HUMAN SOCIAL GROUPS:

A CYBERNETIC ACCOUNT OF STABILITY AND INSTABILITY

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ABSTRACT

The aims of the research were:

i) to show that some informal human groups are stable
ii) to discover the processes underlying this stability

A third, implicit, aim was the adaptation of cybernetic methodology to small group studies. It was felt that a systems approach would provide a formal, but flexible analytic tool appropriate to the richness and complexity of the phenomenon.

Various explanatory hypotheses were constructed, all of which took the variables 'size' and 'level of activity' as the objects of any stabilising process.

The hypotheses were tested by laboratory experiment, by longtidudinal, participant-observer studies of natural groups, and by a computer simulation (GROUP-1) that mapped assumptions onto historical data.

It was found that when 'size' and 'activity' were maintained within specified limits, this was a consequence of a series of stabilising processes. Once a group became stable, two major sources of disruption were identified, both originating outside the group. These were an external block on activity, or a sudden influx of new members. In the absence of disruption, stability was manifested in the following way
An increase in group size towards its upper boundary triggered a series of repercussions that 'encouraged' members to leave. A decrease triggered a similar and opposite effect. The group's 'level of activity' was shielded from the effects of size change by a series of buffer mechanisms, and so maintained its own independent equilibrium.

These quasi-mechanical processes were facilitated by a set of beliefs and techniques (the group's knowledge of how and why to pursue its aims), but the persistence of these beliefs and techniques were themselves dependent on the operation of the stabilising processes.

It was concluded that viable groups were constituted as irreductable cybernetic wholes. All processes, physical and informational, supported, but were dependent on, all other process.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The objects of the work reported in this thesis are:-

a) to show that some informal human social groups are stable;

b) to discover the processes underlying this stability.

Precise and formal definitions of terms will be found in later chapters. It suffices to say here that the group variables taken as fundamental are "size" and "level of activity". It is postulated that if a group maintains these variables within limits, despite changes in other parameters (turnover of personnel, alteration of roles or goals), then this is the result of a stabilizing process.

An increase in group size towards its upper boundary triggars a series of repercussions that "encourage" members to leave. A decrease triggers a similar and opposite process. The "level of activity" of the group is shielded from most of the effects of size change by a series of buffer mechanisms, and so maintains its own independent equilibrium.

These quasi-mechanical processes are facilitated by a set of techniques (the group's knowledge of how it pursue its aims), but the persistence of the techniques is itself dependent on the operation of the stabilizing processes.

Thus viable groups are constituted as irreductable cybernetic wholes; all processes support and are dependent on all other processes.

The rest of this chapter describes the background to, and paradigms for, the research.

A brief summary of the historical development of the final model is presented in Fig. 1.1.

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GROUP	HYPOTHESIS	MEASUREMENTS	CONCLUSIONS
DIL South ondon sub- elinquent eer group	Stability	Observation only	Relevent variables: size,activity, norms, material resources. Partial identity between activity and resources. Probable inverse relation between size and activity.
ABORATORY iscussion nd crime imulation roups	Stability consequent on: a rapid norm formation: inverse relation between size & activity mediated by inverse relation between size and normative strength.	Size: Activity: Normative structure: Normative strength.	Hypothesis oversimplistic: strong norm formation, but no variations in strength due to size. Normative strength as step, not continuous,variable - either not changing, or changing 'catastrophically'. Probable independence of size and activity.
.R.P. righton Rents roject.	Size and activity determined by normative stucture. Joining rate related to level of activity.	Size: activity: normative structure and strength. Subgroup activities: Other informal & historical data.	B.R.P. not a stable group. Consensus and successful actions a precondition of stability. Activity measure veridical. Size measure needed to include absenteeism. Confirmation of normative strength as a step variable. Importance of technique as subset of norms.
REV South ondon ocialist roup	Size & activity mutually independent but determined by techniques. Joining rate related to level of activity.Leaving rate regulated to absenteeism.	Size: attendences: absenteeism: inactivity. Joining & leaving rates: activity measured by hours, roles & persons. Individual activities & histories:norms:techniques.	Size and activity independent & determined by technique. Size regulated by 2 controls on leaving (absenteeism or inactivity) and control on joining. Techniques dependent on continued activity.
OUP I mputer mulation.	Assumptions will replicate B.R.P. & IREV		**GROUP-1: CONCLUSIONS. Data successfully replicated with plausible variants. Relation between activity and joining clarified as necessarily weak. Influx of members and external intervention confirmed as major sources of disruption. Normative structure successfully represented as n-person game payoff matrix.**

FIG.1.1.

1.1. THE BACKGROUND

Interest in, and theories about human collecitities - groups- goes back as far as history. If we include the family, the tribe, and the state, (as groups), then groups constitute history. From Plato through to Roussenu we find "definitive" accounts of social relations. However, interest in the small group (as opposed to family or community) appears to be a post industrial, if not entirely 20th century phenomenon. This is not suprising. The existance of small groups as significant social units is a recent development in industrial, political, military, and social spheres. The historically very recent notion of "treatment to improve morale", as opposed to improving pay, discipline, or conditions, gave a great boost to small group studies. Firstly, the objects in need of "treatment" were often groups, (battle units, work teams, (Stouffer et al, 1949, Roethilisberger, 1939). Secondly, even where the objects in need of treatment were individuals (mental illness, deficiency in managerial skills, propogand exercises), then treatment in groups was found cheaper and as effective as other methods. (Bion, 1948, Foulkes & Anthony 1957, Lewin, 1952).

The compliment to this process was the "discovery" of the self-activity of groups as a social problem. (Thrasher, 1927). Problems of (working-class) delinquency and ciminality were found to be located in groups rather than individuals. (Howard, 1960, Cohen, 1955).

By and large these two areas have remained distinct. The first area - "treatment", study, or experiment on artificial (in the broad sense) groups - becoming the province of social psychology: the second - study of, and intervention

in naturally forming groups - being annexed by sociology and criminology.

This early work was sufficient to establish the "group" as an object deserving scientific attention in its own right. This facilitated many novel approaches, most of which took the direction of experiment and/or systematization. Bales (1950) developed interaction process analysis; Bavelas (1948) originated studies in communication structures; Game Theory was introduced in the study of bargaining situations under the general rubric of Thibaut & Kelley's Exchang Theory (1959); and various mathematical models of the more structured general theories began to appear (French, 1956, Simon 1957).

See Fig. 1.2. for general developmental schemata of small group studies.

Cartwright and Zander (Cartwright and Zander 1953/1969) distinguished 8 distinct traditions of small group research, and went on to say (P. 30):-

"A promising lead, however, has been provided by March and Simon (1958), who have developed several 'maps' which show how the relations among variables reported by different investigators may be combined. These maps make it clear that a fully adequate understanding of the determinants of group life will involve a specification of a network of causal relationships. One of their maps indicates, for example, that the extent to which goals are percieved as shared and the number of individual needs satisfied in the group jointly determine the frequency of interaction in the group, which influences the strength of identification with the group, which in turn affects the extent to which goals are perceived as shared and the number of individual needs satisfied in the group. In other words, there is a circular chain of causal interactions.

The field of group dynamics appears to be ready for rapid progress in the construction of such maps. As attention shifts from isolated causal relations between variables taken two at a time to configurations of relations, a more penetrating understanding of the nature of group life will quickly emerge. And, as a result, the practical value of group dynamics theory will be greatly enhanced, since practitioners must be concerned, not with single relationships, but with the total ramifications that stem from the modification of any particular variable."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL GROUP STUDIES

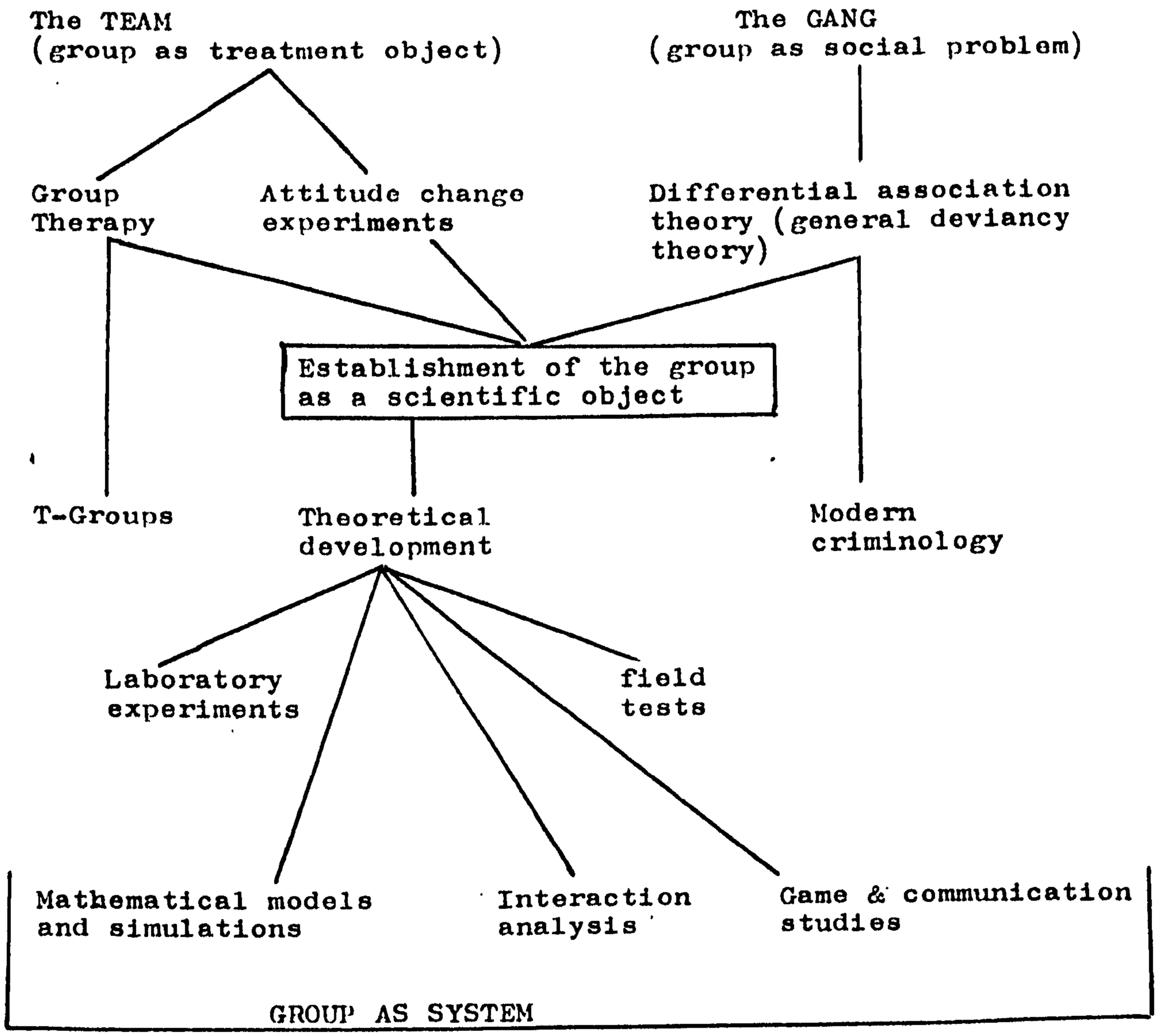

Fig. 1.2.

Unfortunately, since that optimistic prognosis, the "two-variable" tradition has remained dominant within social psychology.

I know of no studies within social psychology that set out to trace this "circular chain of causal interactions". Perhaps this is one reason why the more recent books on small groups (see, for example, Smith 1973) seem so depressing. There are (almost) no experiments in which a relation R between group variables x and y is either not confirmed, or contradicted by further research. This is probably a function of social psychological methodology, based on the cause-effect paradigm of the physical sciences, and its fruitful application in physiological and animal psychology. Reliance on this paradigm is accentuated by the early history of social psychology, with its emphasis on treatment. Treatment implies a state of affairs (variable y) that needs to be changed as quickly and cheaply as possible - hence the search for variable x, and the prescriptive statement xRy.

Group studies, approached from the sociological perspective, tend to be less constrained by the causal paradigm. Instead they concentrate on regularities of structure or function. Whyte's studies of status relations and functions in "Street Corner Society" and the Restaurant Industry (Whyte, W.F., 1943, 1948) provide a good example of this. Homans' (1950) systematization of earlier studies provided a formal basis that is still being developed. A more recent example is Short and Strodtbeck's (1965) account of the "precipitation of delinquent incidents" as part of the process of status and structure in teenage Chicago gangs.

Thus we have two poles of methodological and historical approach to small groups - the artificial/causal and the natural/structural. Both methods are subject to criticism. Argyris (1968) points to the "disorientation" of the

subject as an inherent condition of the laboratory experiment. Mixon (1974) points out the disadvantages of deception as a recurrent laboratory technique. On the other hand, natural studies may be so imprecise that no general conclusions at all can be reached. (Carey, 1967).

Methodological polarity mentioned above is intended as an orientation rather than a definitive classification. Typologies of small group research are numerous and diverse. Compare, for instance, the Cartwright and Zander (1969) 8 way classification with Golembeiwski's (1962) stratified typology.

1.2. Philosophical Background

1.2.1. Ontology

Heated debate about the ontoligical status of groups is now, thankfully, a matter of history. The recognition of the group as a conceptual reality was in one sense forced by the sheer volume of research on the subject. This happened at about the point in my schema (See Fig. 1.2.) where the group is established as a "scientific" object. According to Golembeiwski (1962) the "conceptual reality of the group" entails threee propositions:-

i) the 'group' is as real as the 'person'.

ii) the 'group' and the 'person' are analytical concepts, not concrete entities. The content of both may be established scientifically.*

iii) the group may be described in terms of social processes on its own level, without any necessary reference to personality characteristics of members.

Although I agree with these propositions, it is as well to point out that, in proposition (i), "as real as" does not mean "is the same sort of thing as". In my experience it is usually the confusion of these two meanings that

*FOOTNOTE
This sounds easier than it actually is. For an excellent essay articulating the problems and tangles inherent in the concept of a person, see P.F. Strawson's "Individuals" 1959.

underlies objections to research based on proposition (iii).

As this proposition fairly describes much of the following work, I shall deal with this set of objections now. They depend on a "Category mistake". This is illustrated as follows:-

> A foreigner visiting Oxford or Cambridge for the first time is shown a number of colleges, libraries, playing fields, museums, scientific departments and administrative offices. He then asks 'But where is the University? I have seen where the members of the Colleges live, where the Registrar works, where the scientists experiment and the rest. But I have not yet seen the University in which reside and work the members of your University'. It has then to be explained to him that the University is not another collateral institution, some ulterior counterpart to the colleges, laboratories and offices which he has seen. The University is just the way in which all that he has already seen is organised. When they are seen and when their co-ordination is understood, the University has been seen. His mistake lay in his innocent assumption that it was correct to speak of Christ Church, the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean Museum and the University, to speak, that is, as if 'the University' stood for an extra member of the class of which these other units are members. He was mistakenly allocating the University to the same category as that to which the other institutions belong.
>
> From "The Concept of Mind", by Gilbert Ryle
> P.16 (my emphasis)

This category mistake seems to me to be embedded in the notion of the Superorganism. Groups, societies, and other macro-systems, are asserted to be "the same as" their constituent systems. Wilson (1971) considers the Superorganism concept to be inspirational and philosophical, rather than wrong. "The superorganism concept faded not because it was wrong but because it no longer seemed relevent ..... (it) offers no techniques, measurements, or even definitions by which intricate phenomena in genetics, behaviour, and physiology can be unravelled".

