example of the use of control of information in managing the response to plans.

With the reallocation of powers of provision between county and district levels, obviously it was some time before the inhabitants of the old urban and rural districts knew how to relate to the new structures (if indeed they do yet). Gone was the office in the High Street where you queried your rates demand or complained about the drains, got information on what choices there were if you had to be rehoused, and so on. All contact with local government was narrowed down to one channel: the ward councillor. Beyond that, it became necessary to travel to the council chambers in the urban centre, where listening to council proceeding was now allowed but fruitless without access to the mound of documentation referred to throughout the meetings. In Langbaugh, the offices of the various departments have gradually moved inward, to Guisborough and Eston, and then to the ward which the council leader represents. Hence, local government has become more remote, placing a substantial burden of public relations on local councillors who themselves are aswim in a much larger pond than before.¹

Nationally produced pamphlets on reorganisation stressed that local councils are responsible to the electorate, and that local people make decisions about the services and planning of their own area; if they are dissatisfied, they can complain to their ward councillor and vote differently in the next

1 Langbaugh Borough Council has 68 members, whereas the old Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. had 21. The County Council has 89 members.

election, or visit the council offices and attend council meetings. This is all supporting the image of local government as a representative body making collective decisions, open to criticism from the electors. But Dunleavy successfully demolishes this account of the system by showing how voting patterns in local elections are attuned to national political issues, rather than reflecting any local sensitivity to local councillors' performances. County and district councils can pursue virtually any policy they deem appropriate, with little fear of reprisals from constituents (1980:135-140). Furthermore, the decision-making process in these councils is highly fragmented, being divided into committees whose policy decisions are arrived at outside the chambers by the leaders of the ruling party. These processes are often very complicated, involving tacit understandings or codes by which each member expects that what he concedes on an issue will be reciprocated in some other way, thus creating a system of "deferred reciprocal compensations" which more or less balance out over time, as well as some "external payments" to other committees to ensure co-ordination of policies (Dunleavy 1980:141).

Local councillors who believe they have mastered these techniques contrast greatly with those who have not; in 1979 one councillor from Skelton who was on the planning committee explained to me how he could assist the Lingdale Housing Action group by using his arrangement with someone on the housing committee. He acknowledged that this would be tricky because it impinged on the territory of our ward councillor, but he justified it by implying that the poor fellow just wasn't very good at using the committee system. The two councillors were even in the same political party.

If it seems to the average constituent that policy-making in local government is straight-jacketed by party politics, it must be equally evident to the local politicians that a range of national political and economic issues, of nationally determined practices in the management of the local government system, of professionalism on the part of the local government officers, of quasi-governmental agencies such as the Water Board, and of over-riding needs of major local corporations, all constrain the choices which can be debated within the local council framework. It is a nonsense to see local councils as autonomous when a more realistic, inclusive view is taken of how decisions are generated. Dunleavy therefore dismisses studies of community power which ultimately base their explanations on an imputed autonomy in local decision-making.

Structure Planning in Cleveland and the Regional Context

Within the context of local government and the notion of participation, perhaps the most important aspect of the planning system built into the new structure of local government is the fact that it has been divided into two tiers. At the county level, the planning is primarily strategic, meaning that it takes account of the overall needs of the county and its position within the region. At this level the over-arching principles of land use and transportation are to be worked out, hence the term "structure" plan. On the other hand, planning at the district level should be more concerned with how those strategies are to be achieved, particularly with regard to housing and amenities, and to some extent the siting of industry. The important consequences of this in terms of participation will be discussed further in Chapter IV. Before presenting the strategies of the Cleveland Structure Plans, the regional

context of the planning will be described.

Structure planning in Cleveland took place in the absence of any strategic plan for the Northern Region¹ and in the midst of the phasing out of the very authorities which initially undertook the necessary surveys and preliminary drafts. There was no provision for making plans which needed to span more than one county or planning authority; that was one of the changes brought in by the 1971 Town and Country Planning Act. Having been invited to begin work on the plan in 1968, the planning authorities of Durham, Teesside and the North Riding each prepared surveys and drafts, which were co-ordinated through a series of joint consultations and committees, and were then taken over by Cleveland County in 1974. It was the former authorities which conducted the public meeting to introduce the plans, and Cleveland County planners who eventually had to follow through in the latter stages of public participation, from holding discussions with those who wished to object to some aspect of the plans, to defending their work in the Public Examination. Perhaps this combination of factors in the development of the plans can account for the extent to which Cleveland planners were willing to allow the plans to rest so substantively on the groundwork and basic assumptions of Teesplan; to question the underlying "growth zone" philosophy of that survey would be to undermine the plans themselves at a time when the work could not be redone. The Cleveland Structure Plan covered the period from 1971-1991, yet it was 1975 before the Public Examination of the West, East and Teesside

1 A Northern Regional Strategic Planning team began work on such a plan in 1976.

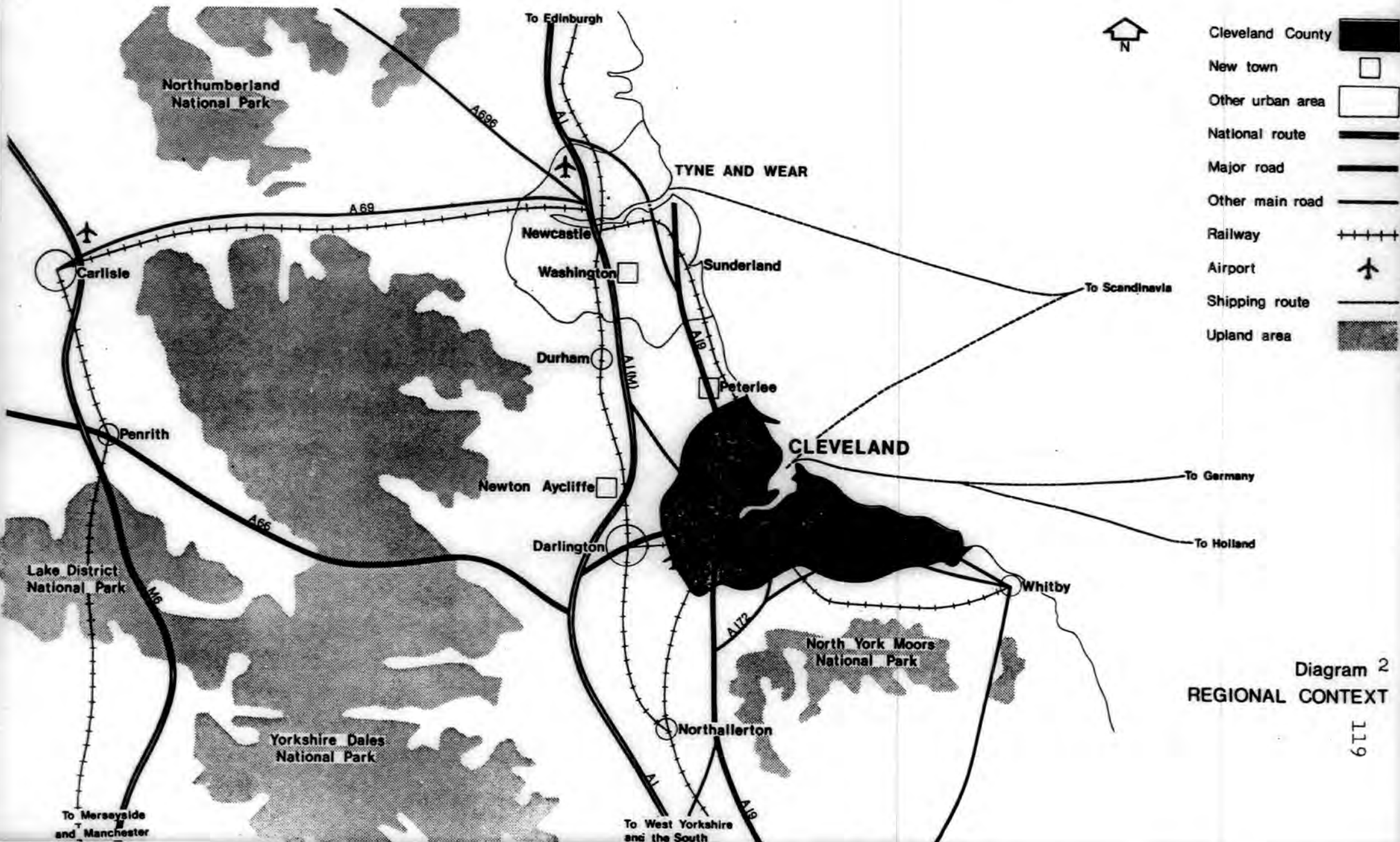


Diagram 2
REGIONAL CONTEXT

sections took place, and 1979 before the Hartlepool section, together with some unresolved matters from the rest of the plan, came to Public Examination. The fact that so many strategic matters were "pending" was only a technicality, however, and the development of the area continued as if the structure plan had already been fully adopted. In fact, one planner estimated that 90 percent of the plan was already adopted council policy anyway. Reports on the proceedings of the 1979 Public Examination (CCC 1979:1-2) refer to the Final Report of the North Regional Strategy Team in 1977, which provided a context for structure plans in the region, and which was extensively referred to in the Hartlepool Structure Plan. Hence there is a cumulative element in these various strategic plans which tends to over-ride their post-hoc nature.

This relationship between regional strategies and county structure plans reflects the uneasy position of regions as areas whose development needs to be planned. In one sense, problems that are seen as characteristic of the North East Region are "no more than a geographical constellation of social-structural problems", as the Rowntree Research Unit have convincingly argued (1974:134). Problem such as an imbalance of industrial structure (more heavy than light industry, and the impossibility of growth in employment through the proliferation of heavy industry); organisational and psychological backwardness, and lack of entrepreneurial skills; the area's remoteness and poor physical appearance leading to an unwillingness on the part of new industries to relocate here; the survival of "obstructive localisms" and forms of favouritism in the North East; and the unevenness of economic prospects for different areas within the region, have all been identified as

regional problems (1974:141), and yet they have also been perceived in the county's plans as being characteristic of Cleveland particularly, and some of them of East Cleveland even more specifically.

The Rowntree group argue that the existence of several institutions in the region (either created by Central Government or emerging from a local context) tended to "formalise the interpretations of social problems as regional in character"; they also "recruit members of organisations and social groups and provide them with privileged positions in respect of the regional social structure". Finally, in articulating the region's problems and their causes, and suggesting policies to solve them, these institutions have changed very little over the last 40 years (1974:134). From 1935 to 1974, there was a succession of bodies variously named the North East Development Board, the Northern Industrial Group, the North East Development Association, the North East Industrial and Development Association, the North East Development Council, and the North East Planning Council and Planning Board. The same people dominated the top positions of all these institutions, as the authors of the article demonstrate. Hence, it is argued, policies which are put forth as serving the interests of the area as a whole are in fact pursued by an élite with a particular "constellation of interests". The first appointed chairman of the NEDC was the notorious T. Dan Smith, who is quoted as saying "the democratic vote is no way to get the sort of changes we need in the North" (1974:142).

More significantly, the way in which regional solutions have been advocated has systematically "repressed" the lack of spatial and social homogeneity in the North East, by directing attention away from the real problems. "The causes of legitimate

grievances are displaced from the area of general of societal politics into an area of purely regional politics" (1974:143). Though there have been sweeping changes in the area's economy, the response to these changes on the part of regional planning institutions has predictably been to enhance the area's image and to concentrate on "up-beat promotion" of the area. Such policies have made little headway in solving the region's problems; in the overall period of the last 40 years, male unemployment in the region has worsened, and the gaps between the North East and the South East, in terms of patterns of collective consumption, have widened. Writing of the Teesside Structure Plan, Carney depicts the policies as largely experimental, representing a conflict between the "politics and ideology of modernisation" and the "politics of social reform" (Carney 1975: 11). It is hardly surprising that the County Council which sponsored his research repressed the eventual report.

The strategy of promoting the Teesside sub-region as an economic growth zone thus was a natural consequence of taking the early 1960's as a base for projections of all kinds. It was a period of increasing mobility, increasing prosperity, increasing population and increasing investment. In an area so dependent upon large-scale, capital-intensive industry, achieving a broad growth of the local economy would depend upon continual growth of the population. As I have argued elsewhere,

The draft of the North Yorkshire/South of Teesside Plan makes no explicit reference to the growth zone philosophy; although the North Riding planners had to work to an agreed set of broad objectives - with a view to the future compatibility of the separate plans - they made it very clear in the Examination in Public that they deplored the effects of the "growth zone" approach on their county (Long et al. 1976).

Through reorganisation, North Yorkshire lost one quarter

of its population and nearly all of its industrial rateable value (Ashcroft 1974:100). Their attitude was shared by representatives from Durham County Council to the Public Examination, who took every opportunity to indicate to the Panel that their own planning problems were directly related to the persistent loss of population to the Teesside conurbation. Perhaps the Teesside point of view could best be summed up in the vernacular - it would have happened anyway, so it is better to plan for it than fight against it.

Objectives in the plan assumed that the Northern regional economy would slowly improve and that the region's net outward migration would slow down and then cease between 1965 and 1981, while at the same time Teesside as a sub-region would have a faster increase in population than the rest of the region, through substantial migration into the area. By 1991, the sub-region was expected to have 601,000 inhabitants. As shown in Table I, the distribution of this growth in the south of the Teesside area according to the plan would yield 72% of the residential development for Cleveland within the rural areas of East or West Cleveland, of which 88% would be in Levenside, and only 22% in East Cleveland.¹

Table 1. Distribution of Projected Population and Households, 1971-1991, (thousands)

	<u>1971</u>		<u>1981</u>		<u>1991</u>	
	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>HH</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>HH</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>HH</u>
Sub-region	484.7	159.0	535.0	180.1	601.0	201.0
S. Teesside	75.5	24.4	110.1	36.2	159.8	51.7
E. Cleveland	56.9	18.8	69.3		77.4	

Source: Teesside Structure Plan; Cleveland(East) Structure Plan

1 This is one of the main issues in the case study.

In order to attract people from outside the region to the area, planners put much emphasis on certain design features in the built environment, together with a standard of amenity provision somewhat higher than has previously been accepted locally. The right kind of houses, in pleasant greenfield surroundings with convenient shops, schools, community and recreational facilities, were needed in order to lift the area out of its former image. This included a notion of executive housing, high quality shops and golf courses all of which should provide an acceptable environment for the families of industrialists whose migration into Cleveland was seen as a key element not only in economic but also in social terms. The high proportion of lower income families from the unskilled manufacturing end of the social scale was to be improved by encouraging more outsiders from the middle income, higher end of the social scale to settle here.

Part of this strategy also entailed giving the area a focal point to which a sense of identity could be attached, in effect to try to counteract the overwhelming impression of the conurbation as an urban, industrial sprawl straddling the river. The notion of Middlesbrough as just such an urban centre or focal point was mentioned in the 1963 White Paper which inspired much of the thinking in Teesplan. As the Teesside Structure Plan expresses it,

The structure plan authorities believe that the development of a sub-regional centre will attract special shopping facilities, increase employment in offices, provide a logical geographical centre for local administration, entertainment, further education and cultural facilities, and give the whole sub-region a focus for the development of a sense of identity and unity (TSP 1973:57).

The urban decay and deprivation of Middlesbrough, its obsolete neighbourhoods and areas of wasteland where there was once a

bustle of industry¹ would need a complete social face-lift in this view put forth in the plans. The impact of this on the other five towns of the conurbation, particularly Stockton which might also claim some centrality and certainly greater antiquity as a focal point, does not come into the discussion.

Planning for this scale of urban "overspill" is inherently different from dealing with the inevitable "natural growth" in small pockets of the area, which had been taking place from the early 1960's. There is apparent recognition in the plans of the kinds of planning errors of the past which must be avoided this time, and of the effects of "planning blight". The efforts in this round of development are seen as an attempt to put right the mistakes of the past. Hence while the new housing will vary in density, style and price, it will conform to the latest national standards, and in general is expected to change the area's image:

' The Teesside of the future will be essentially sub-urban in character. This change in character of areas from small high density housing areas to lower density sub-urban housing estates will have serious implications for long-established social patterns and for local authority investment in new community facilities and services (TSP 1973:58).

Without making it explicit, this passage indicates a concern for the disruptive, alienating effects of wholesale clearance of inner urban housing areas without a clear idea of how to combat it. At the time of publication of the plans, the very problems they anticipated were evident in Hemlington, where only a school and about 250 houses had been built in the fields on the urban fringe. The investment in community facilities was characteristically slow in coming, with local residents

1 The pattern has been a gradual moving downriver, or eastward, leaving unused stretches of land along the river, on the "wrong" side of the railway tracks, which themselves spread across several acres on the north side of the town.

feeling as though they had to fight for everything from bus services to shops. Nevertheless, the planners' answer to the anticipated social malaise was to pin hopes on such facilities. Their ideal view of the pattern of new development throughout Cleveland was "identifiable communities with a full range of facilities for housing, shopping and leisure" (TSP 1973:55), all of which is dependent on the availability of suitably dispersed employment opportunities. Such a notion of self-contained areas is consistent with a related principle of the plan, to decrease the length of journeys to work, placing greater reliance on the roads and private transport. Hence there is an ambitious programme of road building to cope with the anticipated commuting. The roads would also serve the increased commercial and industrial traffic, the present rail network being limited in the extent of the county it can cover.

To achieve this growth of population within dispersed, self-contained communities, perhaps the most important aspect of the plan is the broadening of the employment base. Attracting new business investment from outside the area, and increasing the number of light manufacturing jobs in particular, were goals which were expected to create a spin-off in service industries and office jobs. The dispersal of new firms would serve the dual purpose of providing jobs relatively close to peoples' homes (assuming of course that the labour force corresponded to the jobs provided rather than continuing to travel long distances to work) and improving the overall industrial image of Cleveland. If greenfield sites were available, so the argument runs, industrialists from outside the region would be more likely to relocate in Cleveland; such sites therefore are referred to as "pretigious". The difficulty then arises in finding enough

greenfield sites near enough to minimise the commuting distances but not so near as to reduce the quality of the environment for the adjoining residential areas. It was estimated that the amount of land needed for industry by 1981 was 77 acres, and by 1991, 212 acres, in addition to land already reserved for industry but by no means "full". The question of where such sites were to be found was more or less answered before it was asked, since the relationship between industry and employment remained fixed from the Teesplan approach. The long-standing unemployment in East Cleveland became a major argument against raising its population by any further residential development and for locating the majority of the plan's "labour oriented buildings" (i.e. factories) there. As the NRCC draft says:

Within the structure plan area the visual impact and the acceptance of such buildings will have a more undesirable effect in the agricultural areas in the West...than on the built environment of East Cleveland...In addition the heritage...has for so long been based on industrial activities such that large scale industrial buildings are more likely to be appropriate to this area...(1973:188).

The creation of desirable communities from new settlements such as Hemlington, Coulby Newham or Ingleby Barwick, or from additions to existing towns like Guisborough, Marske or Thornaby, is a process which is measured in costs such as the timing and convenience of utilities, services and other facilities, or general "amenity". It must not take too long to make them into attractive places to live in, nor cost too much. Costs are lowered by economies of scale, making the larger tracts of land in West Cleveland more feasible. Some favouring the growth strategy consider it an unfortunate fact that East Cleveland has few areas large enough which are not also exposed to winds, remote from adequate main roads, or separated from the easternmost limits of modern utilities by the difficult terrain. The

excellent agricultural land of West Cleveland ironically gives it its higher "amenity" value, at least in the judgment of the planners, whereas East Cleveland's lower grade of agricultural land is hedged in by derelict sites inherited from several decades of ironstone mining. Thus, even though the stated policy is to preserve good agricultural land, the decision was made to develop Ingleby Barwick, building 10,800 houses there by 1991. Other areas of Levenside have also been selected, which would bring that area's population up to 55,850 by 1991. This is the form taken by the "compact growth" envisaged by Teesplan; although it is expected to prevent too much further expansion of the rural settlements farther out, there were indications that it was already too late for this. When Hilton's parish council sent their comment to the planners in 1973, they had to inform them that the village had already reached the 1981 projected level of housing. The two areas of East Cleveland which could meet the planners' criteria for immediate amenity at low cost, are Guisborough and Marske. The former continues to grow as the main local landowner releases parcels of land every few years, and the latter had removed themselves from the plans as a potential growth spot by successful pressure from the Residents' Association, even before the North Yorkshire Draft Plan was inherited by the Cleveland Planners (see Chapter V).

The more intractable problems of East Cleveland are those in the former ironstone mining villages.¹ Development there was limited by the structure plan, though later the district plan provided for clearance and rebuilding within the settlements which would not entail any increase in the overall

1 The main account of these problems is given in Chapter IV; this is only a brief outline.

housing stock. After reorganisation the county and district councils gave their pledge not to run these villages down; (there had been some consideration of a policy similar to the Category D policy now notorious for its effect in parts of County Durham). The villages were at least to be preserved as communities. The effect on this policy of district housing and rehousing policies and of the provision of new housing in Skelton and Brotton are virtually a reversal of the promises given. As the case study shows, the underlying basis for such policies was given in two related studies carried out after the structure plan participation exercises were completed. These critical matters were left unresolved in 1975 pending the results of the county planners' further research, then became the subject of further public meetings, even becoming extra matters tagged onto the edge of the Hartlepool Structure Plan Public Examination.

In summary, the structure plans called for a growth zone policy in a compact format, with one major section of the plan area designated as a limited growth area. They called for the majority of the new industrial sites to be found in the sector where the roads were least suitable and the extension of utilities most costly. They also promoted most of the new housing additions within the more immediately amenable locations away from industry, whilst advocating the notion of self-contained communities to minimise commuting. The levels of provision in all aspects of the plans had important implications for the pressure on particular types of land in each sector of the plan area; those same levels of provision were closely related to the projected population increases for 1981 and 1991. These have proved to be too high, as many participants had warned.

The lower estimate was an increase from 485,720 in 1971 to 601,000 in 1991; this estimate eventually won over the higher estimate of 720,000 in 1991. Furthermore, after analysis of the 1971 Census, the county planners put forth the following more realistic figures: in 1971 the population for the West and East Cleveland and Teesside areas together was actually 468,310, and the projected increases were for 1981: 519,300 and for 1991: 590,110 (CCC 1975:6). In consequence, however, no change in the levels of provision was foreseen; merely a re-phasing of the timing of developments. This response on their part was characteristic of their defensive posture. In any discussion regarding the overall strategy of the plans the position taken was strictly defensive, whereas in local details they showed admirable flexibility.¹

Participation in Cleveland

Public participation as defined by the official view of the system consists of a set of opportunities for the public to learn about the plans and voice their own opinions, which are then taken into account by being passed through a committee structure or series of working parties. As soon as the draft plans were ready, they were presented in public meetings, through the media, in leaflets distributed door-to-door, and in centrally placed exhibitions. These forms of publicity were organised, respectively, by the North Yorkshire County Council and the Teesside County Borough Council, in 1973. There was also a series of "invited" group meetings on particular matters of interest. Included in such meetings would be representatives

¹ This precise point was subjected to detailed scrutiny at the Public Examination, daily summaries of which show the strength of arguments counter to those put forth by the County, and demonstrate the usual response by the planners.

of industry, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Church, the Teesside Civic Society, the Building and Trades Confederation, and the like. Although open to the general public, the latter meetings tended to be occasions in which the organisations concerned presented a prepared set of statements, having been given advance views of the drafts. Even if the general public had known such meetings were taking place and had wanted to attend, they would not have had enough information to follow the substance of the discussions. It is through such modes of access that the commercial and industrial lobbies were able to wield their considerable influence upon the draft plans even before public participation took place.

Comments on the draft plans from the general public were collected at the public meetings in two forms: notes were taken of points raised verbally, and forms were available for people to take home afterwards and fill in (or to fill in during the meeting) and hand or post to the planners from the respective authority. Through the public meetings, of which there were eight in the Teesside area and six in the North Riding area, the County Planning Officers gave an undertaking that the comments made and issues raised in the public participation programme would all be taken into account before the plans were put in their final form and adopted.

It is significant that even at this stage in the proceedings, planners were assuming that members of the public would comment on the plan which pertained to their area. This effectively precluded comments which took a broader, more strategic view of the pressures on land right across the South of Teesside area arising from the actual and assumed types of urban expansion expressed in the Teesside Structure Plan. One

group which realised that employment patterns and the housing market spanned both plan areas and therefore kept themselves abreast of developments in the Teesside Structure Plan as well as the North Yorkshire plan, was the Marske Residents' Association.¹ Although fully aware of which plan directly included Marske, they identified the major factors putting pressure on their village as belonging to the urban areas immediately bordering them. They also knew that the North Riding County Planners were soon to have nothing to do with their area, and considered it somewhat of a waste of time to try any form of influence in that direction. Another organisation which put in comments and eventually objections to the Teesside Structure Plan, even though they were not within that plan's area, was the Yarm Civic Society.

It may have surprised the planners to receive these comments (particularly in the case of Marske, which flooded the planners with nearly 250 individual letters), but it made no difference to the way in which they "took them into account". In a paper describing the proceedings of the working parties set up to examine the comments, Walker and Hampton made the point that these joint committees composed of councillors and officers could not, by their composition, and did not, by their methods, thoroughly consider the comments made by members of the public (Walker and Hampton 1975). Firstly, the planners divided comments up according to their main headings in the plans, so that points raised about any other matters were treated as miscellaneous, while attempts to comment on the relationship between factors in two or more of those headings, were

1 See Chapter V for a fuller version of the main issues raised by the MRA and the unique success which they scored.

lost. As an experiment in corporate management in which officers and councillors from several departments or committees of local government were brought together to deliberate on matters which involved more than one department by their very nature, working parties failed because members rarely felt able to speak on points outside their narrow area of experience or expertise. The result was that working party chairmen conducted a limited discussion with only one or two members joining in; the purpose of each such "discussion" was to come to a decision about whether or not any change was needed in the plan as a result of the comment under consideration. Invariably the answer was "no", with the above noted exception of Marske. In fact, some working party members were concerned about "seeming to give in to objections from the public", which could happen when certain "editorial" changes were made to the structure plan as a result of the continual monitoring programme which the planning office had undertaken.

The next stages of public participation in the Cleveland plans coincided in time with the period in which old councils were disbanded and new ones convened (although the new councillors had been elected a year in advance of actually taking office). Before their council was terminated, Teesside County Borough took the final steps of adopting the Draft Structure Plan and submitting it to the Minister. This was not too lengthy a process, since there were no changes made as a result of the public's comments. Indeed, the pressure of the deadline was partly given as a reason for not making too many concessions to public opinion. From the time of submission in March 1974, there were then six weeks in which the public were invited to make written objections to the plans. The style of public

participation, if it can be called that, becomes noticeably more formal from this point. Firstly, the participator is writing to the Minister; secondly he or she does so on the understanding that it may or may not lead to taking part in the Public Examination, which after all is by invitation only and controlled by the Department of Environment. Most importantly, the official documents on how to submit objections clearly states that the points raised in the Public Examination must have to do with structural issues, not details. Official forms must be used, and there is no appeals procedure if a group or individual is not successful in being invited to take part.

If all this were not sufficient to intimidate would-be participants, there was also a series of invited attendances at meetings held by the County Planners, to further discuss the content of the objections which had been submitted. The meetings were chaired by a senior County Planning Officer and involved several groups and individuals at a time. The chairman initiated the discussion by pointing out that there was a statutory obligation to hold these meetings. But there was little attempt to disguise this form of pressure as a method of culling out as many of the objectors as possible, by amicably pointing out some details of the plans which in their view adequately answered those objections, or more frequently, by referring to the general aims and objectives of council policy in a somewhat condescending way. Where points of contention could not be answered or where participants did not wish to withdraw their objections even after planners had tried to make them "understand" the plan, the discussion ended awkwardly and turned to another point. After one such meeting, participants agreed

that they may have revealed some of their best arguments to "the enemy" without intending to do so. Some participants had refused to accept the invitation to attend the meetings for fear of doing just that.

Soon after reorganisation, the Cleveland County planners received the draft plans from the North Riding planners, and proceeded to rewrite them, ostensibly taking account of comments from the public, and rearranging the format to conform to that of the Teesside Structure Plan. From the time of the public participation meetings in 1973, to the end of 1974, there was no official notice given regarding the current status of these plans, and indeed of the comments which people had made about them. Then, in January 1975, they reappeared as the East Cleveland and West Cleveland Structure Plans, one separate volume for each area. They had been adopted by the Council and submitted to the Minister. Together with copies of the comments that had been submitted, these plans were on display in libraries and local planning offices. Again, there was a six week period in which to object to the plans, but this was extended loosely to about eight to ten weeks, (unofficially) because planners recognised that there could have been confusion arising over the changes in the names of the plans, and of the planning authority, as well as a time gap between the initial meetings and this penultimate stage of public participation.

Very few objections were submitted on the East and West Cleveland Plans; it is interesting that those who were invited to take part in the Examination in Public from the East and West Cleveland objectors had already objected to the Teesside Structure Plan. It may be that some other potential objectors felt their interests to be represented by the district councils,

or by a parish council if there was one. The few changes made in the plans in response to objections were in fact those arising from points raised by the district councils, giving some support to the view that theirs was the more acceptable form of influence. There were no parish councils amongst the objectors to these two plans. The reports on the discussions held with objectors at this stage show very clearly how individuals' or groups' views were broken down into headings within the plan, and how the planners replied to each segment either by showing that it was not a matter for structure planning, or that some council policy or other existed which would take account of the objector's query (CCC 1975b). Another technique was to refer to some other phase of planning, such as a country park survey, or other subject plans relating to the coastline for example. At the end of each summary of discussion in these reports is the result: RECOMMENDATIONS - NO CHANGE". Presuming that these were written mainly for the objectors to read, the general effect is one of putting down and closing off any opposition other than that of district councils.

There was another process by which the number of organisations objecting to the plans was reduced. In the belief that there was a greater chance of being invited to the Public Examination and of making an impact, several amenity groups and local civic societies banded together. This came about after the Teesside Civic Society invited as many groups as they knew about to a meeting in Middlesbrough, and put the case for having one, single, loud voice instead of several fragmented ones. The outcome was that the Teesside Civic Society emerged as "spokesman" for most of the other groups, who evidently believed there was enough similarity in their views to allow this

delegation of their opportunity to speak. One group which did eventually take part in the Public Examination but which declined to join the Teesside Civic Society scheme was an environmental group called North East Survival. The central figure in this group was a seasoned campaigner in Teesside; (introduced in Chapter II as Molly), she gave me astute reasons for staying clear of the "single spokesman" approach. It was not only her instinctive understanding that more voices were needed rather than less; more importantly she knew that the President of the Teesside Civic Society was also a director of Yarmside Holdings, the property company which had acquired the Ingleby Barwick area speculatively over a period of several years, and which was now very near to realising the fruits of that investment. Since one of her efforts in the Public Examination was to urge participants to declare any interests they had, she felt it best to be independent from such a grouping. Though no interests were declared, the same man did represent the property company on one day and the civic society on another.

An essential point about the Public Examination is that there is no right to be heard at this stage. A study of public participation in Leicestershire and Staffordshire showed that very few individuals and organised groups were invited to take part, and that of those who were, few could find the time to take part and to prepare their case (summarised in Which?, May 1976). This was true in Cleveland, where the majority of the 42 participant were representatives of industry or trades unions, or of national bodies such as the R.S.P.B. Some of the larger landowners who were invited were represented by solicitors. The chairman can invite anyone to participate, whether or not an objection or representation has been made. The public were allowed to attend but could not speak; in any case they would

not have had access to the mound of paper which accompanied each day's proceedings. There was little attempt to publicise the meetings widely; in fact the efforts of North East Survival to prompt the local newspaper into giving the Examination prominent treatment were ignored. As the location of the Examination was the new section of Thornaby, it was not widely familiar nor in any way central to the County. Thus, it is not surprising that the small public gallery was always nearly empty. Local Councillors, researchers and in one case a man who had objected but was not invited to take part¹ formed the audience. Newspaper coverage by the Evening Gazette was very limited, partly because they did not consider it important enough, and partly because the reporter had to send in a report by 11:00 a.m. each day. Since each morning's proceedings took the form of a presentation of that day's subject by the County Planners, that tended to be what was reported; quite often in the afternoon when the areas of contention became clear, the reporters were either literally asleep or else absent.

A second and crucial aspect of the Examination had to do with the way the discussions were organised. The Chairman of the Panel conducting the Examination produced an agenda for all participants which described in general what each was intending to say, and in what order. Copies of each participants' views were circulated on the day, and the Chairman encouraged everyone to consider these documents as read, taking only enough time to speak about the main points, and refer to any supporting evidence. Experts could be called in by any party.

¹ Such would-be participants could ask one of the selected participants to speak for him.

This standard committee procedure was familiar enough to local government, union, commercial and business representatives, but made certain individuals and groups feel intimidated. During the "discussion" there was no cross-examination, unless the Chairman invited a reply or query from someone. At the end of each subject there was then time for anyone to raise points arising from the discussion, but they could only have one turn; there was no dialogue whatsoever. Of course, the County Planners were always given the final right of reply on each issue.

Although this form of scrutiny of the plans was intended to be less rigid and intimidating than the old system of public inquiries, it may have seemed more so. Some of the participants told me near the end of the first week¹ that they preferred the old system - at least you knew where you were, and could pick up on the finer points with greater precision. Since attendance and the content of discussions were so carefully controlled, and newspaper coverage so lacking, the name "Examination in Public" seemed to be a misnomer. The Staffordshire and Leicestershire study made the point that as a result the structure plan examinations were dominated by official bodies, and really became a forum for sorting out the differences between various levels of government (Which? May, 1976: 113). In general, this observation would apply to Teesside as well, with certain exceptions such as the conflict over Seal Sands, designated a Site of Special Scientific Interest but under intense industrial pressure in the plans.²

1 The full examination took ten days.

2 The strength and evident respect which the "bird lobby" enjoyed prompted North East Survival to comment, "we are very pleased for the birds, but even more concerned about the human inhabitants of Cleveland, who appear to have very little choice in this plan."

As a culmination of the overall programme of public participation, therefore, the Examination in Public did not inspire greater participation; rather, it demonstrated a disturbing degree of futility in bothering to participate at all, still less to follow the process through to its conclusion.

If any parties still felt aggrieved after the D.O.E. published its decision on the plans, they could object to any modifications of the plan which were published in the Minister's final report, but on any other points there normally would be no redress. However, an interesting aspect of the Cleveland Structure Plans was the fact that the Hartlepool section of the plan had been delayed, with a further Examination in Public being necessary in 1979. This meant that certain matters which were left unresolved could be considered further at that time. This affected East Cleveland and was a significant aspect of the public participation programme there. The related questions of new industrial location and the level and location of increases in the housing stock had not been thoroughly enough researched prior to the Public Examination, so they were not discussed in depth at that point. After the county completed its studies of these matters, a series of four public meetings were held in East Cleveland to draw the public's attention to and comments about the reports.¹ They then became one of the matters for consideration at the Hartlepool Public Examination. It is doubtful whether such retro-active public participation could have been effective from the point

¹ These were called the East Cleveland Settlement Study and Light Industrial Estates in East Cleveland (CCC 1976a and 1976b).

of view of the potential participants (see Chapter IV). A number of these groups shared a general concern for their own villages, whether this was in order to preserve its character, or to prevent its further decline. When they attended the post-Public Examination meetings, they found that a) they were too late to object effectively, having missed the main programme for participation, and b) any comments they made about housing elsewhere in the county or even elsewhere in East Cleveland were dismissed as not relevant to that public meeting. The strategy for housing was not on the agenda any longer; now it was the mechanics of putting so many houses in one or another corner of each designated locality in East Cleveland.

The experience of individuals and organisations in Cleveland indicates that once a structure plan is drafted, participators have only the slimmest chance of changing it. The statutory programme of public participation is conducted in the spirit of inviting whole-hearted involvement, but in practice it is a process employed to minimise influence from the public. In their critique of the public participation programme in Teesside, the Teesside Experience Group¹ argued that real consultation with the public would mean asking them about their wants and needs before the plan was drafted (CES 1976). There might then be some chance that the information about the planners' assumptions and the basis of their calculations would filter through to the public, and that more of the public's choices could be built into the plan.

As I have shown, district councils are more likely to be

¹ This was a number of individual participators who wrote a combined report at the suggestion of the Community Advancement Project, a regional organisation providing information and support for community groups involved in participation.

successful in changing the substance of a structure plan. Both county planners and district councillors would express the view that conflict between the two levels over land use was not an inherent aspect of the system, when questioned individually about such conflict. However, throughout the Public Examination there were examples of district councillors and planners differing with the county policy as expressed in the structure plan. Hartlepool Borough Council were unhappy about the substantial amount of West Cleveland housing which might be placed south of the river in Levenside and in nearby Wolviston and Wynyard, precluding development of their district. Middlesbrough Borough Council were unhappy about the siting of so much toxic industry near the residential areas just across the river. Langbaungh Borough Council made a number of points, one of which concerned the use to which the Margrove Park area was to be put, which was deferred to the Light Industrial Estates study. Similarly, their points about housing provision were deferred to the settlement study. Stockton Borough Council were concerned about the apparent speed with which land at Ingleby Barwick was to be released for development; they also felt Stockton town centre needed continuing development, which was somewhat contradicted by the proposals in the West Cleveland Plan.

Each of these examples might have been sorted out prior to the Structure Plan Public Examination, given the image of co-operation between the two levels which both of them liked to put forward. Indeed, on some of these points the county planners did slightly reword the structure plans. Nevertheless, the conflict on substantial issues remained, raising interesting political questions which will be taken up in Chapter VI.

While a district council as a body could make formal objections to the structure plans, the role of local councillors either from the county or the district was far more muted in terms of their contact with constituents. In their positions they could have become a vital source of information for particular groups, and in a few cases this did occur. But what did not happen was any promotion of public discussion of political issues. The Teesside Experience Group agreed that the public had been thwarted in their attempts to question the political philosophy of the plans. As planners ran public meetings, they could dispel such discussions as being outside their area of responsibility. But once options were set and the plans adopted by the county council, discussion of political issues was permanently ruled out. There were many local councillors who considered public participation to be an intrusion on their area of expertise and responsibility; such meddling was usually a waste of valuable time and counter-productive. One Skelton Labour councillor believed that anyone who was determined to be involved should go through the proper political channels and become a councillor as he had done. It is a fairly typical view.

Dunleavy sees this attitude as a function of partisanship in the pursuit of ideological control, as we have shown earlier. Thus he says the local authority's insistence on monopolizing its administrative function is a highly developed element in the partisan aspect of local government, underlying certain councillors' hostility to groups that do not participate in convenient, acceptable ways (1980:147). In making his case that local councillors are insulated in their decision-making from the effects of public opinion, Dunleavy shows why such attitudes are a consequence of the system itself. In a

representative democracy such as this, participation cannot be effective.