I think that the superorganism concept is wrong, because embodying the category mistake, it credits macro-systems with the attributes (especially thoughts, feelings etc)

as well as the basic system relations of the micro-systems. Once we realise that we are talking about levels of systems - and add Stafford Beer's precept "all viable systems are contained within viable systems" (Beer, 1975) - then the rest of the content and controversy of super-organisms does become irrelevant.

1.2.2.

There is a further question about the research which may be considered philosophical. Why do it?
Firstly because research to date has been in terms of 'improving', modifying, and, occasionally, destroying groups. The existence of groups is taken for granted.

In my view, the existence of groups, until we understand the operative forces and underlying systems, is itself problematic. As Smith (1973) notes, "One of the most pressing problems facing the social sciences at present is the gulf between understanding a phenomenon and being able to change it". This is because, as far as groups are concerned, we do not understand the phenomenon, instead we theorise about epiphenomena. It is like finding cures for bleeding without understanding circulation. It may work in practice, but is essentially atheoretical.

Secondly, it is important to achieve this understanding because groups play, and will play, an increasingly large part in our lives. Our technologies guarantee this. Dickson (1974) points out that "the machines to which the individual has access coincide with the forms of possible social action that lie open to him". (Alternative Technology. P.176). Most socially significant machines now call for multi-person operation and maintenance. Most significant social actions are necessarily mediated by groups. Understanding groups and group behaviour is a pressing practical, as well as a theoretical problem.

I.3. Systems Background

The initial problem is easily stated. If groups are stable, why should this be so? The elaboration of explanatory hypotheses was more difficult. The concept of stability is not commonly used in either psychology or sociology. Similarly, although many group variables have been explored in depth, there had been virtually no work on "the circular chain of causal interactions". There are, however, many examples in other fields. All involve descriptions of systems, and can best be gathered together under the heading of cybernetics.

The first step in this research was to elaborate a set of systems hypotheses concerning small human groups that incorporated the results of social-psychological "causal" research, and was at the same time analogous to successful systems work in other fields.

Before setting out my original hypotheses, I shall, therefore, review the systems work that had the greatest influence on their formulation.

I.4. Paradigms

I.4.I. Sociobiology - Thermoregulation by Honeybees.

This is the most precise and striking example of social homeostasis, and provides an exact analog to physiological control systems. It demonstrates (at the level of insects) that precise homeostasis can be a property of social systems as well as biological organisms.

The following description is largely taken from Wilson (I97I).

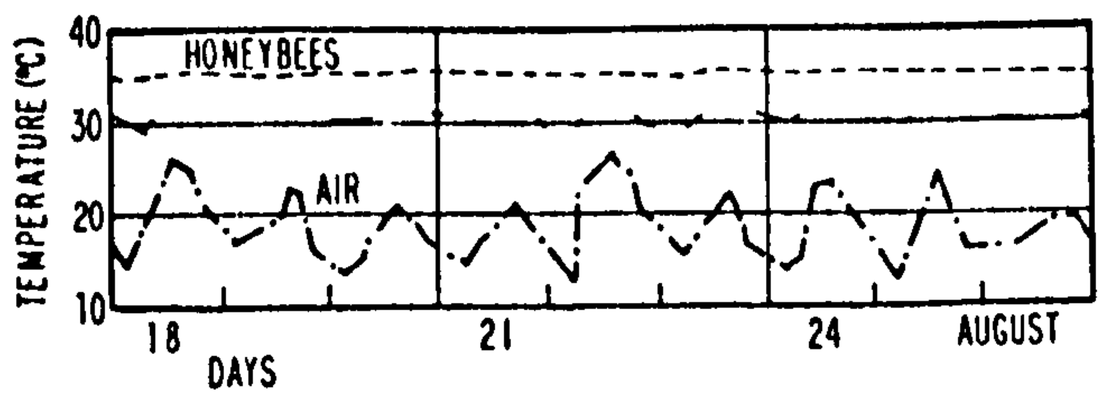

Fig. 3. The nest temperature maintained by colonies of honeybees (apis mellifera) in cold air. Redrawn from Kemper and Döhring, I967). Wilson I97I.P.307.

Temperature control is a two level process. Firstly an environment (nest) is chosen and modified (all crevices, etc. sealed, except for an entrance hole) so that heat and moisture is sealed in. Secondly, there are short term behavioral responses of colony members to temperature perturbations.

If the nest temperature falls, the bees cluster together, warming each other - the greater the fall, the tighter the cluster. The clustering itself is articulate. The outer zone is composed of several layers of bees sitting quietly with their heads inwards. The bees in the inner zone are more active. They move about restlessly, sip honey, and from time to time shake their abdomens and breath more rapidly. Thus the central bees generate heat, while the outer bees serve as an insulating shell.

Temperature control on summer days is even more sophisticated. As the nest temperature rises above 30°C, the workers cool the hive by fanning their wings to circulate air over the brood combs and out of the entrance. If the nest temperature exceeds about 34°C, water evaporation is added by a series of elaborate behavioural steps.

The tuning of this social air conditioning system has been described by Lindauer (I96I):-

"One might imagine that each bee would set out to collect water as soon as it detects the overheating. This is not so: not just any bee is able to collect water. Only bees that know the terrain and are experienced foragers can perform this task. Furthermore, it is an advantage when bees are divided into water collectors and water sprinklers. So there is a very strict division of labour between the older flying bees, who collect water outside, and the younger hive bees, who distribute it. Indeed, we found a special mode of communication by means of which the water collectors receive instructions from the hive bees about when to start collecting and when to stop.

Let us begin with the simple case. Let us assume that water collecting is still in progress and the foragers are to be informed whether or not there is need for more water.

To transmit this information the hive bees make use of the short moment when they have contact with the collectors: this is during water delivery at the entrance hole. As long as overheating exists, the homecoming foragers are relieved of their burdens with great greed: three or four bees at once may rush up to a collector and suck from her the extruded water droplet. This storm begging informs the collector bee that there is a pressing need for more water. When the overheating begins to subside, however, the hive bees show less interest in the water collectors. The latter now have to run around the hive themselves, trying to find somewhere a bee that will relieve them of at least part of the water load. The delivery in such cases takes much more time, of course. This rejecting attitude contains the message "Water needs fulfilled", and the water collecting will thus stop, even though the collectors themselves have not been at the brood nests to experience the changed temperature situation.

This delivery time is in fact an accurate gauge of water demand. As shown in (the accompanying figure), with delivery times up to 60sec. the collecting is continued industriously. Beyond that, however, the eagerness for collecting decreases rapidly, and when delivery takes longer than 3 min. collecting practically ceases altogether.

A second point is apparent: When delivery times are very short (up to 40 sec.), the water collectors even perform recruiting dances to stimulate hive bees to fly to the water source...These recruiting dances subside somewhat if the delivery time is longer than 40 sec. and later cease completely".
Quoted in Wilson. I97I. P 309

The honeybee thermoregulation system provides a paradigm of precision in the study of social systems. Well defined variables are related in a quantitative way. Overambition - a description of the totality of honeybee social life - is avoided. Similarly, as Wilson makes clear, the exact biological and genetic mechanisms of individual bees underlying this thermal homeostasis are not known. It is thus possible to make useful and exact statements about one level of resolution of a social system without exact specifications of the macro- and micro-systems which surround and compose it.

I.4.2.Ethology - Animal Dispersion.

Wynne Edwards (1962) provides a full account of animal dispersion that both demonstrates the applicability of cybernetic concepts to social life, and the irreductability

of "group" properties.

Wynne Edwards' hypothesis contradicts the well-known theory of Volterra (1928) that two species, one of which feeds on the other, must undergo perpetual oscillations in numbers. The predator population would increase until it over-ate its food supply, thereafter declining in consequence, thus giving the prey a chance to build up its numbers, and so on in successive cycles.

Counterposed to this is the postulate that evolution selects the predator populations that are able to control their own levels so that these dangerous oscillations do not arise.

It is assumed, by generalizing from data of fish populations, that the yield to the predator population depends on the rate of exploitation of the prey. Exploitation above a certain critical level leads to extinction of the prey.

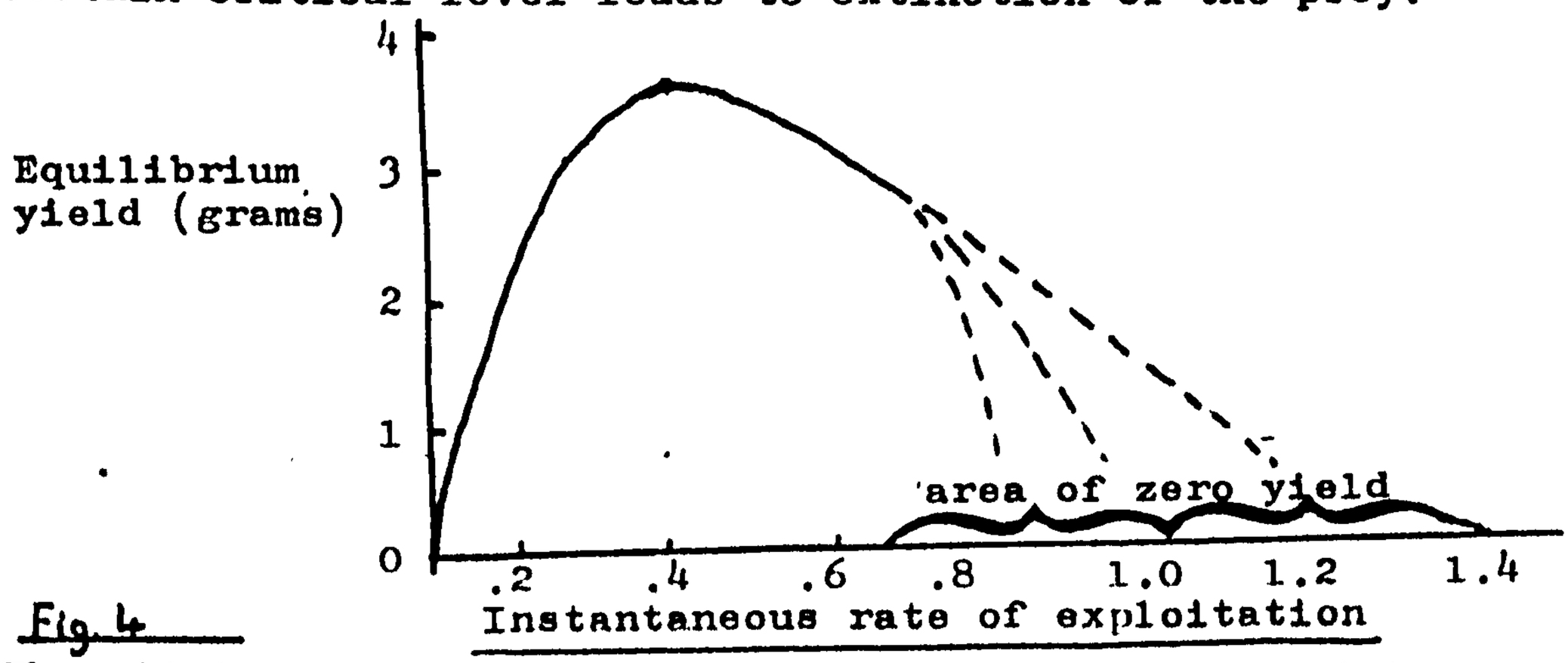

Fig. 4

Thus it is to the evolutionary advantage of the predator population to restrict its exploitation to the level at which maximum yield is obtained. This is most effectively done by restricting the numbers of the predator population (although there are instances of biomass rather than numbers being restricted).

The question arises of how this restriction, generating the equation of Fig. 5 is operated.

Recruitment arising from Reproduction + Immigration	}	=	{ Uncontrollable losses + Emigration + Social Mortality

Fig. 5. (from Wynne Edwards. 1962. P. 526).

It is pointed out that "uncontrollable losses" constitutes the Independent Variable, and that all the other variables can be socially manipulated to maintain the equation.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the amazing multiplicity of ways in which various insect, bird, and animal species control these variables. Of special interest is the widespread use of "convention". "Conventions ..... must, by their nature, always be properties of a concerted group, and can never be completely vested in or discharged by a lone individual in perpetual isolation;" (Ibid. P. 132). Conventions largely determine which, and how many creatures breed, are forced to migrate, or are "executed". Pure individual competition for food is not permitted to arise, and the death of any adult member of a viable population from starvation seems a vanishingly rare phenomenon. Estimates of population to trigger or defuse conventions are arrived at in a variety of ways, from the symbolic "counting posts" of dogs, cats, and bears, to the massing of the total population of many, especially winged, species. Whatever system is used incorporates the two processes necessary for homeostasis -- "a means of bringing about whatever changes are needed to restore the balance when it is disturbed" and "an input of information, acting as an indicator of the state of balance or imbalance of the system, that can evoke the appropriate corrective response." (Ibid. P.13). A broad summary of these systems is given in Fig. 6.

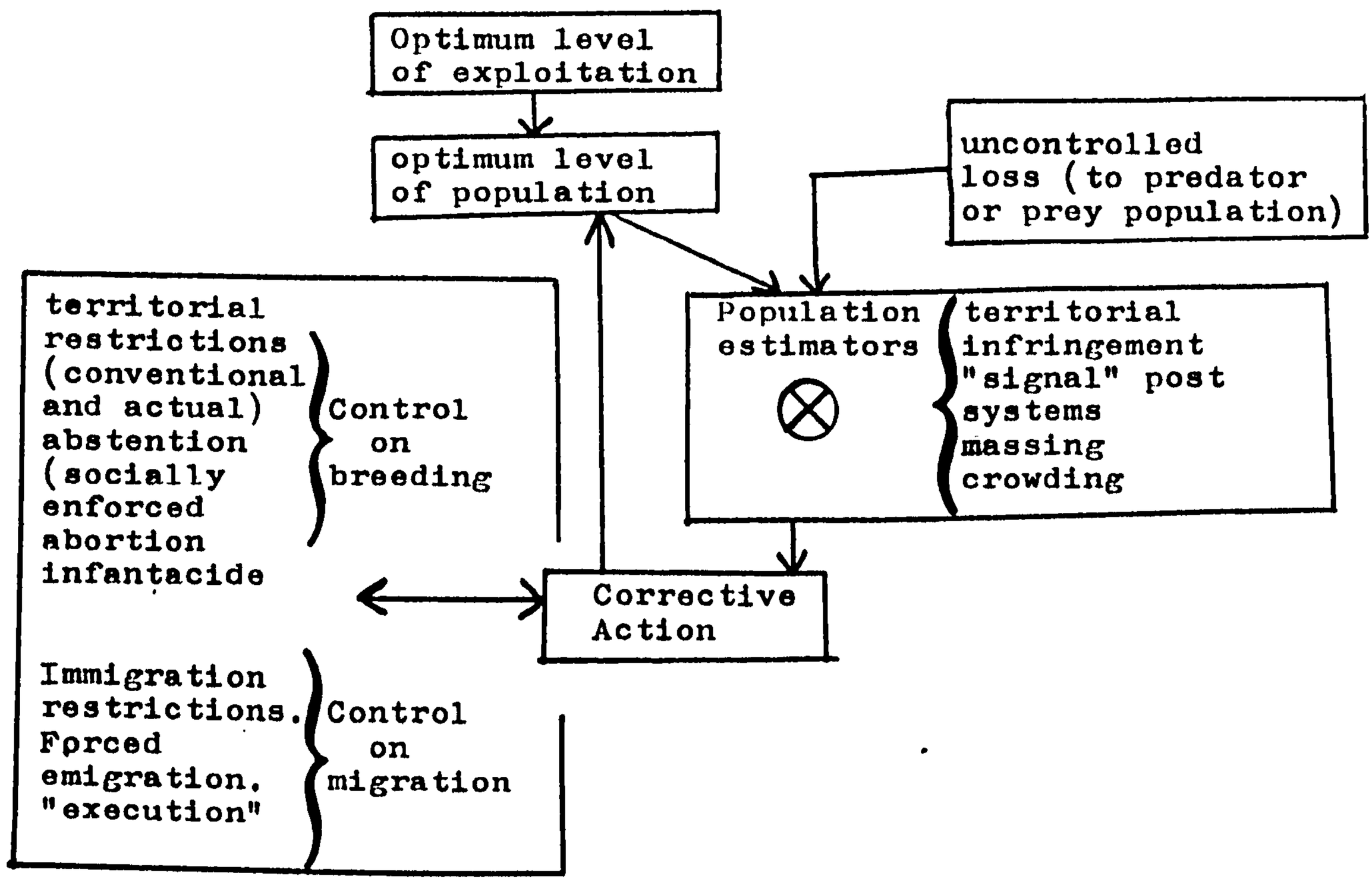

Fig. 6

Again the point should be made that evolution operated on the conventionally structured group as well as on individuals of a species. If there is conflict the factors favouring population survival (eg. limits on progeny) win out over those favouring individual "survival" (eg. unlimited progeny).

Thus we see that even fairly simple cybernetic concepts can unify and render comprehensible many apparently diverse and unrelated social phenomena.

1.4.3. Anthropology - The Tzembaga Ritual Cycle.
Rappaport's study of a New Guinea tribe is the most rounded and complete of this selection of background studies. The methodology owes as much to Wynne Edwards as to traditional anthropology. A large number of variables are measured and/or estimated, including rainfall, soil fertility, quantity and calorific values of crops, composition of wild flora and fauna, as well as the more traditional size of population, size and distribution of clans and subgroups, kinship and

authority nets, ritual forms, procedures and frequencies.

It is postulated that the Tzembaga, within their territorial boundaries, form a "ritually regulated population".

The central ritual, the Kaiko, serves, at the level of the ecosystem, to regulate human and pig populations, and the relationship of both to the viability of the agricultural system - ensuring adequate fallow periods. At the level of population, the kaiko serves to regulate warfare and territorial rights.

Although "Pigs for Ancestors" is too detailed and complex a book to summed up in a few paragraphs, Rappaport's own summary does some justice to the cybernetic concepts it contains.

"It has been argued in this study that Maring ritual is of great importance in articulating the local and regional subsystems. The timing of the riual cycle is largely dependent upon changes in the states of components of the local ecosystem. But the Kaiko, which culminates the ritual cycle, does more than reverse changes that have taken place in this subsystem. During its performance obligations to other local populations are fulfilled, support for future military enterprises is rallied, land from which enemies have earlier been driven is occupied, and the movement of goods and women is stimulated. Completion of the Kaiko permits the local population to initiate warfare again. Conversely, warfare is terminated by the rumbim-planting ritual that prohibits the reinitiation of warfare until the state of the local ecosystem allows the Kaiko to again be staged and completed; participation in the rumbim planting also ratifies the connection of men to local populations to which they were not previously affiliated.

Maring riual, in short, operates not only as a homeostat - maintaining a number of variables that comprise the total system within ranges of viability - but also as a transducer - "translating" changes in the state of one subsystem into information and energy that can produce changes in the second subsystem. It should be recalled here that the transuction operation of the ritual cycle is such that the participation of local populations in respect to warfare, which is important in the redistribution of land and personnel but is also dangerous, is not continuous. It could therefore be argued that the ritual transducer maintains coherence between subsystems at levels above or below which the perpetuation of the total system might be endangered."

(P. 229)

Rappaport admits that the study is, in part, an "explanatory sketch", in that some of the variables are not properly quantified - in particular no values are assigned to the frequency of warfare, or its tolerable (for the survival of the general tribal system) limits. It is, however, sufficiently quantified and precise to stand as a useful example of the application of cybernetic methodology, and to facilitate experimental simulation as a partial test of the postulated systemic relationships (See Cartledge & Rezac. 1970)

1.4.4. Psychiatry Double Bind Theory.

Double Bind theory (Bateson et al 1956) is of interest here not because it is correct - which it probably isn't - but because it locates schitzophrenia as a social process in a family rather than as an individual process in a head.

In essence the theory says that the identified schitzophrenic "must live in a universe where the sequence of events are such that his unconventional communication habits will be in some sense appropriate". The continuous and repeated context of his behaviour (universe) is characterized as a double bind. The ingredients of the double bind are: a primary negative injunction backed by the threat of punishment, "Do not do so-and-so or I will punish you".; A secondary injunction conflicting with the first at a more abstract leve, and also backed by the threat of punishment; a tertiary negative injunction preventing the victim from escaping the field; lastly, once the victim has learned to see the world in double bind patterns, the complete sequence is no longer necessary - any part of it will trigger the schitzophrenic response.

Bateson's illustration of this process is as follows:-

"A young man who had fairly well recovered from an acute schitzophrenic episode was visited in hospital by his mother. He was glad to see her and impulsively put his arm around her shoulders, whereupon she stiffened. He withdrew his arm and she asked, 'Don't you love me any more?' He then blushed, and she said, 'Dear, you must not be so easily embarrassed and

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afraid of your feelings'. The patient was able to stay with her only a few minutes more and following he departure he assaulted an aide and was put in the tubs".

The problem with double bind theory, despite the apparent close specification of relevent communication patterns, is operationalization and testing. Laing (1961) paraphrases the above example, but his description starts:-

"As he goes towards her she opens her arms for him to embrace her ..." (P.146) *

Bateson himself (1969) recognised this problem, and said:-

"Our original paper on the double bind contains numerous errors due simply to our having not yet articulately examined the reification problem. We talk in that paper as though a double bind were a something and as though such somethings could be counted.

Of course that's all nonsense. You cannot count the bats in an inkblot because there are none. And yet a man .. if he be "bat-minded" ... may "see" several".

Despite this serious defect, double bind theory served to change the parameters determining the study of mental ilness. Possibly for the first time behaviour was seen as part of an articulate social process with its own dynamic, not at the expense of individual considerations, but as a compliment to them. To use Bateson's own words, "... the family, perhaps gradually, becomes organized (ie. limits the behaviour of the component individuals) in such a way as to fit the schitzophrenia." (Bateson 1960a).

Or again, "I believe that this is the essence of the matter, that the schitzophrenic family is an organisation with great ongoing stability whose dynamics and inner workings are such that each member is continually undergoing the experience of negation of self."
(Bateson. 1960b)

1.4.5. Criminology Differential Association Theory.
Differential Association Theory is included because it locates the origins of certain sorts of behaviour (the criminal) in a social/group nexus. (Sutherland 1960).

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* Footnote. Two different accounts of the same situation, which both qualify as double-binds.

It asserts that criminal/delinquent behaviour is a consequence of association with criminal/delinquent sub-cultures, rather than something innate in the individual. To quote Reiss & Rhodes (1964): "A basic postulate .... about delinquents is that delinquent behaviour is essentially group behaviour".

One of the problems with Sutherland's original formulation was operationalization and testing. Consider, for instance, the difficulties of the statement "... some persons define a situation in which a fruit stand owner is out of sight as a crime committing situation, while others do not so define it", which is then explained by (Axiom 6) "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of the law over definitions unfavourable to violation of the law".

A consequence of this difficulty has been that much work on differential association concentrates on testing consequences of the theory (eg. Short 1958; Reiss & Rhodes 1964) rather than examining the soical dynamics of the process that would lead to these consequences.

Differential Association Theory was <u>not</u> formulated as a systems theory. Nevertheless there are many aspects of it - not least its emphasis on process and complexity - that seem to call for a systems approach. Several examples of such theses appear in Cloward & Ohlin (1970) pps. 7 - 14, :-

"A delinquent subculture is one in which certain forms of delinquent activity are essential requirements for the performance of the dominant roles supported by the subculture".

"Acts of delinquency that reflect subcultural support are likely to reccur with great frequency".

"The delinquent subculture imparts to the conduct of its members a high degree of stability and resistance to control or change".

"While he is being inducted into the subculture, the new member encounters and learns ways of describing the world about him which equip him to engage in these prescribed activities, enabling him to understand, discriminate, predict, and interpret the actions of others in relation to himself as a member of the subculture".

A more recent book, Short & Strodtbeck (1965), elucidates at least one group process that precipitates delinquent episodes. The gang leader instigates the delinquent episode in response to a status threat. The function of the episode is to re-affirm his status, and the norm of the gang.

Thus again we can say that there are certain classes of actions, carried out by individuals, that have their origin in group processes. Nor is there any good reason to expect this general process to be confined to delinquent groups. As Sutherland himself says (1960. P.78): "Criminal behaviour is human behaviour, has much in common with non-criminal behaviour, and must be explained within the same general framework used to explain other human behaviour".

1.4.6.Sociology Street Corner Society.

Whyte's classic study is too well known to warrent detailed analysis here. The main findings, as summarized by Shepherd (1964) are:-

1. Repeated observation of people in a permanent social situation can enable one to locate enduring subgroups which function as groupings outside of that situation.
2. Position (rank or status) in a group is directly related to the degree of origination of action for the group.
3. A group can be effectively influenced by influencing the top two or three persons in the status hierarchy.
4. Once the status hierarchy of group members is established much energy goes into maintaining members' relative positions to each other.
5. Group members develop a subtle and complex system of mutual obligations and reciprocities.
6. Position in the group is inversely related to violating or failing to discharge mutual obligations.
7. In-group cohesion and out-group hostility are directly related.
8. Interaction and similarity of position in group are directly related.
9. Position in the group is directly related to resourcefulness (knowing what to do), fair-mindedness, and skill in things valued by the group.

Although Whyte (understandably, as it was not part of his project) made no attempt to quantify the variables, their relations, or the general system structure, there have been innumberable attempts to elucidate the seperate points. Indeed, in many ways, these can be said to be the backbone of

social psychological research. However, to me, the interest lies not in the universalization of the separate points, but in the articualtion of the system as a whole. Such an articulation must involve, not only abstract theory, but the quantity and quality of observational detail that Whyte presented.

1.4.7. "Ecological Psychology

This is a phrase coined by Roger Barker in a series of undeservedly little known papers and books. Barker's original concern was the natural distribution of psychological phenomena. However his attempt to identify units in the Stream of Behaviour (Barker. 1963) soon led to a much more sophisticated concept - The Behaviour Setting.

According to Barker (1968) "The view is not uncommon among psychologists that the environment of behaviour is a relatively unstructured, passive, probabilistic area of objects and events upon which man behaves in accordance with the programming he carries about within himself.

In other words, pure psychological phenomena are best got at in controled conditions where the ordinary contingencies of existence have been stripped away.

However, in contradiction to this, Barker found that "Some attributes of behaviour varied less across children within settings than across settings within the days of children". Thus "the environment is seen to consist of highly structured, improbable arrangements of objects and events which coerce behaviour in accordance with their own dynamic patterning."

Behaviour Settings are rigorously defined in terms of locus, duration, frequency, structure, independence/interdependence, autonomy, coercion, functional positions of inhabitants ("performance zones"), and other factors. The definitions are extensively tested for applicability and observer reliability.

The dynamics and stability of behaviour settings are then examined in terms of "circuits" and "mechanisms". These

concepts are remarkable for their generality and clear applicability (in contrast, for instance, to the highly blurred concept of "role"). As they form an axiliary theoretical basis for group processes that I shall hypothesize connect and regulate group size and activity, it is worth summarizing them at this point.

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BEHAVIOUR SETTINGS AS THINGS AND THEIR INHABITANTS AS MEDIA.

Goal Circuits Within a behaviour setting there are routes to goals that are satisfying to the inhabitants. A setting exists only so long as it provides its inhabitants with traversable routes to the goals their own unique natures require. In a behaviour setting of the genotype Baseball Games, for example, the pitcher may achieve satisfactions by striking out batters, the umpire by earning $25, the concessionaire by selling many hot dogs, and the hometown fans by cheering the team to victory. Unless a sufficient number of the inhabitants of a baseball game are at least minimally satisfied, they will leave the setting, or will not return on another occasion, and the setting will cease.

Program Circuits The program of a behaviour setting is the schedule of ecobehavioural occurences that comprise a particular behaviour setting. The complete program of a setting is usually stored within the inhabitants of penetration zone 5/6; parts of it are stored within the inhabitants of more peripheral zones. The program is sometimes written out, as in the lesson schedule of a teacher or the agenda and operational guides (eg. Roberts' Rules of Order) of a business meeting.

Deviation-countering Circuits This is one of two types of circuits by which a behaviour setting is maintained with its routes and goals intact. Deviation-countering circuits are involved within a behaviour setting of the genotype Grocery Stores, for example, when the proprietor corrects a clerk's errors in pricing articles, when an employee repairs a broken shelf, when the refrigerators operate and keep their contents cool. Inaccurate employees, broken shelving, and warm refrigerators are grocery store components that destroy and/or block routes to goals (profits, wages, groceries) that various inhabitants achieve; they are deviancies, or inadequacies, that must be dealt with if the program of a grocery store is to be carried out and the inhabitants are to achieve the satisfactions they seek. One way of dealing with inadequacies or deviancies of this kind is to correct or counter them.