Implementation of the details of a structure plan is the task of district planners, who began work on various local plans soon after reorganisation. In many other areas of the country, local planning and structure planning will have coincided to a significant extent. Since participation at a local level, in response to specific proposals for buildings, roads, facilities of many kinds, and other developments, tends to be more widespread than at the structure plan level, such an overlap may have a promotional effect on overall involvement in structure planning in those areas. Awareness may rise as the general flow of information increases; an increased number of issues arising may pull more individuals and groups into the process. The outcome would be a steadily accumulative political consciousness, educating the individual to assume his or her civic responsibility, a classical democratic theorist would argue. Such theory does not aid an understanding of the very low level of participation in Cleveland, and its near absence in the the Skelton-Brotton area. Though some of the same individuals responded to the district plans, the size, organisation and effectiveness of groups in that area cannot be said to have benefitted from accumulated political consciousness. A more appropriate theoretical context was presented in the previous chapter, and the particular dimensions of participation in Skelton and Brotton will be analysed next, in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY OF THE SKELTON AND BROTTON AREA

Introduction

In the area designated "Skelton and Brotton" there are two substantial villages and a number of smaller villages and hamlets. The main reason for taking the area as a whole to be the arena for this case study, rather than focussing on one village, is that the important issues concerning the future of these settlements ramify throughout the area and are interconnected historically, economically and politically. In describing the area, I will show how its essential fragmentation has provided the constraining context within which the planning, and the reactions of local people to it (including the widespread lack of reaction) took place. The identification of issues by groups and individuals, and the role of such institutions as the Skelton and Gilling Estate, the Church and the group medical practice at the Health Centre will be analysed in terms of the political arena engendered by the planning process. Through an analysis of social interaction within social networks, the processes of identification of interests and negotiation of the rules of access will be demonstrated. These components of the case study will provide the relevant context for evaluating the relatively low level of participation and the lack of response to the structure plans in the Skelton and Brotton area.

The Skelton and Brotton area has been neglected, some say, because it is marginal to the centre of authority and power in Cleveland, as indeed it was to the former authority of the North Riding of Yorkshire. One local councillor who took part in the working parties on the structure plan said that the first

time the North Riding County Council ever took planning seriously with regard to the Skelton and Brotton area was in 1968 when they reacted strongly against proposals put forth by Tees-side.

While the North Yorkshire planners had an image of the Skelton area as a collection of poor roads, derelict sites, untidy allotments, damp and overcrowded houses without the amenities considered basic nowadays, and of course persistently high unemployment, our interviews showed that the locals' images of their area were not so generally negative. Major problems like jobs, roads, dereliction, etc., could be put right if the authorities would only consider it important enough to do so. The low priority of the Skelton area is a common theme of those who have been asked about the council's plans for the area.

While local people may be able to see the general problems of their area in terms which are similar to the planners' views, they nevertheless continue in their own knowledge that their communities are good ones; their houses are in need of attention so they obtain grants and improve them. If grants are unobtainable it is another indication of the partiality of the system. When the structure plans were issued, many East Clevelanders did not see their homes as substandard, and were upset at the imputation that they were living in slum conditions and had to be rehoused, usually in some other village. Similarly, the allotments which characterise the outlying areas of these villages are not considered unsightly. They have a positive value in social as well as economic terms, and are looked upon with pride. The suggestion that certain villages should be gradually phased out on the grounds of a poor score on such

factors as these was met with incredulity.

A general glance at the groups and individuals who at various points did take an interest in the area's problems and planning issues shows that their activities have usually not been sustained unless they represented some interests within a single settlement; they rarely combine forces between villages. Such transitory or disconnected participation does not reflect a lack of change and development in the area. There have been some developments but these have been dispersed and piecemeal. The overall growth in Skelton and Brotton between 1961 and 1971, reflecting mainly private house building, shows an interesting pattern when analysed by settlements (see Table 2). Characteristically, old market villages have grown while newer mining villages decreased; rural hamlets also lost people. The increase in some villages brought new private housing estates, which, in the case of Brotton, led to the continual growth of the population to the point where the primary school is the largest in the county. Up to reorganisation, the only local authority housing built in this period was in New Skelton. The increases have not brought flourishing trade to the High Streets, or great increases in service industries. Apart from the post-war industrial estate at New Skelton and some development of the former mining site in Lingdale, light industrial firms are few and far between, and mainly of local origins. Future planning strategies called for a limited development of the area, although the terms and specifications of such strategies have proved to be shifting and problematic.

General Description and Economic History of the Area

Skelton and Brotton Urban District, as it was known prior to the 1974 local government reorganisation, comprised an area

Table 2. Population of Skelton-Brotton Settlements,
1899-1991

	1899	1961	1971	1981	1991
Boosbeck	931	1,332	1,213	1,240	1,191
Brotton	n.a.	4,636	4,324 ⁺⁺	5,676	6,346
Charltons	576	n.a.	332	303	288
Kilton	n.a.	199	84	80	81
Lingdale	2,152	1,659	1,712	1,851	1,798
Margrove Park	461	n.a.	490+	480+	468+
Moorsholm	421	391	257	300	299
New Skelton	555	-	1,449	3,163	4,600
North Skelton	1,139	1,368*	689	670	1,061
Skelton	1,784	2,691	2,556	2,450	4,181
Skelton Green	n.a.	n.a.	1,143	604	720
Stanghow	122	903	-	-	-
Total	-	13,179	14,249	16,817	21,033

++ Slight decrease due to differential boundaries used in plan.

* Including New Skelton

+ Including Stanghow

Sources: 1961 Census for England and Wales

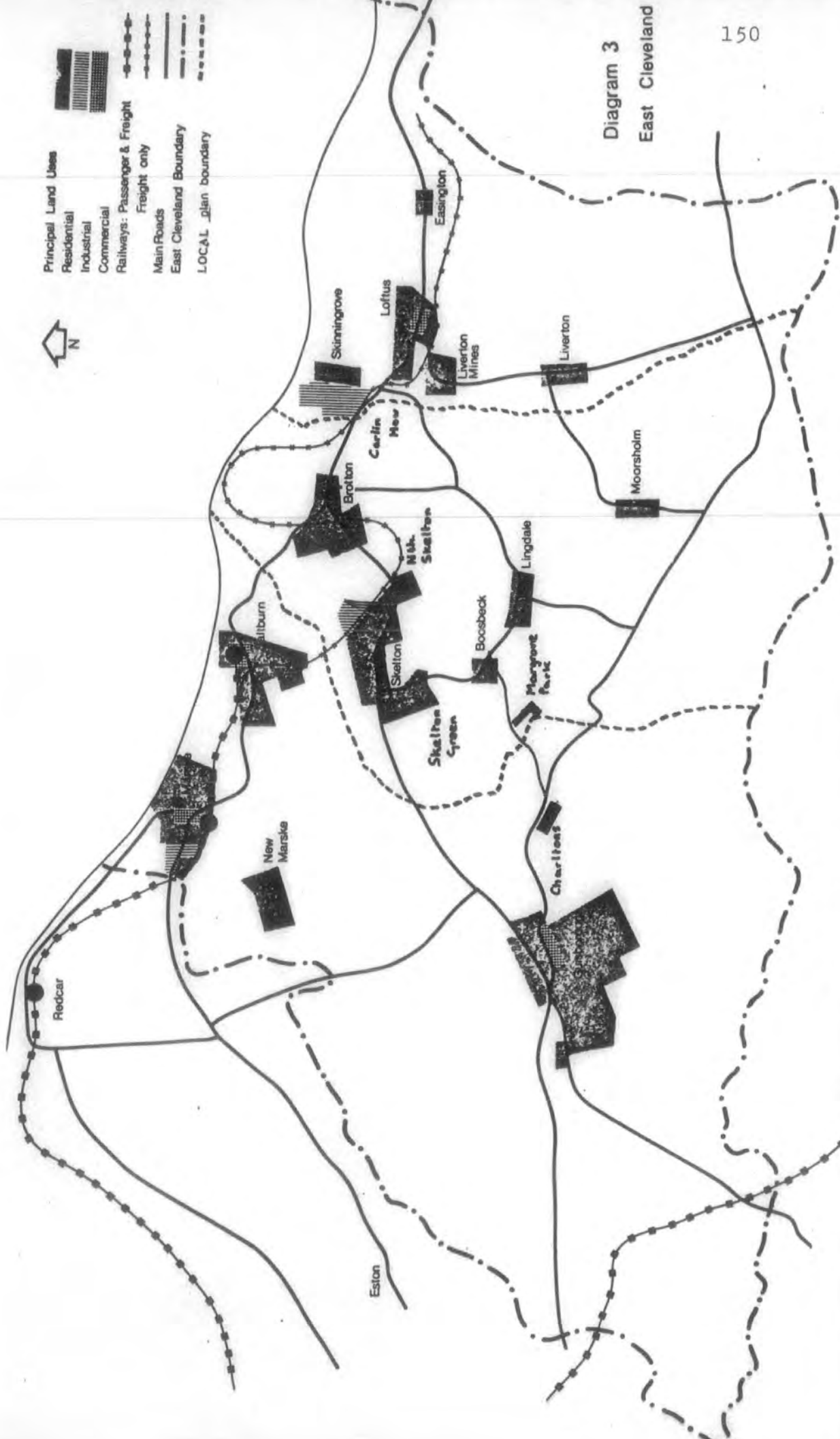
1971, 1981 and 1991, Skelton and Brotton District Plan

1899, Home Words Magazine

bounded on the north by Skelton Beck and the North Sea, on the East by Kilton Beck, and on the south and west by the North York Moors and their foothills (see Diagram 3). The name, Skelton (Skel meaning a small river and ton meaning town), depicts a settlement on Skelton Beck, which meanders through a wooded valley from south west to north east, emerging finally at Saltburn on the coast. Today the village covers most of the hillside to the south and east of the beck, while the Castle occupies the wooded area along the beck. Brotton, on the other hand, (Broc or Brough meaning the brow of a hill) stands on the west shoulder of a prominent shelf running northward to imposing cliffs along the coast east of Saltburn. This combination of ridges, valleys and plateaus which provides a variety of sites for the several settlements with unique characteristics is one of the particular features of the East Cleveland area. As the contours rise towards the south, the proximity of the sea and the moors gives to much of the land its windswept character; the majority of farmland is Grade IV or V, used mainly for grassland and winter wheat.

Skelton and Brotton, both mentioned in the Domesday Book, were manors which apparently had been gradually declining in the extent of their cultivation and overall value (Ord 1972: 245). Skelton was one of the 51 manors in the North Riding and 43 in the East and West Ridings, which were awarded to Robert de Brus for his assistance to William of Normandy at the Battle of Hastings. It was his son who built the castle there in the early 12th century and who is credited with founding Guisborough Priory. The historian, Ord, spends much time pointing out that Skelton may be a "small, obscure and insignificant village" but that it will be forever renowned as the birthplace of that

Diagram 3
East Cleveland



great line of kings and noblemen (Ord 1972:245). Under the fifth Peter de Brus, Lord Skelton, the Wapentake of Langberge came under the control of the de Brus family, giving them rights to fishing, hunting, excavation and shipwrecks in perpetuity. The area known as Langbaugh in those days thus included all of present-day Cleveland south of the Tees, and a good part of North Yorkshire as well; today Langbaugh is one district within Cleveland, comprising all of East Cleveland and the eastern sectors of the urban area south of the Tees.

The estates were divided at the time of the Dissolution, and from then on the Guisborough and Skelton estates were held separately. The villages of Skelton and Brotton both had churches from the eleventh century, and several mills existed on the various becks in the area, with tithes collected through the churches, indicating a relatively extensive cultivation of wheat and other cereals. Markets were held weekly in Skelton and Brotton, on alternative days in a system similar to that used elsewhere in Cleveland today, although they are no longer held in Skelton and Brotton. The width of the High Streets in both villages attests the practice of driving and collecting the sheep periodically in the area.

When later these villages grew larger with their own mining populations, a distinction arose between the older, indigenous population which was still deferential to, if not dependent upon the Castle and the social order that it represented, and the incomers whose very different customs and disinclination to assimilate to the traditional local hierarchies of the villages reinforced their separateness.

Mentioned in the Domesday Book along with Skelton and Brotton, are three other settlements found within the boundaries of

the former urban district, namely Kilton (including two manors and a castle), Moorsholm (described as "Celtic and aboriginal" by Ord), and Little Moorsholm, which was then a manor and is now a farm within the Skelton and Gilling Estate and has given its name and much of its land to the eastward extension of modern housing near the village of Lingdale. Kilton and Moorsholm were not within the case study strictly speaking, since none of the participators who responded to the plans came from there. However, because of Moorsholm's many ties with the rest of the area it will occasionally be necessary to refer to it. The settlement called Kilton Thorpe was built to house miners recruited to work the Kilton pit, but since labourers from the nearby villages instead took up these jobs, the Kilton Thorpe school never opened and today stands as a derelict ruin amid two terraces and an adjacent house. But it is mainly the mining settlements of the 1870's which concern us here; these include Lindgale, Stanghow, Boosbeck, Skelton Green, New Skelton, North Skelton, Margrove Park and Carlin How, all of which were in the sample survey together with Skelton and Brotton. Outside the sample but also occasionally mentioned in this case because it was later brought into the area covered by the Skelton and Brotton District Plan is Charltons, a mining settlement adjacent to Margrove Park. The relative sizes of these localities may be seen in Table 2.

These villages and hamlets are variously located on a ridge above Lingdale (Stanghow), along a hillside below a ridge (Lingdale), in a sheltered nook by a beck (Boosbeck), on a high hill-top overlooking Old Skelton (Skelton Green), along a sloping plateau which backs onto the main railway line built to transport the ore (New and North Skelton), at the foot of a hill in

a small valley (Margrove Park) and at the edge of a deep ravine overlooking the sea (Carlin How). Their original siting was entirely determined by convenience; i.e. the need to be close to the mine, as they all represented housing for the miners when they were first built. Hence, they are industrial villages with a certain rugged similarity in layout and design, yet each has a unique character about it, perhaps due to the separate origins of the sets of miners recruited to work each mine, as much as the particularities of the locations. Some miners came from Lincolnshire and Norfolk, some from the tin mines of Cornwall, others from coal mines in Wales or in County Durham, or from the valleys and peaks of the Pennines. All of these villages, even the ones very near the established settlements of Skelton and Brotton, had a distinct existence, each being bound up with its own particular mine. They developed distinct "images" or reputations; for example, North Skelton was supposed to be "rough" compared to the more cultured or gentle Skelton Green. The commonly accepted historical reason given for this is the origins of each workforce. Each village had its own miners' lodge, band, male voice choir, football and cricket teams, etc. Methodist chapels proliferated, as from the beginning Methodism had widespread influence in the area. It can be argued that such manufacturing of identities and reputations was part of the process which converted these hastily erected housing sites into communities with distinct cultural expressions. Although in this century there was been much inter-marriage and moving between the villages, in the early years such mixing was unusual.

The first generation of miners housed in these late-nineteenth century settlements experienced more than just the

upheaval of moving home and roots and sometimes changing their occupations, and more than the extremely primitive working conditions of these ironstone mines. They also felt immediately the effects of the first depression which hit the industry in 1873 when falling pig-iron prices resulted in wage decreases and industrial unrest, and finally the closure of several local firms by the late 1870's. The trouble was that Cleveland ironstone had a high phosphorous content which made it unsuitable for steel-making; it was steel that was in great demand in the 1870's, especially for the construction of the railways. Ironically, it was the extension of the rail network throughout East Cleveland that had finally made feasible the development of mines in these inland sites, for previously the earliest developments had been at sites which were accessible to harbours such as Whitby, Port Mulgrave or Skinningrove, from which the ore was shipped to Tyneside before the establishment of ironworks at Teesside.¹

It was not until Bessemer converters made possible a commercially viable dephosphorisation process that the East Cleveland industry again revived. The size of the converters was also important; they had to be very large, so that the small local smelting furnaces dotted around East Cleveland at some mine sites were no longer functional. In the early 1880's, the great steelworks in Middlesbrough and Cargo Fleet were built, with immediate benefit to the East Cleveland mining villages. For a time the area produced 4 to 5 million tons per year.²

1 The working of ironstone in North Yorkshire dates back to 550 A.D. with an Iron Age settlement at Levisham Moor, north of Pickering. Records show that in the 13th century extractions continued, with de Brus giving rights to the Canon of Guisborough to extract ironstone. Forges at Rosedale and Danby date from that century also.

2 Chapman (1973) is the main source of this brief account.

Eventually, however, there was a gradual trend of closures of mines whose output was not high enough to sustain the operation when larger mines closed. By the rationalisation under the ownership of Dorman Long and Company, who bought out several of the earlier entrepreneur in 1929, the worst effects of the Great Depression were cushioned, and the larger, more productive mines survived. In the end it was the quality of the ore and the state of the mines themselves which brought the final closures; Lingdale in 1962, Kilton in 1963 and North Skelton in 1964. Imported ores from Brazil, North Africa and Sweden were cheaper and of better quality, while at the same time the new mining regulations for safety imposed after World War II meant that for many mines the cost of implementing the required safety conditions would put the price of the ore beyond competition with the imports. So, although the seams were not exhausted, the mines closed.

These closures represented the final loss of mining jobs, but the shrinkage of the mining workforce had been taking effect throughout the period from the 1930's to the 1960's. The shift to other sectors of employment is shown in Table 3, in which the small, initial return to agricultural work inevitably fades as the service sector and building, utilities and transport increase. The table does not reflect the extent to which alternative employment was sought in the chemical and steel industries of Teesside; this became more evident during the 1960's and 1970's. Writing of the situation in East Cleveland in 1957, House and Fullerton observe that "the entire Cleveland field employs fewer than 1,000 workers but has been producing at a rate of 500,000 tons per annum (1960:147). The post-war labour shortage in the Saltburn and Loftus Employment Exchanges

Table 3. Employment (Males) 1938-57 by Percentage of the Total
(Saltburn Exchange)

	1938	1947	1948	1957
Agric. and Fishing	11	17	14	7
Extractive	42	15	17	27
Manufacturing	9	11	10	14
Bldg., Pub. Util., Tranp.	13	25	26	26
Service	25	31	31	25

Source: House and Fullerton 1960: 143

Table 3a. Industry of All Employed Persons in Skelton and
Brotton Urban District, 1971

Agricultural	330 (5.2%)
Mining	10 (0.2%)
Manufacturing	3,170 (49.6%)
Building, Utilities, Transp.	860 (13.5%)
Service and Distribution	1,770 (27.7%)
National and Local Government	<u>240</u> (3.8%)
Total	6,380

Source: Skelton and Brotton District Plan, Report of Survey

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which (together with Guisborough) cover the Skelton and Brotton Urban District, was due to miners leaving their jobs in the Depression but then becoming employed after the War in I.C.I. and in manufacturing jobs in the Skelton Trading Estate, according to House and Fullerton. As the mines made a small post-war recovery, there was a necessary influx of workers from Whitby, Darlington and elsewhere on Teesside (1960:147). The current employment profile of the area will be discussed below.

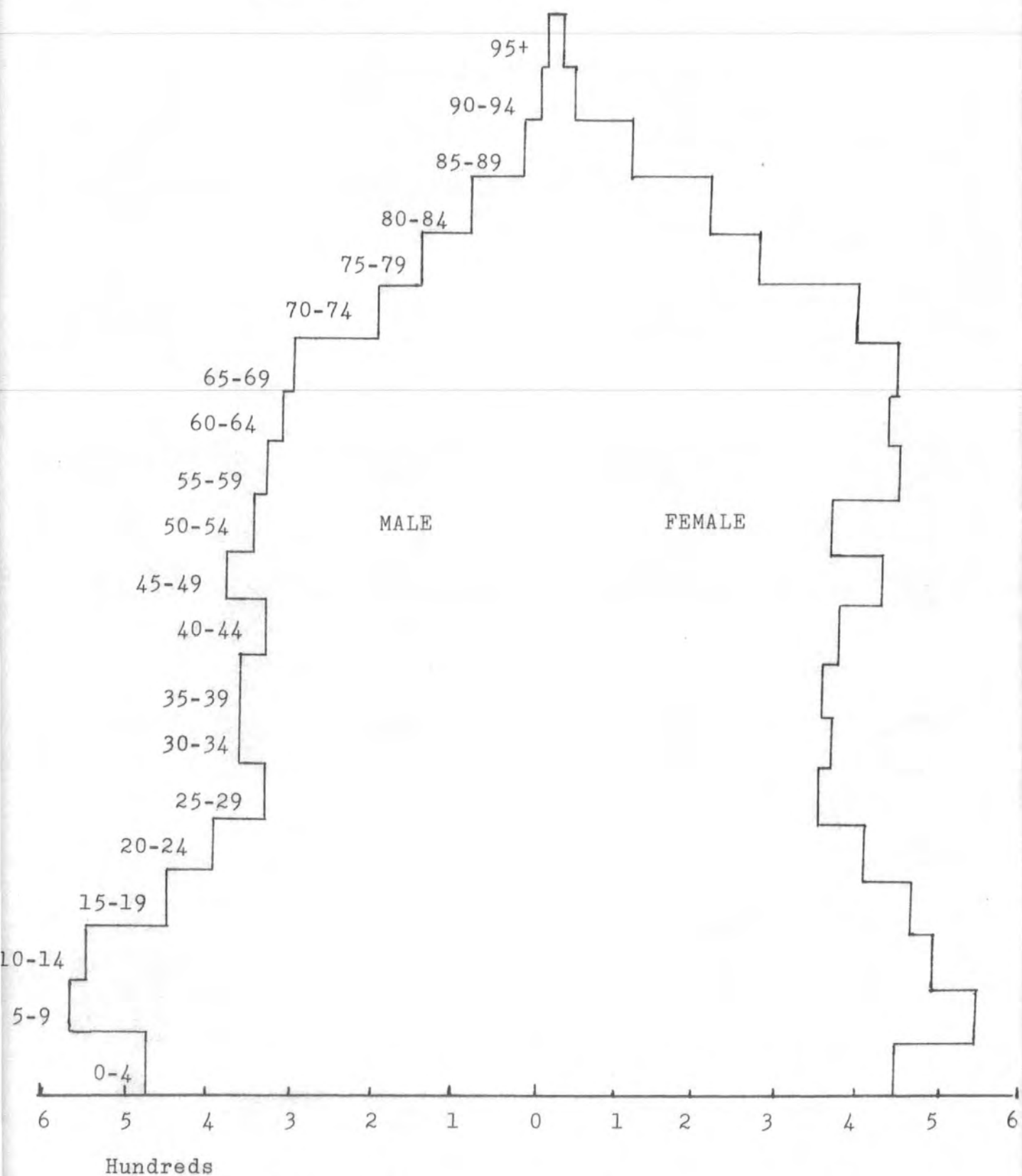
Population Structure

Before considering the present types of employment, it would be useful to examine the age and sex structure of the population of the area, taken as the Skelton and Brotton Urban District in the 1971 Census. More than one quarter were under twenty years old (26.4%), and one fifth were under 15 years of age. Figure 4 shows the "bulge" of women in the older age groups, reflecting (in addition to the effects of the war), the destructive nature of the primary occupation of those born in the late 1900's and early twentieth century. Presumably a similarly high proportion of male deaths will not occur amongst the present working population, and the structure will change considerably in the period of a generation, although increased out-migration of those in search of employment will have some effect.

The growth of the area's population between 1961 and 1971 is arguably due more to an upward trend in natural increases than the effects of in-migration. Analysing the population decreases from 1921-53, House and Fullerton conclude that net outward migration was responsible for the losses. From its original growth in the 1880's and 1890's (totalling 7,886 in 1891 and 9,470 in 1899), the total population reached 13,600

Figure 4. Skelton and Brotton Urban District:

Age and Sex Structure



Male Total: 7,590

Female Total: 7,532

Source: 1971 Census of England and Wales

in 1931, and then began its decrease, falling to 12,390 in 1951 (House and Fullerton 1960:96).¹ The picture they present in 1957 reflects the somewhat optimistic point of view they take, considering the continued operation of the mines, the expansion of the manufacturing sector, and the labour shortage. The 1961 population of 13,179 shows the in-migration mentioned above, while the 1971 total of 15,122 after the closure of the last mines cannot be attributed to people moving in to take up jobs in the area, and is therefore more indicative of a change in the rate of natural increase, seen in fewer deaths and more births.

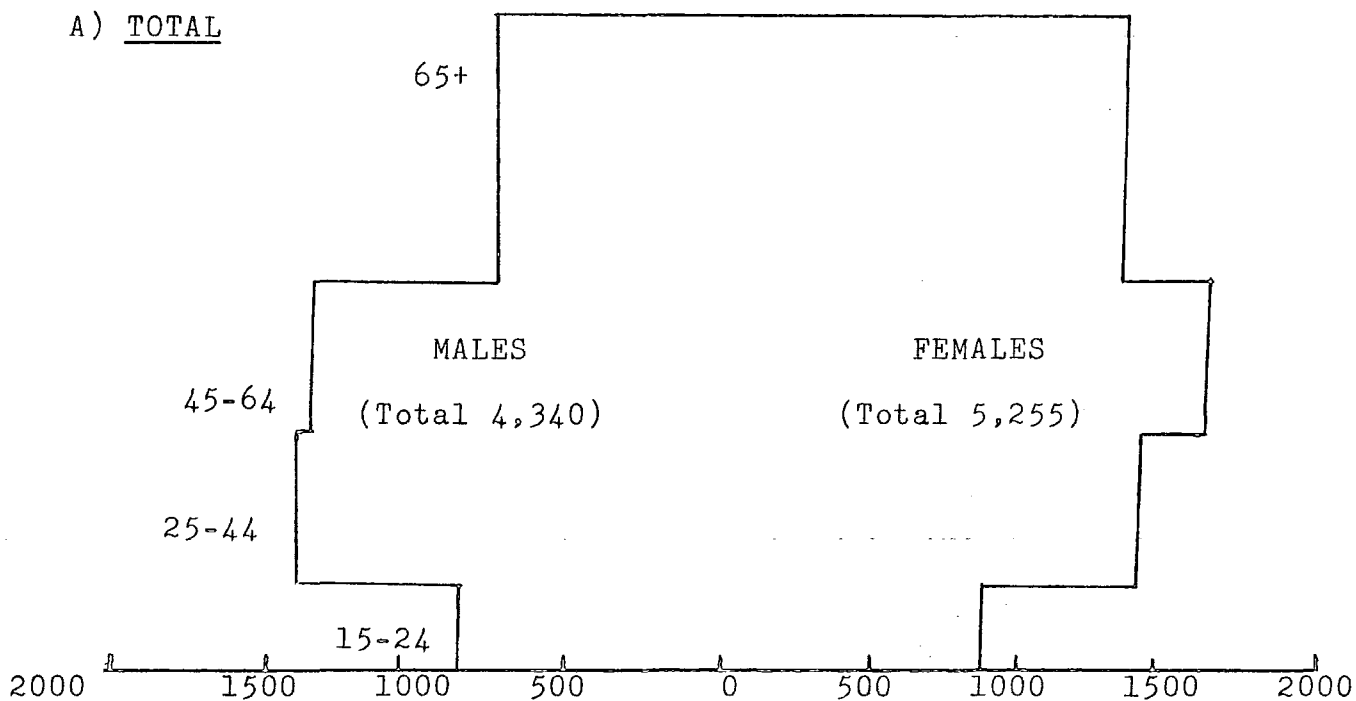
Comparing the structure of the Skelton and Brotton Urban District population with that of our sample in the survey (see Figure), it should be noted that the smaller numbers in the youngest and oldest age categories in our sample partly reflect the use of the Electoral Register as the sampling frame.² The average household size in our Skelton-Brotton sub-sample was 3.1 persons per household, compared to 2.97 in the 1971 Census figures for the Skelton and Brotton Urban District, and 3.1 in Langbaugh as a whole. While in Langbaugh the proportion of married persons to single, widowed and divorced persons was 50.3%/49.7%, in our sample the great majority (75.5%) was married. Though in 17 households (18.1%) there was no one in gainful employment, 38 households (40.4%) had one person working, and a further 39 had two or more persons in the household who were working (41.5%). Taking into account the low number

1 The earlier figures were taken from the Skelton Magazine Home Words, for the year 1899, which saw the increases as an indication of the area's "growing importance and prosperity".

2 See the discussion in Moser and Kalton, 1970:160-164.

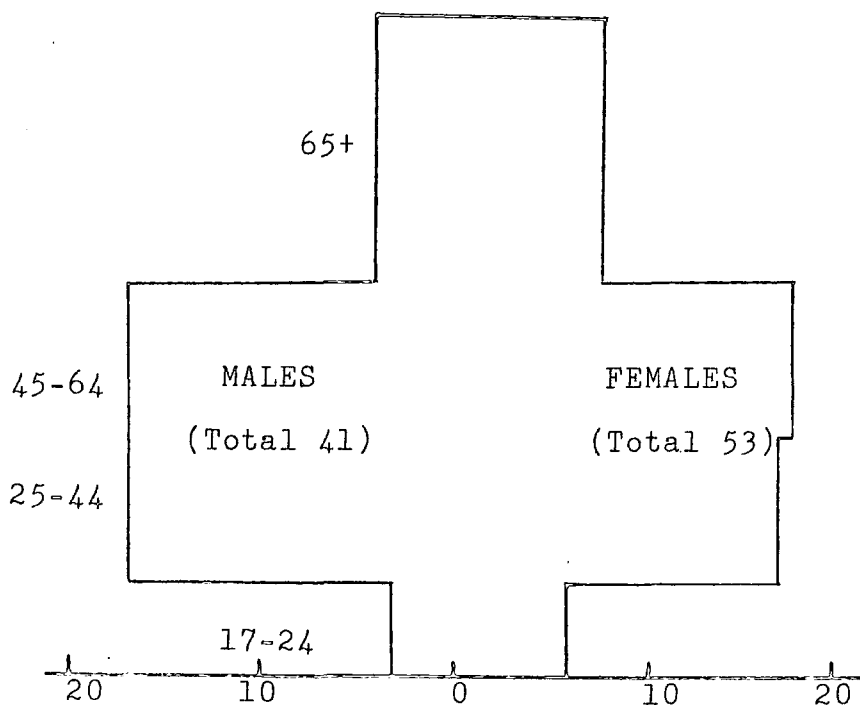
Figure 5. Comparative Age and Sex Structure: Total Skelton and
Brotton U.D. and Sample Survey

A) TOTAL



Source: 1971 Census for England and Wales

B) SAMPLE



Source: Sample Survey, Cleveland Project 1975

of one-person households (8.5% or 8 households) and the high proportion of married persons in the sample, this distribution of employment among households appears to reflect the entrenched unemployment in the area and the low wages in general (and in particular in women's jobs) which lead to many households with two or more working.

The figures given in Table 2 for the 1981 population of the settlements in the study area reflect the implementation of housing policy by Langbaugh Borough Council since 1974. With the clearances carried out between 1976 and 1981 of street after street of terraced houses in Lingdale, Boosbeck and Skelton Green, these villages showed a temporary loss of population in 1981 which is expected to be regained by the end of the structure plan period, by which time the new housing on these demolition sites should be completed.

Economic and Social Composition

In Skelton and Brotton in the 1960's, more than twice as many workers were in manufacturing jobs (60%) as were in jobs in the service industries (27.2%).¹ This compared nationally with a ratio of 31% in manufacturing to 29.5% in service industries.² There is a tendency, in areas where most work is in manufacturing, for female activity rates to be low. The economic activity rates for females in the Skelton and Brotton area demonstrates this trend; compared with other parts of Cleveland they are significantly lower, particularly in certain age groups (see Table 4). It was suggested in the NRCC structure plan survey that such lower rates were traditional in mining areas.

1 1966 Census (10% Sample)

2 1971 Census

While we would not expect the relative proportions and rates of activity to change rapidly with the closure of the mines in the 1960's, it is now twenty years since the area was a "mining area", and it would be reasonable to assume that a substantial level of "invisible unemployment" exists as a reflection of the opportunity structure; that is, there are many women who do not register as unemployed but who would work if suitable jobs were available in or near their villages. Some evidence for this view was provided by a recent survey of six of East Cleveland's villages carried out by the Research and Intelligence Unit of Cleveland County in conjunction with the Cleveland Council for Voluntary Services and COSIRA, the Council for Small Industries in Rural Areas.¹ Their report showed that in the six localities female activity rates are now at 39%, compared with a 1976 figure for all of Cleveland of 45%. The willingness of the non-economically active to work if jobs are available nearby was given as 47% in the six villages and 68% in Charltons alone.

Table 4. Female Activity Rates in Parts of Rural Cleveland

<u>Area</u>	<u>Age Group</u>				
	<u>15-24</u>	<u>25-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65+</u>	<u>15+</u>
Levenside	54.5	36.2	39.0	7.4	34.5
Marske/Saltburn	60.2	34.2	34.4	5.7	33.2
Skelton/Brotton	67.3	31.9	23.4	5.8	31.6
NRCC Draft Plan Area	62.4	32.9	27.9	5.2	31.6

Source: 1966 Census.

¹ Commissioned by the County and the Development Commission, the survey was called "Rural Opportunities for East Cleveland" and entailed business/household surveys in Skinningrove, Moorsholm, Lingdale, Boosbeck, Margrove Park and Charltons.

The number of residents in the Skelton and Brotton area in 1966 who were employed was 5,780, and in 1971 about 5,960.¹ They constituted just over one quarter of the East Cleveland working population of 22,780. In 1971, the Skelton and Brotton area had 2,410 jobs in local workplaces. Some 540 of these were in manufacturing firms on the New Skelton Industrial Estate, making tape measures and industrial overalls, for example. British Steel's works at Skinningrove provided the majority of the jobs; several locally based construction firms dotted around the area, warehousing and haulage firms and filling stations, commercial enterprises on the various high streets (mainly in Skelton and Brotton, slightly less in Lingdale) and several schools and a Cottage Hospital in Brotton fill out the total. Farming, of course, constitutes the greatest land use in the area, with more than two dozen farms, some privately owned but most under the Skelton and Gilling Estate.

Not all of these jobs were filled by residents in the area. Some were taken up by commuters from villages in the North York Moors or further along the coast from Loftus to Whitby, as well as from Guisborough and Marske and elsewhere in Cleveland. The great majority of Skelton's workers travelled out of the area, some to jobs on Teesside in the steel and metal manufacturing industries, and some to I.C.I. in Wilton. In Guisborough, a foundry and a tailoring factory, as well as the many shops and services in the centre, provided jobs for Skelton and Brotton area residents, and in Marske the Industrial Estate provided about 480 jobs, some of which were filled by residents of the study area. In Loftus, the shops, service industries and bus

¹ Taken from the estimate in the East Cleveland Structure Plan, CCC 1974.

depot provided about 500 jobs in 1968, but most of these were held by Loftus residents. Loftus is concerned about its dependence upon the steelworks at Skinningrove, as its unemployment level is similar to that in the rest of the area. Although situated on the border between Loftus and the Skelton and Brotton area, the steelworks are considered part of the Loftus area; in 1968 about 1,100 Loftus residents worked there, while another 1,100 from the Skelton and Brotton area had jobs there.¹ The other major employer near the area is the Boulby Potash mine East of Loftus. As the price of potash is subject to extreme fluctuations, the mine has had a variable workforce since it first opened in the early 1970's. Its first recruitment was mainly of technical experts brought in from outside the area; in 1976 it employed about 200, eventually expanding to 1200 by 1981, at which time a drastic rationalisation was necessary due to the collapse of the world market for potash. This brought the workforce down to 600, and still has not produced the assurance that those jobs are secure. Such instability effectively shelved further development of potash mining in the North York Moors National Park, a controversial plan proposed in the mid-seventies.²

The distribution of working locations amongst our sub-sample in the survey, although based on present or past employment, shows the preponderance of jobs outside the Skelton and Brotton area; 10 in Middlesbrough, 7 in other Teesside industrial locations, plus 15 at I.C.I. in Wilton, 4 at Guisborough and 5 at

1 Estimates from the Loftus-in Cleveland Planning Report No. 2, Loftus U.D.C., 1969.

2 While the Park Committee and environmental groups argued that any such jobs would be temporary but the despoilment of the landscape would be permanent, industrialists expected the D.O.E. to intervene on the basis of jobs promised, and the export value of potash.

Saltburn. Only 3 gave Marske as their workplace, and 4 gave Skinningrove. Of the 25 who had jobs in the Skelton and Brotton area, many of which can be assumed to be former mining jobs, the majority were in Skelton and North/ New Skelton (15) and many were on the Industrial Estate.

In the "Rural Opportunities for East Cleveland" report, unemployment was seen as seriously affecting the entire range of economic and social needs, and as conditioning the kind of initiatives to be taken by the supporting bodies involved in the study. In the six villages studied, unemployment in 1981 ranged from 8% to 34% for men (see Table 5). This may be compared to the December 1981 unemployment rate for Langbaugh of 22%, and 18.7% for Cleveland as a whole.¹ The female unemployment rates obviously underestimate the problem, and the most affected group is the school leavers. Parents in these villages are reported as expecting their children to leave the area if they hope to get any work at all. Moreover, of those who were unemployed, 45% had been so for a year or more. All the villages had a significant core of long term unemployed.

Table 5. 1981 Unemployment Rates in Six East Cleveland Villages

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>16-18</u>	<u>19-29</u>	<u>30-44</u>	<u>45-59</u>	<u>60+</u>
Skinningrove	18.2	19.0	45.8	19.7	19.7	5.5	9.1
Moorsholm	8.0	11.1	none	13.8	0.0	20.0	12.5
Lingdale	16.6	8.0	34.8	13.8	8.3	14.1	18.2
Boosbeck	18.0	12.2	37.8	17.7	13.6	5.9	16.7
Marg. Park	15.0	9.1	18.2	9.1	10.0	20.0	10.0
Charltons	33.9	5.9	40.0	20.0	23.5	26.1	0.0

Source: Rural Opportunities for East Cleveland, CCC 1981

¹ These figures come from the Langbaugh Planning Office; registered unemployed are divided by the County Council's estimate for the labour force living in the area.

The distribution of employment by nature of occupation for Skelton and Brotton, compared with Levenside and with Marske, is shown in Table 6. Seen in conjunction with the breakdown of the population by socio-economic groups (Table 7), it summarises the predominantly working-class focus of the Skelton and Brotton area. Although the relative numbers will have changed somewhat, it is reasonable to expect that the current situation should reflect an even greater ratio of manual to non-manual groups, considering the proportional rise in the manufacturing sector shown in Table 3a.

This assessment of the employment structure and socio-economic groups in the study area is reinforced by the survey data from the Cleveland Project. Using an adjusted occupational variable which combined the individual's level of education (up to or beyond secondary school), degree of responsibility over others at work, and status as either employee or self-employed/employer, we made a comparison of the "occupational environments" as distributed across the six localities (see Table 8). In the Skelton-Brotton sub-sample, the bulk of responses fell into the category of employees without responsibility for others working under them, both without further education past secondary school, and with it. Relating the categories of working environments to the more conventional groupings, for example, unskilled manual workers would correspond to Number 8, while office workers and administrators in the junior grade would be in Number 7, with some skilled manual jobs. Employed executives would be in Number 5, whereas foremen would largely come into Number 6. It is clear from Table 8 that more of the workers in "middle-class" occupational situations live in the Yarm, Kirklevington and Marske areas,

Table 6. Distribution of Employment of Residents
by Nature of Occupation, 1966

	Levenside	Saltburn/ Marske	Skelton/ Brotton	Teesside Sub-region	Great Britain
Agric./ Mining	250 (17.1%)	90 (1.5%)	190 (3.3%)	(1.9)	(4.5%)
Manuf./ Constr./ Util.	540 (37.0%)	3,210 (58.4%)	3,470 (60.0%)	(59.2%)	(47.1%)
Transp.	70 (4.8%)	370 (6.3%)	340 (5.9%)	(5.6%)	(6.8%)
Distrib./ Service	440 (30.1%)	1,920 (32.8%)	1,570 (27.2%)	(30.1%)	(35.8)
Nat'l/ Local Gov'tment	160 (11.6%)	270 (4.6%)	210 (3.6%)	(3.2%)	(5.8%)
Total Number	1,460	5,860	5,780		

Source: NRCC Survey, 1971

Table 7. Socio-Economic Groups by Percentage, 1966

	Levenside	Saltburn/ Marske	Skelton/ Brotton	Skelton/ Brotton (1971)*
Employers & Professionals	28.5	19.1	8.1	7.8
Intermediate & Junior Non-manual	11.2	16.8	10.1	11.1
Personal Services, Semi-skilled and Agricultural	19.8	12.6	24.5	21.6
Foremen, Supervisors Skilled, Own acc.	33.6	39.3	38.7	40.9
Unskilled Manual	2.6	10.1	17.8	16.3
Armed Forces, Miscellaneous	4.3	2.1	0.8	4.3

Source: NRCC Survey, 1971

* Based on the 1971 10% Sample of the Census

N.B. The source aggregated the groups in an unconventional manner.

Table 8. Occupational Environments by Localities

	Yarm	Kirk- lev'ton	North Ormesby	Hem'ton	Marske	Skelton Brotton	Total
Self Emp. Resp. Educ.	1	5	0	0	3	2	11 *2.2
Self Emp. Resp. No Educ.	3	2	0	1	3	3	12 2.4
Self Emp. No Resp. Educ.	2	1	0	0	1	0	4 0.8
Self Emp. No Resp. No Educ.	2	2	2	1	0	1	8 1.6
Employee Resp. Educ.	22	28	5	14	17	13	99 19.8
Employee Resp. No Educ.	4	5	18	9	8	6	50 10.0
Employee No Resp. Educ.	28	34	17	24	38	22	163 32.6
Employee No Resp. No Educ.	20	4	37	33	18	41	153 30.6
Total	82 17.4	81 16.2	79 15.8	82 17.4	88 17.6	88 17.6	500 100.0

Source: Cleveland Project Survey

*Percentages of the total in the table

while more of those with occupational environments associated with the "working-class" live in Skelton and Brotton, North Ormesby and Hemlington.

Housing

Housing in the various settlements in the study area shows a considerable range of types, from stone-built terraced rows several hundred years old, to modern semi-detached houses and bungalows built in the last ten to fifteen years. The former type is found along the high streets of Skelton and Brotton (and in Moorsholm), and the latter on the outskirts of Lingdale, Brotton, Skelton and North Skelton, and in most of New Skelton. The bulk of the area's housing in the ex-mining villages particularly consists of brick terraces built in the 1870's, many of which were modernised and enlarged at the back. Interspersed with the well-kept houses were others showing signs of many years of neglect in the way that is typical of privately rented accommodation and housing in an area designated for urban renewal and thereby subject to planning blight. The other types of housing prevalent in Brotton and Skelton and in much of the area between the two are local authority terraces and semi-detached houses constructed mainly just after the war, though some were built before that. Between 1961-71, just over one quarter of the 1,427 new houses built in the study area were local authority houses.

The 1971 Census showed that house tenure in the Urban District was in the proportion of about one council house for every three privately owned houses (see Table 9), which reflects a higher percentage of privately owned dwellings than in the new district of Langbaugh as a whole. Amongst our survey sample, many more respondents owned their own homes than rented

Table 9. Housing Tenure, Comparing Skelton and Brotton U.D.
Langbaurgh District, East Cleveland and the Skelton
Sub-Sample of the Cleveland Project Survey

		Owner-Occupied	Local Authority	Private Rental	Other/Not Stated	Total
*Langbaurgh District	#	25,563	15,644	6,124	37	47,368
	%	54.0	33.0	12.9	0.1	100.0
*Skelton/Brotton UD	#	2,981	977	1,119	10	5,087
	%	58.6	19.2	22.0	0.2	100.0
+East Cleveland	#	11,456	4,132	3,192	-	18,780
	%	61.0	22.0	17.0	-	100.0
≠Survey Subsample	#	71	16	5	2	94
	%	75.6	17.0	5.3	2.1	100.0

Sources: * 1971 Census

+ Cleveland Structure Plan

≠ Cleveland Project Survey

them, and private rentals were far below the level shown in the census.

The new district council, in undertaking its statutory housing review in 1974, found the Skelton and Brotton area to have a greater share of housing problems, because of the predominance of older housing in need of repairs or replacement, boarded-up houses, and evident lack of household amenities in so many of the houses. The picture given by the 1971 Census data showed a very grave situation. For example, for Langbaugh as a whole the percentage of owner occupied houses having all amenities with exclusive use was 88%, whereas for council housing the proportion was 93.4%. Of the privately rented houses, only 43.7% had exclusive use of all amenities, and very high percentages had either no inside W.C. (47.8%), no bath (36.8%), or no hot water (or else only shared hot water), (27.3%). While in the owner occupied and council rented categories such shortcomings as these rarely rose into two figures, the general standard demonstrated in these figures was poor by comparison with most other areas of the country. Many owner occupied houses were improved under the grants programmes of the early 1970's, which suggests that the Census data are obsolete in some categories. However, the result of the first housing review after reorganisation was to have Langbaugh declared a housing stress area. The main consequence of such a designation is to render compulsory purchase orders virtually automatic, though perhaps not any quicker in their administration.

So it was that from 1976 onwards, the district council embarked upon a programme of urban renewal in the rural villages of East Cleveland. Wholesale demolition was the preferred strategy in most localities; Lingdale, Boosbeck and Brotton,

Skelton Green and (on the periphery) Skinningrove all were subject to the uncertainties and seemingly indefinite waiting period in the old terraces. Those who owned and had improved their homes, often representing the fourth generation of a family to occupy the house, bitterly resented and opposed the injustice of a clearance programme. On the other hand, the landlords responsible for many privately rented houses were difficult to trace. Where the properties had fallen into extreme disrepair, such that they caused a health hazard to adjacent houses in the street, residents in the neighbourhood could only wait in angry frustration as the council's Environmental Health Department tried in vain to locate the owners and put pressure on them to repair and board up if necessary. These absentee landlords were content to delay expenditure as long as possible. The Boosbeck Community Group in particular felt that absentee, or at any rate anonymous, landlordism was a major part of the problem.

The Lingdale Housing Action Group which formed specifically in response to the earliest rumours of clearances, blamed the council's timing and phasing of the operation for causing many residents to settle for less compensation and leave the village altogether even before C.P.O.'s were issued, in some cases. In the area called Brotton Brickyard, residents hastily put in a petition as their official objection to the structure plan, having learned about the proposed clearance of their homes very late in the participation process.

These reactions demonstrate that this issue, perhaps more than any other, has tended to evoke a response in an area which otherwise showed very low levels of participation in planning. When seen in terms of the type of house tenure prevalent in the

areas scheduled for demolition, the depth of the reaction becomes more understandable (see Table 10).

The main alternative to clearance and renewal programmes was renovation, which affected two settlements particularly - Margrove Park and Charltons. The work on houses in Charltons was part of a programme initiated prior to reorganisation, in which residents were temporarily placed in caravan accommodation in the village while their houses were modernised. To make such a programme feasible, the number of privately rented properties had to be low in proportion to council rented properties, in order to maintain viable terraces. In Margrove Park the situation was unique to the area, since the land was leased by the Skelton and Gilling Estate. Renovation of properties there was undertaken by a local building contractor who negotiated a take-over of the lease, which reached its full term in 1973. This gave him the ability to convince the council that he could improve the properties to a standard which would give them a further 30 years' life, at the same time as he approached the residents to agree a fee for work which had to be done if their homes were to survive another housing review. His manoeuvres won approval from some and grudging acquiescence from others; private landlords saw an opportunity to increase rents, while owner occupiers were improving the resale value of their properties, but those renting privately were forced to live in more expensive housing or move away. There were relatively few council owned properties of the 100 houses in the settlement.

After 1978, the visual affects of the renewal programme were evident with a number of empty sites and a few completed streets of replacement housing built by the council (Lingdale, Boosbeck

Table 10. Changes in Housing Stock by Tenure, 1971-91

A) Completions		1971-76	1976-81	1981-91
Brotton	l.a.	-	120) 602
	private	240	384	
North Skelton	l.a.	-	-) 150
	private	1	-	
New Skelton	l.a.	179	210) 500
	private	164	41	
Old Skelton	l.a.	-	-) 702
	private	10	2	
Skelton Green	l.a.	-	-) 50
	private	9	-	
Boosbeck	l.a.	7	79	-
	private	17	37	-
Lingdale	l.a.	-	199	5
	private	45	70	-
Stanghow/Marg. Park	private	1	1	-
Moorsholm	private	20	3	-
Total	l.a.	186	608) 2009
	private	507	538	
	all	693	1,146	2009

Source: LBC 1977:22

B) Clearances		1971-76	1976-81	1981-91
Brotton	owner-occupied	26	116	144
	privately rented	12	45	58
Old Skelton	owner-occupied	-	4	2
	privately rented	-	6	-
Skelton Green	owner-occupied	31	61	-
	privately rented	31	53	-
Boosbeck	owner-occupied	-	92	-
	privately rented	-	49	-
Lingdale	owner-occupied	-	153	3
	privately rented	-	140	2
Total	owner-occupied	57	426	149
	privately rented	43	293	60
	ALL	100	719	209

Source: LBC 1977:23

and Skinningrove now have attractive new developments). However, with the current severe restraints placed upon local government spending by Central Government, it may be that those areas still grassed over will not be seeing their anticipated replacement housing for an indefinite period. This will have the effect of putting more pressure on the private housing market, but more important politically will be the de facto decline of the areas which were cleared. Although the council declared its intention to conduct its housing policy in such a way that the specific communities of East Cleveland were not dispersed and broken up, that is precisely the consequences of the renewal programme.

Communications and Transport

The inferior condition of the roads in East Cleveland has been a central factor in the debate over different strategies for improving the area's economy. For an area so dependent upon Teesside, it is very poorly connected to the rest of the county. The roads either twist along and between the complex denes and valleys of the area, or cross steep ravines in a series of hairpin turns. Along such roads British Steel's Skinningrove works have generated maximum industrial traffic for years, bus services have provided essential links through Guisborough and Saltburn to Teesside, and the area's commuters also have made ever increasing numbers of journeys, as the level of car ownership increased.

One major factor in trying to locate manufacturing industry at several sites throughout East Cleveland has been the relatively low proportion of car owners identified in the structure plan survey, and the relatively inefficient provision of bus services, as is fairly typical of rural areas. In Langbaugh

as a whole, 19,636 or 41.4% had a car in 1971¹, and a further 2,696 or 5.7% had two or more cars. This was similar to the figures for the Skelton and Brotton area, where 2,093 or 41.1% of households had a car, and a further 56 or 5% had two or more cars. In our survey subsample, 49 or 52.1% had a car, and a further 8 or 8.5% had two or more cars. This could be seen as reflecting the distribution of workplaces amongst the sample, with 32 travelling to Teesside and 9 others in Guisborough and Saltburn. It may also reflect the relatively high proportion of employers, professionals and own account workers in our sample.

Whether the level of car ownership and use for commuting reflects a willingness to travel distances to work or a necessity if rural dwellers want to find employment is somewhat debatable. Attitudes expressed on this subject may reflect both of these positions, to different degrees depending upon the individual's present situation. More often than not, though, I heard the view expressed that people would rather live in their villages and commute to Teesside than live in the urban areas. Langbaugh has a greater rural area and rural population than the other Districts of Cleveland, which may put Table 11 in perspective.²

Table 11. Car Ownership and Use, Comparing the Districts

	<u>Middlesbrough</u>	<u>Stockton</u>	<u>Hartlepool</u>	<u>Langbaugh</u>
Households having cars (%)	38.4	45.2	36.2	47.1
Those in employment travelling to work in cars - %	31.8	35.5	31.0	39.5

Source: 1971 Census

1 Langbaugh and Skelton/Brotton figures from the Census.

2 The degree to which a car is considered a necessity may well be tested by the rise in expense in maintaining a car during the late 1970's, a question which may be answered when the 1981 Census analysis becomes available.

Voluntary Associations and Other Activities

There is a great variety of organised, voluntary activities in the Skelton and Brotton area, which can usefully be divided into those which are traditional and community-based, and those which have emerged in the late 1970's with some financial support from national organisations such as the Manpower Services Commission, and from externally based community workers such as the rural officer of the Cleveland Council for Voluntary Services. In their report on the "Rural Opportunities for East Cleveland", CCVS noted that in the past five years, a more "positive reaction to community services, which is rooted in self-help initiatives" has become evident. The authors of the report speculate that the impetus for this new face of community activity might be "the sense of isolation and detachment from other conurbations", and the awareness that urban facilities are expanding so that by comparison rural areas like East Cleveland were "being poorly treated" (CCC 1981:17). It seems at least as likely that the increased demand is due to an influx of newcomers which has occurred during the past ten years.

The more traditionally based groups are surprisingly numerous, and range from working men's clubs and church or chapel organisations, to sports clubs, trades unions and work-based groups, welfare organisations such as luncheon clubs for the aged, Women's Institute branches and school groups like parent-teacher associations and voluntary help in teaching special subjects in schools. Amongst our sample, while 47 (50%) said they belonged to at least one group, the breakdown shows that most of the groups mentioned are social clubs (see Table 12). Work-based organisations, some of which referred to trades unions, were actually mostly social clubs, such as the social facilities

Table 12. Involvement in Voluntary AssociationsSkelton Sub-Sample

	Number	Percentage
Social Club	41	(44.1)
Sports Club	17	(18.3)
Church Organisation	11	(11.8)
Work-based Organisation	11	(11.8)
Welfare, W.R., Round Table, etc.	5	(5.4)
Educational	2	(2.2)
Political	3	(3.2)
Civic or Community	1	(1.1)
Other	<u>2</u>	(2.2)
Total	93	(100.0)

Source: Cleveland Project Survey

N.B. Respondents could mention up to six groups
The average number of answers per respondent
was two. The maximum was five.

at I.C.I. in Wilton. Taken together with the 51 respondents who said they had a regular pub or club (53.4%), and the presence of working men's clubs in each of the villages (with the exception of Margrove Park, Boosbeck, Charltons and Moosholm), the pattern of local involvement seems to be weighted towards activities organised through pubs and clubs. Although there is a good deal of competition between such institutions, in the form of darts and pigeons and the like, they are not likely to be capable of generating a basis for inter-village co-operation in other spheres. Such parochial traditions in these institutions are, after all, historically based. One notable exception perhaps was the pub in Skelton which was recognised as a meeting place for local political figures and would-be clients, with the Labour contingent drinking in the bar and the Conservatives in the lounge. Several of the interviews with those more involved in local affairs indicated that the Royal George was where they saw certain other influential people regularly. It was also there that political opponents might chance to come into contact, while in other contexts they could avoid face to face interaction for months at a time. Any notable seeking an opportunity to raise an issue, collect the reactions of colleagues and assess the opposition knew that there was a regular setting every Friday night in which to do so. Hence that pub, as an institution, contributed to the manufacture and maintenance of network ties, which ramified within and between the villages in the study area.

On the whole, however, the activities of these locally constituted groups were not organised to cut across settlements. This was also true of the Church of England and Methodist establishments, which at one time were very strong in the villages. People continue to draw a distinction between the drinkers and

the church-goers, holding to the image of these as so distinct that an individual either did one or the other, but never both. (although many examples can be found contrary to this normative statement). The exceptions do not alter the belief that the two are separate, giving weight to the fact that in former days the church and chapel were important in the life of these settlements. Of our sample, 42 said they attended church (44.7%); most of these were Church of England (26, or 63.4% of attenders), and Methodist (9, or 21.4% of attenders), with 3 Catholics and 4 others. Table 12 shows that there were 11 respondents who were active in church organisational activities.

Very few respondents mentioned civic, community or political groups, or to borrow a phrase from Harvey, groups which "might lead to the formation of non-parochialist horizons" (1974: 252). Even amongst those groups mentioned in the CCVS report as emerging in recent years, the achievements they list are focussed inward upon each separate community: the improvement of common land at Margrove Park, the provision of playschemes in several places, the establishment of village halls from old buildings or in new, purpose-built ones in North Skelton, Lingdale and elsewhere. The formation of community associations, or residents' associations in Lingdale, Boosbeck, Margrove Park, Charltons, North Skelton and Skelton Green has in each case been spearheaded by a sense of competition, to win for one's own village new facilities, or the reprieve of old ones from deterioration and demolition by the authorities. In many cases the involvement of these groups in trying to get a better deal for their villages has been presaged by a prior round of alarm arising from the effects, both anticipated and realised, of

housing clearance schemes. In this regard, such activities assume the significance of protest over planning issues which then generates ongoing "self-help" for social and recreational facilities.¹ The efforts of these groups will be evaluated further below, with special attention to the apparent contrast between these forms of community action and the absence of any sustained participation in planning issues, particularly structure planning.

The Local Government Context

With the reorganisation of local government in 1974, the Skelton and Brotton area's most local tier of elected representatives shifted, from councillors on the old Skelton and Brotton Urban District Council to the councillors on the new Langbaugh District Borough Council, or Langbaugh Borough Council as it is called. Four former urban district councils and the eastern section of the Teesside conurbation combined into a single, larger body covering a greater area and population, and of course a broader range of problems and resources, than any one of the former councils had ever had to consider. While many of the same individuals were re-elected, passing from the old council to the new one, in a sense they were now in a different position vis-à-vis their constituents. Whereas before reorganisation there was a possibility that the merits of a given case under consideration would be at least partly judged in terms of local needs, in the post-reorganisation council several different local needs might be in competition or conflict, and the issue would be resolved principally through the

¹ This progression from participation of a more political nature to participation in groups involved in the provision of amenities is the reverse of Dahl's axiom, "The greater the participation in organisations, the greater the participation in politics" (1961:299).

caucuses of the political parties (particularly of the controlling party) along the lines of party policy or of political necessity or expediency. The rationale for such resolutions will be couched in the language of local needs, but the voting behaviour in committees and in full council meetings will reflect party discipline.

There have been occasions when decisions taken by the Langbaugh Council ran contrary to expressed local interests; such incidents are frequently taken up by the local newspaper, the Evening Gazette. The councillor for the aggrieved locality may be well aware of the concerns of his or her constituents, but is unable to redirect the decision-making process. For example, one local councillor in Brotton voted against her party in full council on the issue of concessionary bus fares for school children in 1975. This particular issue reflects a recurrent problems in the area as a whole; the nature of the terrain and the dispersal of the settlements make travel to and from school hazardous for many children, but at the same time these factors contribute to the difficulty of running a commercially efficient rural bus service. Although her vote and those of several other dissenting East Cleveland Labour councillors did not change the controlling group's decision to cut concessionary fares, she had at least voted as she knew the local people felt.

It may be more cynically evaluated as a "safe" protest carefully estimated to show her attention to her constituents while knowing that the vote would not fail even without her support; or even that as part of a local "breakaway" the gesture was politically guarded. However, such protest is not often possible without creating considerable political jeopardy

jeopardy for the dissenting councillor and/or for the party, and as such brings harsh discipline from the leading members of the party. It may therefore weaken the individual's influence within his own party, making subsequent attempts to place local needs first even more difficult. The possibility of this kind of outcome was demonstrated in the case of a local councillor from Boosbeck, who was among those voting against their party on the issue of concessionary bus fares. He became outspoken on subsequent issues and eventually had the party whip withdrawn. His influence within the party was severely damaged, though in fact he did not belong to the Liaison Group of committee chairmen and vice-chairmen while the councillor from Brotton did. Eventually he resigned his seat. Some of those who fought for the area's new secondary school to be built in Boosbeck¹ had a strong basis for saying that his very dedication to representing the interests of Boosbeck above those of the party caused him to lose his effectiveness as a local councillor, hence damaging local interests in the long run.

Although similarly partisan aspects of decision-making naturally applied to the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C., with the separate villages in conflict over the distribution of resources, the inherent interrelation of the villages and the implicit friction of dealing with the larger, more remote authorities of the North Riding and Teesside provided some incentive for finding the resolutions to divisive issues in the area of common local interests. Although a more systematic comparison of decision-making by past and present councils is beyond the scope of this paper, it would make a useful research topic in

1 It was finally built in Skelton in 1978/9.

itself.

The impact of reorganisation upon the traditionally perceived sense of access to "the council" by the man in the street has been discussed above, in Chapter III. Although contact with councillors has continued through informal channels and through the system of holding ward "surgeries" in each village on a regular basis, this substitute does not constitute the equivalent of what was lost. The surgery sessions are scarcely attended, and there is a general sense of increasing remoteness from the decision-making machinery which became very clear in our interviews.

In the Skelton and Brotton area, the expressed "ideal" pattern of access to local government councillors and officers was the personal approach above letter writing or telephoning, and selected district councillors as the preferred channel for expressing opinions. This suggests that a significant proportion of the sample knew where they could come into direct contact with their ward councillor. In our survey, in response to the question, "How would you make your views known on an issue that was important to you?", 52 (55.3%) said they would use a personal approach, and 48 (51.1%) would express these views to a district councillor (see Table 13). Since in practice (that is, as witnessed by the councillors themselves), there seems to be a lack of personal contact with district councillors, the ideal pattern may reflect past tendencies or habits as much as any present, potential willingness of the public to establish and maintain some contact with local councillors. The table also shows that five respondents would express their views to a parish councillor, apparently in the erroneous belief that Skelton and Brotton had a parish council, or perhaps wishing

Table 13. Methods of Expressing Opinions, Skelton Sub-sampleA. How would you make your views known?

	#	%
Personal approach	52	55.3
Letter	23	24.5
Telephone	3	3.2
Through a group	2	2.1
Depends on the issue	7	7.4
Other	3	3.2
Don't know	2	2.1
Missing	2	2.1
Total	94	100.0

B. To whom would you make your views known?

Press	9	9.6
Parish Councillor	5	5.3
District Councillor	48	51.1
County Councillor	5	5.3
M.P.	6	6.4
Other	17	18.1
Don't know	2	2.1
Missing	4	4.3
Total	94	100.0

Source: Cleveland Project Survey

that there were one in existence. Together with the preference for approaching district councillors, at the least this indicates a feeling that local government at the closest or most immediate level is the most popular point of access to the system. Such a tendency was also observed in the Maud Report commissioned to ascertain which units of local activity or community life should be considered most meaningful in terms of peoples' identifying with particular localities.¹ Table 14 gives the proportion of respondents who say they know a district or county councillor; the potential for greater contact with district councillors is clearly shown.

Table 14. Knowing District and County Councillors: Skelton and Brotton Sub-sample

	<u>District</u>	<u>County</u>
Knowing none	23(24.4%)	49(52.1%)
Knowing one	31(33.0%)	26(27.7%)
Knowing two	15(16.0%)	7(7.4%)
Knowing three	5(5.3%)	0
Knowing four or more	9(9.6%)	1(1.1%)
Missing answers	<u>11(11.7%)</u>	<u>11(11.7%)</u>
Total	94	94

Source: Cleveland Project Survey

One possible interpretation of these figures is to see them as an indication that the area could have benefitted from the existence of a parish council to maintain a familiar, local tier of councillors to help bridge the gaps brought about by the changes incurred at district level. Several reasons have

¹ The wisdom of this finding was lost in the debate, however; see chapter III for a discussion of the democracy-versus-efficiency debate.

been put forward by those involved in the decision to do without a parish council for the area, taken in the early 1970's prior to reorganisation. Under the new Act, any existing rural or urban district council could create one or more parish councils within its area, but the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. decided not to exercise this option mainly for political reasons. The Labour controlled council saw parish councils as the traditional province of Tories and Liberals despite the general expectation that such councils will usually act "non-politically". The creation of such a body at local level was considered a potential threat to the Labour party's hold on the area, which would then become a pressure group challenging the decisions of the new district council. Another reason given was that there were several members of the old urban district council who had been in their seats for many years; these individuals might have continued quite happily at the parish council level whereas they would have been less willing to embark upon the new politics of the reorganised district council. So in some respects the decision against having a parish council was a political decision, and in others it was an opportunity to shed some "dead wood". It was felt by some of the younger members that having a parish council would be preserving the status quo, when change was what was needed.

Obviously such a decision left a number of people in local politics and on the fringes dissatisfied, and when the central government began circulating pamphlets to announce the first review of parish councils in 1978, a meeting was called in August to consider the case for creating one or more parish councils in the Skelton and Brotton area. It was a private meeting held in the Vicarage at Skelton and attended by

members of various local groups, with the notable absence of any currently seated councillors. The vicar, two local doctors, two former councillors and the chairmen of two residents association, myself and two other members of the Skelton Study Group, as well as the Land Agent for the Skelton and Gilling Estate were there. Viewpoints from the left and right of the political spectrum were represented, but the discussion deliberately skirted political partisanship, focussing instead on the definition of local interests, and the problem of relating these to the government's information pamphlet as we interpreted it. In particular the meeting had to consider how many parish councils could or should be formed.

Although it might have been obvious that Skelton and Brotton should each have one parish council, the main question was how to divide up the remaining area, comprising Lingdale, Boosbeck, Moorsholm, Margrove Park, Charltons, Stanghow, Kilton Thorpe, and possibly also Skelton Green and North Skelton if they wanted to remain separate from Skelton. Even if a basis could be found for combining these in three or four groups, it seemed unlikely that enough people would be willing to serve on these councils. On those criteria it just was not feasible to consider setting up one parish council per settlement. Yet in its agreement over the purpose of the councils as watchdogs and pressure groups to stand up for the needs of each community, the discussants envisioned certain conflict between settlements as a potential hazard to any parish council which comprised a combination of settlements. Since the meeting intended to produce a letter to the council requesting the creation of parish councils for the area, some way out of the impasse had to be found. Eventually, the meeting decided to request a

public meeting in order to involve a wider range of views.

Although it had been specifically requested that the meeting take place in Boosbeck so that the people from the outlying settlements might be more able to attend, the borough council in its wisdom called for the meeting in October 1978 in Skelton Civic Hall. Although the views expressed on that occasion varied as those at the private meeting had done, the meeting (of about 150 people, mostly from Skelton) served as an attempt to inform the public about the function of parish councils more than to ascertain their views. Some members of the public were more concerned about how much more it would cost in rates.

Langbaugh Borough Council took account of the comments from that meeting and a similar one held in Brotton, together with representations from groups in the area, including the above-mentioned private meetings's views and the more cogently argued views of the local Labour party branch. The resulting report put forth suggestions of one parish council for Skelton and Brotton, and one for all the outlying settlements (to be called Lockwood Parish Council) with Carlin How to elect a member to join the already existing parish council at Loftus. These proposals were later modified by the Boundaries Commission (January 1980), which separated the Skelton and Brotton parish into two councils. The elections took place in late March, 1982, with each of the settlements in the area putting up between one and three councillors for their "ward" on the relevant parish council. Many seats were uncontested, and one in Lingdale was left empty.

Once the impending elections were announced, they became the focus of acute political attention. In the view of the

local branch of the Labour Party, if they neglect the parish council level of local government, it will tend to become composed of "independents", which would lead to "trivialisation". In other words, as they wrote in a recent position paper,

Third tier local government is no longer a matter of sleepy parishes dominated by the village establishment. In the 7,800 established parish councils Labour councillors have for many years now been getting elected and working for a socialist approach to local amenities and local controversies (Skelton Branch Labour Party 1981).

The opposite point of view was expressed by a resident of Skelton who wrote to a local newspaper, that in making parish councils into another arena in which party political battles would be waged, the political parties were discouraging ordinary people from becoming involved in the tier of government which was closest to the grass roots. It remains to be seen which of these interpretations of parish councils will best predict the role of parish councils in the Skelton and Brotton area. In terms of the competing needs of the settlements dispersed throughout the area, the shortage of people willing and able to become involved in parish councils, and the lack of a clear indication from residents that councils of one size or another would best serve local interests, the resulting arrangement falls short of the prescription laid down in the government's circular on parish councils (see the discussion in Chapter III).

The desperate efforts of the political parties to find enough suitable candidates for the seats on the parish councils should be seen in the context of current political trends and voting behaviour. In an area which tended to return a Labour council more or less consistently, Langbaugh Borough Council was controlled by the Labour Party for its first three years

until, in the April 1976 elections Langbaugh experienced the greatest swing in Cleveland, giving control to the Conservative Party with a 19 seat majority. Then in 1979, when local government elections were held together with the Parliamentary elections, the borough swung back to Labour in the usual way depicted by Dunleavy (1980). Such volatility makes local branches of each party more sensitive in their election efforts, and in the present situation there is the additional uncertainty of the potential impact of the Social Democratic Liberal Alliance upon local government elections. However, in the impending parish council elections, the main competition is between the Labour and Conservative parties, with the SDLP still an unknown element in the Skelton-Brotton area.

Planning Policies in the Skelton and Brotton Area

Strategic planning policies affecting the study area give it a generally non-developing stance in comparison with other parts of East Cleveland and with Cleveland as a whole. For many of the same reasons why they have been marginal and problematic settlements for so long, they continue to be subject to strategic policies which reflect changes in the wider, national and regional contexts. So it was that the preferred pattern for Cleveland's growth in Teesplan ruled out East Cleveland for residential development for economic, aesthetic and practical reasons. The scale of expected increases in the sub-region's population put such expansion beyond East Cleveland's capacity. As one county councillor in Skelton put it, "To argue the East Cleveland cause is to go against the Ingleby Barwick area".¹ The principal reason given in Teesplan and reiterated

¹ Ingleby Barwick is the first area for residential development on a massive scale, in West Cleveland.

in the East Cleveland Structure Plan was that raising the population on any large scale would worsen the imbalance of jobs and people, exacerbating the area's central problem of high unemployment if new industry could not be found and securely established.

The commitments of the Teesside Structure Plan, that is, the proposals which already were council policy and which had received capital investment prior to the adoption of the Cleveland Structure Plan were: the promotion of Middlesbrough and Stockton as sub-regional centres, the new housing in West Cleveland, the industrial expansion along the River Tees and at Thornaby,¹ and the A19 trunk road and Teesside Parkway. While these might provide indirect benefits to the Skelton and Brotton area, some would see them as inhibiting the improvement of the stagnating East Cleveland economy, by directing major investment in the four critical types of development - commerce, housing, industry and roads - away from the East Cleveland area itself.

Of all the former urban districts of East Cleveland, the Skelton and Brotton area will have the least improvement in shopping and community facilities while at the same time experiencing the greatest upheaval in terms of redevelopment, according to the East Cleveland Structure Plan (see Table 15). Improvements to main roads are considered essential for attracting firms to the proposed 90 acres of extra land in Skelton and Brotton set aside for light industry; however, these are at a low priority in the county's list of road improvements. As one county planning official said in a public meeting, " It

1 An industrial estate at Thornaby still has vast unused tracts of land and is within an easy journey from Ingleby Barwick.

seems most logical to proceed from west to east in carrying out improvements to the country's roads; after all, the connections with the rest of the country are on the western and central northern boundaries of Cleveland." Apart from working from west to east, there is also an overall pattern of building on previous strengths, as for example the continued further expansion of the more viable commercial centres at Guisborough, Marske, Saltburn and Loftus, or in terms of new housing distribution, the continued development proposed for saturated areas like Guisborough and Marske¹ because of the assumed continuation of demand for new private housing there. According to the criteria of county planners, the Skelton and Brotton area has few, if any, such strengths. Limited development in an area where natural growth in response to economic forces has not taken place thus comes to entail finding local solutions to local needs.

Table 15. Comparison of Treatment of Older Housing in Parts of East Cleveland

	<u>Clearance</u>	<u>Short-term Improvement</u>	<u>Long-term Improvement</u>
Guisborough	310	220	550
Saltburn and Marske	280	-	330
Skelton and Brotton	1,190	870	-
Loftus	1,040	180	170
Total	2,820	1,270	1,050

Source: East Cleveland Structure Plan

Nevertheless, there was some recognition that solutions to the longstanding problems of East Cleveland could not be left

¹ Successful pressure from the Marske Residents' Association led to the deletion of Marske as an area for expansion, but the long-term possibility of this occurring has not been ruled out.

entirely to piecemeal, local planning. The additional research which went into the East Cleveland Settlement Study and the study of Light Industrial Estates in East Cleveland begun in 1974 and published in 1976 were an example of this. The need for these studies at all demonstrates some degree of inadequacy in the structure plan which was examined in public in 1975.¹ Another example of perception of the weakness of the strategy for East Cleveland is the Development Commission's attention to the area's problems leading to the 1981 study by the county's research unit (CCC 1981).

The first of these studies described "areas of search" where houses could be built, and the methods of evaluating those areas, in order to choose the best ones. The object was to pin-point acreage for 1,800 additional houses, above the land which was already committed for some 2,800 houses in the East Cleveland Structure Plan area up to 1991. The evaluation entailed awarding points to the various areas, as well as taking into account the "policy constraints" of the 1974 Langbaugh Housing Review which gave details of clearance proposals, and the protection of Grade 2 agricultural land and areas of high landscape and amenity value (mainly at Marske and Guisborough). The costs of development, the accessibility and availability of community facilities, as well as the possibilities of mining subsidence (now including potash as well as ironstone mines) were all apparently thoroughly evaluated.²

1 As discussed in Ch. III, these crucial studies missed the mainstream of public participation, which may have prevented certain issues from arising.

2. Local people disputed the points awarded, e.g. with regard to the supposedly good road access for Skelton and Brotton, and the question of subsidence (further discussed below).

The result was that Skelton, Brotton, Lingdale and Boosbeck had the best overall scores. Up to 1,500 houses were thus proposed for the north side of Skelton; new housing in Boosbeck and Lingdale would only be replacements for the clearances (see Table 10a). The recommendations of the study entailed changes in the structure plan, including a limitation on further expansion at Loftus, about 200 more houses to be built at Skelton than originally expected, and a slightly more overt indication that most of the outlying villages will be maintained at their present levels. So far only Carlin How has been singled out for definite decline; its near neighbour Skinningrove has been subjected to intensive study leading to a reprieve, as its inhabitants protested vigorously and early at the proposed demolition of virtually all of the village in the NRCC draft plan. The result of the Settlement Study was that the borough council resolved to reconsider each of the smaller settlements as a separate case.

The Light Industrial Estates in East Cleveland study followed a similar procedure in searching for sufficient land in the right places so that a dispersed pattern of industrial estates developed by labour-intensive, light industrial firms might be achieved in East Cleveland. A total of 116 acres was considered necessary for this purpose, and 90 of these were to be found in the Skelton and Brotton area. In all, fourteen possible sites were evaluated, with points awarded according to fifteen criteria ranging from accessibility, the ready availability of essential services or relative cost of providing these, and local job deficiencies, to visual impact, conservation of areas of landscape importance, and proximity to residential areas. Different criteria were given different

weight, so that the resulting scores were very complex, representing as they did a combination of plus and minus factors with some multiplication thrown in. The conclusion of the study was that four sites were most suitable; a 25 acre extension of the existing site at North Skelton,¹ a five-acre extension of an existing site at North Liverton, and new sites of 50 and 30 acres respectively at Brotton and Margrove Park. These proposals entailed changes in the structure plan: North Skelton rather than Liverton Mines was to be extended now,² and Margrove Park, formerly designated a site for a golf course and country park under a policy of protection as an urban fringe landscape improvement area, would now have a 30 acre industrial estate somewhere in its 100 acres.

A simultaneous study on roads and transportation in East Cleveland was also published in 1974 but was not subject to public participation, being a routine review. Details of this study formed the basis of proposals affecting the local roads in the Skelton and Brotton District Plan. There was a general finding that little could be done to improve the area's roads that would not incur a major clearance of housing. The only major proposal therefore was a by-pass for Skelton and Brotton, so far not given any funding, and some minor improvements to eliminate accident blackspots at Slapewath near Charltons, Carlin How, and a sharp bend west of Brotton called Millholme Bridge. While the first two have been carried out during 1981, the last has not yet been given funds; it is near the

1 Referred to above as New Skelton, it lies between the two places and is more commonly called the North Skelton Estate.

2 This followed a loud outcry from local residents and their Independent local councillor.

proposed East Cleveland Hospital site¹ and the road improvement is complicated by the need to improve access for the proposed hospital. The coast road "should not be encouraged" as a through route between East Cleveland and Teesside, according to the Skelton and Brotton District Plan, so it will only have minor improvements (LBC 1977:47)..

The third study, "Rural Opportunities for East Cleveland" while not in any sense a statutory plan, highlights the problems of the area and by implication infers that there is a gap between the announcement of strategies and the implementation of specific elements of the plans. The main thrust of the proposals is a set of "economic initiatives" including the conversion of redundant buildings, dual occupancy of business premises and construction of new purpose-built industrial units, promotional campaigns and information services, development of tourist facilities and programmes for environmental improvements, promotion of more offices and administrative services, and finance for Community Employment projects and local enterprise opportunities. These initiatives are to be realised through a cooperative effort between statutory and voluntary bodies. Their "social and community initiatives" on the other hand are largely educational and advisory, and aimed at stimulating village self-help groups both within and between villages; they also include the idea of promoting better use of local shopping facilities and retail cooperatives, improving leisure

1 This proposal in the structure plan is widely approved in East Cleveland, but may be put off indefinitely due to moves to centralise and cut expenditure. When the borough council leader recently cast doubt on the road improvement scheme, many took it to mean the urban councillor was again dragging his feet over the provision of new rural facilities.

facilities and promoting various community transport schemes, and perhaps most important in this era of cuts in local government expenditure, maintaining "essential primary health and welfare services at local level" (CCC 1981:1-2). The essential difference between this approach and that of the structure plan and district plan is in its emphasis on the positive potential in the distinctive identities of the local communities and on the human resources which can be channeled towards more effective concrete results.