Vetoing Circuits These circuits are identical with deviation-countering circuits except that the behaviour setting deviancy is not countered; rather, the deviant component is

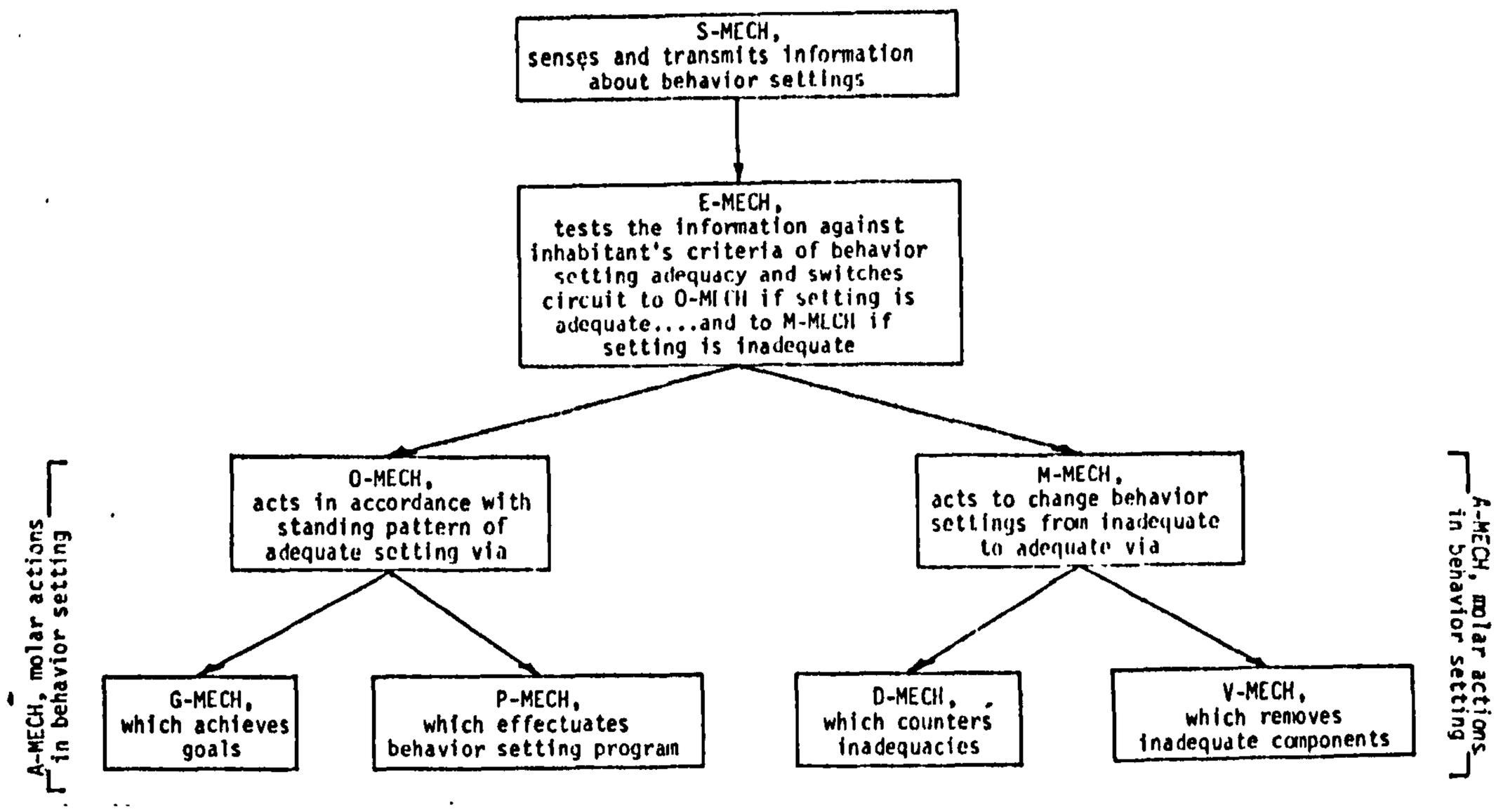
eliminated. Vetoing circuits are involved when an inaccurate employee is not corrected, but fired; and when a broken shelf is not repaired, but discarded.

Regulation of Circuits That Join Behaviour Settings and Inhabitants via the E-O-E Arc

Within each of the circuits ther is a control unit consisting of a behaviour setting sensing mechanism (S-MECH) which senses and transmits information about behaviour settings; an executive mechanism (E-MECH), which tests information about settings against inhabitants' criteria of behaviour setting adequacy and switches the circuit to the appropriate goal program, deviation-coutntering, or vetoing channel. The control unit is located within the organism sector of the E-O-E arc; it is, in fact, the mechanism of the TOTE unit identified by Miller, Galanter, and Pribram (1960) as the fundamental unit of behaviour. The parts of the control unit, their functions, order of functioning, and the alternative circuits they provide within the E-O-E arc are shown in Fig. 7; and examples of control units in operation are presented in Fig. 8.

Thus, in Ecological Psychology, we have a rounded presentation of human social behaviour as explicable, and to some extent predictable, in terms of cybernetics and self-organising systems. Yet the behaviour described within the book - which space considerations do not permit me to inclued - remains idiocyncratic and essentially warm and human.

I shall argue later that groups cannot be properly understood when divorced from their environments; that group environment is best understood and conceptualised in terms of Behaviour Settings; and that group stability is predicated on the stability of the Behaviour Settings the group creates and occupies.



Parts of the control unit of an E-O-E circuit.

fig 7

Circuit Identification	Circuit Channel	Terminus	Type	Examples
Deviation-Countering (D-MECH) via	(a) human channels terminating in	(1) inhabitant	D-MECH, a1	Teacher reprimands child for misbehavior
	(a) human channels terminating in	(2) milieu	D-MECH, a2	Grocery store employee repairs a shelf
via	(b) mechanical channels terminating in	(1) inhabitant	D-MECH, b1	Patron in telephone booth hears instruct "This is recorded message. There is no telephone corresponding to the number yo have dialed. Check number and dial again
	(b) mechanical channels terminating in	(2) milieu	D-MECH, b2	Thermostatically controlled furnaces and coolers keep store temperature between 68 72 degrees
Vetoing (V-MECH) via	(a) human channels terminating in	(1) inhabitant	V-MECH, a1	Teacher sends child with symptoms of illne to office of school nurse
	(a) human channels terminating in	(2) milieu	V-MECH, a2	Librarian discards worn and obsolete book
via	(b) mechanical channels terminating in	(1) inhabitant	V-MECH, b1	Motorist without requisite coin is blocked from parking lot by automatic gate and shunted to street
	(b) mechanical channels terminating in	(2) milieu	V-MECH, b2	Coin-operate laundry rejects defective co

Types of behavior setting maintenance circuits.

fig 8

1.5. Summary

Small group studies have a long and diverse history. However, there are very few statements about groups that are more than rules of thumb, or highly qualified and tentative. It is suggested that this has to do with the complexity of the phenomenon, and that the "two-variable" method is inappropriate in this context. On the other hand, to include everything would be to write a novel (stamping a malleable universe with the author's subjective intuitions), rather than to do research.

Successful complex studies of social phenomena are restricted, but in a different way to "two-variable" studies. The emphasis is on process, and the process is not only embedded in a stable context; often it is the stable context of other behaviour, or significantly contributes towards it. Thus it is possible to describe the thermoregulation of honeybees without reference to honey collecting; the status maintaining system in gangs without reference to how members earn a living; the influence of ritual on agricultural efficiency without reference to its signaling function in the larger group of tribes. To use an anology, process studies identify circuits, while others measure distances between terminals.

CHAPTER 2

2. Methodology

2.1. General Epistemology

2.2. Cybernetic Methodology

2.3. Implications for the study of Human Groups

2. METHODOLOGY

This topic divides conveniently into three levels of abstraction: general epistemology; cybernetic methodology; the consequences and applications of this for the study of small group stability.

2.1. General Epistemology

The epistemological basis of this research is unashamedly Kuhnian.

> "Competition between segments of the scientific community is the only historical process that ever actually results in the rejection of one previously accepted theory, or in the adoption of another".
> (Kuhn. 1970. p.8)

Such epistemological considerations are not merely a rhetorical diversion. They are important because there is no such thing as "normal" (in Kuhn's sense) science in social psychology. In approaching human groups from a cybernetic point of view, both methodological and paradigm shifts are being attempted. Group studies (whether under social psychology, sociology, or cybernetics) can be characterised as a science with paradigms but no theory. Underlying assumptions tend to be "lifted" from other sciences: Thibaut and Kelley's rational man from economics; the applicability of "causal" theories from early psychology and physics; etc. How we set about research is determined by what we assume is there and knowable. These projects are initiated by humans using rationality as a tool, not as the "empiricists" (Ayer, 1936; Popper, 1963; Lakatos, 1968) would have it, by rationality unfolding, somehow using humans as a tool - paradoxically a neo-Hegalian idea.

Given this state of affairs - conflict at every level - it would be dishonest to present this research as proceeding in a logico-deductive manner from general theories to specific hypotheses. Firstly, there are no general theories, only (frequently incommesurable) paradigms. Secondly, not being a normal science, there are no universally accepted

rules of procedure and experimentation.* Fortunately, although rules derive from paradigms, "paradigms can guide research even in the absence of rules" (Kuhn.1970. p. 42). By using a cybernetic paradigm (as exemplified in Chapter 1) I am asserting that if groups are knowable, then they are knowable as systems. This, and the allied assumption - where we find systems, we expect to find stable sub-systems - are not strictly testable. Research will only weaken or strengthen them as useful assumptions; they are the best that rationality can do, not its essence.

Recognition of all this means that sets of derived explanatory hypotheses must be strictly testable. It also means - given the tenuous links between theory, paradigms, and rules - that the initial derivation of a rigid and unique set of hypotheses would be foolish.

The project, then, is to establish an inter-related set of hypotheses (which explain some aspects of group behaviour) as plausible.

* FOOTNOTE

For an amazing description of method, consider the following:

"The old dichotomy between hypotheses based upon theory and radical empiricism is no longer clear. It has become commonplace to use the term serendipity to describe the process of empirically discovering one thing while looking for another. While serendipity is a welcome addition to descriptions of the discovery process, it is not accurate in terms of the objectives of the present study. Our objective has been to expose ourselves over a three-year period to a flow of quite heterogeneous observations of the behaviour of delinquent gangs. There is a clear expectation of suprises to be found in the data and willingness to be distracted by such suprises. The essential characteristic of this retroductive perspective is that the investigator who exposes himself to a flow of data accepts the responsibility of formulating hypotheses which, if true, would remove the suprise in the observation in question.

From Short & Strodtbeck. 1965. p.25.

2.2. Cybernetic Methodology

The origins, basis, and fundamental propositions of cybernetics are too well known to go into here. (Ashby, 1956: Pask, 1961: Klir & Valach, 1965). It suffices to say here that cybernetics is distinguished from other sciences by having no specific subject matter in the sense of classes of objects. Rather it deals with systems in which there is communication and control. Such diverse objects as economies and thermostats, brains and autopilots, neurophysiological processes and teaching machines can be studied within cybernetics. As systems, general laws, such as Ashby's Law of Requisite Variety, will apply.

The methodology of cybernetics may be crudely described as abstraction, synthesis, and matching - a process of successive approximation, subsumed by the question "How is it regulated?" in the case of stable systems, or "How are novel responses generated and selected?" in the case of evolving systems.

Abstraction is the first necessity, because most systems-in-the-world are so complex as to defy analysis in their totality. As Beer (1966) puts it: "The kinds of system under discussion exhibit literally billions of variables. There is no rigorous means of knowing which matter". The variables extracted to reduce the numerousness of the real-system form a system-model. The system-model is a synthesis of abstracted variables. The validity of the model is then tested by matching it against the real-system. If the transformations of the system-model are isomorphic with the transformation of the real-system in the relevent respects, then the real-system will also be a model of the system-model. (Ashby. 1956.6/16). However, Ashby also points out that this is an ideal state of affairs: the system-model will seldom be isomorphic with a real-system, if the latter is a living system. Rather it will be a homomorphism. "Thus what usually happens is that two systems, biological and model, are so related that a homomorphism of the one is isomorphic with a homomorphism of the other ..... The higher the homomorphisms are on

their lattices, the better or more realistic will be the model." (Ashby. opp. cit.). Here we see that the criteria for the "goodness" of the model are determined by the project of the researcher, rather than by etèrnal standards. After all, the ideal model, fully equivalent in complexity, numerousness, and transformations, is the system itself. But we have already seen that the system itself, by virtue of numerousness and complexity, is beyond our understanding (usually), and therefore useless as a model. Understanding rises with the complexity of the model, and the demanded complexity of the model rises with understanding. Thus, when dealing with social systems, we tend to be content with low-level, often verbal models (see, for example, Knight, Curtis, & Fogel. 1971), whereas neural and automata systems demand higher, more complex and formal models (Von Foerster & Zopf. 1962; Von Foerster et al. 1968).

Models are parts of human projects, not seperate entities. In many ways they are isomorphic with the concept of "totalization" presented by Laing & Cooper (1964) in their condensed translation of Satre's La Critique de la Raison Dialectique.

The essence of cybernetic method, then, is to establish the best model, given an always limited level of understanding. In this we are assisted by the art of selecting relevent variables, the paradigms of previously successful models, the laws of general systems, and heuristics, such as Beer's "level of resolution of a given system". (Beer.1975).

2.3. Implications for the study of human groups

Human groups are conceptualized here as amenable to cybernetic diagnosis.* The advantage of this methodology is that it reduces the confusions of numerousness, while

* FOOTNOTE

Many criticisms have been made of the application of cybernetic methodology of social phenomena. These seem to fall into four broad categories.

i) it is dehumanizing.
ii) it does not explain the origin of phenomena.
iii) it is "panglossian" in its focus on utility, harmony, integration, coherence, etc. in the status quo.
iv) it is untestable as crucial terms and concepts do not have a clear empirical import.

(These criticisms also apply to functionalism in Sociology, which can be a similar approach).

The criticism of dehumanization may be rejected on many grounds. It may be pointed out that some of the most humane psychologists (Laing; Bateson) utilize a systems approach, whereas some of the most inhumane (Skinner; Eysenck) use the "two variable" method. More importantly, if our social and human environment is coherent, does operate according to its own dynamic, then understanding this process is a precondition to decreasing the constraints on our freedom of action. Understanding schitzophrenia as a consequence of a process does not imply acquiesence in that process.

The following replies to the last three criticisms are essentially taken from Vayda's Foreword to Rappaport (1968), with additional arguements of my own.

"Cybernetic method does not explain the origin of phenomena". This ceiticism is based on the recognition that more than one institution or procedure may fulfil any specified function. Hence demonstrating functions of particular institutions does not explain why they, rather than some alternative, should have developed and be present. Vayda points out that the criticism is sound but irrelevent. The object is to demonstrate how things work, rather than how they have come intobeing. It can also be pointed out that there is no a priori reason why evolutionary systems models (continuous <u>or</u> discontinuous) should not give accurate accounts of the origins of social institutions, etc.

"The method is Panglossian". The answer to this is similar to the answer to the dehumanizing criticism. A concern with how systems operate does not commit the analyst to the proposition that no other systems would operate better - the most dramatic example of this being provided by Marx (1867)

"Key concepts are without clear empirical import". This is perhaps the most telling criticism of both functionalism, and of many alledgedly cybernetic studies that I have seen. It has certainly been the major stumbling block for double bind theory. However this flaw is not inherent in systems theory. As Collins (1965) noted, it is avoided by specifying systems of operationally defined variables hypothesized by be maintaining some particular variable within determinable limits. It is also true that the waffling scientist is a nuisance in any discipline. The problem is not confined to cybernetics.

preserving complexity. It should thus overcome the limitations of the "two-variable" approach discussed in Chapter 1, while avoiding the trap of trying to deal with everything. It should be capable of providing an explanation of the persistence of groups, the importance of which is discussed in Para. 1.2.2. Persistence in living or social systems is obviously related to, if not identical with, viability. As Beer (1966) says:

"Cybernetics has demonstrated that they have these properties (viability) only if they have high complexity. Therefore to insist on treating them through concepts, models, and controls that are deliberately of low complexity is to rob these of their viability".

In the following study of stability in informal human groups, stability is assumed to be a component of, if not co-extensive with Beer's concept of viability. If a group is to be viable, then it is almost tautological to say that its size and level of activity must be regulated within some limits. After all, to exist a group must be composed of people doing something. The cybernetic assumption is that if such regulation exists then it is physically embodied, and incorporates signaling and error correcting subsystems.