By coincidence, just as the public participation exercises for the Settlement and Industrial Estates studies were being held in 1976; the Skelton and Brotton District Plan began to be introduced to the public. Under the county's Development Plan Scheme, this was given first priority among all local plans in Langbaugh District. Because of this overlap, the meetings held to discuss the two studies which formed the "left-over" subjects of the structure plan were therefore filled with examples of attempts to question strategy (too late to be entertained) as well as substantive concerns over particular local issues which were rebuffed on the grounds that the meeting was not concerned with local planning (see the discussion of issues below). The fragmented nature of the public participation programmes in the Skelton and Brotton area is symptomatic of the way in which planned change has impinged on the area in the post-war era. The current policies have emerged through a series of documents spanning ten years, produced by at least five separate councils, cross-cut by the reorganisation of local government and the squabbles over boundary changes, and sometimes subject to important reversals of policy. The responses from the public over that period have been therefore

correspondingly intermittent and parochial, on the whole.

The remainder of this case study will consider more closely these intermittent and parochial responses, both in terms of the way they demonstrate the management of participation by the local state, and the way such responses provide the "relevant counterfactuals" which together with the definition of interests and the operation of rules of access, form the basis for an understanding of the political inactivity of the area.

Issues and Actors: Social Networks and Fragmented Participation

The Skelton and Brotton case present a distinct problem of analysis, not only because of the range of settlements and therefore of potential social networks to be examined, but also because of the predominance of the non-participating majority and the apparent contrast seen in the gradual proliferation during the past ten years of groups and sets of individuals who have taken an interest in some aspect of the anticipated or occurring changes in their area. In an area where discussion of the draft structure plans took place even before the public participation exercises began, one would expect some participators to emerge who were prepared to argue a case through to the Examination in Public. More particularly, in an area where urban renewal programmes caused such disturbance and uncertainty, we should expect at least some of the reaction to reach as far as objections to the structure plan.

We have seen that in our survey sub-sample for the study area the lower socio-economic categories were more numerous, but there was also a significant number of self-employed, as well as employees with higher education in responsible positions. Such a composition in the sample would lead to the expectation

of some degree of participation, if the received wisdom and findings of previous research on participation were applied. Yet in terms of the composite participation variable used in the analysis, the Skelton and Brotton area had the lowest scores of all the localities (see Table 16).

Moreover, the groups which have tried to act at best have had only minimal impact on policies affecting the area. Whether in relation to promised new housing or the chronic lack of facilities and inadequate services, the general public has not cried out strenuously and continuously for better treatment. Rather, they seem to continually adjust to what they have, while their view of the planners and the council as a monolithic opponent is reinforced. Though local people may object to some decisions made without public consultation (or apparently without consultation...often due to inadequate publicity or the inappropriate location of a meeting), there is also an expectation amongst locals that those making the decisions are qualified (by training or electoral mandate) to do so. These superficially contradictory aspects of the way local people regard local government generate a normative pattern of response: let the council "get on with it" but complain when you don't like the results. I would argue that both the sense of dismay and the view of authorities as the ones who are supposed to make the decisions are in fact manifestations of the relatively powerless position of the populations in these settlements.

Two further aspects of the emergence of groups in the area in the last ten years should be considered, and these are on the one hand, the cumulative nature of efforts to influence planning policy and the reasons why such efforts have not been

Table 16. Participation Variable by Sub-sample Location

	Yarm l'ton	Kirk- Ormesby	North	Hem'ton	Skelton Brotton	Marske	Total
Non- Participators	51	45	53	58	72	61	340 (61.4%)
Unofficial	33	35	18	23	20	23	152 (27.4%)
Official	2	2	5	2	0	1	12 (2.2%)
Combined	4	11	4	3	1	2	25 (4.5%)
High Participators	1	1	5	1	0	1	9 (1.6%)
Missing Cases	2	2	3	5	1	3	16 (2.9%)
Total	93	96	88	92	94	91	554 (100.0%)

Source: Cleveland Project Survey

sustained, and on the other hand the tendency for the action to be initiated or significantly boosted by the well-intentioned assistance of individuals external to the area, or by residents who are relatively new to the area. These two factors have played an important part in the few instances where local interests have successfully prevailed over council policy. Perhaps as a result of participation problems generated by the structure planning process, there now exists a network of individuals, mainly professionals, which tends to be mobilised when the need is realised. The potential for action from such a network will be considered below. How it developed will become clear as the analysis of participation proceeds.

A central set of individuals who wrote comments on the draft of the North Yorkshire Structure Plan became the most useful starting point in determining who was concerned about the plans in the study area. These individuals took part in a conference held in January, 1971 at the home of the Agent for the Skelton and Gilling Estate, Mr. Allen (see Appendix A). Because of his role in organising the conference, and the size of his social network,¹ Mr. Allen was selected as the primary reference point for investigating the network of participators in the study area. A description of his situation and background will precede an account of the conference and its consequences.

Mr. Allen is in his mid-fifties, and has been the Land Agent for the Estate since 1966, having been assistant land agent before that for a number of estates in Northumberland and Yorkshire. He originally came from York, where his father was a locomotive engineer, and subsequently spent his childhood in

¹ Measured in terms of how many other participators he knew, who also knew him.

County Durham and later in Northumberland where his father retired early after an illness. His father's wartime job as an assistant in a land agent's office led to Mr. Allen's training for that career when he came out of the Navy after the war. In 1954 he married and soon had two sons, and was working as an assistant land agent in Rotherham when he became involved in religion, being confirmed as an Anglican in the early 1960's. When he moved to Skelton, he continued this interest by becoming a member of the Parochial Church Council, as well as the Denery Synod and the Diocesan Synod. In this capacity he knew a number of clergymen and theologians in the northern region, some of whom took part in the 1971 conference at his home. There was also a men's discussion group in the Anglican church in Skelton which began to extend his professional understanding¹ of planning and its impact on people, into a wider concern with the notion of the community, and the role which the Church (in its ecumenical dimension) should have in fostering greater communication among the people in a given area.²

In his view, people generally were not aware that planning would fundamentally affect their lives; planners in turn were not considering their proposals from the point of view of the people who were affected by them, and were insulated from accountability by the political structure. In calling for a conference, he was acting on a belief that awareness of the

1 That is, as a Land Agent.

2 This discussion group was led by the then Rev. Brown. He was energetic and broad-minded according to all accounts of him, although he had left the area before the fieldwork began. The group included several others described below: Mr. Wood, Mr. Bell, and Mr. James. Not all were Anglicans.

decision-making process needed to be increased. People should become more involved and planners and politicians should reconsider their cosmetic notions of public participation. He said that he felt that the conference discussions "reinforced the importance of involvement, and that participation was not merely an exercise for politicians - a hoop that they have to jump through. Rather, it really was an important part of the process to involve people in the decisions. And there was the possibility, however much more difficult the process, of arriving at better decisions, if they were involved."

By his position as Land Agent, however, Mr. Allen was limited in the ways in which he could act to engender such involvement. Ironically, he did not see himself as an influential person in the local social system, partly because his job was a barrier to the development of social relationships which could expand to include the political involvement inherent in participation in planning. This was so because neighbours and local acquaintances, in talking to him,

"wouldn't bring up the things that really mattered to them, like who gets which house, and their friend who really wanted number 3, etc., because it would put me in an embarrassing position; and I wouldn't bring up such things because of not wanting to induce them to break confidences. So what we do talk about is mostly general things, for example, things that come up through the church."

In a similar way, his efforts to wield influence in the planning process would be affected by his role as Land Agent. Though he was always aware of which of his many hats he was wearing when he expressed views on the future of Skelton, for example, the councillors and planners necessarily saw him as the vehicle for protection of the interests of the Estate, and would interpret his views accordingly. In other words, they did not see his views as representative of a more general set

of interests endemic in the locality. The cross-cutting of his relationships as Land Agent and as a church member or just as an inhabitant of Skelton therefore inhibited the proliferation of local network ties with any degree of intimacy; these were reserved for a handful of personal friends and relations outside Cleveland.

In drawing up a list of people to invite to the conference, however, he was determined that it would not comprise Skelton residents alone. Creating a pressure group "was not the object of the exercise, at all." Through his contacts in the Anglican Church he drew in the personnel to organise the programme and set the main themes in the discussion groups. A theologian and a sociologist from the University of Durham thus played a major part in the proceedings. There was also a contingent from Long Newton (in West Cleveland just beyond Eaglescliffe) which included a land developer, a vicar, a local authority officer in the highways department and a housewife, all of whom were known to Mr. Allen personally and socially. Also present from outside Skelton were a land agent and close friend from Scarborough, a land agent to the Guisborough Estate, and Lord Guisborough, a farmer from Castleton, an Architect from Grosmont, and two men from Northallertons: a civil servant in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Chief Planning Officer for the North Riding County Council. As Mr. Allen put it, "we purposely threw the net over influence rather than over Skelton itself." The presence of a county planner enabled interpretations of the draft plans, from the planners' point of view, to be interjected when useful; it also however underlined the implicit potential of the conference to correct the planners' understanding of "what local people want", that is, of how local people see the area developing

in the future.

Taking part in the conference were twelve people from Skelton, one from Boosbeck, and four from Brotton. These included the former clerk to the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C., Mr, Philips and his wife who is Assistant Postmistress in Skelton. Naturally they were very well aware of the area's problems, the political system as it operates in the area, and they knew many local people as well. Mr. Philips was well known to many of the participants in our list of people who wrote comments on the draft structure plans. Although as clerk to the council at the time of the conference, he could not express his personal views directly, he was willing to sign the letter which went forward to the planners from the conference. Originally from Jarrow, he had lived in Skelton for 24 years¹ during which time he acquired the habit of looking at issues objectively due to professional necessity. After leaving the council to become an accountant for a solicitor, he still refrained from involvement in local politics, having had for so long to hold no strong personal views about issues. However, as a union member and an active member of the Brotton Writers' Group,² he had sufficient involvement in "inconspicuous" politics. He was also interested in art and archeology, being treasurer of Langbaugh Arts and a member of the Guisborough Archeological Society. He was also treasurer of the Teesside Hostel Society, which aids released prisoners. In contrast to Mr. Allen, he had no involvement in church affairs or organisations, but he shared the opinion that it is very difficult to get the public interested in planning policies. However, it seemed that he had

1 The interview took place in 1975, as did the others from which these descriptions are drawn.

2 This group will be discussed below.

largely lost interest in such matters himself since leaving the council.

Another Skelton resident at the conference was Mr. Wood, a Labour councillor who was on the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. from 1964 and on the North Riding County Council from 1967. He was in his late 30's and had lived in Skelton for 15 years, before that having moved between Carlin How, Crook in Co. Durham and Carlin How again while his father worked for British Rail. His wife had lived in Skelton all her life, and ran a play group there; however, she did not take part in the conference, having a young family to look after. Mr. Wood was very interested in planning, having been on the NRCC planning committee and worked on the draft structure plans. He saw the conference as a chance to get some wider, more representative opinions about the plans, which led him to encourage Mr. Allen to invite a "variety of types" of people. It was through him that an early view of the drafts was possible for those attending the conference. Described by Mr. Allen as "very hard working, well respected and influential", he was also similarly interested in church activities, though in his case it was the Methodist Church in which he was a lay preacher. Perhaps because of his employment as a metallurgist, he mainly expressed views having to do with the industrial issues raised by the structure plan. With too great a dependence upon the heavy industries of Teesside, and the precarious position of local firms after the rates increases which followed reorganisation, as well as poor roads in the Skelton and Brotton area, the solution to the area's problems did not lie in further residential development in his view. It would be better to attract new firms, improve the roads and strike a better balance between jobs and people.

His position as chairman of the conference, and later as chairman of the NRCC public participation meeting in Skelton meant that he was listening to views more than articulating any of his own. Throughout this time he was also a member of the local branch of the Labour Party, and at the time of re-organisation he was elected to Langbaugh Borough Council. At the time of the interview, he felt he needed about 36 hours in every day; the pressures of all these activities gave him less time to devote to his family, and must have been a central reason for his giving up his political career at the end of his first LBC term in 1976. Though his reason for being on the council had mainly been the desire to help the local area improve, eventually a certain disillusionment had set in, leading him to drop the political activities altogether. As Mr. Allen put it, "he seems to feel that he can do more for local people by growing cabbages on his allotment".

Another local councillor invited to the conference was Mr. Pott, a steelworker in his mid-thirties who had lived in Skelton all his life. He became involved in local politics when a Skelton estate agent persuaded him (in the pub one day) to run for the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. in 1965. Like Mr. Wood, he was brought up a Methodist, but was far less active in the church. In addition to being a shop steward and member of the Labour Party, he also acted as chairman of the Youth Club, vice-chairman of the school governors (the secondary school in Brotton), and joint secretary of the Skelton Carnival Committee. In terms of the views put forth at the conference, he found himself in a minority, as he felt that the Skelton and Brotton area should have significant growth. He believed it was necessary to have a population of about 15,000 or more in order to

attract new light industrial firms into the area. Without an assumed growth rate of at least 3% for the sub-region, the county would slip back to a situation equivalent to that which it had before Lord Hailsham published the White Paper that became the basis of the Teesplan philosophy. His election to the new Cleveland County Council in 1973 and his role as Chairman of the Highways Committee led him to take a wider, more strategic look, and to recognise that within the Cleveland housing market as a whole, Ingleby Barwick would create an imbalance to the detriment of East Cleveland. These views were written up as a minority opinion in the comments which the conference submitted to the planners. In the matter of the importance of public participation, Mr. Pott again was in a minority, believing that pressure groups who do not even represent majority needs tend to cause delays and defer schemes, which in turn leads to planning blight, and eventually can be the cause of bad planning decisions being made. He believed in the structure plans and their overall philosophy, but felt that the plans were not immutable; they should be something which evolved through the political system once the basic philosophy was established.

Two other local councillors who attended the conference were a farmer, Mr. Bell from North Skelton, and a probation officer, Mr. Dale from Brotton. In the case of Mr. Bell, who had managed the farm for six years and only became a county councillor in 1976, he went to the conference mainly out of curiosity more than any inherent interest in structure planning. His involvement in the Church of England extended to the Parochial Church Council, and he was also very active in the local branch of the Conservative Party, of which he was vice chairman,

as well as being chairman of the Conservative Club. He was also chairman of the Cleveland branch of the National Farmers' Union, and the Cleveland representative on the Northern Region Agricultural Training Board. Beyond this he was a vice-chairman of the Brotton School Community Association, a "dwindling" body as he put it, and involved in the Guisborough Cricket Committee. He was not as detailed in the views he expressed in relation to the structure plans as the other participants described so far, partly due to the fact that he had not been in the area for as long. Although originally from South Bank in Middlesbrough, he then spent most of his childhood in the South of England before coming north to work in a series of farming and farm management jobs, including farms in Stokesley, Guisborough and Kilton. What he did feel strongly about was the "ludicrous" idea of expanding Skelton by bringing in 15,000 new families, at one time a possible alternative considered by the NRCC. But he felt the public were just not interested in planning, in an area like Skelton and Brotton where there was only a 40% voting turnout at best; "people don't want to understand...it is easier not to think about it."

Mr. Dale was a probation officer and county councillor who had lived in Brotton for twelve years. Born in Australia, he came to Glasgow when his father emigrated to escape the effects of the depression. Mr. Dale's first job, as an apprenticed plumber, brought him to Teesside, where he lived first in Marske, then in Skelton, and finally in a council house in Brotton. He worked in the North Skelton mine for a time before it closed. In 1973 he decided to change his vocation completely, and trained as a social worker at Newcastle Polytechnic. It was not until after the Skelton conference that he decided to

become a local councillor, a decision prompted by contacts in the Labour Party, particularly from the husband of Mrs. Gordon, another local councillor from Brotton (see below). Mr. Dale knew of Mr. Allen, but had not been invited to the conference. He went in place of the Catholic Priest from Brotton who was unable to attend. As a Catholic and a member of the Labour Party, and also being involved in the Brotton Writers' Group, he had some important links with Skelton people, but had had no contact with Mr. Allen, until the conference.

Mr. Dale saw planning as serving the interests of business, to the detriment of people whose opinions were never sought until it was too late. While some urban areas did need to come down, what was put up in place of them did nothing to enhance or maintain the identity of these older areas; he cited New Thornaby in Teesside which was done in the public interest. In the Skelton and Brotton area, too, the closing down of the outlying villages and centralisation of the population in Skelton which the old Urban District Council had favoured was clearly against what people really wanted in the area, and when he became a councillor he gradually went with local feeling against his party on this point.

There was a subtle difference between his view that the outlying villages should be preserved, and Mr. Allen's belief that the outlying villages had a sense of community about them which was lacking in Skelton. Whereas Mr. Dale did not favour greater development of the area but saw preservation of the villages as the best way forward, Mr. Allen would combine preservation of the outlying villages with a major development of the area in between, thus bringing the area together in a greater overall cohesion.

Mr. Dale also became a member of the Brotton Study Group set up in 1973 to monitor the heavy industrial traffic which used the High Street daily. The group became broadly interested in planning issues through the involvement of its founder, Mr. Gordon, and Mr. Dale said he "got into the group by giving them access to the structure plan drafts", which he had through his work on the council. The public never seeks to become involved, he said, unless it will hit their pockets directly, so that the function of small groups such as the Brotton Study Group was to get more accurate information to the people as early in the process as possible. In this regard, he considered Mrs. Gordon as an exception to the general trend in communication between local people and their ward councillors. Under the old system, the ward party meetings where the councillors gave a report of council business to the rank and file constituents ensured adequate feedback; the new system did away with this, with the result that there was tighter control from the central party committee.¹ Speaking of the relationship between this area and Teesside, Mr. Dale felt that whereas the Skelton and Brotton area used to be an appendage of the old North Riding, some people had hoped that through reorganisation "the industrial urban voice (politically speaking) would stick up for Skelton". But it has not worked out that way. Mr. Dale said, "the Labour Party here is not socialist - the area ties itself to Labour because it is working class; peoples' fathers worked in the pits." He saw such politicians as Mr. Pott as taking a party line to protect their own image and boost themselves

¹ At the time of interview, this was very much in the hands of two men from Loftus and Guisborough, though subsequently the control of the central committee passed to two councillors from Grangetown and South Bank in the urban part of Langbaugh.

up to the middle-class.¹

The last politically involved individual attending the conference in Skelton was Mr. James, a surveyor from Skelton. Originally from Loftus, he worked in local government as a civil engineer in Stokesley for 6 years and had tried working in Leicester but could not settle there. He returned to Skelton, starting up his own business, and had been there for seven years. For him, residential expansion in Skelton was a necessity, although he could understand the "Castle's" point of view in not wanting it where the county proposed to put it. He and Mr. Allen had agreed to differ on that point, but were fellow conservatives politically. Mr. James had once tried to get elected as local councillor for Boosbeck when Langbaugh had its first election in 1973, perhaps inspired by the discussions about the community in the Skelton conference. He took up the campaign against destroying village life and for improving the roads in order to bring in new industry to revitalise the area's economy. He was not elected, however. But he continued to be active in the Conservative Association, and retained his interest in Boosbeck village; (he attended a meeting there in 1976 at which a new action group was formed; see below).

Amongst the six other local people present at the conference, there were none with political interests and links, but three will be briefly mentioned because they had overlapping memberships with some of those mentioned above and they introduced certain issues which will be discussed further below. The first

¹ Mr. Pott in turn saw him as too left-wing, and opposed his stand for the county council in 1973 on the ground that he was a Communist. He ran as a Labour candidate and won, but in 1975 was removed from office for not attending enough council meetings.

of these was a nurse from Skelton who at 58 was nearing retirement, Mrs. Plum. She knew Mr. Allen through the Parochial Church Council, and had been a member of the church throughout her thirty years in Skelton. As a nurse, of course, she had a wide number of local contacts. Her list of activities included the Youth Club Management Committee, the Mothers' Union, the Red Cross, the Management Committee for the Blind, and the Road Safety Committee. She felt there was a gap between the plans and reality, because they "looked good" but the results fell short of peoples' expectations. She was bothered about the fact that local people were not asked their views until the plan was published. The growing population, particularly in New Skelton, was not a rural population anymore, but the necessary facilities for that size of community were lacking: shops for example, and places for young people to go.

The second person was Mrs. Hill, who had lived in Boosbeck all her life. She was 56, and had been active in the Parochial Church Council, the Denery and the Diocesan Council, through which she knew Mr. Allen very well. At the conference she expressed the feeling of people in Boosbeck that the village has been neglected; most facilities entail a trip outside the village, to Lingdale, Skelton or Guisborough. The threat of the village being run down and people being rehoused elsewhere was a major concern, and anxiety over the future had been heightened by the lack to information coming into the village. People were expected to travel to Guisborough or Skelton to see plans or attend public meetings, and a high proportion of the residents simply could not do this. In saying that the planners had not consulted people in this area enough, she expressed the sentiment that "country people" were more

concerned about preserving their area than town people, but that they were not given enough chance to do this. A point on which she agreed with Mr. Allen was that Margrove Park should be turned into an industrial estate, providing much needed jobs nearer to Boosbeck.

The third of these three "less politically involved" persons at the conference was Mr. Hughes, the managing director of the smaller of two road haulage firms based at Margrove Park. Through the firm's efforts to expand onto land across the road which was owned by the Estate, he had come to know Mr. Allen, who was trying to help the expansion and who favoured the development of the valley for industrial use. Mr. Hughes said the NRCC had put such a proposal into their draft plan, but Cleveland County took it out, proposing instead that the valley should become a country park and golf course. But the "people around here want light industry rather than golf courses" he believed.¹ His idea of how the community should be planned entailed a notion of "small, complete villages", by which he meant villages with their own adjacent industries, much as the mining villages had been beside the pit. This would remove the reliance upon Teesside for employment. Although he and his wife had lived in Margrove Park for two years; they were not from the area (he was from Surrey and she came from Newcastle). When they could not get planning permission to improve their house, they moved to Swainby, south of Stokesley. About a year later, the firm went bankrupt. They had tried to get into the North Skelton Industrial Estate, but were turned down because the lorries would constitute a nuisance and a danger on the access road, which ran through a housing estate in New

1 The survey of Margrove Park by the Residents' Association after his firm went bankrupt showed he was wrong, however.

Skelton. This element of nuisance was evidently not perceived in Margrove Park, although children had to pass the entrance to the site to get to and from their primary school. In his position in the area, and by his move to Swainby, Mr. Hughes showed that he was not integrated into the local social hierarchy, and indeed he had very few local connections (See Fig. 6).

It was always a mystery to Mr. Allen why the conference never initiated any more lasting and tangible result than the group comment on the structure plan which he drafted with Mr. Wood and the others signed. In later meetings and other groups he constantly referred to the conference, and in his interviews with me he tried to find an answer in the way the discussions had proceeded. While he was sure it had made individuals think somewhat differently or more deeply about the changes proposed in the structure plan, he also felt that people had been far too polite, and as a consequence had not reached a point where they were thrashing out their differences.

The presence of people from such a wide geographical range did not have the generalising effect anticipated; rather, it tended to mean that the non-local people had less to say, and in fact the four who had come from Long Newton never attended the second day of the discussions. The county planning officer also cut short his time at the conference, after having given his version of the proposals and the rationale for them. On the other hand, the stated adversity to the conference becoming a pressure group must have put much of the natural flow of the discussion (about what local people really want and need) in an ambiguous position. It is not surprising that the only area of agreement which could wholeheartedly be written as a group comment was the plea that the identity of the communities

should be preserved above all. Such a goal said nothing about whether or not a large influx of new residential development either to the south or the north of Skelton was desirable. The statement diplomatically put forward a majority view which felt the proposal to limit development was right, with a minority view which felt there was a demand within Skelton for the expansion of residential areas and the benefits this would bring. We have seen that this division of opinion cut across church and party affiliations, although officially the Conservatives as well as the Labour Party favoured development. It should be emphasised that these views were not fully representative of the range of opinions in the Skelton and Brotton area; no one was present from Lingdale, the unusual situation in Margrove Park did not come to the surface, nor did the sense of rivalry for scarce resources, for example, or the feeling in Brotton that they were always playing second fiddle to Skelton.

There was really only one formal result from the conference, which was that a group called the East Cleveland Arts Group was formed, to encourage participation in what Mr. Wood called "self-initiated art", or as Mr. Dale expressed it, an attempt to "bring culture to the villages". Their first problem was to find premises in which to function, which seems very often to be the practical focal point with which nascent groups in this area must first wrestle and upon which they sometimes founder. In this case, the Estate was able to oblige, when Mr. Allen arranged for the group to rent a former school building in New Skelton which was owned by the Estate. Mr. Dale worked very hard to fix the building up; for a time it was a moderately successful group, but in 1975 it folded through lack of support. Again, Mr. Allen and the Estate were instrumental in

this, for the final blow came when the building was taken back and converted into flats.¹

In Brotton the formation of the Study Group in 1973 by a local Labour councillor was initially a response to the particular issue of the amount of heavy industrial traffic using the main road through the village, but the group very soon turned its attention to the structure plan drafts, and wrote its own one-page summary of the proposals that would affect Brotton.² These were distributed to all households. When the public participation meeting for the area was held in Skelton, the Brotton Study Group felt that once again the opportunity was offered directly to Skelton and only indirectly to the other areas, so Mrs. Gordon called a public meeting in Brotton and invited Mr. Wood to present the structure plan draft proposals to the people of Brotton.

As a founder-member of the Study Group, Mrs. Gordon was in a good position to pass information to members of the public and to bring a certain element of local opinion back to the council. Her main interest when she joined the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. in 1972, was to bring an improvement to the environment in Brotton, in its roads, in its housing and in the disposal of sewage from the area, which even now is pumped untreated into the North Sea. When she joined the Langbaugh Council she naturally sat on the Planning Committee, following up an interest which began when she did a Social Science degree at Liverpool University.

1 This scheme had been shelved temporarily, and some of the group felt Mr. Allen had not been straightforward with them in his handling of the matter, when he decided to proceed with the development of the school after all.

2 The group explicitly described itself as "non-political" in its constitution, even though (or perhaps because) it was founded by a Labour councillor.

At the time of the interviews, she was 32, and had only lived in Brotton for five years, having moved into the area when her husband took a local teaching post. Like the other councillors and participators mentioned so far, she was highly involved in other voluntary groups, including the School Management Committee, the Brotton Playgroup which she also founded, Guisborough Archeological Society, and the Brotton Sporting Club, in addition to her work as treasurer of the Brotton branch of the Labour Party. Her husband, also an active party member, was in the Brotton Writers' Group and thus, with Mr. Dale and Mr. Philips, comprised another quasi-political connection between Skelton and Brotton.¹

Other members of the Brotton Study Group, which settled down to a core of about six people who carried on even between issues, included Mr. and Mrs. Hollis, a couple in their thirties who lived on the main Skelton-Brotton road and were mainly concerned about the industrial traffic. An accident on the road outside their house during the interview confirmed what they had to say. Mr. Hollis came from Boosbeck, where he lived until marrying and moving to Brotton in 1962. He worked at I.C.I. as a fitter, and before that was at British Steel. When he wrote a letter to the newspaper about a lorry shedding its load in Brotton soon after the potash mine opened, Mrs. Gordon came to his house and asked him to join the Brotton Study Group. In contrast to Mrs. Gordon, he felt the public participation exercises for the structure plans were poorly organised, being

¹ This group was mainly a self-help group to support the efforts of its members in becoming accomplished writers. However, it so happened that the interests of all those who took part were aligned on the left, politically, and in effect the meetings of the group were usually substantial political discussions.

slanted towards Skelton and reliant upon people reading the public notices in the newspapers, which they generally do not do. To the Hollises, the proposals in the Cleveland Structure Plan taken as a whole were for development of Redcar and Middlesbrough, with the Brotton area left out. Apart from improving the roads, however, they did not mention any particular changes that they would say were needed to improve Brotton. They just felt the village was "going down", and gave as an example the way people from Lingdale and Boosbeck were being moved into Brotton and Skelton. This was a very telling comment from someone who had grown up in the "lower" social region of Boosbeck.

The other member of the Study Group who formed part of the loyal core was Mrs. Gillette, who lived across the main road from Mr. and Mrs. Hollis and had been there 25 years, originally coming from Loftus. Her husband was a process worker at I.C.I. Although like the other couple, the Gillettes were not active politically, they did feel very strongly about the poor treatment Brotton was to get from the structure plan. What was needed was better roads to attract new light industry, and much of the blame should be placed on the former U.D.C. and the North Riding, who had left Brotton at a standstill while spending money for new offices and such in Skelton. Mrs. Gillette felt she "couldn't speak on these issues very well" and thought Mrs. Gordon could put her views more effectively for her; she became involved in the Study Group when she rang Mrs. Gordon to complain about the main road. Outside of the Study Group, she knew very few of the people in the area who wrote comments on the structure plan.

The Brotton Study Group achieved an image which belied their limited membership, largely through the position of Mrs. Gordon in the Labour Party and on the council. Although she knew of a strong reaction in the older part of Brotton to structure plan proposals to demolish the oldest terraces (the "Top End"), she was unaware that a large section of Brotton called the Brickyard remained ignorant of the impending demolition of their homes (about 60 in all) until far too late in the public participation process, despite the information sheet distributed by her group:

Mrs. Gibson was an old age pensioner of 74 who had lived in the Brickyard for 30 years; her husband had been an ironstone miner and they had lived in Kiltonthorpe, North Skelton, Carlin How and Loftus before settling in Brotton. As well as her aged husband, she had two retarded sons to look after, and the house was in an extreme state of disrepair. The apparent poverty and dilapidation (making do with one coal fire in the front room for all heating and cooking, for example) gave a stark contrast to her statement that they were "very comfortable". Many of their friends were similarly comfortable, and had lived in the Brickyard for 40 or 50 years. They had their allotments, and were happy living where they were. Like others interviewed in the area, she had a great dislike of planners, did not understand the plans and felt a sense of injustice at being rehoused on a new estate somewhere else. She and her neighbours had no knowledge of the Study Group, but when she found out through her sister in Stockton (who sent her a copy of the Stockton and Darlington Times, a paper which is not widely circulated in East Cleveland) that the Brickyard was to be demolished, she

organised a petition. None of the local residents had attended any meetings, but the petition was signed by nearly everyone, barring a few home owners who had sold their houses and were soon to leave. At the time of the interview, about a quarter of the houses in the area were boarded up; the effects of planning blight - blocked gutters, broken windows and drain-pipes, holes in rooves, etc., were everywhere to be seen. In sending the petition to the Minister as an objection, she ironically had by-passed all other forms of participation, in contrast to the participators in the area who had read the plans, gone to meetings, written comments, formed discussion groups, and the like, but in the end never put in an objection to the Minister. Mrs. Gibson and her neighbours and friends disliked and mistrusted these forms of participation, and anyway, they "never seemed to do any good". Although she was not invited to take part in the Public Examination, her petition did have some impact on the local authority, winning a special study of the Brickyard and a temporary reprieve from the prospect of being rehoused elsewhere.¹

The flow of information in the initial stages of the planning process took place through informal channels, aided by local councillors whose values were such that they saw increased public knowledge and awareness of issues as an important element in the process. They also recognised that the official programmes for consultation with the public were not effective in the range of people informed or in the level of feedback achieved.

¹ Such a victory only prolonged their misery, as they still lived under a cloud of uncertainty, and nothing was done to improve their immediate environment while they waited. See the Lingdale case below for a comparison of the impact of renewal schemes.

When official channels of publicity began to operate in 1973, they were still seen as inadequate, and after reorganisation access to the draft plan became a political asset used by Mr. Dale and Mrs. Gordon. One individual who commented on the draft structure plans noted how the plans seemed to "go underground" for a time after the public participation exercises, leaving those who had raised some interest to wonder where things stood. By far the most articulate of the independent participators, this individual (Mr. Child) was a civil servant who had lived in a caravan rented from the Estate in Skelton Green for six years. He felt himself to be on the fringes of issues in the area and had only recently become involved in the Skelton Carnival Committee, through which he knew Mr. Pott. He had attended the public participation meeting in Skelton and remembered the surprise of the NRCC planners in that meeting, when they were hit by the outcry from residents of Boosbeck who were determined not to let their village be destroyed.

This vehement expression of community spirit in Boosbeck provides one example of the involvement of external expertise on an informal basis. In contrast to the set of academics and professionals who were brought in to stimulate the conference at Mr. Allen's house, Boosbeck Residents' Association had advice and counselling from two seasoned campaigners with a broad experience in the efforts of local groups trying to take a major part in determining the future of their communities. The first of these was Mr. Wheel, founder of the Community Advancement Project (mentioned in Chapter III), and Molly (also mentioned in Chapter III), an environmentalist from Eston who developed a wide-ranging interest in the impact of the Cleveland

Structure Plans on people in many different parts of the county. She was also in the Teesside Experience Group which wrote one of the main reports on public participation in the area, and she played a major part in the Examination in Public. As a member of CAP, she had held many meetings with Mr. Wheel in various communities, including Skinningrove, where it had been the NRCC's intention to demolish all the houses and create a "rural dene".¹

At the time of their meeting with the Boosbeck Residents' Association Committee in 1974, following the Skelton public participation meeting, the local people were very upset about the breaking up of the community as a result of clearance programmes. They compared themselves with Margrove Park and Charltons, where the renovation programmes had revitalised life in the communities; Boosbeck did not have a choice between renovation and clearance. With a third of the houses due to be demolished, planning blight had already set in, and in many houses no survey had ever been done. There were many complaints of inconsistencies in the way policies were applied. Houses which were sound had been refused improvement grants, while at least one condemned house had been given one.

The advice from Mr. Wheel was that the group should concentrate on getting people in Boosbeck to say what kind of place they wanted Boosbeck to be. Once they knew what they wanted, CAP could help show them how it could be done. In the meantime, they should keep up pressure on the council over several areas of complaint: the lack of information, the lack of action to correct blight, the condemnation of the houses without proper

¹ The plight of Skinningrove was brought to their attention by a research worker from Durham University, who later worked with the Sheffield team studying public participation. The Skinningrove involvement led to the Boosbeck case being taken up by CAP.

surveys, the inadequate service to the village, the inconsistent giving of grants, the breaking up of the community by forcing some to leave, the decline of village commercial life because of the uncertainty, the waste of housing capacity and money by the council policies, and the frustration of owners and tenants who would be glad to improve their properties if even planning permission were available. This was to be a continuous raising of the village's voice, rather than a specific attempt to win victories over the council. At the same time, the Residents' Association was working on providing for themselves a play area for children and a shelter for old people to meet in during bad weather.

While such tactics made the authorities notice Boosbeck, it may also have caused them to label the village "stropky". An example of this became evident in the public meeting in Skelton, at which the East Cleveland Settlements Study and the Light Industrial Estates in East Cleveland study were discussed, in June 1976. A great many very critical comments were made by those present, so that towards the end of the meeting the planners and county councillor who chaired the Cleveland County Planning Committee (and also sat on the NEDC, incidentally), were on the defensive. The wife of the former district councillor from Boosbeck, Mrs. Fisher (who had campaigned very hard on the above points as well as in the attempt to have the new secondary school for the area built in Boosbeck) said, "It is good to have so many people here tonight. But will the council take any note of their views? The very substantial objection from Boosbeck to the decision to site the new school in Skelton was NOT noted." The reply to her comment was a familiar ploy to

those who had followed the long and tortuous discussions about the school site; she was told to be quiet, or the people of East Cleveland would lose the school altogether. This threat had been used several times, on the grounds that local squabbling was delaying the decision beyond the period for which funding was set. A reassessment would soon be necessary which might reveal a drop in student numbers in the area to the extent that a new school might not be justified.

The site that was finally chosen sealed the fate of the development of the north edge of Skelton as a new residential area. As this land belonged to the Estate and the proposed development was opposed vigorously by Mr. Allen, to some extent he was allied with the Boosbeck Residents' Association, who argued that Boosbeck was more central to the catchment area of the new school. However, the Estate also had an alternative site in Skelton Green which they were very interested in developing, so the two interests opposed each other throughout the period. The county were careful not to say what was wrong with the other sites, but mainly kept emphasising what in their view was right with the Skelton site: its access was good, there was room for expansion, it did not prejudice other policies. Mr. Allen felt that the last point was untrue, for the Estate was contending the development of that land right through the Public Examination of the Hartlepool Structure Plan, at which the Settlement and Industrial studies of East Cleveland were still to be discussed. The school was seen as an integral part of the new area, which effectively cancelled the Estate's objection.

The Boosbeck Residents' Association gradually lost strength after this, as the process of rehousing went ahead and the central

issue of the campaign seemed to have been lost. Many said they were no longer involved because the group nearly lost the secondary school. As was the case in Lingdale, some people were rehoused within the village in the first phase of new housing built there, but most were scattered round Langbaugh, in New Skelton, Loftus and elsewhere. When the council decided to build a community centre in Boosbeck in 1982, the ward councillors had to help revive the Residents' Association so that there would be a viable local group to run the centre.

The individuals and groups so far presented are those which emerged from the local context or with external assistance, in response to the first drafts of the structure plan and the first round of public participation exercises conducted by the NRCC. These are summarised in terms of the links between them, in Figure 6. Further groups have been generated, some by individuals in the existing groups, and some by the second round of public participation in 1976 which publicised the Settlement Study and the Industrial Estates study. The first of these began in 1976 in Margrove Valley.

In Margrove Park, the residents had become increasingly upset by the way Langbaugh Council was allowing the principle haulage firm to expand without properly notifying the people who lived in the vicinity. The entrance to the depot was directly across the road from the one along which all the Margrove Park houses are built. Between the settlement and their schoolhouse, the other haulage firm (the one which went bankrupt) was trying to expand. Further along the road nearer to Charltons, the farmer who owns most of the land in the valley, Mr. Black, was building up his own fleet of lorries for hauling earth, rubble, etc. He was disliked by many in the valley

because of his efforts to put barriers across the old railway line running through the valley, used by everyone for walking, cycling, riding, running, etc. He was also interested in selling his land for industrial purposes to the council.