The first step, therefore is to examine natural groups, and the literature on such groups, for indications that such stability exists, and leads as to which variables are important in the supporting regulatory systems. Next a hypothesis is formed concerning the nature of the regulating process, and its variables operationalized and measured against real groups. If there is a good degree of match between hypothesis and measured group process, the next stage is the construction of a model of these processes, either using people in a laboratory situation, or by computor simulation. The model is then tuned and modified until a good degree of match is achieved between the movement of its variables, and the movement of the corresponding variables in real life groups. Shocks and peturbations can then be applied to the model (and hopefully to a real life group) to test the limits of its stability.

The final model should be capable of refinement in two directions: to a greater level of abstraction, providing a general model of size and activity regulation; to a lower level of abstraction, to provide sets of projections specific to particular groups.

Presentation of the research will be an attempt to mirror this process. Many mistakes and erronious predictions are incorporated as they played just as important a part as correct assumptions in shaping the final model.

CHAPTER 3

3. Initial Studies

3.1. KDIL Phenomena
3.2. Review
3.3. KDIL Hypotheses
3.4. Generalization
3.5. Major Variables.
3.6. Summary

3. Initial Studies

3.1. KDIL Observations of a sub-delinquent community in Outer London.

Method: Informal observations were made over a period of a year. Participant observation methods, as pioneered by Whyte, were used. Events and phenomena relating to stability/change/viability were especially sought after. As, in the event, none of the variables or processes so elicited were quantified and tested, only a summary report of the group KDIL is given here.

3.1.1. General Information

a) The group is located in a number of Pubs, Cafes, and clubs, all within 5 minutes walk of the town market place.
b) Its maximum size is about one hundred members.
c) It is characterized by numerous offences against the prevailing social and legal codes.
d) The age of group members ranges, with a few exceptions, from fifteen to twenty five.
e) Members belong to the group (are "around") for an average of 3 ÷ 5 years.
f) According to reports and group mythology, the group had been in existence for at least six years at the time of observation. (Now, six years on, it still exists in recognisably the same form).

The following phenomena were observed with some regularity.

3.1.2. Conversation

a) The group approves of anti-social acts and statements by its members. "Anti-social" in this context has no value implications: it merely means contradicting, or leaving the range of approved values of the surrounding community. For example, theft and getting drunk (rather than "having a drink") contradict surrounding social values, whereas black magic falls outside their range.

b) Members harden in anti-social attitudes (and thus in the disposition to commit anti-social acts) the longer they are in the group.
c) There is a high frequency of anti-social conversation and discussion of anti-social acts. (This is not necessarily accurate - often the "facts" are fiction or myth).
d) Conversations without this high frequency tend to collapse, and participants join other conversations which do.
e) Members boast of their own anti-social activities - again, not necessarily truly.

3.1.3. Activities

a) In parallel with the conversation, there are large numbers of anti-social activities by individuals, "segments" (see 3.1.4.), and sometimes by the group as a whole. Fairly often these cross the line from the anti-social to the overtly criminal.
b) A general list of activities includes the following: nightly drinking; party-going (usually gatecrashing); sex, including male and female homosexuality; drug taking; petty crime (eg. shoplifting, autotheft); trips to the coast and visits to similar communities. Personal cash was raised in a number of ways: sponging (parents, friends) and the dole were common; untaxed work on the "lump" was also fairly frequent.
c) There are indications of both weekly and yearly cycles of activity. The weekend was clearly the highpoint of the week. The yearly cycle was marked by a summer migration to the coast, and an autumn influx.

3.1.4. "SEGMENTS"

a) This is the basic form of the group. That is to say that the whole group presents the appearance of a number of small groups of people (from 3 to 15 in size).
b) Segments are generally unstable. They grow larger and smaller, exchange members, disintegrate entirely, and so on. The life span of a segment can be as long as an evening; it

is usually more like an hour.
c) Segments support conversations.
d) Members move from one habitat to another in segments rather than as individuals.
e) The group also appears to be articulated in the more conventional, sociometrically defined, subgroup. However, as subgroups, in this case seem to be little more than abstracted segments, with no obvious systemic function over and above those of segments, they will be ignored here.

3.1.5. The Group presents a recognisable array of "Roles"

a) Leaders: These are more talkative, and have the greatest freedom of movement between segments. They are much talked about and set fashions in speech mannerisms, dress and behaviour.
b) Outsiders: These are treated with hostility by most of the group. Their movement between segments is restricted. They do not contribute much to conversations - although they may have "been around" for some time.
c) Providers: These are approached by many group members, but are not around enough to be considered as members proper. The things they provide range from transport and money to habitat and drugs.
d) Newcomers: These are less talkative than others, more tentative in making remarks, and often ignored or cut short when they do make them. They tag along behind more established members.
e) Members Proper: These are recognised as members, but do not play any of the roles already mentioned. They divide roughly into two sorts: the "just arrived" and the "old guard", although, suprisingly, this is not a status difference. Hardly any are in regular employment.

3.1.6. Appearance

Group members affect distinctive dress and hairstyles.

3.1.7. Persecution

Not suprisingly, the activities of the group evokes hostility from, and persecution by other groups in the environment. This takes two basic forms:
i) The removal of individuals (eg. prison or reform school).
ii) Attempts to deprive the group of its meeting places ("habitat")/Closing of alternative habitats to the group.

3.1.8. Changes in membership

a) As indicated in 3.1.1.e., older members tend to leave the group. This seems to happen when they "assume responsibilities" or become completely criminal. In either case they form alliances with other groups whose values are incompatible with the original group.
b) As indicated in 3.1.5.d., new members are admitted. It seems they are generally attracted by the "rebelliousness" and "freedom" of group members.

3.1.9. Values

a) The values of the group, exemplified in conversation and attitudes, distinguish the group from, and prevent it merging into, the surrounding society.
b) The preservation of the values is dependent on the conversation, which is in turn dependent on the performance of appropriate activities.
c) Conversely, the activities can be seen as co-ordinated and inspired by the values.

3.2

From consideration of these phenomena, the obvious "viability" of the group in the face of many destructive pressures, and from cybernetic theory, a set of explanatory hypotheses was constructed.

Despite many glaring inadequacies, I am including this set of hypotheses in its original form. This has been done for

several reasons. Firstly, it has proved impossible to rewrite them without severe distortion, either by including material which evolved from later studies, or by omission of parts which were later dropped. Second, it conforms with the methodological requirements outlined in chapter two. Some of the later problems of operationalization spring from this formulation, and would not be very comprehensible without it. Third, the complexity of this model (especially in the mutuality of the symbolic structure and the population control system) is in fact due to distance from "fact" and nearness to cybernetic theory. It is of more than passing interest that, despite much effort to produce an adequate model of lesser complexity, the final "fact-based" model required, not only a similar level of complexity, but a very similar duality of symbolic and size regulatory systems.

The following hypotheses should, then, be regarded as a finger: in Warren McCulloch's phrase, don't bite it ... look where its pointing.

3.3. KDIL Hypotheses

i) The group is characterised as a complex homeostatic system in which members are assigned a particular distribution of roles, (5), in which there is a definite communication pattern, (4), adhering to the conventions (2) and (9), which act as the syntax of a "private language". In this "private language" the group gives expression to attitudes and acts (2), which are, on occasion, adopted and effected in reality.

ii) In order to sustain the flux of discourse, which is part of the homeostatic activity, it is necessary to maintain a critical mass of individuals in close informational proximity. In practice, this amounts to close physical proximity (1) and (4). The magnitude of the critical mass can be stated as the number of segments required to perpetuate the conversation, and thus, indirectly, the language.

iii) In order to maintain the critical mass* of individuals (since the group can only be regarded as cohering if members are in informational proximity, and this can be roughly equated, in this system, to physical proximity (see ii above)), the group needs to maintain occupancy of suitable habitats.

iv) We have seen from 8. that decay (and possibly other factors (7)) reduce the membership of the group.

v) We have seen from 7. that social pressures (and possibly other factors) make inroads on the existing habitat.

vi) In addition, it is evident, on inspection, that the survival of the group discourse requires a certain influx of variety or novelty. To some extent, this variety is supplied in a ritual fashion (3). If this supply is insufficient, the group is led to commit overt crimes (3) in order to provide the requisite variety.

vii) Hence it looks as though the stability of the group, or, to use a pertinent piece of jargon, "its existence as a self-organising system", depends upon the social analogues of a population density control system of the type mooted by Wynne Edwards and others in connection with animal populations.

viii) The control system has the primary goal of maintaining (in the face of prevailing circumstances) an adequate balance between the habitat available and the occupancy of this habitat. We would also expect the control system to maintain a balance between conversation (involving symbolic situations) and activity (involving real situations), as well as to reflect the balance or unbalance of these two processes in the group.

* FOOTNOTE
The critical mass is an organised body. Probably it is organised with respect to the characteristic role structure.

ix) It is our hypothesis that the symbolic conventional structure of the group consitutes the framework within which such a population density control system acts, and this framework is, of course, necessary for it to act.

x) There is interdependence and interaction between the symbolic conventional structure and the population density control system (as described in viii above). Since the conventional structure is a prerequisite for the control system, and since the conventional structure would disintegrate very rapidly* if the control system did not function, we are justified both in regarding the existence of the conventional structure (in this system) as a necessary and sufficient condition of the control system, and the operation of the control system as a sufficient and necessary condition for the existence of the conventional structure. In other words, the total system is reducible to the components of a Cybernetic Model, namely control units of one sort or another, It would not be possible to study either the conventional structure or the functioning of control without regard to its complement.

3.4. Generalization

As mentioned in 3.1. these variables and processes were not quantified and tested. This was simply because no funding for the project was available at the time. When the research was funded it was tied to a different geographical area (Sussex), and it proved more convenient to work with a new, but accessible group.

However, as a considerable amout of work and observation had gone into the original hypotheses, it seemed appropriate

* FOOTNOTE
It is doubtful whether any "symbolic conventional structure" can be examined in isolation when we are concerned with groups rather than grammars. Certainly, with respect to this group, to isolate language from the factors which tend to disturb it would be to destroy the language. Hence, again, the necessity of the control system.

to generalize, then reparticularize in the new situation. This posed a problem. Which aspects of the original hypotheses were general, and which were idiocyncratic to KDIL? Although the occasion for this question was accidental, the question of the generality of findings is obviously of great importance. Assuming the basic description of KDIL to be accurate, the transfer of attention to another group at this point was a happy accident. The question of generalization was raised in a real way very early in the research.

The problem was approached by stages.
a) The key variables from the KDIL study were isolated.
b) other research involving these variables, singly or in combination, was examined.
c) simpler operationalized versions of the postulated systemic relationships were set up for laboratory testing.
d) simultaniously, general observation and specific data collection concerning these variables and their relations was initiated withe the new natural group - The Brighton Rents Project.

The rest of this chapter will be concerned with the isolation of variables (a), and an account of existing research relating to them, (b); it will be convenient to take both together, with each variable under a separate head.

3.5. Major Variables

3.5.1. The Group

This is, of course not a variable in itself, but a package of variables. The contents of the package are seemingly dependent on experimental whim, rather than the nature of objects-in-the-world. There have been serious attempts to establish typologies of groups (eg. Golembiewski, 1962), but these do not seem to have influenced research. Definitions range from three strangers behind screens in a laboratory to fully fledged subcultures. It is therefore necessary to

define the general nature of the sort of group to be examined here. These will be:-

a) Natural. In other words, the sorts of thing that are found in the world rather than in laboratories, that might be referred to by newspapers rather than created by psychologists.

b) Non-familial. Although I see no reason why processes found in social groups should not also be found in the family (Strodtbeck, 1954: Bateson, 1960b), the family posesses many properties not found in other groups, so, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, this group-type is excluded.

c) Informal. This means that the groups under scrutiny will not have formal constitutions, written rules of conduct, organization charts, and so on. Although, with Cloyd (1957), I am not convinced that there are absolute differences between formal and informal groups, inclusion of the former (which are basically conceptualizable as "organizations" rather than "groups") would introduce unnecessary (and probably unmanageable) levels of complexity.

d) Permeable. Members must be able to join or leave "at will".

e) Durable. The groups must retain identiy over time. This excludes natural "groupings", such as those studied by Coleman & James (1961); it also excludes sets of people, such as those studied by Newcombe (1961), where people may interact and like/dislike one another, but lack the concept of "belonging to a group".

3.5.2. Size

Size is defined simply as the number of people in the group. (This basic definiton leads to problems, and later on will need further articulation.)

Shepherd (1964) speculates that there is an upper size limit of twenty to an informal group, quoting as evidence James (1951) and Bales & Borgatta (1955). As two of my groups (KDIL & BRP) are both informal and at least three

times this size, this is not an absolute rule. However, as it will be suggested later that these larger groups are in fact loose amalgamations of subgroups with some common functions, it is a useful rule of thumb.

The effects of size change in informal groups (apart from this structural transition from informal to formal) has not been much studied. Coleman & James (1961), for instance, make a choice between a "contagion" and a "constant joining rate" assumption to predict joining behaviour (upward size change) on mathematical rather than psychological grounds. The broad psychological or sociological conditions of joining behaviour do not seem to have been examined at all. Leaving behaviour and absenteeism (downward size change) has fared little better. Absenteeism has been related to "span of control" (Acton Soc. 1953), group size (Hewit & Parfitt. 1953), sociometric structure (Moreno. 1953), frustration and work disruption (Herbst. 1962), participation and responsibility (Stephan & Mishler 1952). One study (Coch and French 1948) shows (tentatively) a direct relation between the size of the standard deviation from the production mean and absenteeism/quitting behaviour. Thus, with the exception of the first two studies absenteeism/leaving seem related to normative factors within the group.

There are also numerous studies that show size to be inversely related to "cohesiveness", participation, and satisfaction (eg. Gibb, 1951; Hare, 1952; Slater, 1958). Again, these factors would obviously effect the normative structure of the group.

3.5.3. Activity and Level of Activity

a) Activity is not itself a group variable; strictly it is a category referring to groups of group variables. This is obviously because the activities of one group (a discussion group) may be totally incommensurable with the activities of another (the Ford production line). However, as a "high or low level of activity" has an obvious meaning within the

context of any given group, the label "activity" will be used as it is more convenient than frequent lists of specific activities.

b) It is necessary to specify what will count as a unit of activity for specific groups. In general this will be done with the subjective categories (quantified by the researcher) of the group in question. .

c) While accepting the distinction between task-orientated and socio-emotional activity (Bales. 1953; Slater. 1955; Mills, 1967), for the purposes of this research only the former will be counted as activity. This is more in line with a group's own idea of what activity consists of (see b, above); it also significantly simplifies the observational requirements.

d) In social psychology, activity (and levels of activity) are traditionally measured as productivity. Productivity is a matter of no small interest in our society, and has consequently been related to just about every material, psychological, and social factor imaginable. Little definative information has emerged from this. The most significant variables seem to be size, cohesiveness, and participation. Relevent studies are cited under 3.6. above.

3.5.4. "Symbolic Conventional Structure" (Roles and Norms).