In Charltons, another local farmer had been allowing some tipping of industrial waste behind the houses which, in two rows, shelter under a ridge which forms the westward extent of the valley. Further along the main Guisborough to Whitby road which runs past the settlement, a growing scrap-metal business created an eyesore on both sides of the road, and a sand and gravel business using nearly derelict building completed the dereliction already begun by the slag heap and nearby quarry. The tipping of waste seemed like the last straw, and caused the residents to realise that the area had already become a "soft option" for certain kinds of so called "light industry" which the council made no attempt to control. With the help of the local councillor and the newspaper, they managed to stop the tipping. In 1976, the sand and gravel firm closed, only to be replaced by a storage yard for worn-out chemical tankers. When Mr. Hughes' road haulage firm closed, there were hopes that something more productive, along the lines of a rural workshop, might take over the sight. Already the Estate owned a caravan fitting and conversion business in one of the old mine buildings next to Margrove Park, and they were planning to landscape the remaining derelict area to create a caravan park, mainly for itinerant campers.

The residents felt it might be better to have something else besides haulage on the other side of this campsite, but they learned too late that the lease had been given to another haulage firm from Guisborough, whose expansion was creating a

nuisance there. The owner of this firm, (Mr. Pratt) wanted to become a local resident, a part of the local community, by building a bungalow on the site. In a meeting with the residents they made it very clear they did not want him. The pressure upon him to leave Guisborough had been both subtle and nasty, with threats to evocate his licence for using poorly maintained lorries. His attempts to get into the North Skelton Estate had failed just as those of Mr. Hughes had, and although he could have taken a site on Skippers' Lane in South Bank, he did not want to go there because it would mean living in the urban part of Langbaugh (he insisted on living cheek by jowl with his business). Meanwhile, the residents had been in contact with the Chief Planning Officer of Langbaugh, Mr. West, ever since the time he had allowed the haulage firm across the road from the settlement to expand, to twice its size, without telling them first. He had firmly promised to inform them of any other industrial changes in the valley, but in this case he failed to do so. Reasons which he put in his letter of apology to them did not tally: it was an oversight, and anyway, there was no change of use involved in granting planning permission.

Understandably these residents no longer were prepared to trust the planners. The Residents' Associations set up in these two settlements had wide support and grew directly from these experiences with local industry and the council. In the forefront of the Margrove Park Residents' Association was the local property developer whose arrangement with the former council gave the settlement a guarantee of thirty years' longer existence. Mr. Arnold had lived in Margrove Park for 17 years, since his marriage to a Boosbeck girl. Before that he had lived

in Redcar. His wife owned a majority of the properties in Margrove Park, which gave him a personal interest in seeing them renovated. He first approached the old Skelton and Brotton council for planning permission, but they turned him down. Then he asked the NRCC for permission to modernise 100 houses and for grants to assist the work. They refused, saying that "there is no reason today for the existence of the village." As there could be no clearer formula for destroying an entire village, he returned to the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. with threats of very adverse publicity if they let this happen to the village, and they responded positively this time, provided that Mr. Arnold could guarantee that 75% of the houses could be brought up to the required standard.

Although his arrangement upset many people because he had put the package together before they were given a choice, he felt that their only other choice was to leave and let the houses be destroyed. He saw himself as the central force in holding Margrove Park together, and was very articulate about the value of such villages. In his view, the planners did not place enough importance upon the human element, the identity in such small communities. If people were to be rehoused, there should be an alternative ready for them nearby, instead of demolishing first and rebuilding several months or even years later. It would never be possible to replace the feeling in these settlements if the population had to be redistributed en masse. These views were submitted as a comment on the draft structure plan, but Mr. Arnold did not put in an objection.

Mr. Arnold was not an active member of any other organisations, but he did know an extensive proportion of others described in this chapter, simply because he was a local builder.

He knew Mr. Hughes as a fellow local businessman, friend and neighbour; he had many dealings with Mr. Allen through the Estate's interests in the valley, and of course it was through Mr. Allen that he had been able to take over the lease for the properties in Margrove Park, thus cementing the package. He knew planners and local councillors from Skelton and Brotton U.D.C., the NRCC, and Langbaourgh and Cleveland, having had many dealings with them over the years. He was a cousin of Mr. Bell, the farmer from North Skelton, and his wife was a longtime friend of Mrs. Hill from Boosbeck. Mr. James was also an acquaintance.

About the time of the further participation on the Settlement and Industrial studies, the leadership of the Margrove Park Residents' Association changed hands. The new chairman was Mr. Rye, an engineer for the district council who had been in the village only about two years. Together with the secretary, who also had recently moved into the valley and was very involved in the running of the Youth Club in Lingdale, (Mrs. Dunn), he helped keep the Residents' Association together during a difficult period of disagreement, most of which was a consequence of the personality and position of Mr. Arnold. He apparently had alienated some villagers intensely, mainly those who felt his dealings with the Estate and the Council were self-interested and high-handed. There was also a liaison between their Residents' Association and the one in Charltons, with committee members from each attending the others' meetings. This tended to strengthen the efforts of both groups to keep abreast of developments in the valley; they were not unilaterally opposed to all door-step industry, and realised they would have to become very much more involved if they wanted to press the

council for controls so that the amenity of the area was not irretrievably lost. The treatment of their requests by Mr. West, the Chief Planning Officer, in allowing re-occupancy of the empty haulage premises, as well as the publication of the Settlement and Industrial Estates studies also assured the groups of continued support.

In September, 1976, a further group was initiated which was explicitly drawn from all the villages in the area, although it did not take in Brotton (as it already had its own study group). It was Mrs. Fisher from Boosbeck who had the idea, after talking to Mr. James in the Royal George in Skelton.¹ He suggested that she write to all interested people she could think of, announcing the formation of a group which might achieve wider support by covering a broader area. The secretary of the Margrove Park Residents' Association, Mrs. Dunn, helped her with the distribution of the letters, and suggested that they encourage everyone invited to "bring friends too". Although this did not generate the numbers hoped for, there were 15 present at the inaugural meeting in Boosbeck Methodist Hall. Two of those present were the chairman of CAP, Mr. Wheel, at Mrs. Fisher's invitation, and Mrs. Swift, the rural officer for the Cleveland Council for Voluntary Services (mentioned above). Mrs. Dunn had invited a teacher who lived in Lingdale, whom she knew through her work in the Youth Club. I attended with my husband, who lectures at Teesside Polytechnic, and our neighbours from Lingdale, also from the Polytechnic. The Vicar from Boosbeck (Mr. Fuller), who also served at Moorsholm, was there, as well as Mr. Larkin, a Moorsholm resident of several

¹ Although Mrs. Fisher's ex-councillor husband was a Labour Party member, she herself was always careful not to say what her political inclinations were. Yet in this action she was collaborating with a Conservative, which may show how the parties mix in the Royal George.

years who later ran for Langbaugh council in 1979, and currently serves as a ward councillor (Labour Party), and is a personal friend of the researcher. Mr. James was there from Skelton, as well as a former Labour Councillor. Mr. Burton, from the old Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. There were also two women who helped manage the Stanghow Community Centre.

The meeting began with each person saying who he or she was and why he or she had come to this meeting, a technique for overcoming the sense of nebulous anticipation which hung over the unusual collection of individuals. Mrs. Fisher hoped this group could succeed where separate residents' groups had failed, and she cited the example of the new secondary school. Mrs. Swift emphasized the need to take an objective view and to work co-operatively with the council, whereas Mr. Wheel felt it was a good idea to have a group that could watch out for developments which would have an impact on the area, and have a clear idea of how local people might feel about them, in order to put pressure on the council. Mrs. Dunn had hoped the group might remain an informal discussion or study group interested in assessing the impact of plans on the area, and letting local people know about them. On the other hand, Mr. James hoped this group might become the fore-runner of a parish council for the area, an idea which he had been floating for several years. Mr. Burton, in turn, felt the group should not be political; it should be a vehicle for people to have more say in issues, and more contact with local councillors.¹

1 Mr. Burton had been a local councillor for 25 years, and rather dominated the meeting with long-winded speeches about the area, and on every detail he put himself forward as an expert. He had been very opposed to parish councils when they were considered in the past, but now he saw the need for them. In fact, he presented the precise image of surplus political chaff that others in the Labour Party were hoping to be rid of under the new system, which led them to oppose parish councils.

With this many different notions of what the group should do, it was unlikely that it would expand to become a broad-based and widely representative action group. By the time its second meeting was held, Mr. Burton and Mr. James had withdrawn along with the two women from Stanghow and our neighbours. Mr. Wheel and Mrs. Swift also did not continue beyond the first meeting. The group thus began its consideration of the structure plans and local plans with a core of six individuals; after the third meeting the Vicar and Mrs. Fisher dropped out. The remainder of the group went on to write an objection to the Light Industrial Estates Study, which essentially took up the council's decision in that study to reverse its policy and site 30 acres of industry in Margrove Park.

The East Cleveland Communities Group, as it called itself, joined the Margrove Park and Charltons Residents' Association in their efforts to protest at the Industrial Estates study. Public meetings were held in Guisborough, Skelton, Marske and Loftus to discuss this study, from which it emerged that a combination of factors had led to the county's reversing its earlier policy and designating Margrove valley for industrial development. First, there had been a proposal to develop a section of Guisborough as an industrial estate, but this met with widespread disapproval there due to its being close to the major housing estate near the town centre, and the difficulty of dealing with the sewage, both from the proposed industry and from the existing housing. The council had to find another site reasonably near Guisborough that might also suit the needs of East Cleveland. Margrove valley not only fulfilled these criteria, but also provided what the planners call a greenfield site, believed to be more attractive to industrialists. The numbers of local residents who might be inconvenienced by

the presence of such a development were far fewer than in Guisborough, and presumably they would welcome the jobs, being unemployed East Clevelanders.

Also favouring the Margrove site was Mrs. Gordon, the Brotton councillor who in 1976 was among the opposition party on Langbaugh council. The leader of the council was a Conservative from Redcar; his party took a stand against the Labour Party's policy on Margrove valley and for the preservation of a beauty spot on the edge of the North York Moors, which was essentially how they saw the valley. The local groups fighting the development were fortunate in having this particular combination of partisanship as an ally, for the county, together with Guisborough Town Council otherwise had all the advantages. Not only could they prove the need, but they also had an official study which objectively identified Margrove valley as the appropriate site. These studies had the weight of structure plan status, being documents which "filled in the inadequacies of the East Cleveland Structure Plan".¹ The county also had the significant advantage of being responsible for the public participation on these matters, from the notices and advertisements in Newspapers to the arrangement of meetings. There was much criticism of this aspect of the process of participation, since only one week's notice or less was given of the meetings, and the only newspaper used was the Langbaugh News (to save on the expense).

At the first of these meetings, in Guisborough, only ten members of the public were there, which included myself, Molly and Mrs. Swift, all the others being planners, councillors and officials from Guisborough Town Hall, making up the total of 40. (The other meetings had similarly poor attendances, except in

1 The planners made a special effort at each meeting to spell out the relationship of these documents to the structure plan.

Skelton which had 150). The county planner who gave the presentation was new to the area, knew few of the localities involved and had no experience of the previous public participation in Cleveland. He was clearly a rookie, but was flanked by the Chief Planning Officer and his Deputy. The map on display did not go West beyond Guisborough High street, thus omitting the Rectory Lane area which had been considered for industrial development and ruled out. The map used in the Loftus meeting did not cover all of Loftus. In Marske, the meeting was scheduled without reference to local events, and conflicted with a regular Parish Council meeting. Though these were mainly the result of ineptitude, such mismanagement gave the impression that having any meetings on these documents was a bother the county planners would rather have done without.

The presentation of the main findings of the studies by the planners differed in each meeting. For example, in Loftus it was explained that the Industries study showed 100 acres to be developed in Margrove valley, but of that only 30 acres would be used. Likewise in Marske it was not explained that certain areas of "search" were outlined on the diagrams but were not to be entirely taken up in development. In Skelton, the planners' presentation described the two studies as reviews of structure plan policy which had conformed those policies and entailed no big changes. But in Loftus the central theme of the meeting had been the apparent change from the policy which had seen Loftus as a District Centre, with corresponding increases in facilities, to one of "little further development". The anticipated increase in facilities instead went to Skelton which had also been designated a district centre. The people in Margrove Park had no doubt that the policy had

been significantly altered, a fact which was clearly presented in Guisborough but which had to be wrung out of the officers at the Skelton meeting.

Whereas in the Guisborough, Marske and Loftus meetings the questions of road access, provision of utilities, and above all loss of amenity in developing an industrial estate in Margrove valley were discussed, these points were manifestly avoided at the Skelton meeting. Mr. Arnold from Margrove Park put forward the case against the county, announcing the ways in which the council had deceived local residents in the past, and the extent to which they were no longer prepared to accept the council's assurances. The planners replied that Mr. Arnold had asked a number of questions at once, and they could not answer them all (so they did not answer any). In the generally raucous atmosphere, in which one person after another was firing comments, criticisms and questions at the planners, the issue was never satisfactorily resolved. However, notes from the other meetings indicate that the county planners considered certain parts of Margrove valley (those between Slapewath and Margrove Park) to be "untidy" anyway; a "well landscaped industrial estate comprising the present industrial sites would rationalise the existing situation." The Chief Planning Officer spoke of creating "buffer zones" between industry and the houses as if he had never seen the area. When challenged on this naivety in the Guisborough, he said it would be a matter of compensating any residents who were disturbed by the development, but that the council had to decide "in the interests of the whole community and in an atmosphere of reasonableness". Molly as well as others in these meetings explicitly pointed out the way planners' value judgments, which differed from those of local

people, were a major element in the decisions they had made. However, the planners were not prepared to enter into a discussion of their values, and were relieved of the necessity of doing so by the format of the meetings, in which someone was continually pressing to raise another, usually unrelated, point. They tabled most comments on the area's roads by saying the studies did not cover that subject¹ and referring to other documents.

The universally raised issue of whether it was really necessary to raise the populations of, for example, New Marske and Skelton by 2,000 to 5,000—in order to enable better facilities to be built there was continually deferred by the planners who pointed out that provision of facilities was a matter for local planning. Likewise, the question of rehousing whole streets full of people in another village was brought up everywhere, but tabled on the grounds that it was a matter for the implementation of local plans, but that it was structure plan policy to preserve the character of the villages of East Cleveland.

The county planners, even when questioned privately about the opposition between the county and the district over the Margrove valley industrial estate, would not admit that there were inevitable conflicts between the two levels of planning. Yet in one and the same breath they would try to describe local planning as the process of implementing the structure plan, and as providing a more detailed basis for future development.

1 By the final meeting, the one in Skelton, the Chief Engineer for the Highways Department had prepared a speech on the topic, which mainly admitted there were no funds for a Skelton-Brotton by-pass of whatever description, however desirable one might be.

As the Chief Planning Officer for Langbaurgh, Mr. West, expressed the relationship, "even if the district council does not agree with a particular proposal, if it is of strategic importance, then it may be required to include it within the local plan." While the matter was pending during the weeks and months preceding the Hartlepool Examination in Public, (February 1979), the Langbaurgh Planning Committee was sharply criticised by local participators and by Mrs. Swift of CCVS, for allowing Mr. Pratt's haulage company to occupy the empty premises near Margrove Park, especially in view of the owner's clearly stated intentions to fight for expansion once he gained a foothold. This further underlined local residents' feelings that they could not trust the district council to control the worst effects of a county council decision to locate 30 acres of industry in their valley.

The county planners were anxious to achieve unanimity with the district prior to the Examination in Public, and they therefore did not carry forward the Margrove valley proposal from the Light Industrial Estates study to its Written Alterations to the Structure Plan.¹ In its report on the Public Examination findings, the Panel said that

The Langbaurgh Borough Council fully supported the County Council in not proposing this site for industrial development on the ground of adverse reaction by local residents. (Mrs Gordon) however presented a most helpful and well prepared case based primarily upon the need in her view to allocate 116 acres of land for light industrial development in East Cleveland. She considered that it was necessary to allocate Margrove Park for light industry (CCC: 1979:49).

The Panel visited the site themselves, and decided that any

1 This was the document through which the county's further considerations of matters "left over" from the previous Public Examination were presented for the new Panel to consider.

further industrial development there would conflict with the policy that "no industrial development will be permitted in open countryside except in the most exceptional circumstances". In saying that the county was justified in ruling the site out, the Panel also called into question the basic assumption of the planners that 116 acres would be needed to be developed above the acreage available yet not taken up on existing sites. Instead the encouragement of small enterprises on "infill sites" would be council policy.

The group which spoke for the other residents in the valley in the Examination in Public was the East Cleveland Communities Group, which ironically had long ceased to function as a study group, after two more of its members moved away (Mrs. Dunn and the teacher from Lingdale), and a third member (Mr. Larkin) had left the group because of his election to Langbaugh Council. The group was resurrected by the other groups concerned because it had made the original submission to the D.O.E. and had been invited to attend the Examination in Public.

Although this account of the East Cleveland Communities Group and the other groups in Margrove Park completes the official dimension of public participation in structure planning in the Skelton and Brotton area, there are two further examples of local action of central importance. They demonstrate on the one hand the growing resource of social networks ready to respond to specific developments, and on the other hand the way in which the renewal programmes ramify within a village. Both examples emerged and culminated in 1977-78, one in New Skelton and the other in Lingdale, and can be classed as responses to aspects of the Skelton and Brotton District Plan.

In 1974, the departure of Rev. Brown from the Anglican

church in Skelton left a temporary gap in the efforts of the church to promote participation in the community. His replacement, Rev. Welsh, fortunately took a very similar approach, although his appearance (as a bearded motorcyclist in leather jacket) alarmed some of the older members of the congregation. He revived the discussion group, trying to bring in a wider set of individuals who were not necessarily church members. He also joined the Community Health Council which led to a partnership between the Parochial Church Council and the doctors in the local group practice at the Skelton Health Centre in New Skelton. ~~The doctors had already formed a group which~~ they called the Community Participation Group, whose aims were to respond to the local plans as they impinged on the already strained resources of the Health Centre. They spoke out in the Skelton meeting which discussed the Settlement and Industrial Estates studies, decrying the population projections for the area and demolishing the rationale given for them. Their attempts to block the closure of a popular maternity hospital at Saltburn were unsuccessful, but they continued to press for better health facilities for Langbaugh, which appeared to them to be losing what Middlesbrough was gaining. The population of the rural areas was thus at risk, having to travel greater distances, over an inadequate road system, to reach hospital in emergencies.

The first campaign which the Church and Health Centre undertook together was a joint comment on the Skelton and Brotton District Plan, in 1976. By 1977 the rehousing of about 115 households in Skelton Green had begun, and by 1978 it was becoming clear that nearly all the relocated people were being housed in New Skelton. At the same time, plans

were announced for a set of six-storey flats, mainly to re-house old people.¹ The outcry from the doctors and the church group, as well as the Skelton Green Residents' Association was aimed at all levels, from the district planners and councillors to Peter Shore, then Minister for the Environment. Multi-storey flats were inappropriate for elderly people and were considered too urban for the semi-rural community of Skelton. The treatment of the community of Skelton Green was also deplored, although similar arguments could have been put forth on behalf of Boosbeck, Lingdale and Brotton Brickyard. The fact that people were moved away with no prospect of returning as and when any new housing might be built in their original communities was particularly provocative. There seemed to be no attempt to replace homes on a one-to-one basis, timed so that the minimum of disturbance to the existing population might be achieved (as was done in Charltons).

The campaign against the high-rise flats was successful, although it had to be renewed all over again when it was learned that the council had reconsidered and were to build four-storey flats, which also were not acceptable. Even this compromise was seen as "the council against the locals", and the two groups (the PCC and the CPG) pointed out that if the council were claiming that they were short of land on which to re-house so many people, they should not have sold land, as they did, in the midst of New Skelton. In the end, two-storey units were built.

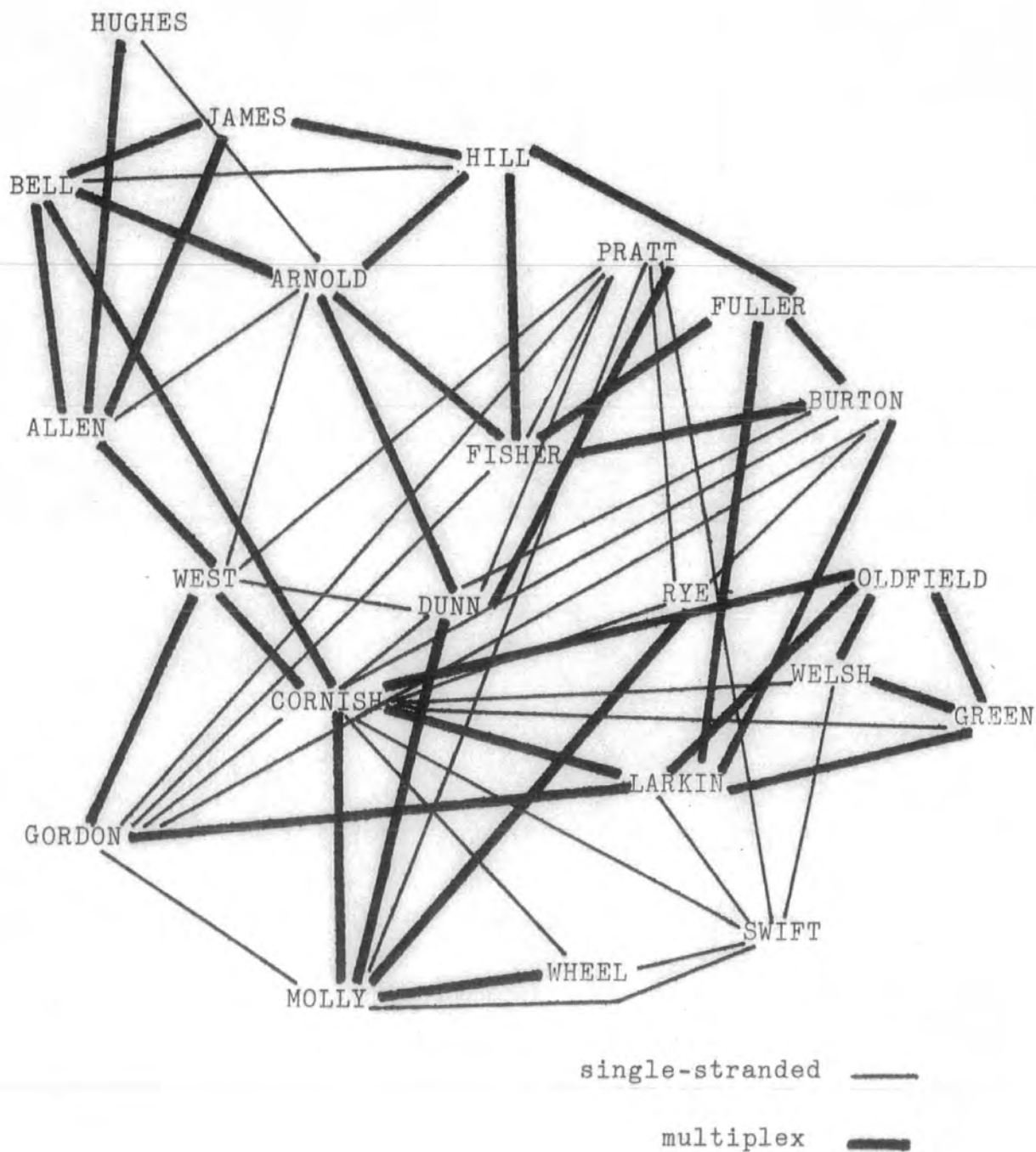
1 This was the pet scheme of a Guisborough Labour councillor who at the time chaired the Langbaugh Planning Committee. Mrs. Gordon, who had long disliked the man and his influence in the party which was due to his close relationship with the Loftus councillor who controlled the central committee at that point, saw this as an attempt to "get at" Mr. Wood, for dropping out of politics. The other councillors in the area opposed the scheme, and supported the PCC and CPG campaign.

Growing out of these experiences was the Skelton Study Group set up by one of the doctors in the group practice, Dr. Oldfield, from Kiltonthorpe. It met in the Rectory at Skelton and consisted of Mr. Oldfield, Rev. Welsh, the chairman of the Skelton Green Residents' Association, Mr. Green, and myself and my husband. The group met several times to discuss the Skelton and Brotton District Plan and drafted comments on the plan, presenting them to the planners with an explanation of the group's status as participators:

We are a group of residents living and/or working within the area of Skelton and its surrounding villages. We are in no sense a representative group, and we give only our own opinions. It is to be hoped that a more representative group may be set up when the proposed parish councils are established.

It was felt that despite the group's non-representativeness, the points being made were the product of the extensive contact which each of the members had, in his or her professional capacity and as a local resident, with members of the public in the area. They were comments which needed to be made, concerning the ineffectiveness of participation through public meetings as they were commonly employed; the pressure on local housing from urban overspill; the overestimation entailed in population forecasts; the social problems engendered by the policy of housing "problem families" from urban areas in the new areas of housing in New Skelton; the disastrous effects of the destruction of smaller communities through local demolition schemes; the loss of agricultural land; the growing unemployment but poor services and roads discouraging new industry from coming into the area; the overloaded sewerage system; the questionable fate of the Skelton-Brotton spine road which was supposed to be a prior development upon which all the options in the Skelton and Brotton Plan depended; the timing and inadequacy

Figure 7. A Partial Network of Some Participators
in the Skelton-Brotton Area, Phase II



of amenity provision, and the absence of any indication of the proportion of private and local authority housing in the development options proposed in the plan.

When the final version of the plan was adopted by the council in 1979, it met none of these points positively. It might be argued that the comments and criticisms involved factors over which local planners have no control. Rehousing policies are carried out by the housing department, the new sewerage system was held up by a public inquiry, the central government refused funding for the spine road, etc. Nevertheless, the comments can be said to have had no influence upon the council's adoption of the plan option which maximised the growth of Skelton and thus fulfilled the terms of the structure plan as they were guided by the East Cleveland Settlement study.

The individuals, groups and sets of individuals described as participating in the area after the publication of the Settlement and Industrial Estates studies in 1976 are summarised and related to former groups and individuals in Figure 5. Before concluding the analysis of these examples of fragmented participation, the impact of renewal programmes in the area will be discussed, in terms of the way the people of Lingdale experienced it. The experience is fairly typical of what has happened in Skelton Green, Boosbeck and part of Brotton, and illustrates some of the general points to be made in the conclusion.

In Lingdale, people generally did not know about the extensive plans to clear the old housing until the C.P.O.'s began to be served, in 1978. One old terrace, Coral Street, had been demolished in the early 1970's, but it had not raised the alarm, partly because everyone could see that the huge shale tip which

dominates the northern side of the High Street and was encroaching dangerously on the back yards of the houses. When Moorcock Row and Oldham Street were notified, the postmaster and a local builder¹ together with a retired builder and a Polytechnic Lecturer² formed the Lingdale Housing Action Group. The purpose of the group was to collect information and queries from everyone affected, and to get information from the council about the timing and extent of their plans, thus serving as an active go-between to see that individuals got fair treatment.

The group called a public meeting in the Working Men's Club (the only premises large enough in the village) to which the planners and housing officers as well as environmental health and all local councillors were invited. It was the familiar combination of attempts to reassure and placate by the officers, political speech-making by councillors and angry or very worried stories from one resident after another, and served to polarise planners and residents more than to enlighten either side. After the meeting, everyone in the village knew that their street was to be cleared, but they did not know when. All the old brick terraces with the exception of buildings on the High Street were to be demolished, some 153 owner-occupied and 140 privately rented houses in all. As Table 10 shows, this was the most extensive demolition programme of all those in the study area. For some of the privately owned houses compensation was only slightly below what the owners could have gained from selling their house when the neighbourhood was still intact, but due to the inevitable delays and red tape

1 A relation of the treasurer of the Boosbeck Residents' Association and of Mr. Arnold's wife.

2 My husband.

surrounding C.P.O.'s, which must be vetted by the Department of Environment, most streets suffered extreme and rapid deterioration, thus lowering the market value of the house and the consequent compensation to be gained. But if the houseowner wanted to sell to the council sooner, or to another member of the public (if any could be found who were willing to buy - there were a few), it would mean losing out on such further reimbursements as "disturbance money". To gain the full amount due in compensation one had to wait out the interminable period, during which the health hazards of the street increased and the house's market value decreased. Since owner-occupied houses were interspersed with privately rented houses, (the consequences of which have been discussed above), and the latter were usually vacated first in each street, there were problems such as vandalism, (well organised gangs stripping all piping, doors, appliances, useful boards, and roofing), rats, and broken gutters and drainpipes, to be endured right next door. There did not seem to be any redress for these grievances, for as the environmental health officer explained in a public meeting, it was his job to investigate each complaint and try to notify the absent owner of the property; this being proved impossible, he then had to request the repairs be undertaken by the council's works department, which was already stretched beyond its budget. Without saying so, he was indicating that he had to make some arbitrary choices about whom to help and whom to leave to their own devices.

It was little wonder that many residents took the first opportunity that was suitable and moved, some to Skelton, some to Guisborough, others to Loftus or Redcar. It was not that they wanted to go, but rather that they felt they had to go.

Once they had gone, they were not first in line for allocation to the new houses being built in Lingdale. Those houses went to people still living in the street to be demolished, and after that to urgent cases from elsewhere who were on the Langbaugh housing waiting list. People knew very well that the council's policy of "not breaking up the villages" was nothing more than fine words. Nevertheless, the Housing Action Group, like the Residents' Associations in other areas, continued to point this out to the council, and they in turn continued to declare their hands tied by official regulation and procedures. Some of the anxiety in the village was alleviated by a public exhibition of the overall redevelopment plan, early in 1979. Then, as more and more people moved away and/or became disillusioned with the whole attempt to obtain justice in the renewal programme, the fervour and support for the Housing Action Group declined.

One important by-product of the action was that the village gained a community centre. At the time in which the committee fought for this facility, it seemed a hard struggle against a council that doubted the villagers' ability to take responsibility for so important a resource. However, in the last three months Langbaugh has embarked on a programme of offering community centres to Boosbeck, Skinningrove and Liverton Mines, and local councillors are having to reconstitute the defunct Residents' Associations in these areas so that the villages can manage their own community centres. Lingdale's Village Hall is used as an example of how these things should be done, which makes the local people proud even though it is ironic that such praise now comes their way.

The campaign to create a community centre in Lingdale was

the principle uniting force behind the Community Association, a group created out of the ashes of the Housing Action Group. Its leader, the local builder mentioned above, got each voluntary association in the village to send a representative to the Community Association, which was constituted as a forum. Since the old school, which had celebrated its centenary in 1978, was to become empty in September 1979, the Community Association wanted to take over the Building, doing it up and keeping it as a historical centre of the village. They decided to apply for an Urban Aid Grant of £50,000 to pay for some of the work, and an Art and Design student from Teesside Polytechnic planned and costed the work as his final year dissertation. Much of the physical cleaning and redecorating was to be done by an army of volunteers. The County Education Department was willing to let the group acquire the building at a nominal price, and as it was to be used for adult education among other things, it would not entail a change of use, so planning permission would not be necessary. Much enthusiasm was generated and many hours of discussion and meetings were expended; the Community Association had also initiated its own Job Creation Scheme which could provide some of the labour.¹

But Langbaugh Council had its doubts, perhaps because they could not be sure of its economic viability in a village which was to be almost entirely demolished and only very gradually rebuilt, though of course they could not say this explicitly. Although the rural officer for CCVS petitioned very

1 The Community Association ran the scheme, under the Manpower services Commission, in which pensioners' houses were redecorated, the pensioners supplying the materials, and the labour contributed free by the Lingdale Village Project. The project employed Molly as its Supervisor, and was a great success.

hard on their behalf, the fact was that the Urban Aid Grant had to be given through the local council, and they were only willing to spend the money (if they got it) on a new, purpose-built building. The leader of the council, a Labour councillor from Grangetown in urban Langbaurgh made it very clear that he could find a good use for the money in his own constituency if the "wooly-backs" in Lingdale were not able to accept the new village hall on Langbaurgh's terms. Local people saw this as typical, that an urban councillor could blackmail an entire village. They had to accept it. The old school building was vandalised as they had predicted, although at present it is being converted into a rural workshop under the COSIRA programme.

Concluding Remarks

This case study has revealed a startling variety of participating groups in an area which displayed the lowest level of public participation, whether evaluated from the "official" definition put forth by the planners, or from the wider definition used in the Cleveland Project Survey. The presence of so much action on the face of it appears to undermine the contention that the area's population can be characterised as relatively powerless. However, when seen in the context of the flow of decisions and the relentless forward motion of planning policy, the way the groups were formed and the activities they undertook, as well as the outcomes (or lack of them) show that they are better understood as expressions of powerlessness.

All the groups formed had an explicitly non-party political status, and many excluded local councillors for this very reason. The reluctance of local groups to grapple with full-blooded politics is, I think, a direct corollary of the generally low involvement in local politics, though the normative rationale

given for the non-political stance is that a group cannot gain widespread support if it is politically motivated or allied. Yet if the two examples that can be termed "victories" are scrutinised, the reason for the success of the campaign in Margrove Park and against the high-rise flats in Skelton lies in the concomitant, intervening influence of party politics. Langbaugh Council, controlled by Conservatives, opposed the industrial development of Margrove Park and without their intervention it is not likely that the residents would have won. The Skelton flats were opposed by enough local councillors to prevent their being built; the Liaison Group in which Mrs. Gordon had influence was able to reverse party policy and make the planning committee conform. The Skelton protest however, failed in its other major point, for the Skelton Green residents were dispersed, and the housing will not be replaced at its former levels.

A second theme which became evident in the analysis of these groups was the belief of actors within them that they were not having the kind of success they should, due to the fact that they were too parochial, and that by widening their geographical base and drawing upon the experience or expertise of other local groups or of agencies further afield (such as CAP and CCVS) they could gain a more durable and viable position both within their own locale and in terms of their ability to influence council policy. What in fact happened was that in the central example of this, the creation of the East Cleveland Communities Group by Mrs. Fisher eventually helped score the success in the Margrove valley industrial estate issue, which lost Mrs. Fisher much support in Boosbeck, where there had been considerable support for the development.

Belief in the greater effectiveness of combinations of groups between villages was reinforced in this case; the perceived need for intervillage cooperation was strengthened by the way public participation programmes impinged on the area. From the timing and location of public meetings, to the selectivity of the presentation of details in different localities, the analysis showed the way in which the management of the participation opportunities served to reduce and control the level of adverse reaction. These aspects of participation illustrate the fragmentation of the area, such that the formulation of consonant interests between and sometimes within the various localities was not possible, and the rules of the game were made very much more complex as one interest could be played off against another.

In his discussion of community-based participation, Harvey suggests that when community groups focus on parochial interests, defining the community as a "thing-to-be-preserved" against external threats, the very process leads to the pitting of community against community, so that the average condition of the communities involved is "not altered one whit" (1974:252). What occurs is a "sequence of wins and loses which serves to perpetuate the defensiveness and competitiveness of the communities concerned" (ibid).

If the groups who have been described here are analysed in terms of their geographical base (i.e. whether they came from within a particular settlement or were more broadly drawn) and in terms of whether they were enduring or else short-lived or intermittent, the resulting model shows a useful distinction between groups (see Figure 8). Those which were both parochial and relatively enduring, included the Brotton Study Group,

the Margrove Park and Charltons Residents' Associations and the Lingdale Community Association, a common factor among these four was the high degree of incorporation of the groups into the local state (see above, Chapter II). The Brotton Study Group was incorporated through their founder who was a local councillor; Lingdale Community Association was incorporated through the way it acquired the village hall; the residents' associations were incorporated through their increasing experience with the planning office, which gave them the self-perpetuating image of being knowledgeable about procedures and "well-in" with the planners. Though this may have been somewhat dented by the deceptions they experienced, it was restored by their "success" over the industrial estate issue.

Figure 8. Analysis of Local Groups in Space and Time

	<u>Parochial</u>	<u>Inter-Village</u>
<u>Enduring</u>	Brotton Study Group	
	Margrove R.A.	
	Charltons R.A.	
	Lingdale Community Ass'n.	
<u>Short-lived or Intermittent</u>	Boosbeck R.A.	E.C.C.G.
	Skelton Green R.A.	Skelton Study Gr
	Lingdale Housing Action Gr.	Frontier Gr.
	Brickyard petitioners	PCC
		CPG

All the groups in the parochial and short-lived or intermittent category were severely affected by housing demolition programmes. All of the groups which spanned more than one

locality were either short-lived or intermittent. The Parochial Church Council and the Community Participation Group, placed in the inter-village dimension because in their pastoral capacities they cover a wider scope than just Skelton, nevertheless were active only when a particularly acute or specific stimulus occurred. The Skelton Study Group continued until the District Plan was adopted, and the East Cleveland Communities Group, as we have seen, continued even after its demise, but has had no further life after the second Examination in Public in 1979. The so-called "Frontier Group" in Skelton was short-lived, in particular as a result of its nebulous assumptions about the nature of local interests. These groups were all composed to a large degree, and/or led by professionals.

Although in terms of the network links depicted in Figures 4 and 5 there was clearly much cross-fertilisation between certain members of these groups, and between these groups and other voluntary associations in the area, none of these ties has led to inter-village co-operation on an enduring basis, or groups able to take on the rigours of participation in planning the future of the area. We have seen that this was in part due to the very nature of the relationships, and to the cross-cutting of ties, which impeded the formulation of coherent and unified explicit statements of local interests. If the new Lockwood Parish Council succeeds as the local activists hope it will, it may fill the void in this model, though the prospect seems unlikely, since the reasons for the void being there in the first place will not have disappeared.

In this summary of the case study, the political inactivity of the population in the area has been implicitly considered as a background to the efforts of certain activists

to change the policies affecting the future of the area. The question of the powerlessness of this population will be taken up more explicitly in Chapter VI. Before that, however, it will be useful to present a comparative case (although more briefly) and to set the participation data for Skelton and Brotton in the wider context of the Cleveland Project Survey. These comparisons will form the basis of Chapter V, together with a discussion of the consequences of some recent statistics which concern the growth philosophy of the Cleveland Structure Plan.

CHAPTER V

THE COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

Although the Skelton and Brotton case study by its very nature offered several contrasting examples of the responses of groups and individuals to planning, it will be useful to put the case into a wider context by relating it to another important example from East Cleveland, that of Marske, and to the general results of the Cleveland Project Survey. In the description of the stages of public participation in Cleveland (above, Chapter III), the main finding was that participating groups and individuals had almost no significant "official" influence on the structure plans. The County's Report on its consideration of the responses submitted showed clearly that only the district councils, and certain agencies or institutions were apparently successful in getting some form of redrafting of policies in this stage of public participation. Yet we characterised the action of the Margrove Park groups as successful, and the action of the Marske Residents' Association was even more significant as an example of influence. Does this lead to a qualification of the argument put forward in Chapter III? How far participants rather than councils can be of influence will be one of the themes explored in this comparative perspective. The comparisons will also help to illustrate the differential impact of planning policies on the urban fringe, and in the more central urban areas, as well as the distinctions between West and East Cleveland, which were mentioned in Ch. III.