The main problem here is the number and diversity of definitions, uses, and contexts of "role" and "norm". Most sociology texts make use of the terms formally or informally, but, like "group", attempts at systematization (Biddle & Thomas. 1969) do not seem to have taken any deep roots. In group studies, Michael Argyle is of the opinion that the two concepts can be collapsed.

> "The shared behaviour for occupants of a position is sometimes called the role for that position, especially when the behaviour is distinct from the behaviour in adjacent positions. This is very similar to the notion of a groupnorm, and is in fact the same thing if group-membership is classed as a position". (Argyle. 1957.p.175)

Accepting the logic of this position, role and norm will be subsumed under the head "symbolic conventional structure" or for brevity, "normative structure".

Normative structures are not, of course, fixed, and can be expected to undergo change with time. However, for the purposes of this research, it will be assumed, given the lengths of observation periods, that, in natural groups, significant changes do not take place in the normative structures. A significant change is defined as one that would transform the group rather than preserving it. An example would be the change from informal to formal structure. This would be an adaption (amongst other things) to permanently increased size, rather than a mechanism to restore "normal" size.

We have already seen (3.6. & 3.7.) that size and activity effect the normative structure of the group. Assuming the normative structure itself to be relatively fixed, the variable so effected will be called normative strength. This is defined as the power of the normative structure to guide (or compel) appropriate behaviour.

3.5.5. Resources

The resources available to any group depend on its environment and fall into several categories.
a) Resources concerning the survival of individuals. In general these do not form an integral part of group activity ("sponging" in KDIL being an exception), but are a precondition for it.
b) Population resources. Obviously if the group loses and gains members, the environment can be seen as a pool of individuals which serves both as scource and sink for members.
c) Material resources. This includes such things as transport, meeting places ("habitat"), general funds, and so on. The presence or absence of material resources will condition and constrain the number, frequency, and type of activities

available to the group. Available activity, insofar as it concretizes these factors, may also be considered as a material resource for the group.

d) Negative Resources. These are essentially attempts made by groups or individuals in the environment to restrict or destroy the group. (eg.3.1.7 above).

3.5.6. Segments

It is not initially clear whether these are specific to KDIL (probably as a function of its large size), or whether they are more general (under the guise of cliques, status subgroups, friendship subgroups, or whatever). Observation will be made, but the notion will not be built into the initial hypotheses.

3.6. Summary

Detailed observations were made on a specific group, and a set of specific explanatory hypotheses formed. In order to generalize these hypotheses to other groups it was necessary to isolate the main variables. These were size, activity, normative strength, and resources. A partial identity was established between resources and available activity.

The next chapter will deal with the general processes relating these variables.

CHAPTER 4

4. Preliminary Experiments
4.1. Preliminary Hypotheses
4.2. Laboratory Tests
4.3. A Problem Solving Group
4.4. A Crime Simulation Group
4.5. Summary

4. Preliminary Experiments

4.1. Preliminary Hypotheses

From the initial observations, hypotheses, and definitions developed in Chapter 3, the following simplified hypotheses were constructed.

4.1.1.

If permeable groups remain in existence without exhibiting explosive growth, then a plot of size on time will show oscillation around a mean approximating to Fig. 4.1.

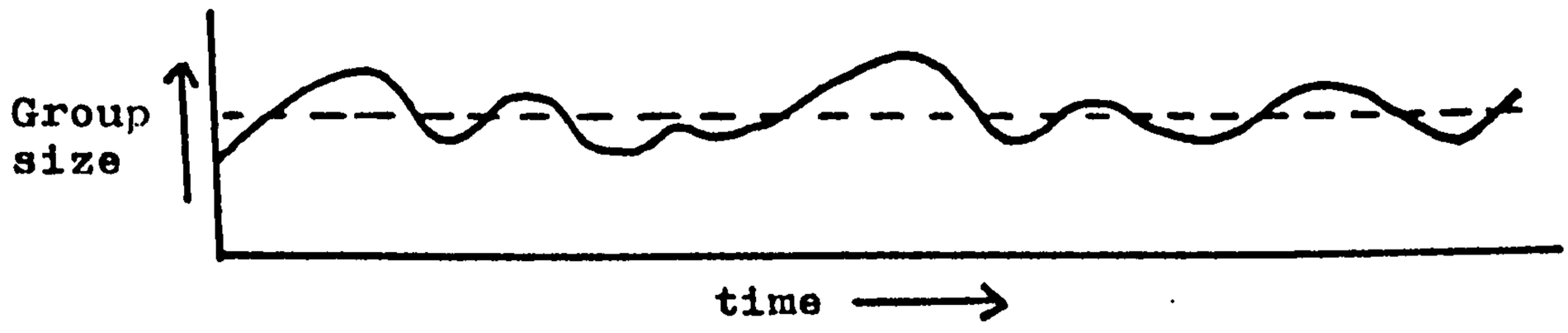


Fig. 4.1. Actual size ——— Mean size-- ---

4.1.2.

If Resources (para 3.5.5.) and normative structure remain constant, then plots of activity and normative strength agianst time will show a similar form (to Fig. 4.1.)

4.1.3.

Given that the conditions of 4.1.1. and 4.1.2. hold, then the major variables of size, normative strength; and activity will be related in the following way:-

Size increase will be followed by decrease in normative strength, which in turn will be followed by a fall in the level of activity. Decrease in normative strength results in absence or loss of members, and consequent drop in activity. Drop in activity leads to decreased social visibility of the group, which checks the possibility of size increase.

These relationships are summarised in Fig. 4.2.

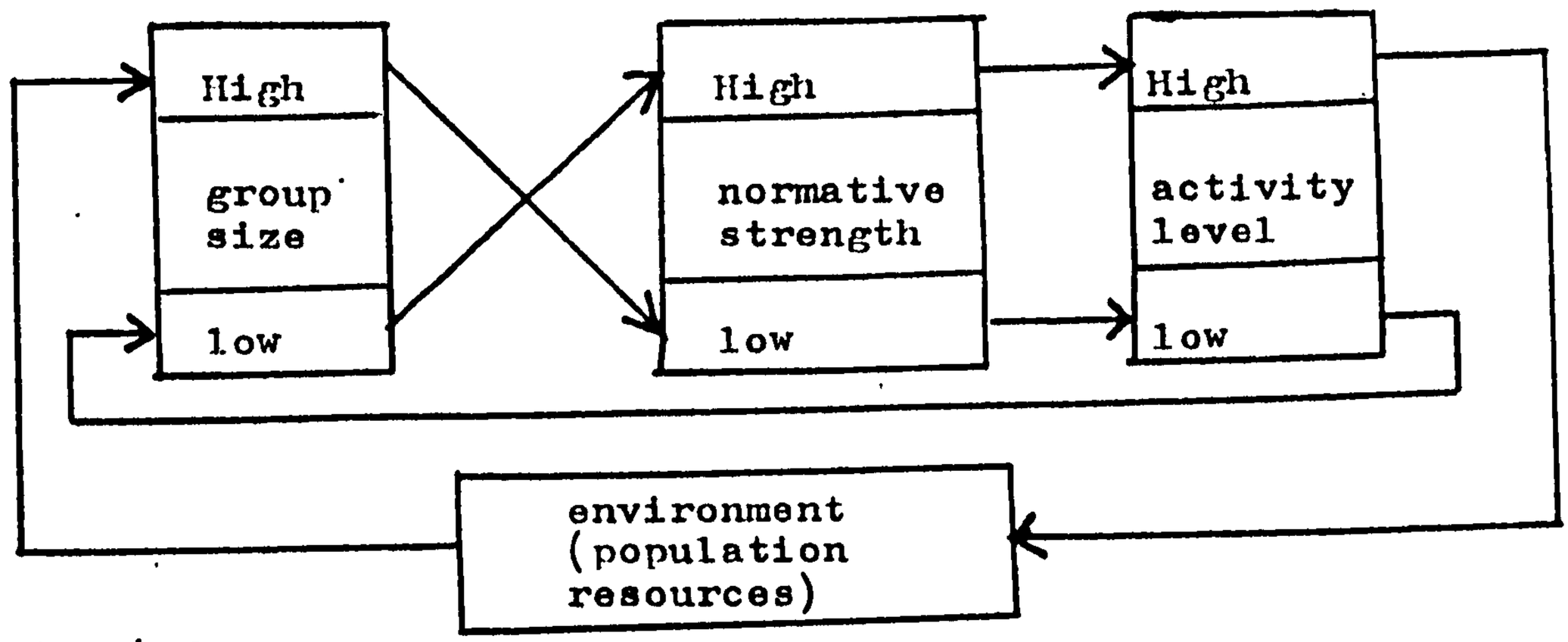


Fig. 4.2.

This hypothesis is less complex than those deduced to account for the group KDIL. The notion of symbolic conventional structure is omitted by assuming it to remain constant; resources are also assumed to be fixed, and thus not depleted by a high level of activity.

To account for size increase, it is assumed that an activity level above a certain threshold will attract members. To maintain the size equilibrium this means that an increase in size must be accompanied by an absolute decline in activity. This is a much stronger hypotheses that the well established phenomenon of relative decline in activity with size increase, (Köhler, 1927: Marriott, 1949).

The main test of this model was to be a long term study of a natural group - the Brighton Rents Project. However, in the interim it was decided to carry out some laboratory tests of the model. These are reported in the rest of this chapter.

4.2. Laboratory Tests

The following experiments are not intended to be rigorous tests of the model; they are intended to be indicators. For one thing, it is not possible to include the environment - population resource - loop (see Fig. 4.2) in a laboratory setting. Also, Golembiewski (1962) has pointed out many

ways in which experimental collectivities differ from natural groups - one of these being the obvious lack of a complete normative structure. Dispite this, many studies have demonstrated (Asch, 1956; Sherif,et al,1954; and, unintentionally, Stephenson & Fielding, 1968*), that strong norms can arise in the most artificial of collectivities.

It was therefore felt that it might be possible to test the relationships between changing size, normative strength, and activity in a laboratory context.

4.3. Experimental Study One - Problem Solving Groups

4.3.1. Composition

The groups were composed of junior managers on a Business Studies Course at Brighton College of Technology. Part of the Course was concerned with creativity and problem solving: this afforded the opportunity to study the effects of size change on this activity.

* FOOTNOTE
Stephenson and Fielding were conducting experiments on "behavioural contagion" in small gatherings. Subjects were given boring individual tasks with no obvious terminal point. They were not allowed to communicate with each other. It was left to the judgement of the individual to determine when the task was complete, and when he should leave. In some "gatherings" early or late-leaving stooges were introduced. It was found that, once one person had left, others left more quickly, and in more clustered fashion than would have been anticipated from the behaviour of subjects in isolation.

The point of interest here is that groups that were retested stuck to their original leaving behaviour regardless of any leads given by stooges. Firm norms had been formed in the absence of any verbal communication, and without any common task.

4.3.2. The situation

The subjects were divided into problem solving groups of various sizes for a four session course, structured as follows:-

Session 1. Sensitivity training
Session 2. First Problem: "Design a self-cleaning window".
Session 3. Second Problem: "Design a thief-proof library".
Session 4. Explanation of experiment and assessment of performance.

Each Session was one hour long.

The size of some of the groups was altered between the two problem solving sessions. Subjects were under the impression that the 4th Session was also a proble-solving session, and were told to go back to any group according to their preference.

4.3.3. Design

To examine the effects of change in group size (between sessions 2 & 3) on
i) change in group size between sessions 3 & 4.
ii) change in normative strength between sessions 2 & 3.
iii) change in activity levels between sessions 2 & 3.

4.3.4. Procedure

Thirty two subjects were randomly divided into 5 groups; 3 groups with six people and two with seven.

Standardized instructions were read to each group before session 2, and repeated before session 3. Sessions 2 & 3 were tape recorded. The experimenters did not participate at all in any of the discussions. The experimenters transferred the two middle-participating members (in their judgement) from group A to C, and from group B to D between sessions 2 & 3. These transfers were explained to the

subjects as being to avoid fixed problem solving methods or group structures.

All subjects took common breaks, and met in the evening between session 3 and 4 (which was on the following morning). There was, therefore, ample opportunity for subjects to assess the members and performances of groups other than their own. At the end of session 3, subjects were told to return the next morning to whichever group seemed most attractive to the, and to which they felt they could make the best contribution.

In session 4 all subjects filled out a short questionaire in which they recorded

a) their satisfaction with the group(s)
b) their satisfaction with their own performance in each session.
c) their evaluation of the effectiveness of the group(s)
d) their evaluation of the cohesiveness of the group(s)

4.3.5. Measurement

a) Size of group was the number of people in the group.
b) Normative strength. As the aims and methods of the groups were given by the instuctions and training session, it was (correctly) anticipated that there would be little dispute over, or deviation from them. Under these circustances, aggregated individual satisfaction (as recorded on the questionaire) was taken as an indicator of normative strength for each group.
c) Activity. This was equated with productivity, and taken from analysis of the tapes of sessions 2 & 3. A points system was used for each idea, major or subsidiary, objection, and practical modification: also for definitions and contextural considerations. Each idea was only scored once. The total number of points was taken as the activity level of the group for the session.
d) Where statistical tests were carried out, rejection of

the null hypothesis at the 5% level of significance was taken as the criterion.

4.3.6. Results

a) Effect of size change on susequent size change.

group	initial size	size after exp. manipulation.	terminal size (self-determination)
A	7	5	6
B	6	4	6
C	6	8	7
D	7	9	7
E	6	6	6

Fig. 4.3.

The results were very encouraging, conforming as they did exactly to the prediction that an increase would be followed by a decrease, and vice versa.

Group E reassembled at a 'hut', which was then found to be locked. They were asked to disperse amongst the other groups, and their choices are of some interest.

group	no. joined from group E
A	1
B	0
C	1
D	4

Fig. 4.4.

As there were no obvious factors (eg. proximity) apart from preference determining these choices (questioning of subjects confirmed this) it is of interest that the majority (5 out of 6) went to two groups with the highest activity level in the

previous session. They had, as predicted, joined the most "visible" groups.

With two exceptions, the final (A to E) size distribution was created by subjects staying in, or returning to, their original groups. This provides some evidence for a rapid build up of loyalty associated with norm formation. This was also confirmed by sujects in conversation.

b) Effect of size change on satisfaction.

Satisfaction was measured for each subject by four questions (see 4.3.4.) each having a five point scale. The scale ranged from 1 (very satisfied/effective/etc) to 5 (very dissatisfied/inneffective/etc).

Aggregated changes in satisfaction levels

Group	A1	A2	B1	B2	C1	C2	D1	D2	E1	E2
Mean Satis-faction	2.6	2.0	1.5	1.7	3.0	3.8	2.3	2.6	2.2	2.8
Direction of size change.	decrease		decrease		increase		increase		same	
Direction of change in satis-faction.	increase		decrease		decrease		decrease		decrease	

Fig. 4.5.

Detailed tabulation of changes in the satisfaction indices of individuals

SIZE OF GROUP	SATISFACTION increase	same	decrease	N
increase	4	23	41	68
same	0	9	15	24
decrease	12	12	12	36
N	16	44	68	128

(128 = 32 subjects x 4 indices)

Fig. 4.6.

These results are disapointing.
Although using χ^2 on the data in Fig. 4.6. we can reject the Null Hypothesis - random distribution - at the .01 level of significance, we cannot say that the hypothesis (size decrease leads to satisfaction increase, and vice versa) is confirmed.

Subjects were in general less satisfied with the third session (overall mean satisfaction 2.6) than with the second (overall mean satisfaction 2.3.). There was a slight trend for satisfaction to decrease with larger group size, irrespective of the size history. (See Fig. 4.7.)

	GROUP SIZE					
	4	5	6	7	8	9
MEAN SATISFACTION	1.75	2.1	2.4	2.3	3.6	2.4
N	4	5	24	14	8	9

Fig. 4.7.

c) Effect of size change on activity
Activity was measured in points awarded for each original idea (see 4.3.5.c)

Ideas produced per session per group

		GROUP				
		A	B	C	D	E
POINTS	Session 2	127	106	119	145	138
	Session 3	79	86	121	130	100

Fig. 4.8.

These conclusions stand out clearly from these figures.
i) There is an overall decline in the number of ideas produced in the third session.

	Total Points
Session 2	635
Session 3	516

$\chi^2 = .001$

Fig. 4.9

ii) The number of ideas produced increases with group size, probably as a negatively accelerated function of the sort described in this context by Gibb (1951)

GROUP	MEAN SIZE (both sessions)	TOTAL POINTS (both sessions)
B	5	192
A	6	206 222
E	6	238
C	7	240
D	8	275

Fig. 4.10 $\chi^2 = .01$

The finding under ii) contradicts the hypothesis that size decrease results in an absolute increase in activity..

4.3.7. Conclusions

The results provide some confirmation for the theory that the attempt to achieve size stability is a basic function of small groups. There is evidence that this is connected with the build up of a normative structure (group loyalty; fairly conscious attempts to stabilize inter-personal relations in a problematic task situation).

There is also an indication that joining behaviour is connected with a high total activity level ("social visibility") as postulated. Subjectively perceived satisfaction does not provide a good index of normative strength or structure.

It is probably too sensitive to other factors - in this case, the wearing off of the initial novelty of the situation.

In conformity with previous studies, but in contradiction to the initial postulate, there is evidence that total activity varies as a direct function of total size. This introduces a problematic element into the mechanism postulated in 4.1.3. If increased size leads to increased activity, and increased activity leads to increased size, then the standard group process would be explosion rather than stability.

However, the mode of operation of Problem Solving Groups calls for a rather specialised activity measure. This is only one measure amongst many, and can be challenged by the construction of similar findings to Gibb (1951) using "pseudo-groups" (Taylor, Berry, & Block, 1958). Also, the general stability hypothesis predicts that the size/activity relation is mediated by normative structure and strength, which was not properly evaluated by this experiment. The result may not, therefore, be generalizable to natural groups where different activity measures are used.

4.4. Experimental Study Two - Crime Simulation Game

4.4.1. Composition

The group was composed of University of Sussex undergraduate students.

4.4.2. The Situation

Subjects were introduced into the experimental room where a "criminal gang" was at work. The rules of the game were tansmitted (or not) to newcomers by the group itself. "Crimes" were committed by removing marbles from appropriately labeled bags. Selection of a white marble meant "getting away with it", and was followed by the arrival of varying amounts of

cash from a tube in the wall. Selection of a black marble meant "getting caught", and subjects were required to go to "prison" (a non-participating penalty area in the corner of the room). Periodically members were "eliminated"--called out of the room by the experimenters through a loud-speaker.

4.4.3. Design

To examine the effects of changing group size on normative strength and activity.

4.4.4. Procedure

a) The main piece of equipment was a rack of 24 black bags. Each bag was labeled with the name of a crime, and the number of people required to undertake it.

Inside each bag was a number (20) of marbles, some black, some white. The black balls represented failure; the white balls represented success. The ratio of black to white balls in each bag is different. Matters were so arranged that the expected reward for any crime, no matter what the risk or level of organisation, was the same. The expected reward in all cases was 1p. per person per crime. Some examples are given below:-

Crime	no. of people	actual reward	success probability	expected reward per person
shop-lifting	1	1p	0.95	1p
blackmail	1	4p	0.25	1p
murder	2	10p	0.2	1p
kidnapping	6	30p	0.2	1p

Fig. 4.11.

Subjects did not know, and were not expected to discover this equality of expected rewards.
b) Rules. It was left to the subjects to decide which crime to commit, which crimes were most rewarding (!), with whom (if anyone) to co-operate, how to distribute rewards, and when to enlarge the total group.

The rules were explained to the initial, but not to subsequent subjects. It was left to the group itself to pass on the rules. This was intended to encourage the group to develop its own conventions and rules.

The experimental rules were as follows:-
i) before "committing a crime" subjects were required to fill in a crime card naming the crime, the people to be involved, and the reason for choosing that crime.
ii) Subjects then "committed the crime" by putting on a green light, selecting a marble from the appropriate bag, holding it up (experimenters were behind a one way screen), then replacing it in the bag.
iii) Only one "crime" could be in progress while the green light was on.
iv) A white ball was rewarded by an appropriate number of pennies dropping from a tube in the wall.
v) A black ball meant that none of the subjects participating in the unsuccessful crime could participate in the next two crimes, and were put in prison (the penalty area) for this period.
vi) The total group was to have a minimum size of 4 and a maximum of 12.
vii) If any of the above rules were violated a red light came on. This meant that no further crimes could be committed until the error was corrected.
viii) Periodically a white light would come on, and the number of a group member would be called out. That person would leave at once. No further crimes could be committed until he had left. (the numbers of persons to be removed was determined by a pre-arranged random schedule held by

the experimenters).
ix) The group could operate the white light themselves if they required more members. These would then be fetched from a pool of subjects in a waiting room.

4.4.5. Measurements

i) Size of group was the number of people in the group at a particular point in time.
ii) Normative Strength. The basic definition and method of establishing norms was derived from Bates & Cloyd (1956). They name the three following conditions as sufficient for the identification of a norm.
a) The identification of behaviour traits about which members of the group may have definite normative sentiments.
b) Establishment of the fact that these sentiments are shared by a significant portion of the group.
c) Evidence that members are aware that their attitudes are supported by agreement on the part of other members of the group.

Briefly, the Bates & Cloyd method of identifying norms was as follows. Discussion groups met twice weekly over a period of nine weeks. They were allowed to develop their own structures. The most frquent or significant "bits" of behaviour were listed by an observer. From these observations a questionaire was compiled and presented to group members. Members were asked to state how many people in the group shared the sentiment; whether it was important to the group; and to order the statements according to their importance to the group.

A norm set was then derived from the questionaires, - "a statement from the list was regarded as a valid and reliable expression of a norm if seven or more persons (out of a group size ten) believed it to be shared by seven or more of their fellows, and if ... it was regarded on the average as being 'important' ". (Bates & Cloyd, 1956, p.31)

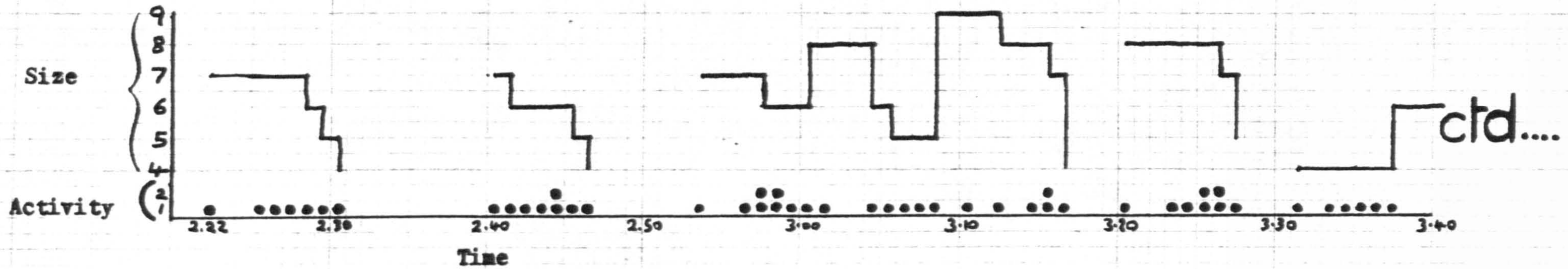
The basic definition was accepted, and the method adapted to a once-off group with a changing population.

Two observers listed the most frequent of important value statements made in the group. Statements on which they both agreed were added to a list. Whenever a member was removed from the group the updated list was photocopied, and presented to him with the Bates & Cloyd questionaire (order of importance; net importance; number of people sharing sentiment).

In order to guage normative strength - the power of norms to command agreement - as well as the number of norms, a futher question was added. Subjects were asked to state their own level of agreement/disagreement with the norm.
iii) Activity was measured as the number of "crimes" per minute.
iv) The observation schedule included the following information. Exact time of action; number and names of those participating; size of group; name of "crime" being committed, and whether it was successful or not. Periods in which the white or red lights were on (making activity impossible) were also recorded.

4.4.6. Results

The most important result was that consensus and activity levels remained constant through all size fluctuations. The significance of this will be discussed in the next section. (conclusions). Detailed results follow.
i) Size The overall pattern of size change was one of frequent, small decreases, followed by sudden large increases. (See Fig. 4.1 2.). The average decrease in size was 1.2. members and this occurred 38 times, wheras the average increase in size was 3.6. members and only occurred 12 times. Of these 12 increases, only 4 occurred voluntarily (ie. without the experimenter's red light indicating that the group had fallen


Size
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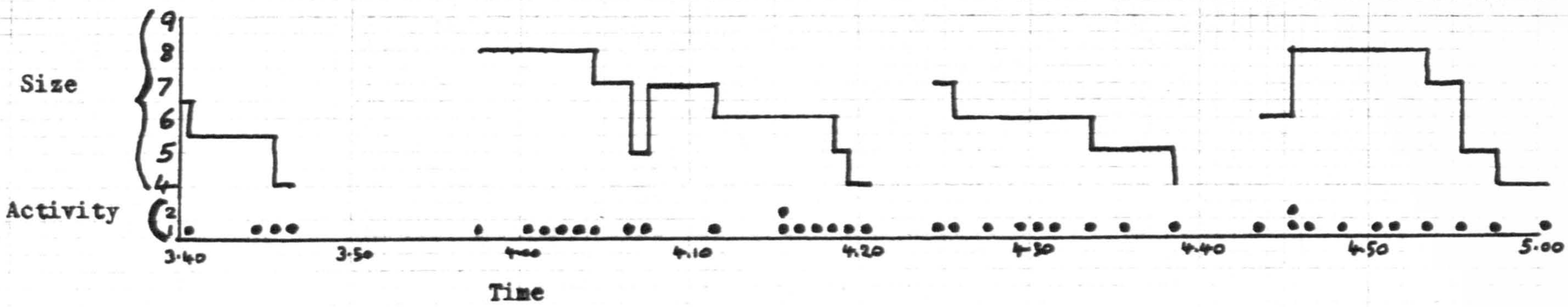
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4.00
4.10
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4.30
4.40
4.50
5.00
Time

FIG. 4.12

below the lower limit of 4 people).

Thus, although we may say that the pattern of size change was stable, it represented a compromise between the experimental rules and the strategies and norms of the group. The median preference of group members was for a group between 3 & 4 people. This would, of course, have been below the experimentally determined lower bound for group size. The mean group size of 6.2 members, embedded in a recurrent pattern of size change, was itself stable - a compromise between member's preferences and environmental conditions.

ii) Norms Nine verbal, and three behavioural norms were identified.

a) The two observers compiled a list of 23 statements. Analysis of the questionaires using the Bates & Cloyd criteria identified nine of these as norms. These were:-

1. The aim of the game is to get a lot of money quickly.(M.Ag.)
2. Its not worth playing for a few miserable pence. (M.Dis.)
3. There is more skill than luck in the game. (M.Dis.)
4. Some people are luckier than others. (M.Ag.)
5. If you get caught, you can always get more people. (M.Ag.)
6. The quicker the turnover, the greater the profit. (M.Ag.)
7. Whatever happens, it won't be long before you get out of prison. (M.Ag.)
8. You don't know where you stand until you have committed a crime. (M.Ag.)
9. Its O.K. to try and doublecross newcomers. (M.Dis)

(All statements taken verbatim from the group)

M.Ag. = majority agree
M.Dis. = majority disagree

Members own opinions, and perceptions of majority opinion with respect to each norm are tabulated below. (the decreasing number of responses to higher numbered norms is a function of the instant questionaire used - early members were not asked to evaluate norms which were detected after they had left).

Norm Number	Total responses	Personal % agreement	Personal % disagree't	Perception of majority %agreement	Perception of majority %disagree't
1	33	82	18	96	4
2	30	20	80	10	90
3	34	29	71	11	89
4	26	77	23	94	6
5	20	75	25	85	15
6	28	82	18	90	10
7	21	86	14	85	15
8	14	71	29	100	0
9	15	53	47	15	85
9	221	76%	24%	90%	10%

(underlined nos. inciate majority view).

Fig. 4.14.

Dispite an 18% "don't know" level, the figures show clearly that members were able to discriminate their own majority opinion. On average, 76% of the group agreed with any given norm, but 90% saw it as the majority opinion.

In line with the experimental assumption, norms formed early in the game persisted throughout, and norms detected later were consistent with them.

b) Normal size was elicited by the questionaire as well as by observation. Size preferences of members, and perception of majority preference are recorded below.

group size		1 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10+
Personal preference	No.	19	13	6	6
	%	43	29	14	14
Percieved Maj. Pref.	No.	18	9	3	2
	%	56	28	9	6

Fig. 4.15.

Here we see again the discrimination between personal and group preference. But the most striking thing is that the members prefered, and perceived the group as prefering, a total group size (3) lower than that permitted by the experimental rules.

c) Other aspects of behaviour and attitude that were standardised for a majority of subjects were:-
- queuing. Members formed almost perfect queues throughout the experiment - those that had just participated in a "crime" went to the back of the queue.
- prefered "crimes". Blackmail, murder, and burglary comprised 45% of all activity, while 9 out of the 24 possible "crimes" were not selected at all.

In general, there was a strong tendency to select "crimes" with a high (possible) reward, but involving a low number of people (See Fig.4.16)

Level of Reward

No. of participants.	low (1 - 2p)	High (4 - 5p)	N
1	17	27	44
2	8	18	26
3	2	12	14
4+	1	4	5
N	28	61	89

Fig. 4.16

d) The norms governing activity, size, and queuing delineated one strategy for optimizing each member's expected reward.

Given that the reward expectation per "crime" per person was objectively equal, then total reward could only be increased by increasing the frequency of activity. (Norms 1,3, & 6). Maximizing activity frequency was also assisted by minimizing

the time spent calling in new members - having infrequent large increases rather than frequent small increases.

Individual activity frequency was maximized by minimising the size of the group, and given that high reward crimes were (irrationally) prefered (thus entailing time in prison), also minimizing the number of participants in any given "crime!"