The Marske Response to the Structure Plans

Marske is a very different settlement to any of those described in the case study, yet its principle reaction to the

plans was a similarly conservative one; people wanted to keep things as they were, although there were some areas where they thought modernisation was necessary. For example, the need for a new sewerage system was widely accepted, and there was a clear need for some form of community centre. However, compared to the Skelton and Brotton area, there was so much more that obviously could be kept as it was without causing a severe deterioration in the living standards of the inhabitants.

Marske-by-the-Sea is a village on the coast about midway between Redcar and Saltburn. Originally a farming community, taking its name from the marshland that characterised the surrounding lowlands near the beach, it was a Saxon settlement and was recorded as "Mersch" in the Domesday Book. The form of the early settlement can easily be discerned today, as the old sandstone houses line both sides of the High Street. Many of them were of a substantial size, with openings leading off the street into garths at the back, which served as farm yards. Three blacksmiths were kept busy in the village 200 years ago, although now there is only one, who mainly does decorative wrought-iron work. In these early days, Marske was probably larger than Redcar, and Saltburn did not exist until Victorian times. Eighteenth century maps of the village show the main street curving away to the east as it approaches the coast, with a narrow lane continuing on towards the beach, suggesting that the maritime interests of the inhabitants were not as significant as their farming. The row of fishing cobbles on the beach attest to some part-time fishing in present-day Marske.

There is a Market Square near the central roundabout on the High Street, though markets are no longer held there. Nearby

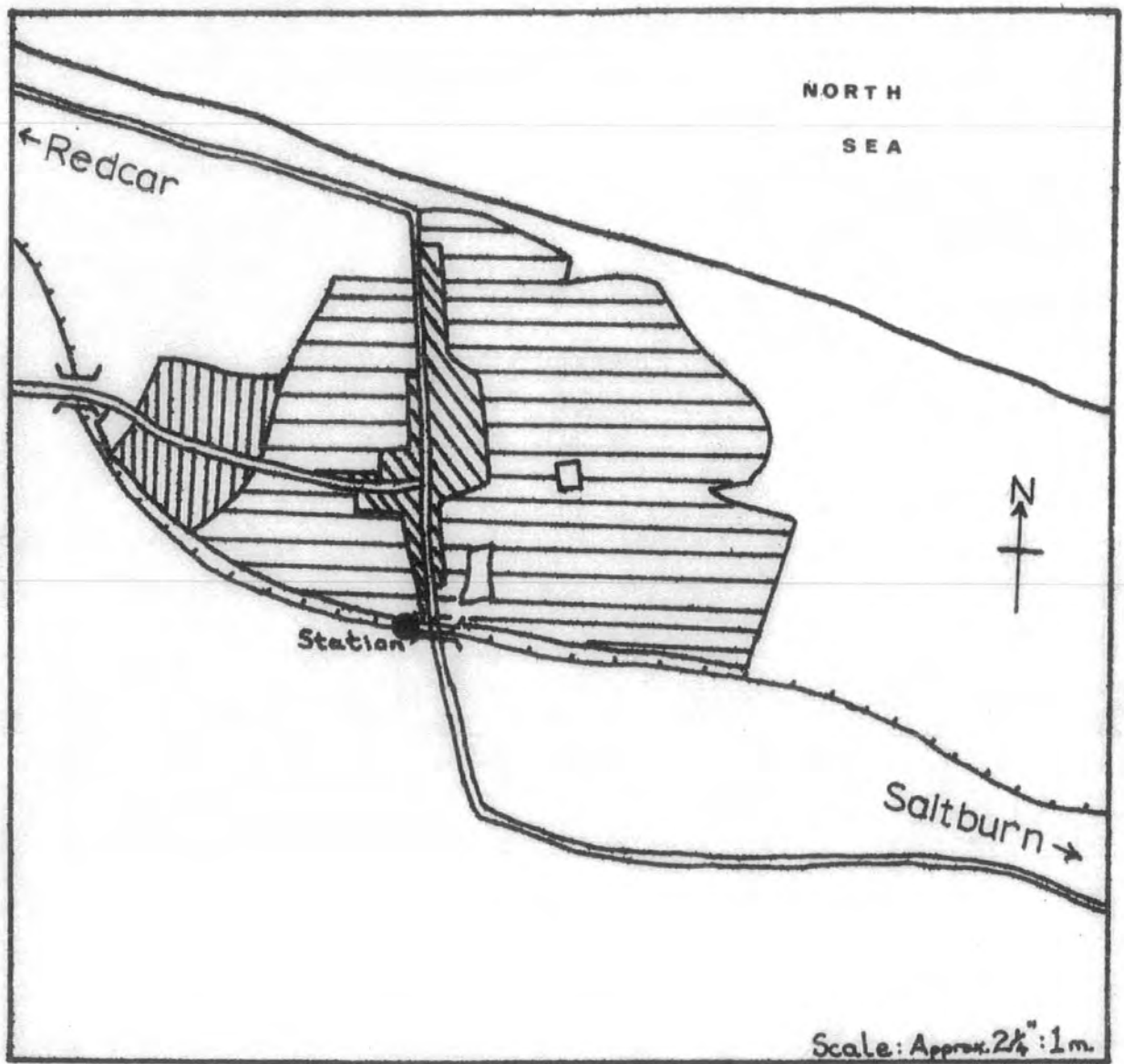


Diagram 4 : Marske

Key



Residential



Older
Residential & Commercial



Industrial

the original Marske Hall is still standing; an architectural treasure built in 1621, and (until they moved to Richmond) used as the home of the Zetland family, the major landowners in the area. It is now the Cheshire Home for the Disabled, with thirty guests, supported by Cleveland Social Services and many supporting groups in the area.

The first major growth of the village came in 1860, when the mining of ironstone was begun in the hills immediately south of the plateau on which Marske is built. Not only was Marske expanded by new brick terraces along the south end of the High Street, the village boundary being marked by the railroad built in 1860, but the nearby settlement of New Marske was built next to the pit, at the foot of the hills. In the 1950's a local authority housing estate was built on fields to the east of the village, and in the 1960's a private housing estate was created west of the High Street, and north of the railway line. More private as well as local authority housing filled in the fields on the west side, north of the Redcar Road, completing the shape and size of present-day Marske. The population had nearly trebled since the 1950's, and in 1971 stood at 11,238.¹ Not only was it a handy commuters' paradise for people with jobs on Teesside, but it also became a popular retirement community. It was surrounded by farmland and attractive views of unspoiled hills to the south, and it also had an easily accessible, unspoilt beach, and views of the imposing cliffs east of Saltburn. In addition, a local industrial estate of about 18 acres on the western periphery of the village employed about 480 people in 1972.²

1 In Saltburn and Marske, between 1951-61, 328 L.A. and 2,192 private houses were built, most of which were in Marske.

2 East Cleveland Structure Plan, p. 41.

Two immediate results of such growth were the shortage of shopping facilities in Marske, and the tremendous pressure of private and commercial traffic passing through the narrow High Street. Until the by-pass was built in 1977, all the East Cleveland traffic from Saltburn and a good proportion of that from Skelton and Brotton passed through Marske on its way to Teesside. An earlier scheme to re-route the main road and make the High Street into a shopping precinct was defeated, but showed that there was a significant lobby in the village and surrounding area to press for the development of the High Street. Unlike other popular towns and villages in the rural fringe (Yarm, Guisborough, Stokesley and others), Marske has no space for parking on the High Street, so that the attempts to improve facilities featured radical changes to the centre of the village.

The distribution of employment by nature of occupation and residence is shown in Table 6, page 167.¹ The figures show that Marske and Saltburn had below average numbers in manufacturing and construction in 1966, and slightly above average numbers in the civil service and local government, as well as in transport and distributive services, compared to the Teesside sub-region as a whole. Although formerly Marske was such an important farming area on the fertile coastal plain, these figures show that a lower proportion are in agricultural and mining occupations than in Skelton and Brotton, and of course far lower than in the well farmed areas of Levenside. It is probable that fewer former ironstone miners from Marske work in the potash mines than do those from Skelton and Brotton. The

1 The NRCC grouped the two villages of Saltburn and Marske together, and indeed they are similar in many respects, although Saltburn is much smaller, and any influence its own proportions may have on these figures will be slight.

two areas were very differently placed in regard to the numbers who must travel out of their area for work, as Table 17 shows:

Table 17. Net Journey to Work (1966)

	<u>Marske & Saltburn</u>	<u>Skelton & Brotton</u>	<u>Levenside</u>	<u>Loftus</u>
Residents in Employment	5,900	5,780	1,470	3,280
Workforce (Local)	2,646	1,452	1,438	3,943
Net Journey to Work	-3,254	-4,338	-32	+663

Source: NRCC Draft Structure Plan, 1971

With roughly the same number of residents in employment, the numbers travelling to work outside their area were much higher in Skelton and Brotton than in Saltburn and Marske.

In terms of the distribution of socio-economic groups as defined by the Census, Table 7 (page 167), shows that Marske and Saltburn had a much higher proportion of professionals and employers than Skelton and Brotton, and a significantly higher proportion of intermediate and junior non-manual workers. It also had a very much lower proportion of unskilled manual workers, and a much lower proportion in the personal services, semi-skilled and agricultural category.¹ Together with Table 6, these figures demonstrate a generally less working-class profile in Marske than in the Skelton and Brotton area. In its social composition the village was more like Yarm, although more than twice the size.

At the time of reorganisation, Marske was in the Saltburn

¹ As was mentioned in the case study, these groupings by the NRCC plan survey are somewhat unconventional

and Marske U.D.C., which chose to set up a parish council comprising the two villages. There were eighteen members, ten of whom were also District Councillors (one was on all three councils). The area had more Conservative than Labour district and county councillors in the first term of office after reorganisation, and this was reflected in the parish council as well, although it supposedly operated in the usual "non-partisan" way. The Marske Residents' Association, which was the focus of all the public participation in planning in the village, had successfully campaigned to get five of "its" candidates elected to the old Urban District Council, where they tables plans to modernise the High Street. These five continued on in their activities after reorganisation.

Several factors gave the Residents' Association an advantage when the NRCC began its public participation programmes in the area in 1973. In terms of its leadership, its organisation and its previous experience in local issues, it was already primed to respond. If it had found itself in the position of reacting to the plans two or three years earlier, the outcome may well have been very different, because in the beginning of its existence in 1969 it was difficult to raise wide support.

The growth and organisation of the Marske Residents' Association can be attributed almost entirely to one man, an eighty year old retired history teacher named Mr. Sharp. In his previous residences in the south of England, he had been involved in many different kinds of campaigns over public issues, but the one that was most significant in giving him an appetite for battling with the authorities was the post-war development of West Ham, where he was then living. This involved a major campaign to save the common, which was being considered for

new blocks of flats to replace those destroyed by bombs. The housing was a dire necessity, but it did not have to be put on the "Stray". Mr. Sharp saw the conflict as ironic, for he was an active Labour supporter but was fighting a local council controlled by Labour. Now, in Marske, he was gaining support from Conservatives in the village to dissuade a Conservative-controlled local council to find less drastic solutions to its problems. "It isn't what the planners are doing, so much as the way they decide to do it that you're up against."

An issue which emerged in Marske in 1967 foreshadowed what was to come in the structure plan. A proposal to develop the farmland between Marske and Saltburn known as Tofts' Farm was defeated at a public inquiry; Mr. Sharp was among those arguing against it. After that, he joined forces with others who had been involved and were like-minded, in particular one man and his wife who lived on the same estate (north of the railway line, south of the Redcar road and west of the High Street). Mr. Weaver became chairman of the Residents' Association when it was formed, and Mr. Sharp was secretary; ("The most important position" as he saw it, for guiding the image and achievements of the group). Their first efforts entailed electing members to the U.D.C. in order to safeguard the High Street. This was not entirely successful, as some new development did take place around the Market Square area, but the scale of the changes were small compared to the original proposals.

The Residents' Association campaign also involved a survey of the people of Marske to find out how they felt about the High Street and its future. In the style that is typical of Mr. Sharp, the 1974 Newsletter is both a report of the Association's activities over the year, and an advertisement to

attract new members. It mentions the campaign to elect members to the U.D.C., and the questionnaire about the High Street, but it does not point out that the High Street was in fact altered by the council. Instead it puts a positive interpretation upon the outcome:

[We have] already helped induce the Council to abandon its original plan for turning the Marske High Street into a large, pedestrian shopping centre with a by-pass for traffic across the children's playing field.

Throughout its efforts to increase its supporters, the M.R.A. was greatly aided by this style of leadership. Mr. Sharp selected and accentuated particular points which he saw would catch peoples' imaginations. He also developed an image of the Residents' Association as the only local body to concern itself with the future of Marske with regard to the structure plan, as well as the local government reorganisation. They did not succeed in keeping Marske out of Yorkshire, but they do see themselves as successful in keeping it out of Teesside.¹ In claiming to be the only body in Marske to be concerned with these matters, the Association was perhaps stretching the truth, since the U.D.C. did submit comments on the draft plan. But there is no doubt whatever that it was the storm of protest from the Residents' Association that forced the changes in the draft plan. With such claims the membership was steadily increased.

Another factor increasing the membership through these early years was the organisation of the Association. In addition to the three officers and twelve committee members elected at each AGM, there were voluntary links in the chain of

¹ Becoming part of Teesside was not precisely the alternative, but expressing the boundary changes in this way served to show the general anti-urban orientation of the MRA, and to imply that it had some influence in the resetting of boundaries. It also enabled them to go forward in a positive mode in the new county, whose authority had to be accepted.

communications. Each street and road in the village was delegated to a "road steward" living in that street, who spent a certain amount of time knocking on doors to invite people to join¹ or just to tell them about the Association and what it was doing, and to listen to peoples' views. Whenever a planning deadline was immanent, these efforts were increased. As a result, the Residents' Association had a very good idea of who did and did not agree with them, and could claim to be in touch with a wide variety of views. In asking for support in this way, members were also working to persuade the majority that the alternative for Marske would be a future too undesirable to contemplate. All of their literature constantly exhorted residents to consider the importance of having a say in the future of the village. At the same time, Mr. Sharp realised that some people would never join them, even though they might agree with most of the policies expounded by them. Therefore, the persuasion methods were decidedly low key and inoffensive for the most part. Meetings (about four per year) took place when the issues demanded them.

If news of an important development came to the attention of anyone in the Association, they would immediately get in touch with Mr. Sharp, who would set in motion the road stewards, with the result that members were informed by personal contact within a very short time span. Mr. Sharp regarded this structure not merely as an efficient and strongly democratic one, but also as a method for continually whipping up enthusiasm. In every such organisation he had ever belonged to, the loss of enthusiasm after the conclusion of the initial issue had been a deciding factor in the collapse of the group. He

1. The annual dues were 40 pence.

therefore had developed the knack of embroidering even apparently insignificant matters in such a way that there was always a number of issues for members to look forward to in times when the immediate business was uneventful.

The Residents' Association originated because of the planning issues noted above; the proposal to build houses on Tofts' Farm and the related development of the High Street. In addition to this interest and awareness of planning issues on the part of its founding members, Mr. Sharp himself took a special interest in town planning. When the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act (amended in 1971) was passed, he read and noted with particular approval those sections which referred to greater and more meaningful participation of the public in deciding on the future of their town or village. In one newsletter he quoted from the Minister for Environment's speech introducing the Act:

I am determined that there shall be more real public participation in planning. I want people to have a much better chance of being involved in the planning of the area they live in, and of influencing it.

To Mr. Sharp and the Residents' Association such remarks, whilst they do not remove the cynicism with which the system is viewed, nevertheless did sew some seeds of hope that things might now be different. To them, the important factor in the process was timing; the public should be consulted before certain options were ruled out, or in other words before any firm decisions had been made. This would require a very early consultation indeed, and Mr. Sharp already had resolved to get in on the process before the drafts were published. He knew, through a friend in the NRCC planning office, that the work on the structure plan had begun in 1968. He obtained advanced copies of the draft in 1971, which the Marske Residents' Association

discussed in detail and upon which they wrote a ten page statement. This was sent to the NRCC planners, so that they would know the policies of local residents before the final draft was printed. At the same time, they studied the 1968 Act in order to understand their rights under the terms of the Act. With these activities, and meetings in which a number of outside speakers were featured including the local M.P. and the chairman of the Teesside Civic Society, the membership continued to rise, so that when the public participation exercises were begun in the spring of 1973, the Marske Residents' Association had some 300 members. By 1975 there were about 400 households with membership. Recalling how difficult it was to get the organisation started, Mr. Sharp said that in the first meeting he had been criticised for being "against progress". People, he said, had a naive view that "bigger is better", and to break down such a general attitude it was necessary to spell out what the changes would mean in practical terms, and just keep hammering away on that theme.

In 1973, the Residents' Association (mainly Mr. Sharp himself) prepared a 24 page Memorandum on the future of Marske. With diagrams and clear descriptions, they spelled out what the structure plan proposals would do to Marske, and put valid arguments against it. The Memorandum was also summarised and distributed around the village (see Appendix B). Perhaps its most crucial argument was that the 1967 Public Inquiry into the Tofts' Farm proposal had set a precedent. The Minister in 1969 had declared that no such development round Marske should take place. However, the planners had apparently been unaware of the ruling. On discovering that it was true, they had to rethink their overall strategy for the area. But in addition to the astute

contents of the Memorandum, the committee worked especially hard to persuade members to write to the planners supporting the Memorandum. Rather than submitting a list of signatures, they knew that a flood of individual letters would make an indelible impression. About 50 individuals sent in letters supporting the Memorandum, or else signed letters written by members. Changes made to the NRCC draft before it was sent to the Cleveland County planners in April 1974 thus included the deletion of Tofts' Farm and land north and east of New Marske as areas for residential development. However, the proposal to develop the land between the railway line and the (then) proposed Marske by-pass was retained, as well as the westward expansion of New Marske.

The Residents' Association realised it had to increase its pressure on the authorities, so that despite the absence of any opportunities to participate in the Teesside Structure Plan, they organised another letter-writing campaign, and sent the Memorandum to the Teesside Planning Office. This time 88 letters were sent in support of it. This caused no minor stir in these offices, for if they were to consider all the comments adequately in the time remaining before reorganisation, they did not want to have to reconsider the entire strategy for their respective planning areas. There had also been a strong outcry from residents of Kirklevington in West Cleveland, and in Guisborough, and Yarm against further expansion, such that the following statement was appended to the Report on public consultation by the NRCC planners:

Further consideration has been given to the distribution of development in the Yarm/Kirklevington/Castle Levington area as the result of proposed reductions in the development in the Marske and Guisborough areas. The draft plan proposed

that if further land is required that this should be provided to the east of Kirklevington, i.e. in the Castle Leavington area. Land originally proposed for development in the Marske and Guisborough areas was for the purpose of housing people whose main employment would be in urban Teesside because of the high level of accessibility enjoyed by these two settlements. If, as is recommended, these developments do not proceed for environmental reasons, then the most appropriate location to replace them in accordance with sub-regional strategy is in the Levenside area. A redistribution of development in the Levenside area is proposed to cater for this by relocating areas presently proposed north of Kirklevington and south of the A1044/B1264 at Yarm together with the development relocated from Guisborough and Marske into a new community at Castle Leavington. This will reduce overall the effect on agricultural holdings in the area as well as providing the opportunity to provide a comprehensively planned new community to a high standard (NRCC 1974:27).

This statement makes clear two aspects of the plans' housing proposals which, if they were not already known to Mr. Sharp and his colleagues, were at least beginning to be understood by 1974. These were the inter-changeability of land in the various settlements in the South Teesside/ North Yorkshire area as the planners saw them, and the pressure on rural land from the demands arising out of the anticipated growth of Teesside. Although the planners did not like to use the term "overspill",¹ the phenomenon of those with jobs in Teesside living in a largely suburban fringe was a trend which the Marske Residents' Association (and other groups in the other villages and towns mentioned above) clearly identified as urban overspill. It was a process which was happening throughout the 1960's; even during the period in which the plan was being prepared, land was continually being released for further housing development. The notion that this process could be directed to particular places where it could be contained is clearly shown by the planners' statement, even though in relation to the original proposals

¹ In public meetings in Skelton and elsewhere in East Cleveland planners tried to avoid using the term, and played down its use by members of the public.

it demonstrates that the overall strategy was in shreds by this stage. They further added that:

It should be noted that since the structure plan was prepared additional commitments have been incurred throughout the structure plan area, many of them in East Cleveland, and that therefore it is not necessary to replace in total at Castle Levington the dwellings recommended for deletion in the Marske and Guisborough areas. (ibid).

In submitting objections to the Teesside Structure Plan, the Marske Residents' Association considered that it had done all it could to ensure a place at the Public Examination, and was preparing itself for that event. In the autumn of 1974, they had been invited to a discussion with the Cleveland County Planners who were systematically interviewing all objectors. Even by this point in time, the planners had not decided how far any further development would take place at Marske, although they recognised the 1969 D.O.E. decision at least would have to stand. However, the remaining development would still entail a 30 acres expansion of the industrial estate, and substantial new shopping facilities in the High Street. Mr. Sharp would only go so far as to say that the Residents' Association would reconsider its objection if all new housing development were deleted.

About this time the East Cleveland Structure Plan became available, with its only slightly diluted proposals for Marske, as these had been passed on to the Cleveland County planners from the NRCC. Mr. Sharp felt this was sprung on the public with no adequate time for organising a response, but the Residents' Association managed to launch an "Appeal", in which the road stewards and members of the Association each obtained five signatures on a form supplied by the committee, so that in all some 875 signatures were collected and sent to the County planners in support of the Marske Residents' Association's Memorandum.

A more up to date comment on the East Cleveland Plan was also submitted.

By the time of the A.G.M. in February, 1975, the planners had decided to delete all plans for the expansion of Marske; the proposals were not in the plan as it was submitted to the Minister, nor was the 30 acres expansion of the industrial estate. However, the designation of Marske as a District Centre for shopping meant that the fate of the High Street still ran contrary to the wishes of the Residents' Association. Therefore they decided to continue with their objections, and to attend the Examination in Public. Their main contributions in the Examination related to housing (arguing against expansion of New Marske), and shopping (arguing against retaining Marske as a District Centre), with the question of sewerage for East Cleveland coming in as part of the discussion of increased levels of housing in the area, for the two issues were related.

Mr. Sharp's performance on the two days in which he attended was very competent; while claiming that he and his group were "just a gang of amateurs", he proceeded to cast doubt on the assumptions used by the planners in their model of future shopping needs¹ in Cleveland as a whole and in specific places. The discussion wrung from the planners an admission that the figures for proposed floorspace for future shopping needs were indeed only very approximate, and that in Marske they were largely taken up by the supermarket then being constructed. After

1 The planners had dubbed this model the "idiot boy technique" amongst themselves; the name caused much hilarity at the Examination when it was revealed. Supposedly, the reason for the term was that anyone could have thought up the method of "guesstimating" future shopping needs. Indeed, many could have found a better method.

his efforts, Mr. Sharp said he had felt very frustrated by the format of the Examination. Certain points that he would have pressed on cross-examination under the old system were left hanging, and it was impossible to assess how much of one's viewpoint had successfully been communicated to the Panel. It therefore seemed to him that the Panel's judgment would rest on their interpretation of the separate arguments put forward by the parties involved, rather than being based on the careful reasoning and refutation of one party's argument by another. Because of the length of the planners' depositions compared to the comment of objectors (which after all were invited and "slot-
ted in" at particular point in the discussion by the Panel), it seemed to Mr. Sharp that the whole procedure was weighted against ordinary participants from the public.

Returning to the theme of influencing the substance and wording of policies in the draft plans, the Marske case at first seems to contradict the finding in the case study that only district councils and other statutory bodies had any success in getting the drafts changed. However, when analysed more closely, the example shows that the matter is more complex. The Council's report on the results of public participation does not appear to take into account the effect of the Marske Residents' Association's actions, because they took affect before the re-drafting of the East Cleveland Plan, the document which served as a basis from which the public sent their objections to the D.O.E.; it had been changed before the Memorandum was submitted as an objection. The Marske Residents' Association had been successful in blocking the expansion of Marske, but at the same time the Council had been able, from their point of view, to put forth an image of a basically sound plan, which was being

queried by public participation on some points which were really very minor. It did not have to explicitly indicate that the public had forced major changes in its strategy.

A further factor in the case underscores the arguments of Walker and Hampton (1975) concerning the attitudes of the working parties that consider the views of participants. In order to merit a change in policy, they said, there would either have to be such a large number of objections that they could not be ignored, or there would have to be more than one organisation making the same objection, so that independent views merged on the same issue. Not only was the Marske response the largest, numerically, in the entire county, but it also merged with that of the Saltburn and Marske Parish Council, which of course had opposed expansion of either settlement. In the Public Examination, the Deputy Planning Officer for Cleveland had said that for agricultural and sewerage reasons Marske was not to be developed, but what he did not mention was that there had been a legal precedent (Tofts' Farm 1969) brought to their attention by the participants, and this too merged with the other views against the expansion.

The confusion of different documents and authorities presenting them throughout the early 1970's, which was seen as a significant factor in the more fragmented response of the various groups in the Skelton and Brotton case study, did not appear to weaken the Marske Residents' Association. On the contrary, with each successive draft they found it necessary to consider, the Association grew larger. This was clearly due mainly to the leadership style of Mr. Sharp, and to his previous experience in participation in planning. He tended to attribute it to his contacts with planners, which was also

a factor in the case study. The difference was in the way the information was used. From his friends, he had found out about the work that was going on from 1968, and had learned that many individual letters would be better than a petition; he had also learned that the Association would have to object to the Teesside Structure Plan as well as the NRCC draft to be certain of success.

Finally, the Marske response can be seen as a successful negotiation of the rules of access. By adding independent councillors to the old U.D.C. and then the parish council, the Residents' Association had conventionally entered the arena of politics without jeopardising their declared "non-political" stance. The choice of methods of response was also decisive; a 24-page paper with reasoned arguments and maps and diagrams accompanied by personal letters from so many individuals was most impressive. Even more astute was the way in which support was elicited from non-members in a way that did not alienate them by forcing them to choose between officially joining and remaining silent on the issues. Although there had been divided interests to begin with, the campaign served to consolidate these. The way in which the Marske Residents' Association articulated the interests of local people was also an important ingredient of their success. As Mr. Sharp said, although at first he met the attitude that growth meant progress and was therefore desirable, that somewhat naive view changed significantly when the newsletters began spreading the idea in graphic detail of how certain valued features of the local environment would be altered. The appeal to residents to think about the surrounding countryside, the historical and picturesque buildings and the unspoilt beach clearly touched a sensitive nerve.

The incorporation thesis which postulates that groups that participate in the planning process become incorporated by adopting procedures and attitudes consistent with those of the professionals, or by taking a political stance in line with the local councils, does not apply to the Marske Residents' Association. In their relations with the planners they were consistently suspicious of the values, degree of local knowledge and motivating forces of the NRCC and Teesside offices, as well as of the Cleveland planning office. They did not adapt to the "amicable discussion" approach characteristic of the new structure planning system. They saw their main influence in the local councils as resting on the efforts of the independent councillors they elected, rather than in soliciting the support of one party or another (depending upon who was controlling the local council at the time). With the demise of the elderly Mr. Sharp and the inevitable new style of leadership, as well as the different way planning will impinge upon the village (the county's monitoring system is continual, and could lead to some modifications in the next set of plans), in the aftermath of the structure plans for 1971-1991 it is still possible that the Residents' Association could become incorporated in the future.

Participation and Non-Participation in Cleveland: the Survey

The Cleveland Project sample survey provided data on the views, social characteristics and activities of a random cross section of the population in six localities in Cleveland, and in doing so it gave a broad basis for comparing non-participants with participants. As the actors involved in the case studies had, as it were, placed themselves in the field of this study by writing comments on the draft plans or by otherwise taking

part in a public deliberation on the issues generated by the plans, they constituted a self-selecting sample. While they provided consistent and predictable explanations of why the great majority of the public do not take part in matters concerning the future of their area, such folk explanations offer a view of only one dimension of the phenomenon of inactivity. The data were therefore analysed primarily with the aim of discerning patterns which might distinguish the participators from the non-participators.

A series of questions in the survey were designed to find out how and to what extent respondents participated in local issues and activities, voluntary association, various aspects of local government, and in particular the planning process. As we have seen, the "official" forms of participation as defined and measured by the planning authorities are too restricting, excluding as they do the less visible forms of participation.¹ From the questions in the survey an index of participation was derived which combined both the "official" and the "unofficial" types of actions. The questions relating to the latter dimension were: a) whether the respondent had ever been involved in a local issue, and b) whether he or she had attended any kind of public meeting in the last four years (being the period in which participation exercises were carried out by the councils). Such participation would serve to bring the individual into a wider public setting in which he may or may not actively solicit information, express opinions, give or solicit support for an issue or interest, etc. In this way the notion of involvement was extended to activities not

1. Although attending public meetings comes within the planners' notion of participation, the phenomenon of individuals attending anonymously and without personal contact with officials or councillors makes their action less formal, less visible, and more indirect.

necessarily directly linked to planning an individual's part in such ad hoc and sometimes spontaneous courses of action should be seen as distinct from a more prescribed involvement through official participation channels. The questions relating to the official dimension were: a) whether the respondent had read any of the plans for the development of the area, and b) whether he had sent his views of these plans to the planners. This kind of participation requires a relatively greater degree of interest in planned change generally or in specific issues, and a higher level of awareness regarding the availability of plans and related information. Therefore these two questions together would elicit examples of forms of action which entailed the use, and some understanding of, official channels of participation.

The index of types of participation identified, at one extreme, those who did not participate in any of these ways, and at the other, those who had experience of all four types. Between these extremes we isolated three categories: first, those attending public meetings and/or getting involved in a local issue but not reading the plans or writing comments; second, those reading plan and writing comments but not attending public meetings or taking part in a local issue; and third, those engaging in two or three of these forms, including at least one type from each pair of questions. The resulting table (see page 202) shows low participation indicated by Category I, medium by Categories II, III, and IV, and high by Category V.

The table indicates that a large majority (340 or 61.4%) of the total did not participate in any of the ways (Category I), and very few had done all four types (9 or 1.6 were in Category V). Many more were in Category II (152 or 27.4%) than were in

Category III (12, or 2.2%). Category IV, as might be expected, had more responses (25 or 4.5%) than Category III. The table also shows variations between the localities which were consistent with the findings of the case studies and general fieldwork in the county as a whole.

Taking the sample as a whole, explanations for the different levels of participation were first sought in terms of the social characteristics of the sample. As was indicated above in Chapter II, the literature on participation and activism in urban development and planning suggests that the active civic participator is typically middle class, professional, male, geographically and socially mobile, educated beyond secondary school, roughly between the ages of 35 and 55, and married, with children. On the other hand, some studies have tried to show that the determinants of participation are by no means as clear-cut as this, and that there are analytical problems in establishing the precise relationship between such social attributes and the participatory process.

In order to explore how far the survey data were in accord with this "ideal-typical" pattern or indeed show any pattern at all, the index of participation was analysed in terms of the basic variables of age, sex, occupational group, education, house tenure, length of residence, and other residential variables which indicate degrees of mobility, as well as possession of a car and a telephone. The tables giving these cross-tabulations are given in Appendix D, and are briefly described below.

In some respects the characteristics of the participators in the sample resemble the familiar pattern. Their ages were between 26 and 65, in contrast to the more evenly spread ages

of the non-participants. (Table 18). Two categories of participants showed a higher proportion of males (two thirds) than females, but the others were distributed similarly to the sample as a whole (49.9% males), as Table 19 indicates. With the occupational situation expressed in terms of the composite variable (described in Chapter IV), the resulting distribution is less readily comparable to other studies of participants; however, the high participants (shown in Table 20) not surprisingly showed greater strength in the fifth occupational category, that is, employees with further education who have responsibility for others under them at work. Similarly, the combined official and unofficial category of participants was well represented in that occupational situation. On the other hand, non-participants were slightly under-represented in this employment category, and more numerous than expected in the eighth category, that is, employees with no further education and no responsibility over others at work. In general, the occupational variable indicated that the self-employed, and those without further education were less likely to go to meetings and get involved in local issues, which contradicts our central example in Margrove Park.

In Table 21, the participation categories are shown in terms of house tenure; just over one fifth (21.4%) were in local authority housing and over two-thirds of our sample (67.8%) were owner-occupiers. Clearly all levels of participation were more highly associated with home-owning than this: for Category V the figure was 77.7%; for Category IV it was 84%; for Category III, 91.6%, and for Category II, 79.6%. Of the non-participants, only 60% were home owners, and there was a slightly greater than expected number in local authority housing (27.7%).

Length of residence at the present address is given in Table 22, although in itself it does not discriminate very well between participators and non-participators. Answers to the question, "Have you ever lived outside Cleveland?" gave slightly more positive results, with participators in Categories V, IV, and II having a greater tendency to have lived elsewhere, and non-participators slightly more likely to have lived only in Cleveland (Table 23). Since the groups of participators were too small in numbers to enable any complex analysis of residential patterns, it was decided to examine each of the cases to see if a broader pattern emerged. This revealed two contrasting modes of experience, one of higher residential mobility and considerable experience outside Cleveland, and the other of lower residential mobility and no experience outside Cleveland. The former pattern was more often the case with participators, and in the category, of which 15 had lived outside Cleveland, 9 of these had done so for more than 25 years (see Table 24). Some of these may have been in places adjacent to their present location, but which fell outside of Cleveland when the boundaries were redrawn, but the figure is high enough to lend support to the suggestion that living outside Cleveland for some time, together with a relatively long-term residence in Cleveland is an optimum combination contributing to participation. In terms of birthplace, (Table 25), it was noticeable that 38.5% of those born elsewhere in the North East of England were in Category II, and 36% of those born elsewhere in Great Britain were in Category IV; but 66.7% and 77.7% respectively, of Categories III and V were Cleveland-born.

Our sample had a high rate of car ownership (69.8%) as

Table 26 demonstrates. Yet the distribution among participants was much higher (from 77.7% to 84%) than car ownership among non-participants (62.8%). Also, households with two or more cars were far more common among all levels of participants than among non-participants. In terms of having telephones, (Table 27), again our sample conformed to the ideal-typical pattern, with the top three categories of participants having a high proportion of telephone possession, (75% to 77.7%), and the "unofficial" category having 66%, while only 56.4% of the non-participants had telephones.

In certain respects, the data can be said to confirm the by-now familiar profile of an activist, and yet in this review of the social characteristics of our sample there were some variables which did not yield a clear-cut or pronounced pattern. For example, the residential mobility of non-participants was generally of a lower degree than that of participants. The former were either very recently relocated, or had a relatively long-term residence at their present address, and had lived in Cleveland from birth or from a very early age. However, this was only weakly evident; and the fact that 70% of those born abroad were non-participants is not very surprising. By inspecting the individual cases of some of the more active participants, it was possible to discern the pattern which strengthens the argument for the influence of residential mobility. Those non-participants who had lived in two places but had been in Cleveland all their lives were thus contrasted with participants who came from elsewhere in the North East or in Britain but who had been in Cleveland for 10-30 years, or who originated in Cleveland, lived elsewhere for much of their youth and adult lives, and then returned to Cleveland.

Another factor which clearly set apart the participators in Category I was their involvement in voluntary organisations of various kinds (see Table 28). Yet even in this factor there was some contradictory evidence; the one person in this group who belonged to only one voluntary association (in this case the army reserves) was somewhat exceptional in other respects too. He was the youngest (36 years old), a mechanic with no further education or position of responsibility at work, and with no car of his own. He also had one of the largest households (6), and did not belong to a church. On the other hand, the pattern shown by the non-participators was one of very low involvement in voluntary associations (they comprised 73.1% of those who were not involved) but of slightly higher than expected church membership (see Table 29). On the whole, the participators in all four categories were very much more involved in voluntary associations than the non-participators: 100% of the high participators, 72% of the combined official and unofficial group, 75% of the official participators and 65.5 of the unofficial participators were members of such groups.

It was also clear that 61.9% of those who belonged to a social club were non-participators, though that category comprised only 49.2% of Table 29. The involvement of the non-participators in certain other groups was noticeably low: they comprised only 20.8% of those mentioning civic groups, 40% of political groups and of public bodies, 26.6% of welfare groups and 38.3% of educational organisations, as well as only 23.3% of work-based groups. Lending some weight to the argument that involvement at work may engender involvement in the community, the three middle participation categories showed high degrees of belonging to work-based groups (40%, 10% and

26.6% respectively). Again, certain exceptions in this table make the argument less clear-cut; for example, none of the "official" participators went to church, none of the "combined" participators were in political groups and only one mentioned public bodies or groups such as the Round Table or Women's Institute, and none of the high participators mentioned belonging to work-based organisations.

There are two features of our sample which may contribute to the lack of a pronounced pattern in certain variables. Firstly, the fact that we had chosen Hemlington as one of the areas will have given the mobility figures a certain amount of "skew", as well as decreasing the membership in local organisations, as so many of those interviewed would not have lived on the estate long enough to join any of these. Secondly, our sample was composed of 54.1% females, compared to the United Kingdom proportion of 51.3%. This will have made some difference in such variables as occupational environments and mobility, with women being less likely to have lived in other parts of the country before marrying, and having jobs with less responsibility over others (and less pay!).

Having summarised the main points in the social characteristics of the sample, I will now turn to that part of the survey which dealt with local knowledge, sources of information, and attitudes towards local government and planning. As might be expected, there were more variables showing a clear differentiation between participators and non-participators in this section of the data. The knowledge of the local area and the sources of information which participators and non-participators have may be seen as "resources"; what sets the former apart from the latter is the way these resources are managed. The

sources of information are important because what an individual knows about current developments in his area will influence and be influenced by his willingness to participate, and it may also affect the use he makes of his knowledge. The source of information may to some extent affect the information's reliability, or the way that it is assimilated by the individual. Whatever his attitude towards participation, there will be a wide range of sources from which the individual either seeks or habitually obtains information: persons, agencies, the media, or settings where gossip prevails, of where official displays or talks are given.

One important type of context in which information about local issues flows is the voluntary association, and we have discussed membership in these. In community of civic groups, as well as political organisations, where the will to participate is presumably in some way a basis for membership, and the goals of the groups are largely oriented towards the "interests" of the community, the group takes on an explicit focus as the context in which network ties are maintained and multiplied, information received and given, and values and interests defined or modified. Similarly, the churches seek to provide such a focus, and have developed specific programmes in recent years to engender participation in the community. While our data showed a low level of involvement in such groups by non-participants, and a higher tendency to have regular membership in a social club, on the other hand the non-participants were more likely to belong to a church than certain of the participants. Judging from the Skelton-Brotton case study, it would appear that the church's part in fostering participation takes effect through the Parochial Church Council and small

discussion groups rather than through the congregation as a whole.

As a contrast, respondents were questioned about regular pub attendance, since the pub was considered as an institution in which many information sources may converge. The resulting table (30) was generally inconclusive, with only slight tendencies towards the non-participants being more regular pub-goers than participants. Since from our case studies we know that pubs do provide an important context for activists, this even distribution may be seen as an indication that participants at any rate did not spend significantly less time in pubs, which we might have expected, given the above-mentioned non-participants' greater tendency to frequent social clubs. It may also be a function of the fact that our sample had a high proportion of women, whose inclination to drink less may or may not be related to their reputed disinclination to participate.

In addition to these various interactional contexts, several questions in the survey asked more directly about other information sources; e.g. how people usually found out about new developments in the area, which newspapers they read, which television channels they watched and which radio stations they listened to, and whether they knew any local councillors and council officers. Table 31 shows the sources of information mentioned by respondents, in which of course non-participants did not learn anything via public meetings, and had hardly any information through voluntary associations and societies. Newspapers, radio or television, and general talk (gossip) were slightly more likely to be their sources, and the most frequently mentioned source of all for them was petitions and handouts, which were negatively associated with all other

categories of participation. None of the nine highest participators mentioned these as a source. Voluntary associations were the usual source for the high participators, with newspapers and gossip also being mentioned by several of them. Two mentioned public meetings and the personal approach.

One interesting finding shown in Table 31 is that the "unofficial" participators rather surprisingly said they usually learned of new developments through official channels as well as public meetings, and not through associations or from hand-outs. While "unofficial" participators mentioned official sources, on the other hand the "official" participators gave as their sources the personal approach, general talk, newspapers and radio. Only two mentioned official channels. This is not necessarily conflicting evidence. Those who participate in the planning process through the official channels can do so effectively because they have a variety of information sources which together supply a more accurate account of new developments. On the other hand, "unofficial" participators, in their dependence on official channels of information, gain only a general picture of proposals, and usually do not try to enlarge their knowledge by manipulating a variety of other sources. Without such detailed information, use of more official means of participation (e.g. written objections) would certainly be less effective, and may therefore be avoided by such participators. The combined participators showed a mixture of responses on this question, with no single source having any extra weight for this group, a result that is at least consistent with the above interpretation.

Newspapers were the most frequently stated source of information about new developments, comprising 35% of all answers in

Table 31; only 4.8% of the sample said that they did not read a newspaper, and 84.5% said that they did read a local newspaper. Of those reading local newspapers (see Table 32), by far the greatest proportion read the Evening Gazette (78.6%); the only other local newspapers widely read were the Northern Echo (read by 13.2% of the paper readers) and the Stockton and Darlington Times (7.5%). These two papers are sold mainly in County Durham and on the western fringe of Cleveland. Of those 23 who read no newspapers, 21 were non-participators.

Radio and television do not appear to be major sources of information, comprising only 12.2% of the sources mentioned in Table 31. Of all those who said they watched television or listened to radio, (see Table 33), most mentioned watching BBC Look North (342 or 37.1%), with 242 or 26.9% watching ITV local news, and far fewer listening to radio news (BBC Radio Cleveland, 171 or 17.9%, and Independent Radio News, 150 or 16.6%). The division between participators and non-participators on the particular choices showed only slight variations.

The importance of particular sources of information about new developments are seen in relation to the respondent's "knowing" a local councillor in Table 34.¹ Public meetings, official channels and voluntary groups were all highly associated with knowing district and county councillors. In the case of parish councillors, where only three of the localities sampled had a parish council, the tendency was for official channels and the personal approach to be mentioned more often by those knowing a parish councillor. Knowing a district councillor was also highly associated with the incidence of

1 Having talked with, and being able to identify and approach the councillor, were criteria used in defining "knowing" a councillor.

using the personal approach as a source of information. This table brings together several strands of data relating to information flows; awareness of local issues, involvement in groups and availability of contacts in the council all combine for those who do participate, in an ongoing process of maintaining communication.

The relationship between knowing local councillors and the various participation levels is shown in Table 35. The picture varies somewhat depending upon whether the local councillor was a parish, district or county councillor,¹ since for example there was no parish council in North Ormesby, the location of five of the high participators. Seventeen of the participators in Category IV came from localities having parish councils; so did ninety-one of those in Category II, and five in Category III. Of the non-participators, 157 or 46.2% were from localities having parish councils. Non-participators tended to know fewer local councillors, but this disassociation was less pronounced with District councillors, where 114 or 55.3% of those knowing a district councillor were non-participators, compared to 77 or 52.7% of those knowing a parish councillor and 65 or 52% of those knowing county councillors. The "unofficial" participators lean only slightly towards knowing councillors, to about the same degree for all three types. Of the twelve "official" participators, seven knew district councillors and four of the five who could, knew a parish councillor while only three knew a county councillor. The fourth category of participators had high proportions knowing parish

1 If a councillor was a member of two or even of three councils, the respondent knowing that councillor was coded as knowing a member of all those types of councils, so that the table reflects the degree of contact with different levels of local government rather than with actual numbers of councillors.

councillors (12, or 48%) and district councillors (11, or 44%), but very few knew county councillors (5, or 20%), which was lower than might have been expected. Of the highest participators all knew at least one local councillor, with six of the nine knowing district councillors and seven knowing county councillors.

Respondents' links with planners and other local authority officers (Tables 36 and 37) present a more varied pattern in terms of the participation categories. Non-participators showed no tendency to know local authority officers, and were more likely not to know planners. On the other hand, the official participators also had less links with planners, which is compatible with the interpretation given above, that those using the narrow channels provided by the system are unlikely to have supplementary, more informal links with the planners themselves. All other participation categories were weighted towards knowing planners. In contrast, participators in Categories II and IV knew fewer other local authority officers than was expected, and there were only slight tendencies in Categories III and V towards knowing other local authority officers.

The two principle measures of "local knowledge" were the respondent's awareness of the plans for the area and knowledge of a current local issue. These are shown in relation to the participation variable in Tables 38 and 39 respectively. In all participation categories, a substantial proportion above the expected level had heard of plans for their area, with the most pronounced tendency rather predictably being amongst the "official" participators. Respondents who knew about a current local issue were similarly weighted towards participators, with Category V showing a very high association. However, of

the "official" participators only 7 or 58.3% knew of a current local issue. A possible interpretation of this finding is that the "official" participators had confined their activism to reading the plans and writing comments, thus not continuing after their official encounter with the planning system was complete. Alternatively, the well documented effect of disillusionment could be a factor, such that the process of participation through official channels might have dampened these individuals' enthusiasm.

Those who had knowledge of a current local issue were more likely to know a district or county councillor (see Table 40) and those who knew councillors were more likely to express their views about an issue of importance to the councillors they knew. This was particularly true of parish councillors (see Table 41). Such correlations indicate that some respondents gaining information from, and expressing their views to councillors, may have established some useful contact which increased their general awareness and provided some inspiration for further or continued participation. As Tables 42 and 43 show, those who knew local councillors were much more likely to attend public meetings and to have been involved in a local issue. Similarly, those who attended public meetings were much more likely to know about a current local issue (Table 44).

In trying to evaluate the extent to which the non-participators were outside of this set of clearly interrelated variables, the participation variable in relation to each of the variables on local knowledge and contact with councillors is our main indicator (see Tables 35, 38 and 39). As we have seen, although the non-participation category was negatively associated with knowledge or awareness of plans for the area, there

was a less pronounced disassociation with knowledge of a local issue and with knowing local councillors. Thus there is not a strong basis for concluding that non-participators have a lot less local knowledge and less access to local councillors; at any rate, they see themselves as "knowing local councillors" to about the same degree as the participators do. Also, their awareness of a current local issue was not decisively lower than that of the participators. This view of non-participators is consistent with the argument put forward above, that the "resources" may be available to non-participators as well as participators, but the latter do not "manage" them, in the sense of making use of information and manipulating contacts to their advantage.

To further develop an understanding of how non-participators and participators were differentiated in our sample, a set of variables indicating the views respondents had of the local government system were analysed. These included whether local people could influence council decisions, whether reorganisation was a good or a bad thing, who or what was responsible for changes and developments in the area, and by what methods and through which channels they would express their views.

Considering people's ability to influence council decisions, the non-participators were more likely to believe it could be done; on the other hand many of them felt that only certain individuals who knew the right people could have influence, not ordinary people. All categories of participators were less inclined to simply say "yes" to the question (see Table 45). "Unofficial" participators favoured the view that that the council's decisions could only be influenced by groups of people, or else by nobody at all. It is especially

noticeable that the "official" participators believed the public could not influence council decisions. Those in the combined category gave mainly qualified answers, saying especially that "sometimes" people can influence councils; they shied away from a straight yes or no answer. The high participators' answers were similarly qualified. None of them gave an outright, negative answer, although one of them felt that ordinary people had no influence.

Opinions on local government reorganisation (see Table 46) also followed this kind of pattern, i.e. the non-participators grouped around indifference, while all categories of participators tended to think it was a bad thing. "Unofficial" participators were reserving judgment ("too early to tell"), though many of them thought it was a bad thing. "Official" participators also fell mainly into the "bad" category, but four of them also felt it made no difference.¹ The fourth and fifth categories of participators agreed that reorganisation was a bad thing, and very few of them said it made no difference, despite the large number of these who came from North Ormesby, and might have been expected to respond as their fellow residents had done.

In terms of their views of who was responsible for changes in the area, non-participators had no clear choice (see Table 47), and the preferences of the other categories showed only slight tendencies, except for the high number of "official" participators who felt planners and local government were the main forces, while a high proportion of the "combined"

¹ This answer was frequent amongst those in the North Ormesby sub-sample who actually lived just within the Middlesbrough boundaries. Technically, there was no change.

participators chose natural growth and economic forces. The high participators did not choose planners or local government to the extent that might have been expected, the most weighted choice in their case being "other". Perhaps more diagnostic in this question is the fact that given a multiple choice answer, the non-participators gave fewer responses than their proportion in the sample, and the participators gave correspondingly more choices, showing that they saw the question in more complex terms.

The question about how respondents would seek to express their views on important issues also gave some indication of the individual's perception of the system. Quite a few of the non-participators said they would not express their views, or that they had none, which in itself is interesting. However, such cases were excluded from the table (48). Non-participators who did answer tended to say they would tell their mother, or their neighbour, or their priest, all answers which indicate a personal interpretation of the term "local issue"; this category was negatively associated with use of the telephone and expression of views through associations. Participators in the "official" and combined categories had their own preferred methods; for the "official" group it was writing letters, and for the "combined" group it was the personal approach. The "unofficial" participators had no strong preferences, but were slightly less likely to use the method of writing letters, favouring instead the personal approach. High participators were evenly spread across the answers, though two said they would go through an association (a generally less popular approach in the other categories).

Table 49 shows the answers to the question, "To whom would

you express your views on an important issue?" in relation to the participation index. Here the weight of non-participants' answers was on county councillors (83.2% of those mentioning this answer were non-participants) and M.P.s. They also showed a slight trend toward district councillors, who were a popular choice with all levels of the index, particularly the "official" category. The only other noticeable cluster of choices were that the "unofficial" category was highly associated with parish councillors, and the "combined" category likewise. This latter group gave a high proportion of "other" answers, especially public meetings, for example.

As these two tables represent a relatively undifferentiated view of respondents' notions of access to local government (that is, the non-participants are not clearly distinguished from the participants), the two questions were analysed further (see Table 50). This cross-tabulation showed that 73% of those who would express their views to a parish councillor would do so by personal contact, and that 66% of those who would express their views to a district councillor would likewise do so by personal contact. These were by far the most favoured combinations, with writing letters to the press a clear third choice. Taking the cross-analysis a step further, Table 51 shows that respondents who said they had been involved in a local issue were more likely to express their views through the press, while 98% of those who had not been involved in a local issue said they would express their views to their M.P. When seen in relation to the question of involvement in voluntary associations, (Table 52), the answers of those who would express their views to parish councillors are weighted towards those who were involved in voluntary associations.

From this series of cross-tabulations, we can therefore make two interpretive deductions. Firstly, it is clear that a high proportion of the "unofficial" participators, who are also involved in local issues and voluntary associations and who prefer the personal approach in making their views known, came from localities where there was a parish council. Secondly, the cluster of respondents favouring the press as a channel for expression of views were choosing that answer in relation to some direct experience of issues which they had been involved in, whereas non-participators who said they would choose a county councillor or M.P. were responding in much more hypothetical terms. Thus, the patterns of relationships between these variables can in part be accounted for by particularities of the sample, but also in part by the differential experience of participators and non-participators in the actual resolution of a local issue.

In general, then, it was characteristic of the participators to go to meetings, be involved in issues, know local councillors, know about current local issues and to know about the plans for the area. They favoured expressing their views through personal contact with a local councillor at the most immediate level of local government, whether this was the parish council or the district. Those experienced in the resolution of specific local issues saw the press as a viable alternative means of getting one's views known publicly. Somewhat paradoxically, however, participators took a critical view of the system of local government, and tended to feel that it was not possible to influence council decisions as a mere member of the public. Some participators, though, did say it might be possible to influence the council through a group.

In contrast, the non-participators were not involved in local issues although they had knowledge of them; they knew local councillors, especially district councillors (which may mostly be a function of the non-existence of parish councils where the bulk of non-participators lived) but they did not prefer these as a channel for the expression of their views (and many said they did not have views, or would keep them to themselves). Those who said they would express their views chose the top level of local government, the county councillor, although a very low proportion actually knew a county councillor. Alternatively, the M.P. was a choice of those who did not participate, perhaps in the belief that the most important representative must be the one to provide the most effective help. In their view of the system of local government, non-participators were indifferent or unquestioning - certainly less critical than the participators. They believed that it was generally possible to influence council decisions, although they felt ordinary people had no real influence.

Such a belief in the system supports the theory of powerlessness, in that it shows an acceptance by those who do not indulge in various forms of activism, coupled with an idealised view of the efficacy of the representative system of democratic government. Moreover, the participators in their skepticism are acting out their participatory roles as if the system of representation were open to their access, whilst they reiterate criticism of the system's efficacy. These paradoxes will be taken further in the next chapter.

Cleveland County 1982: Population and Employment

Before setting out the conclusions, I think it important to present some more recent data for the county as a whole, as

the policies advocated in the structure plans were based upon data collected in the 1960's when Teesplan was prepared. Of course, the county planners have instituted a regular programme of monitoring specific categories of statistics, such as population, migration, employment, house building and the like, and the 1971 Census enabled some of the Teesplan data to be brought up to date. During the course of the Public Examination, county planners were careful to dispell any arguments about how the structure plans were based on outmoded data from Teesplan; they likewise pointed out, in their meetings with objectors, that there were numerous updating operations continually-providing the latest information. But at the same time, there was a clear reluctance to alter basic policies as a result of the continual review of data; as has been demonstrated in Chapter III, the consequences of revised statistics were only a re-phasing and delay of certain programmes.

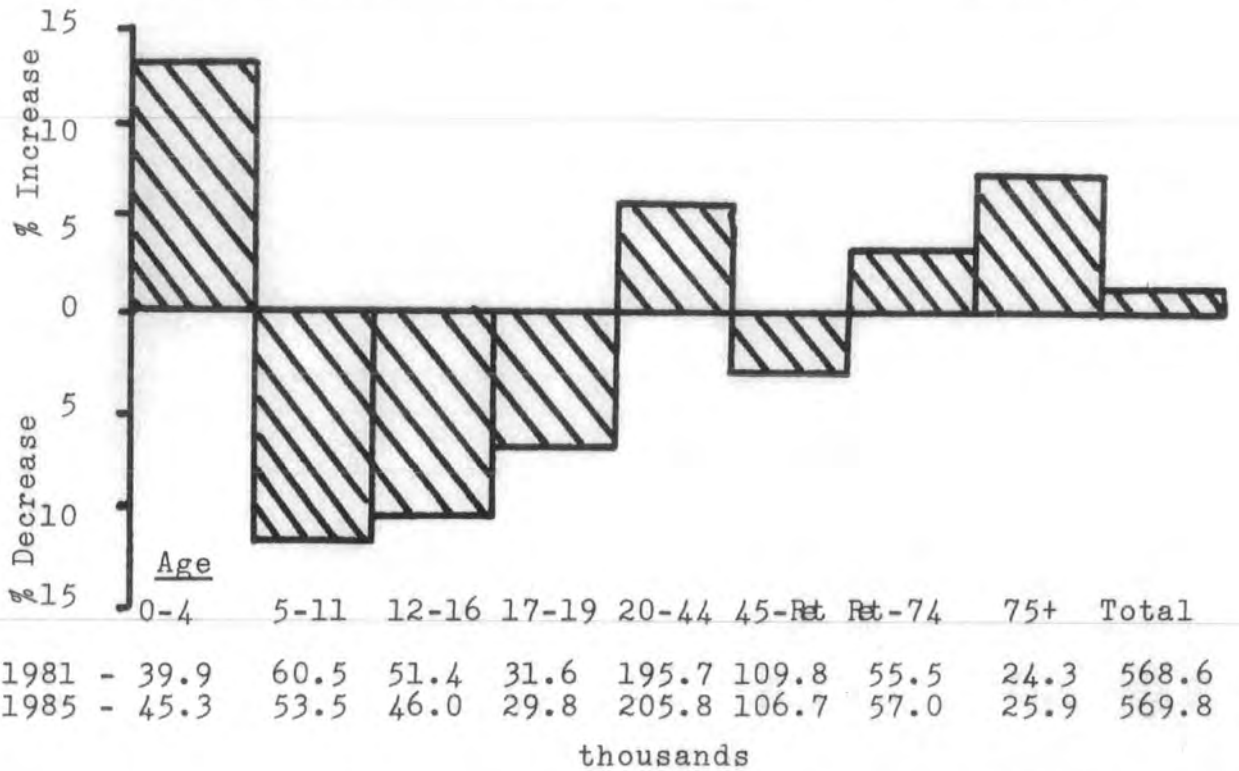
The more recent figures produced in the Cleveland Research and Intelligence Bulletin (CRIB spring 1981) would be of particular interest to those participators who argued against the growth rate assumptions of the plans. In general, the Bulletin depicts continuing "deterioration in employment prospects combined with natural changes in the population structure". The 1981 unemployment figure grew from 13,500 in 1980 to 41,500, which is four times the 1975 figure. The rate of 16.6% was the highest of any county in England. Despite the various youth employment schemes, 7,800 of the jobless were young people. Forecasts for the level of losses to be sustained as a result of cutbacks by the largest employers, BSC and ICI, as well as the cessation of growth in the service sector, suggest that the rate of unemployment will rise to 20% before it begins to

level out. Many interests in Cleveland are currently putting hope in the attempts to attract a Datsun manufacturing plant, which would have a major impact if the car industry survives, but in any case the planners estimate that in order to reduce unemployment to its 1975 rate, 35,000 jobs would be needed by 1985.

The poor employment prospects have contributed in a major way to the net loss of population by migration. The number of people moving away from the county has been about 12,000 per year since 1976, and this trend is seen as holding steady, while fewer people have been coming into the county. The changes are seen as mainly affecting children and elderly persons, since younger adults with children are the main categories leaving the county, while elderly groups remain. Between 1981 and 1985, the number of school children is expected to fall by 12,000, while the working-age population increases by 5,000 (also the preschool population), and retired people will increase by 3,000. The birthrate in late 1980 fell to its 1979 level, a trend that ran opposite to the national rise in the birthrate. If it continues to depart from the national trend (which is considered unlikely because in the past Cleveland has remained close to the national birthrate), the growth in preschool children will not be as great as predicted. The most marked rise in elderly people is in the over-75 category, which is the one that puts the most strain on the county's social services, at a time when local government spending is curtailing those very areas. The resulting graph of the changes in the county's age structure is shown on page 301.

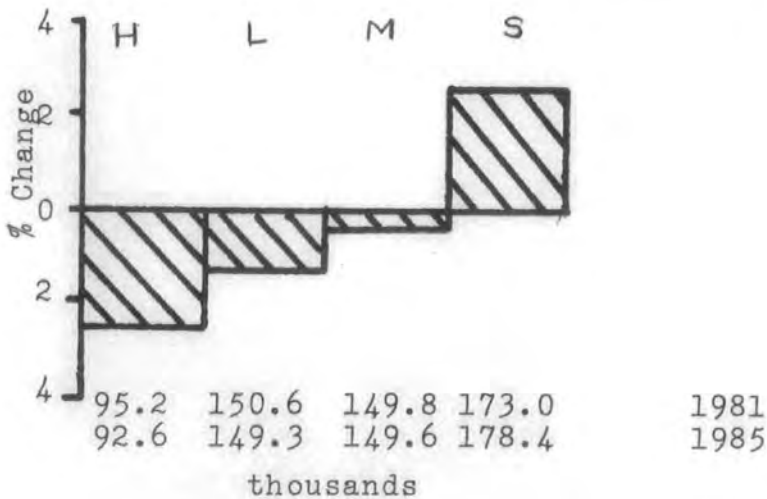
The expected rise in the county's population between 1981 and 1985 can be seen to be only 1,200. If the current

Figure 9. Changes in Cleveland's Population, 1981-1985



Source: CRIB, Spring, 1981

Figure 10. Changes in the Borough Populations 1981-1985



Source: CRIB, Spring 1981

trends persist until the end of the plan period (1991), the total will be far short of the anticipated 575,000, a figure which itself was reduced from the design forecast of 620,000.

Despite these figures, the county still sees the need to increase the housing stock by about 8,000 houses, since there is some natural growth of the young adult population, as well as the clearance of houses and the need to eliminate "concealed households". Since, as the second graph illustrates, the greatest increases are anticipated in Stockton, it seems likely that the arguments for the rapid growth of Ingleby Barwick will be strengthened, and the central feature of the plan's growth orientation carried out intact.

In terms of East Cleveland, the main impact of the current recession is seen in terms of the uncertainty of further housing construction in areas which have been demolished. There was also a central understanding that no further development of Skelton and Brotton (that is, release of land for private housing) would occur before the by-pass was built. In the county's latest Transport Policies and Programmes (TPP 1980) which covers the period up to 1984, the central importance of this spine road was acknowledged, especially as part of structure plan policy. The report says that an engineering feasibility study "is in hand", and is being carried out in conjunction with the district plan, but that "the study has been delayed because of limited staff resources but, in any event, present financial limits would not permit a start in the next five years. This project, therefore, is not included in this TPP" (TPP 1980:50).

The implications of these recent indicators are that there

is little likelihood of the Cleveland Structure Plan having the kind of impact on the area that was intended, an observation which was foreshadowed by the comments of many of those interviewed in the survey and the case studies. The Research and Intelligence Unit, together with the county's planning office, are already at work on the next structure plan, which to a great extent will replace this one.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The main task of this concluding chapter is to reinforce the preceding arguments about powerlessness and the three-dimensional approach to power theory by emphasising certain aspects of the case study. In particular these will include examples of evidence of counterfactuals to give substance to the claim of powerlessness, the ideological component of political inactivity and its historical antecedents, and the ways in which participation and non-participation are related in ideological terms. The other important theme of the chapter is an evaluation of the meaning of public participation as a vehicle for grass-roots involvement in the determination of the future of communities within a representative democratic polity. I will argue that the explanation of the variations in responses to planning policy in different localities should take account of power relationships, especially those which inhere in the third dimension.

In setting out the forms of participation in the case study of Skelton and Brotton, the point was made that, with two exceptions, these actions were not sustained over time, nor were they able to ramify between villages despite the existence of network ties which could have provided channels for the flow of information and the "mobilisation of action" (to use Gaventa's phrase). In terms of our survey, the Skelton and Brotton area had the lowest levels of participation of all the six localities. Within the terms of the planning department, the first wave of public participation exercises in the area were a huge success, because the comments on, and adverse reaction to, the plans

were "contained" by the planners' management procedures such that no objections from the area¹ went forth from members of the public to the Examination in Public.

The absence of political activism in the area raised the question of whether such a lack of interest in planning could be considered indicative of a general agreement with the plans, or at the very least, a willingness to let the council proceed with planned developments since it had been elected to do so. Such an interpretation is characteristic of the point of view of planners and councillors, and as such is inherently part of the complex process of the maintenance and manufacture of ideology. If there is consensus or agreement with the council's actions, then in pluralists' terms one need look no further into the exercise of power. But from the evidence in the case study, there is a need to look further, since there are indications that major aspects of the plans were not considered to be in the interests of local people.

As we saw in Chapter II, the three dimensional approach to power extended the first two dimensions by allowing the definition of powerlessness to apply even in situations where there was no outward manifestation of a grievance. It would be clear enough, if no actions were forthcoming from a population whose interests were clearly contradicted by those in power, that a power relationship existed. According to Lukes, it would be important for the observer to "justify the expectation that B would have acted differently" if he had not been party to a power relationship. It would also be necessary to "specify the means or mechanisms by which A has prevented (or acted in

1 The only objection, a petition from Brotton Brickyard, was not treated seriously by planners or by the D.O.E., as it had no reference to any strategic issues and was construed as a matter of "implementation".

a manner sufficient to prevent) B from [acting differently¹] (1974:46). Gaventa, in turn, suggested that it might be possible to observe the objective evidence for the first of Lukes' conditions if some new and external factors intervene in B's field which result in a challenge to what had previously been assumed to be consensus. Alternatively, if one group decides on a course of action in a situation in which a different group does not, even though subject to the same power relationship, the existence of consensus would be disproven. It was thus argued that even in the absence of outright conflict, it is possible to demonstrate that a power relationship is operating to the detriment of B's interests.

The programme of housing demolition and renewal in East Cleveland was undertaken by Langbaurgh Borough Council in the belief that it was in the public interest, or at the very least, that it was their statutory duty to bring the housing stock up to the present-day standard applied nationally. These standards apply to amenities such as inside toilets and fixed baths, hot and cold running water, and design as well as materials, size of windows and doors, and many other details concerning construction. Known as the Parker-Morris standards, they are pertinent to local authority housing as well as private housing. Nevertheless, in the East Cleveland area there are good examples of new housing which was built with substandard design, materials and workmanship¹ as the contractor blatantly sought to cut costs. House owners and renters who were forced to move

1 The Westfield Estate in Loftus, to which many residents of Lingdale, Boosbeck, Skelton Green and Brotton Brickyard were moved, is a prime example, costing the council more than £800,000 in repairs and alterations. It is called "Colditz" by the locals. The council is suing the architect.

because their homes did not meet the standards of the modern age could have argued that the council was operating a double standard in their housing policy.

There were two categories of people whose interests were adversely affected by the demolition programmes; those whose homes had been brought up to the official standard, either at their own expense or with the help of modernising grants from the council, and those who disagreed with the standard itself, believing that their homes were comfortable and convenient as they were (though they might have needed some repairs and re-decoration). For both of these categories, and indeed for those who agreed that they lived in old, substandard housing, the demolition programme constituted a threat to their interests in that it necessitated a move away from the village where (in many cases) they had lived all their lives. We have seen in the case study the way in which local people who were forced to move, as well as those who were not included in the demolition programme, described the removal of so many streets full of people to other parts of the Borough as constituting the breaking up of the village. This definition contrasted with the council's undertaking that the villages would not be broken up, but it is clear that the basis of their definition was the expectation that the houses would be replaced, more or less on a one-to-one basis (although this has been shown to be false, particularly in Skelton Green); who was in the houses did not matter in their terms.

The allocation of those new houses which have been built, in Lingdale and Boosbeck, has given priority to Lingdale residents or Boosbeck residents who were housed in streets awaiting demolition. If any residents who had already moved away wanted

to return, they were considered on an equal basis with everyone else on the Langbaugh Borough waiting list. Certain urgent cases whose need was considered to be particularly pressing (for example the so-called "problem families" from the urban areas of the Borough) were given a higher priority than the prior residents of these villages. Local people soon learned what little probability there was of returning to the village once they had left, and this knowledge contributed to the anxiety expressed in the public meetings in Lingdale and via the Boosbeck Residents' Association, as well as in the petition from the Brotton Brickyard and the campaign to keep Skelton Green residents in their village.

The actions of the Lingdale residents in this crisis are generally typical of those in the study area as a whole. They complained loudly and some wrote to the council showing how much time and money they had spent in improving their properties, so that initially there was some hope of reversing the policy, and of remodernising the houses instead. Failing that, the next step was to try to get as much compensation as possible. There were no squatting movements or appeals through the national press. Almost before they had finished shouting at the officers in the public meeting, they were making plans to leave their homes. Some stayed as long as they could, and as was demonstrated in the case study, suffered the full effects of blight; others left as soon as possible.

The ways in which this conflict was controlled provide examples of power mechanisms in the second dimension. Through the "routines of ruling" such as the management of the housing list, the pressure groups were dissipated. Since the housing department could manage the options offered to each individual,

it became of central importance to negotiate their system successfully, and in most cases this meant behaving politely towards the authorities. It would not do to be labelled a trouble-maker when you were trying to avoid being rehoused in "Colditz". Hence the rule of anticipated reactions was in widespread operation.

Beyond such mechanisms, there was the series of procedures relating to the structure plan, through which the principle of housing clearances was made council policy. In this example of the mobilisation of bias, the parties in power were shifting as a result of reorganisation, and the future of the villages was the subject of five different documents published years apart,¹ which in itself gave planners an added advantage. They were in charge of the policies while the political power shifted from one county to the other, and they were likewise custodians of the settlements' futures while the "retro-active" stages of public participation took place. The complications of these changes in themselves led to some participators losing interest, and others not bothering to respond to the plans. By the time the villagers reached the stage of protesting, the plans were council policy and could be used by planners and councillors to justify the "temporary inconvenience" suffered by the villagers in the clearance programme. By the timing and locating of public meeting in the public participation programme, the planners were managing the information about the future of the villages, acting in a way sufficient to prevent the villagers from altering clearance policies, or even attempting to, through official objections to the D.O.E., or by any other method.

1 The NRCC draft, the Teesside Structure Plan, the East Cleveland Structure Plan, and the Settlement and Industrial Estates studies.

The emergence of an awareness of the implications of the structure plans for these sections of East Cleveland thus gave rise to the expression of grievances, but this awareness proved to be "vulnerable to the manipulations of the power field around it", to use the phrase from Gaventa (1980:19). It is clear that the interests of these sectors of the population were not met by those exercising power on their behalf, so that Saunders' criterion for objective evidence of the third dimension of power is demonstrated in this example. It is more difficult to say whose interests were met in this case; the house-building lobby which would benefit when and if the rebuilding stages were financed, or the private landlords who were happy to be rid of a non-profitable liability, perhaps. Primarily, though, it is the political parties who consider the urban renewal schemes to bring them benefits. Their concern is for the image of the area, which is tarnished by the presence of slag heaps and crumbling houses, derelict sites and inadequate roads. The area's poor image reflects badly on the party in power in local government, as well as the party previously in power. If you look rich and successful, or at least rising in fortune, you can attract the industrialists who will provide the crucial injection of jobs to boost the East Cleveland economy.

Such a view is articulated openly in meetings, and cuts across party political boundaries.¹ Whereas housing in an area declared unfit can be cleared relatively quickly, as we have seen, on the other hand slag heaps are owned by industry and can only be cleared as fast as is commercially viable. Lindale's tip, which towered over the houses when the mine closed

1 Moreover, this view corresponds to the one articulated regionally, which was discussed in Chapter III.

in the early 1960's, had been gradually lowered but only to about one quarter of its original size by 1982.

In terms of the planners' interests, in Chapters III and IV above it was argued that the overall strategy to develop the county to a certain level of growth entailed a certain type of development based on an assumed influx of mainly middle-income people who would wish to settle in the more attractive agricultural environment of West Cleveland, whereas East Cleveland was considered suitable for the siting of industrial buildings which, after all, would improve the economy there. This general strategy was somewhat modified when Cleveland planners inherited the plans from the NRCC; the new county's planners had to take into consideration a pledge from the district councils not to run down the villages of East Cleveland, as well as making a reappraisal of the overall level of the population there. Hence, in the Settlement Study they proposed 1800 new houses to be built mainly in Skelton.

It was in the planners' interests to produce a comprehensive plan which would have to undergo as little criticism as possible, for otherwise their professional image as servants of the elected representatives and therefore as purveyors of the public interest would be damaged. Thus in their approach to the preparation of the plan, right through to their handling of the reactions to it, the planners had a strong interest in minimizing protest and dissent. Their view of the area as fragmented and populated by people with low incomes conditioned both the content of the plans and the way they were presented. Although they adopted an image of having no fixed preconceptions about the area's needs, (the technique of introducing options, such as was done in the Settlement Study for example, reinforces

such an image), they operated in practice in terms of definite hierarchies of preferences, derived from their professional training as much as from their values. The introduction of options also served to promote greater fragmentation in an area such as East Cleveland, where different possible allocation of facilities only generated greater competition between the various settlements, and further divided the views of each community.

The above example demonstrated how those in power defined the interests of the relatively powerless over which they had control. Even so, there were enough indicators of the real interests of B, to enable us to say that they were contradicted by A. In the case of Margrove Park, the situation was much most obviously a third-dimensional example of power, for the conflict was prevented before it had even arisen. By purchasing the leases, the builder had the ultimate means of persuading each owner to comply with the modernisation scheme. His deal with the Skelton and Gilling Estate served the Estate's avowed purpose of preserving the village, which was consonant with the interests of the residents, but it offered residents the undesirable decision of paying the price for the modernisation or the subsequent higher rates, or moving away. Since many of them were paying very low rents, or had been able to buy their houses for a very low price from the original entrepreneurs when the mine closed, moving away would undoubtedly cost them as much as modernisation. Hence, most chose to stay; their village is preserved, their homes are improved, and it appears that they are in agreement with builder and now lease-holder. However, they will spend the remainder of their lives there in bitter resentment at the way they were coerced into the present

position. Changes in the leadership of their Residents' Association clearly indicated this.

In terms of the proposals to site industry near their homes as suggested in the Light Industrial Estates study, the interests of the residents were in conflict with those of the planners. While the former were primarily concerned to protect the quality of the local environment (and thereby safeguard the value of their property), the latter put the creation of local employment first as being in the public interest. The issue was a complex one, however, with the residents feeling reluctant to give themselves a strictly "anti-industrial" image, and the pressure for siting a new industrial estate in Margrove Park coming from a number of adjacent or nearby locations¹ that did not want the development on their own doorstep. The planners had applied a grid analysis which gave points for certain attributes to each of the possible sites; not surprisingly this produced a preference for Margrove Park due to its geographical position (conveniently near Guisborough and the East Cleveland villages) and ease of access, as well as the fact that it was a greenfield site, offering a prestige location which planners and some councillors considered the most likely feature to attract firms to the area. The analysis in the case study showed that the action of local residents was successful in part because of the numbers of protesters (80 household alone were from Margrove Park), and convergence of several groups opposing the proposal, but most importantly the partisanship of the local councillors involved.

The action taken to oppose the industrial development

1 Particularly in Guisborough and Brotton

contrasted with the inaction concerning the forced modernisation of the houses in Margrove Park. Although in both cases the value of the properties was ultimately in question, in the first instance the residents had no say in who modernised the house, how much improvement was needed and therefore the cost, and when the work and therefore the expense were to be endured; in the second instance they acted promptly and stood together in their opposition to the proposal. The difference between the two is in part due to accumulating experience, and in part due to the "new and external" factors intervening in the situation. In the other settlements in the valley there were activists who were upset at the way industry was being allowed to sprawl and spread with no consultation prior to planning permission being granted. Hence, the political field was wider, and through the overlapping of membership in the Margrove Park and East Cleveland Communities Group, the latter were brought in to give wider support for the local cause.

Another crucial difference was that an alternative could be found to the proposed industrial development, and face could be saved (indeed, the Report of the Panel at the 1979 Examination in Public indicated that perhaps that level of provision for new industry would not be necessary). On the other hand, there was no alternative to modernisation of the houses except eventual demolition and the inevitable planning blight that would entail.

A third major difference was that those who held the power in each situation differed in significant ways, though in both instances the power-holders were multiple and complex in their interrelationships. In the first, the builder and his wife (who was a major landlord), were able to make a satisfactory

arrangement with the Estate concerning the leases, which gave the builder the backing he needed to make the Skelton and Brotton U.D.C. change its mind and approve the scheme. In the second, the county planners were trying to alter structure plan policy through the instrument of the Light Industrial Estates study, which had been required by the D.O.E. as a more precise survey to replace the one done by the NRCC. This revision of proposals enabled the intervention of several other parties; the local landowner who owned and farmed much of the west end of the valley, as well as the Estate were in agreement with the proposals, as was the district councillor from Brotton, Mrs. Gordon. She was influential in the Labour Party through the Chief Officers Group and the Liaison Group which coordinate policies between local government committees. She also had a friendly working relationship with Mr. West, the Chief Planning Officer for Langbaurch Borough. In addition, there was a strong Guisborough Town Council lobby in favour of the proposal. Thus, there were more power holders involved, particularly the political parties, than was the case in the modernisation scheme. In the case study it was argued that this was the major decisive factor, since the party in power at the time was the Conservatives, who opposed the proposal.

Two aspects of the outcome of this example of participation serve to put it in perspective, negating an interpretation of the Residents' Associations' success as a change in the power relationships involved. Firstly, the fact that the Panel concluded that the 30 acres of land to be developed was not entirely necessary meant that the council was giving way on an issue that was not crucial (however strong a case they had tried to make in the Light Industrial Estates study). As

Dunleavy and Saunders, among others, have pointed out, one common element in the incorporation of participation groups and individuals is the way that those in power allow such participators to win in matters that are of relatively little consequence. Such victories help to maintain the ideology of representative democracy, both from the point of view of the local state which wishes to appear responsive to the needs of the public, and from the point of view of the participators, who then continue in their "watching brief", believing that they have an effective role to play within a system that does respond to their pressures.

Secondly, ~~the decision against the development meant that~~ the land would remain under the nebulous category of "white land", used in the structure plan to denote that future policy could still be open to development if the need were proven. Since the landowner is still interested in selling his land at a prime rate, and the Estate still favours the notion that industry should be allowed to expand in the valley, while in political terms the Borough Council has returned to Labour control, there are in effect few permanent safeguards to protect the interests of local residents. A change in the economic climate or in national government could bring an increase in firms looking for locations in East Cleveland (although this seems unlikely). The precise nature of future developments in the valley, for example whether to build a golf course or a country park, or just to clear the slag heap and to landscape other industrial intrusions, has not been clarified by the structure plan. Hence, the Residents' Association is still in the position of having to constantly watch and press for information, and to be ready to mobilise its members if necessary.

With some of the key activists having moved away, their capacity to do this is an unknown entity.

In a similar way, the Village Association in Lingdale, which grew out of the Housing Action Group, became incorporated (even to the extent that it has to have district councillors as two of its members) into the structure of the local state, and succeeded in gaining the Community Centre it wanted only in the terms dictated by the district council. It now serves as an example of the manufacture of ideology, since the council refers new groups to the Lingdale Village Association for guidance in running a community centre. It is good for the council to be seen to be promoting "autonomous" groups who can manage their own community facilities, and it is good for the prestige of the Village Association to cast itself in the image provided by the council. The former disagreement over the way the Urban Aid Grant would be spent is not mentioned now, but the fact that their own hopes of converting the old school were denied by the council belies the Association's image of autonomy and independence.

The inability of participating groups in the Skelton and Brotton area to sustain their efforts over time and to achieve some co-operation between villages is, I think, related to the quiescent character of the general population in the area. In general the activities chronicled in the case study were enacted through the creation of committees with a limited following, and those with a wider base within a given settlement proved extremely vulnerable to the mechanisms of the surrounding power field. Their tendency to enlist the aid of external spokesmen who could present their case more cogently is but one indication of the deferential attitude toward the authorities

which typifies both participators and non-participators in the area, and I will return to this point in a moment. Moreover, whereas in Marske we saw the mobilisation of support and definition of interests taking place through the instrumental use of neighbourhood and friendship links, this did not tend to happen, with the possible exception of Margrove Park, in the Skelton and Brotton area. Instead, there tended to be a small and dwindling core of interested individuals, often in-migrants and professionals, who for a certain period endeavoured to articulate local interests and sometimes to involve a specific section of the population in their actions. As we saw in the case study with Mr. Allen, his position as agent for the Estate precluded any possibility of using many of his local network links to generate a collective response to the plans. In similar ways, the positions of other activists who were incomers and professionals cut across the formation of network ties of a more binding nature. Rather than generating a broader political awareness or widening the parochial horizons of local people, they were seen as articulate spokesmen far more able to present a case to the authorities and even deserving of deferential regard by local people.

So far in this chapter, I have referred to the notions of deference to authority and the acquiescence of the population in the study area, and I have implied that the two were related. In the next section I will make this relationship more explicit by setting it in a comparative and historical context. In comparison with the nearby coal mining communities of County Durham, the ironstone mining communities of East Cleveland were noticeably non-militant, and it is this characteristic which emerges most strongly from the history of the miners' relations

with their employers. Although there were similarities, for example in the role of Methodist chapels and in the Working Men's Clubs and Miners' Institutes established in each village, as compared with those in the coal mining communities of Durham, in many respects there were important differences.

Perhaps the most central difference was in the commodity being mined. Whereas a steady, cheap source of coal was an essential part of the success of the iron and steel industries of Teesside, it also supplied a number of other markets, not the least of which was the growing demand from domestic heating. On the other hand, iron ore from East Cleveland had only one viable market, since in its inferior quality it was less in demand if transported to distant steel or iron foundries. Moreover, the Teesside foundries could usually find alternative sources of ore, often of a better quality. The mine owners constantly reminded the work force of the fluctuating and uncertain state of the market; a fall in the price of pig iron could mean a decrease in wages and a reduction of output and hours worked. Economic forces causing fluctuations were thus a primary condition of the work from the very beginning of the operations in the mining settlements of the study area, starting with the Depression of the 1870's. Such uncertainties and hardships existed in addition to the physical dangers and insecurity of the work.

Perhaps the most immediate and pervasive mechanism through which miners' activism could be controlled was in the way their work was organised. While coal miners used the long wall method of working in which all those on the shift worked together, the method used in ironstone mining entailed a fragmentation of the miners into competing teams of two to six men, which were

set against each other to produce optimum output, (called the bord and pillar method). Daunton points out this distinction in accounting for the differences between South Wales miners' militancy, which was even more pronounced than that of Durham, where initially the bord and pillar method had been used (1981).

The all-important wage packet was another means through which each miner was reminded of his utter dependence upon the mine. An example of the items which might be deducted from the wage is shown in Appendix C. Miners had to pay out of their wages for the gunpowder used to work the mine; their rent and coal, firewood and even the manure for their allotment gardens and the rent for the gardens themselves all would be deducted. If a miner loaded shale instead of ore, this could be deducted in the form of fines. If a miner was injured, then in addition to the health insurance and hospital funds he paid, he would be liable to a doctor's fee, taken out of his wages. The mines furthermore operated a blacklist, so that those who carped, grumbled or worked badly might be dismissed and would be prevented from finding work in neighbouring mines. Until the mines closed, moreover, the steel making companies were also off-bounds to former miners. An applicant for a job would be asked whether or not he had been a miner, and if the answer was yes, he was not hired. In these ways the workforce was kept in a docile mood, in great contrast to the widespread and vigorous organisation of the coal miners of Durham under the Durham Miners' Association.

Bulmer has argued that while colliery owners sought to control both jobs and housing (and the conditions of housing in Durham were appalling in the late 19th and early 20th centuries) the Miners' Association was to use its power to

force improvements; later through the Labour controlled local councils the building of council houses was used as a means of breaking the hold which colliery owners had on some communities (1978:29-30). Trades Unionists in the East Cleveland mines not only had less power; they did not undertake the task of shifting the power of the mine owners. It would be interesting, in future research, to examine the impact of Labour Party control of local councils and the building of council houses in the area on the control which the mine owners tried to exercise over their workforce.

In depicting the relationship between the notions of deference and acquiescence, it is important to avoid making a simple connection between deferential behaviour and powerlessness, as Newby has cogently argued (1977). Writing of the agricultural workers he studied, he points out that quiescence should be seen as the result of the farm workers' dependence rather than his deferential attitude. Such dependence upon the employer (for employment and housing chiefly) "militates against the overt expression of dissatisfaction", resulting in the familiar response that the farm worker decides to make the most of his inferior situation, a kind of "keeping himself to himself" which does not necessarily denote a feeling that social justice is part of his contract (1977:415). Therefore, while a lack of political activism may contribute to the image of deference in a workforce, the observance of certain social rituals adopted as a matter of course from the propriety of those in authority over him does not signify a deeper according of legitimacy. Newby's research led him to the conclusion that deference should be seen as an element of certain types of relationships, particularly those which exist between farmers and their workers. Arguing that deference is not indicative

of a unified ideology of acquiescence, Newby says:

It was argued that the general ambivalence and fragmentation of many agricultural workers' images of society does not suggest that they possess a comprehensive and monolithic ideological system which they bring to bear upon the various situations in which they find themselves and which determines their actions accordingly. Indeed the evidence on the sources of variation in images of society suggests the reverse: rather than a coherent ideological system guiding the actor's relationships, deference, or other class ideologies, can be seen as emerging from a particular set of relationships. Only where these relationships are overlapping or in some other way structurally homologous does a reasonably coherent belief system emerge - otherwise beliefs are relatively disparate, fragmentary, pragmatic and particularistic. The agricultural worker may therefore enter into deferential relationships without being a deferential person... (1977:416).

The way in which such deferential relationships work suggests that in their most important respects they apply to the ironstone miners. The essence of the relationship is the fact that it rests on the inherent inequality of employer and worker, and that the more powerful party in the relationship will be able to make his definition of the situation prevail. It will be his continual aim to manipulate the relationship such that the worker will accept the less powerful position; the employer also hopes that the worker will identify with him despite (and almost because of) his distance at the other end of the power spectrum. When such dependency operates within a community that is encapsulated within the industry as the mining villages of East Cleveland were, it is then plausible to draw a parallel between the deferential relationships of the miners and those of the agricultural workers of which Newby writes. The miners were the mine, as indeed the whole village was. At the same time, the relationship had to be characterised by a tension between the owners and the miners, so that a continual demonstration of the miners' subordination, of the social distance between them and the owners, was necessary. Newby refers to this

aspect as the dialectic nature of deferential relationships; it is an essential feature of the exercise of traditional authority (1977:417-435).

Because the essential element of the notion of deference was shown to be the dependency of the population on the entrepreneurs who exercised authority over them, it is possible to see, in the degree of dependency of the present village population on the local state, the basis for the widespread acquiescence in East Cleveland. The examples of incorporation are a major aspect of this dependency. However, it would be misguided to infer from this transmission of patterns of dependency that a coherent ideology also persists in present-day East Cleveland. As the communities became more heterogeneous in their occupational base and their social structure, so the beliefs became "relatively disparate, fragmentary, pragmatic and particularistic", as Newby said. From this conclusion, then, it is appropriate to view the non-participation in the area as a consequence of the dependency relationship, yet to see it as permeated from time to time by the influence of other relationships such that a monolithic ideology does not emerge. While this may explain the apparent acquiescence based upon the powerlessness of the non-participants (in the way Gaventa and others depicted the consequence of power relations in the third dimension), it also sheds light on the occasional emergence of a response to the threat to one's home, as well as explaining the apparent impossibility of sustaining such a response.

Such a view of non-participation inevitably raises the question of what possible meaning participation can have in such a context. Considering the very limited influence which those who were active had on structure plan policies, it is

reasonable to wonder what they thought they were getting out of their involvement. The answer may be as varied as the ongoing interactive experiences of the several individuals and sets of individuals analysed above; or on the other hand, it may be channelled into two distinct categories. There are some participators who continue in the belief that they are sufficiently influential to make their efforts worthwhile, either because they obtain results which can be interpreted as fulfilling their interests, or because in the participation itself they can fulfill ambitions to improve their status in the local social structure. There are other participators who continue in a cynical mode, discounting as hollow any victories they are allowed, but determined that those in power should not be able to impose their policies and values upon a completely docile population. For both categories, participation begins with a sense of duty or responsibility nestling somewhere in the decision to be involved, and to that extent the cynics and the believers share an active role (though varying in intentionality) in the maintenance of representative democratic ideology.

Another important feature of the examples of participation in the case study was the element of competition for the limited resources or benefits distributed by the local state. Long sees participation (in the context of rural development in Latin America) as inherently interactive and competitive. Characterising the process as a "multichannelled competition between people and Government (i.e. between different social classes)", he stresses the way in which participation is not only a "positive effort" by some to maximize their interests, but also entails methods of "obstructing or inhibiting the realization of the contrary interests of others" (1980:246-47). Such an

interpretation of the process is also generally applicable to the semi-rural area of this study, where the local state proposes specific development policies, and the participators seek to reorder the priorities in accordance with their own interests. In its differential treatment of participators, the planning authority need not have deliberately excluded certain groups, as Saunders argued (1979:64). The "obstruction", "inhibition" or "exclusion" of some parties' interests are a result of the on-going process of "interpretive practices" by those who implement the rules. If we include commercial and industrial interests among the participators, as we should, then it is clear that the process is indeed multichannelled, and that through their superior negotiation of the rules of access some participators can influence the interpretive practices to their advantage and to others' disadvantage. Saunders emphasises that this does not necessarily mean that those who are excluded are aware of their position. Indeed, he writes,

Where deprivation is an established feature of peoples' lives and political impotence is the norm, we should not expect to find any coherent political awareness (1979:64).

There can be few more succinct expressions of the meaning of participation than the words of Saunders as he points out that we have the right to speak, but those in power are not obliged to listen:

To secure a hearing, we may be obliged to follow as closely as possible the shifting and ambiguous rules of access, yet those rules are themselves loaded. For those who gain - whose voices are heard and whose interests are routinely taken into account - the liberal pluralist model of urban politics advanced by Dahl and others is clearly appropriate. But for those who lose, those who cannot make their demands heard and whose interests are routinely ignored or overruled, the right to a soap-box represents little more than the right to whistle in the wind (1979:65).

But in exercising their rights, participators do not see themselves as merely whistling, and that is the crucial point.

Summary of concluding points

The case study thus presented a view of participators as taking part in various aspects of a process managed by the local state, and taking various forms of action within this process to express their views of the plans for the area. Some acted in isolation from other groups in the political arena, while on the other hand there was a high degree of interpenetration of membership between certain groups through which the contacts in the partial networks studied were attempting to influence planning decisions. There was a high proportion of incomers and professionals in these groups, and in the associations which had a more broadly based membership incomers played a major role as secretary or spokesman, or a sources of information. Whilst the distinction between incomers and local people was often put forth as a normative explanation of disagreements within groups, just as often it remained an unspoken but widely perceived factor in relationships evolving around issues. This, and the way in which social network links were cross-cut by competing ties precluded the formulation of coherent, broadly based statements of local interest. Hence for example, we saw those connected by common church ties divided politically, or those with common political ties divided by the need to relate party policy to the more parochial needs in their own communities. The interests of the Skelton and Gilling Estate were sometimes at odds with locally agreed interests, both in Boosbeck in relation to the new school issue, and in Margrove Park in the Industrial Estate issue.

The effects of fragmentation in impeding the definition of interests both within and between localities were augmented by the impact of management of the participation process by the

local state. Despite the growing availability of network links as a potential resource in the process of formulating an effective reply to the planners and the council, these signs of growing awareness proved very vulnerable to the power field surrounding the networks. The rules of access were not successfully negotiated by any of the groups, with two possible exceptions, in Margrove Park and in Skelton in relation to the high rise flats. In both of these cases, however, I argued that concomitant political factors had to be considered at least as significant as the use of networks as a resource, if not more so.

The groups in the case study were also viewed in relation to the incorporation thesis, and not surprisingly those which could claim a measure of success were clearly incorporated, leading to the conclusion that instead of constituting a challenge to the decision-making processes of the local state, they were enmeshed in a dependency relationship. In this sense, therefore, they were only distinguished from non-participators (who were similarly depicted as dependent) by the fact that as participators they took an active, though perhaps unintended, role in the manufacture and maintenance of ideologies supportive of the prevailing power relationship. The non-participators' role was a more passive one, but it too contributed to the continuation of the ideology of representative democratic government. As I argued in Chapter V, the survey analysis showed non-participators as either indifferent or unquestioning, and less critical about the system than were the participators. However, although the participators believed one could influence council decisions, they felt in practice this rarely occurred, and they acted out their participatory roles as if the system were open

to their access, whilst maintaining a highly critical view of that system. The ideological component of the argument thus complemented the explanation of patterns of interaction in social networks in terms of power relationships.

To summarise the preceding argument, this thesis proceeded from the use of social networks analysis to explore the patterns of relationships between sets of participating individuals, to a consideration of the way in which power relationships help to explain the pervasive political inactivity and non-participation evident in the case study. The general ineffectiveness of the actions of participators was then related to that political inactivity on an ideological level by reference to patterns of deference and dependency, which reinforced the central argument that a three-dimensional theory of power which deals with the relationship between powerlessness and inequality is necessary in explaining non-participation as well as fragmented or transitory patterns of participation.

APPENDIX A

FRONTIER GROUP

A secular weekend consultation for laypeople on
THE COMMUNITY IN SEMI-RURAL AREAS

Aims of the Consultation

To examine the changes going on in semi-rural areas like Skelton - in the fabric of society, industry, politics, local government, family life, education, leisure, social care, land use, etc.

To consider the changes in outlook necessary to adapt to all these changes.

When humanists talk of "a new quality of life" or Christians talk of "loving our neighbour", what exactly does this involve in Skelton?

It is felt that clergy and laypeople working together with a common understanding of aims and opportunities would be able to improve and update the contribution of the individual and the Church to life.

Similar study weekends have been held on urban problems when skills and experience over a wide range were shared - trade unionists, managers, housewives, social workers, lecturers, etc. and the most valuable part of these was the discussion that goes on in small groups, exchanging ideas with one another. This pattern will be repeated on this weekend.

Consultants will be present, not as formal lecturers but to stimulate new ideas and provide specific information as requested.

The programme will have to be flexible enough to be changed as and when members wish, but during the weekend these questions must be tackled:

- i) What are the main changes affecting our lives in semi-rural areas?

- ii) What is being done to help people adapt to these changes?
- iii) Is there a part which the Church can play in this?
- iv) Is there another body which can help better?
- v) Is there anything more we can do in future?

PROGRAMME

Saturday

- 2:00 a.m. Assemble. Introduction of members and consultants.
- 2:30 Small Group Syndicates
- 4:00 Plenary with Consultants
- 5:30 Tea
- 6:15 Syndicates
- 8:00 Close. Return home for the night.

Sunday

- 9:30 a.m. Syndicates
- 11:00 Coffee
- 11:15 Plenary with Consultants
- 1:00 Lunch
- 2:00 p.m. Syndicates
- 4:00 Tea
- 4:30 Evaluation of progress. Plans for future development.
- 5:30 Close.

APPENDIX B

Marske Residents' Association
Synopsis of Policy Statement on

North Yorks Structure Plan for Marske

- A) TOFT FARM PRECEDENT. The ministerial ruling on this plan in 1969 vetoed building between Marske and Saltburn, declaring, "This land should be kept open."
- B) HIGH RANKING OF LANDSCAPE AROUND MARSKE. The Plan describes it as "of special importance" and "exceptionally vulnerable". We agree - and consequently oppose urban development that intrudes upon local scenery.
- C) AGRICULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS. The building development at Marske is planned upon the finest farmland in the whole Structure Plan area. When England is losing 55,000 acres of good farmland every year, facing a shortage of beef, and with imports of 4/5 of our food contributing to an adverse balance of trade, we feel that economic considerations also justify the preservation of the farmland around Marske.
- D) MARSKE AND SALTBURN. The Structure Plan recommends no development around Saltburn and gives as the reason that such development would be so conspicuous. We agree, but observe that development at Marske will be equally so, ranging along the lower slopes of the hills.
- E) MARSKE HAS ALREADY MADE A LARGE CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT. Between 1951 and 1971 the population of Saltburn and Marske rose by nearly 150%. Between 1961 and 1971 it rose by 7,000 - over 56%, mostly at Marske. And there has been extensive building since then hereabouts. Marske has done its share and the time has come to call a halt here and at New Marske.
- F) GREEN BELT FOR MARSKE. The Structure Plan admits that the

green field separating Marske from Saltburn and Redcar are an important amenity that should be preserved. The M.R.A. asks for the green belt to be extended southwards, to separate Marske from New Marske, for the same reasons.

G) A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE. The use of acres of derelict land in and around Teesside for building.

H) RECENT CHANGES IN OUTLOOK ON PLANNING. Most of the work and thinking of the Structure Plan was done in the late 1960's. Since then the climate of thought on development has changed. The emphasis is now on preserving the environment. This is what the M.R.A. is trying to do in its locality.

I) DANGERS IN DEVELOPMENT FOR MARSKE. If the development suggested in the Structure Plans of N. Yorks/Teesside is carried out, Marske will be drawn into a huge Teesside conurbation, and thus faced with problems of pollution, of increase in hooliganism and crime, of traffic congestion, of overburdening the social services. Already our schools are crowded and our sewage system is overloaded. We dread to think of the effects of adding another 3,500 houses, as recommended in the Structure Plan.

In view of the above facts, the M.R.A. recommends that no further development, domestic or industrial, shall be allowed in and around Marske.

APPENDIX C

Miner's Wage Account

MESSRS DORMAN AND LONG

MINE

No. 113 Names _____ Shifts _____
 _____ " _____
 _____ " _____

No. 26 Pay Ended _____

	No.	Tons.	Cwts.	Rate.
Working Ironstone				
Shale				
Yards				
Consideration				
Arbitration Award				
Bargain Work				
Shifts	4			4/7
Percentage				
Top				1
Water				
TOTAL EARNINGS				21-10/8
Less for				
Cash Advanced				
Powder				
Rent				
Coal				
Firewood & Manure				
Fines				
Gardens: Lady Hewley				
Institute				
Doctor			2	
Hospital Funds			6	
Miners' Relief Fund			9	
Checkweighman				
Deposits				
Health Insurance			9	
Unemployment Insurance				
Pension Fund			7	
Athletic Club				
Net Wages...				21-7/11

28 June 1930

APPENDIX D

CROSS-TABULATION TABLES

FROM THE

CLEVELAND PROJECT SURVEY

Table 18. Participation Variable by Age

	17-25	26-45	46-65	66+	Total
Non- Participators	57	135	106	42	340 *63.2
Unofficial	7	80	47	18	152 28.3
Official	1	5	5	1	12 2.2
Combined	0	12	11	2	25 4.6
High Participators	0	3	5	1	9 1.7
Total	65 12.1	235 43.7	174 32.3	64 11.9	538 100.0

* Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 19. Participation Variable by Sex

	Male	Female	Total
Non-Participators	152	188	340 *63.2
Unofficial	69	83	152 28.3
Official	8	4	12 2.2
Combined	12	13	25 4.6
High Participators	6	3	9 1.7
Total	247 45.9	291 54.1	538 100.0

* Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 20. Participation Variable by Occupational Situation

	Non- Partici- pators	Unoffi- cial	Offi- cial	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
Self-Emp. Resp. Educ.	7	3	0	1	0	11 *2.1
Self-Emp. Resp. No Educ.	7	3	0	1	1	12 2.3
Self-Emp. No Resp. Educ.	4	0	1	0	0	5 0.9
Self-Emp. No Resp. No Educ.	5	1	1	0	0	7 1.3
Employee Resp. Educ.	53	31	2	7	4	97 18.3
Employee Resp. No Educ.	32	10	2	3	1	48 9.1
Employee No Resp. Educ.	96	59	1	3	1	160 30.2
Employee No Resp. No Educ.	106	33	3	4	1	147 27.7
Missing Cases	26	8	2	6	1	43 8.3
Total	336 63.4	148 27.9	12 2.3	25 4.7	9 1.7	530 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 21. Participation Variable by House Tenure

	Owner Occupied	Private Rental	Local Authority	Rent Free	Other	Total
Non- Partici- pators	204	27	94	9	5	339 *63.1
Un- official	121	10	15	5	1	152 18.3
Official	11	0	1	0	0	12 2.2
Combined	21	0	4	0	0	25 4.7
High Partici- pators	7	1	1	0	0	9 1.7
Total	364 67.8	38 7.1	115 21.4	14 2.6	6 1.1	537 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 22. Participation Variable by Length of Residence

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- official	Official	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
0-5 yrs.	198	85	6	13	2	304 *56.8
6-10 yrs.	50	29	0	5	4	88 16.4
11-15 yrs.	22	17	1	0	1	41 7.7
16-20 yrs.	21	10	2	2	1	36 6.7
21-25 yrs.	17	2	0	3	0	22 4.1
26-30 yrs.	8	0	1	0	0	9 1.7
31+ yrs.	21	9	2	2	1	35 6.5
Total	337 63.0	152 28.4	12 2.2	25 4.7	9 1.7	535 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 23. Participation Variable by Residence Outside Cleveland

	Yes	No	Total
Non-participants	177	147	324 *62.8
Unofficial	96	51	147 28.5
Official	7	5	12 2.3
Combined	15	9	24 4.7
High Participants	6	3	9 1.7
Total	301 58.3	215 41.6	516 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 24. Participation Variable by Length of ResidenceOutside Cleveland

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- official	Official	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
0-5 yrs.	38	22	2	2	5	69 *23.0
6-10 yrs.	26	6	3	0	0	35 11.7
11-15 yrs.	11	5	0	1	0	17 5.7
16-20 yrs.	13	8	0	1	0	22 7.3
21-25 yrs.	22	11	0	2	0	35 11.7
26-30 yrs.	21	12	1	4	1	39 13.0
31+ yrs.	44	33	1	5	0	83 27.7
Total	175 58.3	97 32.3	7 2.3	15 5.0	6 2.0	300 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 25. Participation Variable by Area of Birthplace

	Cleve- land	Other North East	Other Great Britain	Abroad	Total
Non- Partici- pators	214	41	61	21	337 *63.1
Unofficial	80	27	37	7	151 28.3
Official	8	0	4	0	12 2.2
Combined	12	2	9	2	25 4.7
High Partici- pators	7	0	2	0	9 1.7
Total	321 60.1	70 13.1	113 21.2	30 5.6	534 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 26. Participation Variable by Car Ownership

	No	Yes	2 or more cars	Total
Non-participants	123	161	50	334 *63.3
Unofficial	26	96	26	148 28.0
Official	4	6	2	12 2.3
Combined	4	12	9	25 4.7
High Participants	2	4	3	9 1.7
Total	159 30.1	279 52.8	90 17.0	528 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 27. Participation Variable by Telephone

	Yes	No	Total
Non-participants	190	147	337 *63.2
Unofficial	109	41	150 28.1
Official	9	3	12 2.3
Combined	19	6	25 4.7
High Participants	7	2	9 1.7
Total	334 62.7	199 37.3	533 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 28. Participation Variable by Involvement in
Voluntary Associations

	Yes	No	Total
Non-participants	165	166	331 *63.4
Unofficial	94	51	145 27.8
Official	9	3	12 2.3
Combined	18	7	25 4.8
High Participants	9	0	9 1.7
Total	295 56.5	227 43.5	522 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 29. Participation Variable by Type of Voluntary Associations

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- official	Offi- cial	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
Social	127	54	9	8	7	205 *34.1
Sports	62	48	3	10	3	126 20.9
Civic	5	12	0	5	2	24 4.0
Welfare	8	11	1	7	3	30 5.0
Church	28	6	0	4	6	44 7.3
Education	18	18	1	9	1	47 7.8
Work	14	24	6	16	0	60 10.0
Political	4	2	1	0	3	10 1.7
Round Table, W.I. etc.	15	7	0	1	1	24 4.0
Public Body	2	1	0	1	1	5 0.8
Other	13	6	1	1	4	25 4.2
Total	296	191	22	62	31	602**
	49.2	31.7	3.7	10.3	5.1	100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

**Table total represents voluntary associations names, not respondents.

Table 30. Participation Variable by Regular Pub Attendance

	Yes	No	Total
Non-participators	166	168	334 *63.0
Unofficial	64	86	150 28.3
Official	5	7	12 2.3
Combined	9	16	25 4.7
High Participators	4	5	9 1.7
Total	248 46.8	282 53.2	530 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 31. Participation Variable by Sources of Information
about New Developments

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- Official	Offi- cial	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
General Talk	147	62	6	10	3	228 *23.3
Personal Approach	7	5	2	3	2	19 1.9
Papers	220	94	11	12	5	342 35.0
Radio/ T.V.	78	31	4	5	1	119 12.2
Public Meeting	0	8	0	2	2	12 1.2
Official Displays	38	32	2	6	2	80 8.2
Societies, Voluntary Associations	4	3	1	3	4	15 1.5
Handouts/ Petitions	66	23	1	3	0	93 9.5
Other	45	18	0	5	1	69 7.1
Total	605 61.9	276 28.2	27 2.8	49 5.0	20 2.0	977** 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

** Table total represents sources mentioned, not respondents.

Table 32. Participation Variable by Local Newspapers Read

	Evening Gazette	Northern Echo	Stockton & Darlington Times	Journal	Total
Non-Participators	233	38	23	1	295 *63.2
Un-Official	102	20	10	2	134 28.6
Official	10	1	0	0	11 2.4
Combined	16	3	2	0	21 4.5
High Participators	7	0	0	0	7 1.5
Total	368 78.6	62 13.2	35 7.5	3 0.6	468** 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

** This total represents the number of answers given, not the number of respondents.

Table 33. Participation Variable by Local Television and Radio

	All	Look North	Tyne-Tees News	Radio Cleveland	Radio Tees	None, ever	Total
Non-Participators	16	200	160	115	99	21	611 *63.6
Un-Official	6	104	66	45	37	8	266 27.7
Official	1	10	5	1	3	1	21 2.2
Combined	0	20	7	7	9	3	46 4.8
High Participators	0	8	4	3	2	0	17 1.8
Total	23 2.4	342 35.6	242 25.2	171 17.8	150 15.6	33 3.4	961** 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

** The Total represents answers given, not number of respondents.

Table 34. Knowledge of Local Councillors by Sources of Information about New Developments

	Gen- eral Talk	Pers- onal App- roach	Papers	Radio /T.V.	Public Meet- ing	Offi- cial Dis- plays	Socie- ties	Hand- outs	Oth.	Tot.
Parish Coun- cillors										
Yes	59	7	100	24	3	40	3	19	23	278 *27.5
No	176	12	256	102	9	42	13	77	47	734 72.5
Total	235 23.2	19 1.9	356 35.2	126 12.5	12 1.2	82 8.1	16 1.6	96 9.5	70 6.9	1012 100.0
District Coun- cillors										
Yes	88	10	144	38	7	47	11	48	22	415 41.0
No	147	9	212	88	5	35	5	48	48	597 59.0
Total	235 23.2	19 1.9	356 35.2	126 12.5	12 1.2	82 8.1	16 1.6	96 9.5	70 6.9	1012 100.0
County Coun- cillors										
Yes	55	4	83	23	7	24	8	24	14	242 23.9
No	180	15	273	103	5	58	8	72	56	770 76.1
Total	235 23.2	19 1.9	356 35.2	126 12.5	12 1.2	82 8.1	16 1.6	96 9.5	70 6.9	1012 100.0
All Local Coun- cillors										
Yes	202	21	327	85	17	111	22	91	59	935 30.8
No	503	36	741	293	19	135	26	197	151	2101 29.2
Total	705 23.2	57 1.9	1068 35.2	378 12.5	36 1.2	246 8.1	48 1.6	288 9.5	210 6.9	3036 100.0

*Percentages of total in each sub-section

Table 35. Participation Variable by Knowledge of Local Councillors

	Non-Participators	Un-official	Official	Combined	High Participators	Total
Parish Councillors						
Yes	77	51	4	12	2	146 *27.1
No	263	101	8	13	7	392 72.9
Total	340 63.2	152 28.3	12 2.2	25 4.6	9 1.7	538 100.0
District Councillors						
Yes	114	68	7	11	6	206 38.3
No	226	84	5	14	3	332 61.7
Total	340 63.2	152 28.3	12 2.2	25 4.6	9 1.7	538 100.0
County Councillors						
Yes	65	45	3	5	7	125 23.2
No	275	107	9	20	2	413 76.8
Total	340 63.2	152 28.3	12 2.2	25 4.6	9 1.7	538 100.0
All Councillors						
Yes	256	164	14	28	15	477 29.6
No	764	292	22	47	12	1137 70.4
Total	1020 63.2	456 28.3	36 2.2	75 4.6	27 1.7	1614 100.0

*Percentages of total in each sub-section

Table 36. Participation Variable by Knowledge of Planners

	Yes	No	Total
Non-Participators	29	305	334 *63.1
Unofficial	25	125	150 28.4
Official	1	11	12 2.3
Combined	7	18	25 4.7
High Participators	3	5	8 1.5
Total	65 12.3	464 87.7	529 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 37. Participation Variable by Knowledge of Other
Local Government Officers

	Yes	No	Total
Non-Participators	87	239	326 *63.3
Unofficial	34	111	145 28.5
Official	4	7	11 2.1
Combined	7	17	24 4.7
High Participators	3	6	9 1.7
Total	135 26.2	380 73.8	515 100.0

*percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 38. Participation Variable by Awareness of Plans

	Yes	No	Total
Non-Participators	128	199	327 *65.1
Unofficial	76	55	131 26.1
Official	10	2	12 2.2
Combined	23	1	24 4.8
High Participators	7	1	8 1.6
Total	244 48.6	258 51.4	502 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 39. Participation Variable by Knowledge of a Current
Local Issue

	Yes	No	Total
Non-Participators	182	150	332 *62.9
Unofficial	98	52	150 28.4
Official	7	5	12 2.3
Combined	16	9	25 4.7
High Participators	8	1	9 1.7
Total	311 58.9	217 41.1	528 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 40. Knowledge of Local Councillors by Knowledge of a
Current Local Issue

	Yes	No	Total
Parish Councillors			
Yes	86	62	148 *27.2
No	234	162	396 72.8
Total	320 58.8	224 41.2	544 100.0
District Councillors			
Yes	135	75	210 38.6
No	185	149	334 61.4
Total	320 58.8	224 41.2	544 100.0
County Councillors			
Yes	83	41	124 22.8
No	237	183	420 77.2
Total	320 58.8	224 41.2	544 100.0
All Local Councillors			
Yes	304	178	482 32.2
No	656	359	1015 67.8
Total	960 64.1	537 35.9	1497 100.0

*Percentage of total in each section

Table 4.1. Knowledge of Local Councillors by Those to Whom
Respondents Express Their Views

	The Press	Parish Councillor	District Councillor /Officer	County Councillor /Officer	M.P.	Oth.	Tot.
Parish Council- lors							
Yes	15	58	19	3	9	41	145 *27.7
No	54	42	137	19	28	98	378 72.3
Total	69 13.2	100 19.1	156 30.8	22 4.3	37 7.1	137 26.5	523 100.0
District Council- lors							
Yes	22	51	67	9	10	44	203 38.8
No	47	49	89	13	27	95	320 61.2
Total	69 13.2	100 19.1	156 30.8	22 4.3	37 7.1	139 26.5	523 100.0
County Council- Lors							
Yes	11	30	38	6	7	29	121 23.1
No	58	70	118	16	30	110	402 76.9
Total	69 13.2	100 19.1	156 30.8	22 4.3	37 7.1	139 26.5	523 100.0
All Council- lors							
Yes	48	139	124	18	26	114	469 29.9
No	159	161	344	48	85	303	1100 70.1
Total	207 13.2	300 19.1	456 30.8	66 4.3	111 7.1	417 26.5	1569 100.0

*Percentage of total in each section

Table 42. Knowledge of Local Councillors by Attendance
at Public Meetings

	Yes	No	Total
Parish Councillors			
Yes	56	91	147 *27.1
No	91	305	396 72.9
Total	147 27.1	396 72.9	543 100.0
District Councillors			
Yes	67	142	209 38.5
No	80	254	334 61.5
Total	147 27.1	396 72.9	543 100.0
County Councillors			
Yes	49	78	127 23.4
No	98	318	416 76.6
Total	147 27.1	396 72.9	543 100.0
All Councillors			
Yes	172	311	483 29.7
No	269	877	1146 70.3
Total	441 27.1	1188 72.9	1629 100.0

*Percentage of total in each section

Table 43. Knowledge of Local Councillors by Involvement
in a Local Issue

	Yes	No	Total
Parish Councillors			
Yes	26	123	148 *27.1
No	67	332	399 72.9
Total	92 16.8	455 83.2	547 100.0
District Councillors			
Yes	47	161	208 38.0
No	45	294	339 62.0
Total	92 16.8	455 83.2	547 100.0
County Councillors			
Yes	31	95	126 23.0
No	61	360	421 77.0
Total	92 16.8	455 83.2	547 100.0
All Councillors			
Yes	103	379	482 29.4
No	173	986	1159 70.6
Total	276 16.8	1365 83.2	1641 100.0

*Percentage of total in each section

Table 44. Attendance at Public Meetings by
Knowledge of a Current Local Issue

	<u>Issues</u>		Total
	Yes	No	
<u>Meetings</u>			
Yes	103	42	145 *27.2
No	211	177	388 72.8
Total	314 58.9	219 41.1	533 100.0

*Percentage of the Total in the Table

Table 45. Participation Variable by Ability to
Influence Council Decisions

	Yes	No	Qualified	Total
Non-Participators	99	111	110	320 *61.8
Unofficial	32	52	63	147 29.3
Official	2	5	4	11 2.2
Combined	5	6	14	25 5.0
High Participators	2	1	6	9 1.8
Total	140 27.9	165 32.9	197 39.2	502 100.0

*Percentages of Total in the Table

Table 46. Participation Variable by Attitude TowardsLocal Government Reorganization

	Good	Bad	No Difference	Too Early to Tell	Total
Non- Participators	87	117	78	19	301 *61.7
Unofficial	29	69	31	14	143 29.3
Official	2	5	4	0	11 2.3
Combined	3	16	3	2	24 4.9
High Participators	1	7	1	0	9 1.8
Total	122 30.0	214 43.9	117 24.0	35 7.2	488 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 47. Participation Variable by Who or What
Makes Changes Happen

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- official	Offi- cial	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
Planners/ Local Government	183	93	10	11	4	301 *45.6
Central Government	45	13	3	5	1	67 10.2
Business/ Industry	52	24	0	4	2	81 12.3
Market Forces/ Natural Growth	83	36	1	0	0	133 20.2
Depends on the Changes	3	5	0	1	0	9 1.4
Other	35	25	0	6	3	69 10.5
Total	401 60.8	196 29.7	14 2.1	38 5.8	11 1.7	660** 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

**This total represents the number of answers given, not the number of respondents answering.

Table 4.8 Participation Variable by How Views
Would be Expressed

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- official	Offi- cial	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
Personal Approach	142	75	4	14	3	238 *45.9
Phone	14	8	1	1	1	25 4.8
Write	121	46	6	6	2	181 34.9
Through Associa- tion	4	4	0	2	2	12 2.3
Depends on Issue	19	11	0	1	0	31 6.0
Other	22	6	1	1	1	31 6.0
Total	322 62.2	150 29.0	12 2.3	25 4.8	9 1.7	518 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 49. Participation Variable by Those to Whom
Views Would be Expressed

	Non- Partici- pators	Un- Official	Offi- cial	Combined	High Partici- pators	Total
Press	39	19	2	4	1	65 *12.8
Parish Councillor	51	33	3	8	2	97 19.1
District Councillor	100	38	4	3	2	147 28.9
County Councillor	15	3	0	0	0	18 3.5
M. P.	25	11	0	0	1	37 7.3
Other	86	43	3	10	3	145 28.5
Total	316 62.7	147 28.9	12 2.4	25 4.9	9 1.8	509 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 50. How Views Would Be Expressed by Those to Whom Views Would Be Expressed

	Press	Parish Coun- cillor	District Coun- cillor	County Coun- cillor	M.P.	Other	Total
Personal Approach	2	73	100	6	9	52	242 *46.4
Telephone	3	4	5	3	1	8	24 4.6
Write	63	20	43	7	24	30	187 35.9
Through Society/ Organisation	0	1	2	2	0	7	12 2.3
Depends on Issue	1	2	1	0	3	18	25 4.8
Other	0	0	0	0	0	31	31 6.0
Total	69 13.2	100 19.2	151 29.0	18 3.5	37 7.1	146 28.0	521 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 51. Involvement in a Local Issue by Those
to Whom Views Would Be Expressed

	Press	Parish Coun- cillor	District Coun- cillor	County Coun- cillor	M.P.	Other	Total
Yes	16	21	26	4	1	22	90 *17.4
No	52	77	129	18	36	115	427 82.6
Total	68 13.2	98 19.0	155 30.0	22 4.3	37 7.2	137 26.5	517 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

Table 52. Involvement in Voluntary Associations by Those
to Whom Views Would Be Expressed

	Press	Parish Coun- cillor	District Coun- cillor	County Coun- cillor	M.P.	Other	Total
Yes	37	66	75	8	21	82	288 *56.9
No	31	31	69	8	16	63	218 43.1
Total	68 13.4	97 19.1	144 28.5	16 3.2	37 7.1	145 28.7	506 100.0

*Percentages of the Total in the Table

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