It is interesting to note that a "catastrophic"* change in group norms, structure, and function nearly occurred towards the end of the session. Subjects 42, 43, 44, & 48 all agreed openly that it was O.K. to doublecross newcomers, and that the optimum group size should be very large. Clearly a structural and strategic change from equal reward in a small group to unequal rewards in a large group was on the cards. That this did not happen was probably a function of the fact that two of the "conspiritors" were removed, and the deviant subgroup ceased to be a majority.

e) The aggregate level of member agreement with statements established as group norms remained constant throughout the session. It was not effected by group size (Fig. 4.17), time (Fig. 4.18), or between-norm differences (Fig. 4.14).

group size	4 - 5	6 - 7	8 - 9
level of agreement	75%	77%	72%

Fig. 4.17

	first 10 members	last 10 members
level of agreement	78%	72%

Fig. 4.18

* FOOTNOTE
Zeeman (1976)

There was a problem in measuring the level of agreement with the norms at any given point in time (and therefore at any given size level) as subjects only gave one set of answers but experienced several different sizes of group.

However, as individual levels of agreement with the norms increased with both time (Fig. 4.19) and that individuals activity (Fig. 4.20), and as members with the longest time in the group tended to have more experience of smaller groups (because of the size change pattern), then the finding that the aggregated levels of agreement of members at each group size, do not differ with size (Fig. 4.17) is confirmed.

time in group (mins)	9 or less	10 - 15	16 or more
level of agreement	61%	65%	76%

Fig. 4.19

Number of acts	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 or more
Level of agreement	55%	75%	76%

Fig. 4.20

iii) Activity

a) 89 "crimes" were committed in 121 minutes of playing time, and a further 38 minutes was consumed while the red or white light was on. The overall distribution of activity against size is given in Fig. 4.12; and summarized in Fig. 4.21 below. The mean frequency was 0.74 crimes per minute.

Time taken by each crime (in minutes).

Less than 0.5	0.5	1	2	3	4	5 or more
0	8	46	16	8	3	0

N = 89

Fig. 4.21

b) There was no relationship between size of group and level of activity.

	Size of Group 4	5	6	7	8	9
Available Time	18	20	29	22	28	4
No. of "Crimes"	15	13	24	15	20	2

χ^2 probability of $H_o > 0.9$

Fig. 4.22

c) There was no significant relationship between size of group and the number of "crimes" involving more than one person. Following from this, there was no significant relationship between group size and that total number of individuals active at that size.

	Size of Group 4	5	6	7	8 or more
Available Time	18	20	29	22	32
No. of co-operative acts	5	5	15	7	13
No. of Active Individuals	21	21	45	27	45

(In both cases) χ^2 probability of $H_o > 0.5$

Fig. 4.23

d) Given that there is no increase of co-operative action with group size, it is not suprising that the number of inactive individuals increases dramatically with increasing group size. (See Fig. 4.24). This undoubtedly constituted a further pressure to minimize group size.

	Size of Group				
	4	5	6	7	8 or more
Available Time	18	20	29	22	32
No. of inactive individuals	51	79	129	127	211

χ^2 probability of $H_o < 0.001$

Fig. 4.24

e) There was a definite tendency for activity to decrease in the time immediately following a size increase. (Fig. 4.25). Although this did not reach an acceptable level of significance on the χ^2 test, given that there was no relationship between absolute size and activity, there are strong indications that this relation can be accepted as valid.

		time (in mins.)	No. of acts
Size	increase	21	6
	decrease	34	20

χ^2 probability of $H_o < 0.1$

Fig. 4.25

4.4.7. Conclusions

The group achieved a comparatively high level of coherence and stability despite a very high level of experimental interference (on average, one person was removed every 3½ minutes).

The coherence, expressed as verbal and behavioural norms, was independent of the initial experimental instructions. Indeed, a majority of subjects recorded (in the "other comments" section of the questionaire) that the group had no similarity to a "real" criminal group - behaviour was oriented towards dealing

with the actual situation, rather than role-playing.

Levels of normative agreement and activity were both stable and independent of size fluctuation within the observed limits of 4 to 9 members. In both cases these stable patterns were a function of the group itself, and not of experimental constraints.

The independence of normative agreement and activity from size fluctuation is a form of stability, and is compatible with the initial general hypothesis "that the symbolic conventional structure of the group constitutes the framework within which a population density control system works" (3.3.ix). But this finding is inconsistent with the particular, operational interpretation summarized in Fig. 4.2. at the beginning of this chapter.

In this experiment, size stability was achieved by a conflicting interaction between the group's size norm and strategy with the experimental requirements. The postulated mechanism for regulating size via fluctuations in normative and activity levels was demonstrably absent. The important thing is that stability was achieved across all three major variables. The question is "How?".

a) The mechanism underlying size stability in this experiment has already been explained. There is, however, only a partial identity between this mechanism and that which one would expect in a natural group. This is that size decay would be tolerated while the group was markedly above its "normal" size. "Normal" size is a function of available resources and a norm-defined strategy for utilizing them. Because of the experimental constraint of constant decay, it is not possible to draw firm conclusions concerning processes causing decay in a natural group. However, size increase combined with a fixed strategy results in increasing numbers of inactive individuals (Fig. 4.24) - and it seems reasonable to suppose that a similar

process in a natural group would lead to decay. The mechanism underlying size increase in natural groups is not illuminated by this experiment.

b) Here we have to explain both the stability of the norm set and of the aggregated individual levels of agreement with them.*

The persistence of the norm set is explicable in that the strategy it identified was reasonable, successful and simple - and thus easily transmitted to new members by explanation and example.

The constancy of the aggregated individual levels of agreement with the norm set is more difficult to explain. The variable was originally chosen because it was expected to reflect changes in size and effect activity. It seems however that a significant (downward) change in level of agreement would immediately precede a change in the norm set itself. Furthermore, it seems that the norms are so inter-related that a change in once could easily precipitate a "catastrophic" change in the whole structure and functioning of the group (See 4.4.6. (ii). d). Thus the existence of the norm set and the high personal level of agreement with them are more intimately connected than anticipated.

It follows from this that normative strength is not a variable of the same logical type as size and activity, and does not directly mediate changes in one into effects on the other. Its role is more complex. The original operationalization (See 4.1.3.) of the stability hypothesis is summarized in Fig. 4.26 below.

* FOOTNOTE
It should be mentioned here that the Bates & Cloyd method of identifying norms, with the addition of an agreement measure, proved unambiguous and reasonably easy to use. "Satisfaction", used in Experiment 1 as an index of normative strength, reflected too many other facets of the situation to beunambiguous or very useful.

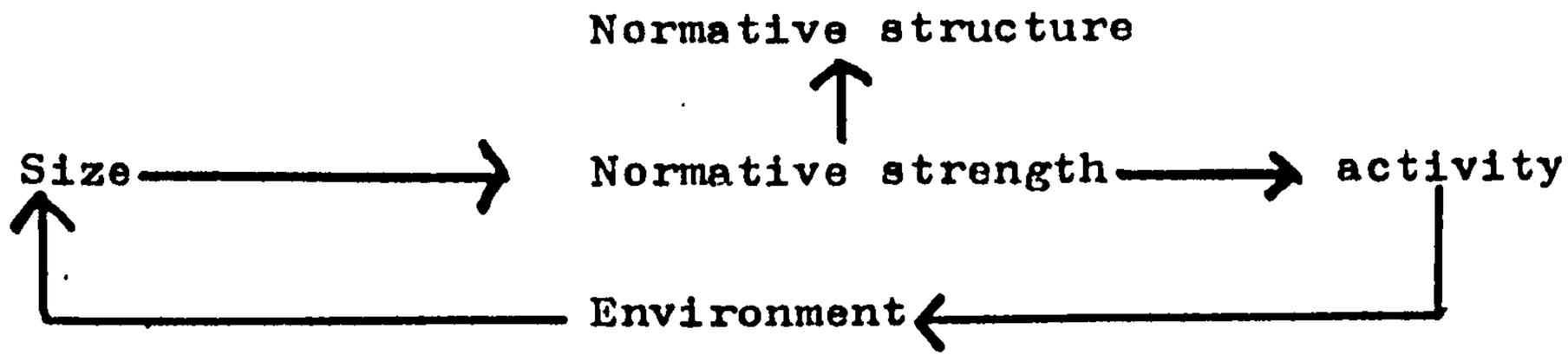


Fig. 4.26.

From this experiment it seems that Normative Strength would be better represented as a tranducer relaying the effects of size/activity change by a threshold trigger into the normative structure (See Fig. 4.27). This would be a rare event, rather than a continuous process.

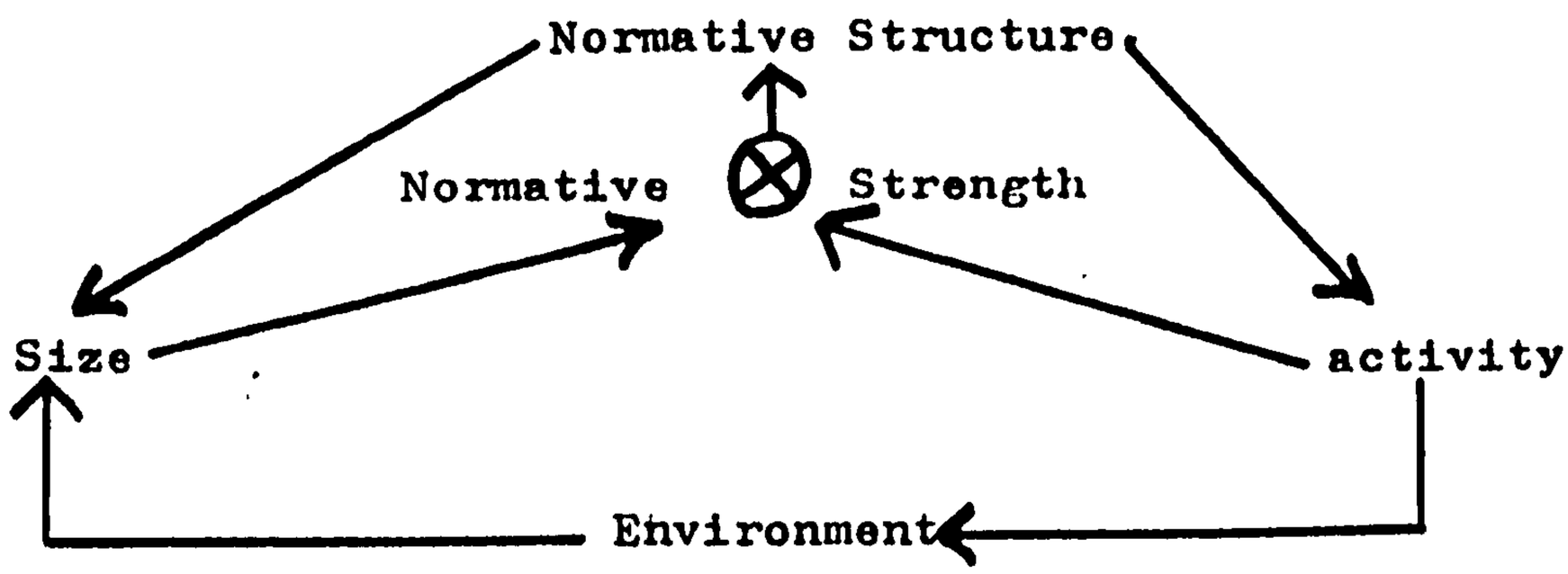


Fig. 4.27

c) The stable pattern of activity, independent of size fluctuation, was achieved as a direct function of the norm-defined strategy adopted by the group. (ie. small, frequent, high-reward "crimes").

The result of this was that the number of individuals active at any time was fairly constant and independent of group size, while the number of inactive individuals grew rapidly with size.

There was evidence (Fig. 4.25) of an activity pause immediately following a size increase, (explanation time to new members). This was not sufficient to confirm the operational hypothesis (Fig. 4.2.) as it was not mediated by normative fluctuations - in fact, it was probably the mechanism that prevented them.

These findings apparently contradict the results of the first experiment (that activity increased with size). This is resolved when the two different methods of assessing activity are taken into account.

The activity measure used in the Crime Simulation Game conforms more to intuition, everyday usage, and the subjective definitions of the group. It also gives results that are more in line with the general hypothesis and less open to doubt. (There is no problem of observer reliability in compiling scores, nor can "Pseudo-groups" confound the issue).

The result of the second experiment - that activity is norm-governed and independent of size - will therefore be accepted for further investigation.

4.5. Summary

Both experiments demonstrate the rapid formation of group norms and size stabilizing mechanisms.

There were strong indications that levels of activity, the norm set and its strength were independent of limited size fluctuations.

In view of this the original specific hypotheses (Figs. 4.2. & 4.26) were rejected in favour of that presented in Fig. 4.27.

The limitations of the experiments were that group interactions with the environment could not be examined. Generalisation of the results to natural groups can thus be only tentative. This will be dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

THE BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT (BRP)

5.1. Introduction
5.2. The Origins of the Brighton Rents Project
5.3. The First Public Meeting
5.4. The Token Squat in North Place
5.5. The Rents Project Subgroups
5.5.1. The Rents Registration Group
5.5.2. The Pamphlet Group
5.5.3. The Investigation Group
5.5.4. The Propaganda Group
5.5.6. "Factions"
5.6. The Re-occupation of North Place
5.7. The Town Hall Demonstration.
5.8. Terminus Road.
5.9. The Families.
5.10. The Reaction of the Authorities to Squatting
5.11. The Move to Wykeham Terrace.
5.12. Wykeham Terrace.
5.13. Decline.
5.14. Propaganda and "Family Welfare" Activity
5.15. Reorientation of the Project.
5.16. The end of Squatting
5.17. The end of the Project.
5.18. Glossary of Initials.

5.1. The Brighton Rents Project was the first long term quantitative study of a natural group. The aims of the study were to test whether and how the group was stable; whether the derived and simplified model of Fig. 4.27 provides a sufficient description of group process; to elucidate the processes underlying size increase and decrease; and to determine whether any other variables (segments/subgroupings) information /decision making structures, resources/habitat, etc) were necessary to account for size stability.

All data was recorded by the researcher as participant observer. The volume of raw data collected (personal diaries, agendas, leaflets, reports, interview transcripts, and newspaper files) was far too great to be presented here - although it can be made available on request. A dual method of presentation has therefore been adopted. This chapter gives a full, colourful, and necessarily partizan history of the Brighton Rents Project. Chapter Six gives an analytical/ statistical account of the group's functioning.

"Popular organization is one of the highest forms of spontaneous mass creativity. Popular organizations are the creation, the instruments, and the embodiement of mass consciousness.

We created the Brighton Rents Project as a popular organisation. It was a weapon. It was an instrument to wrest from the bourgeousie a section of the material wealth that we, collectively, historically, have created. It was an embodiement of our ideals of democracy, equality, and basic human rights. It was destroyed by the bourgeousie and its institutions.

But popular organisation is regenerative. It can spring up anywhere at any time. Bourgeous, capitalist organisation is limited to one historical epoch. It has only one life .... with not long to run.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!

(Final Rents Project Resolution, Feb. 1970)

5.2. The origins of the Brighton Rents Project

Without trying to give an account of Brighton itself, there are some characteristics of the town that are necessary contextual material for an understanding of the BRP.

Firstly there is the population structure. Brighton has a very high number of "immigrants". Old people who retire to Brighton, young people who move to Brighton for 3 or 4 year courses of full time education, and, of course, holidaymakers. This brings a lot of pressure to bear on the town's housing rescources. In most cases it is the indigenous, working class section of the population that suffers. Council house building slowed almost to a stop, while millions were allocated for a yachting marina. Former furnished and unfurnished flats are

divided into "rooms" for students - thereby tripling (on average) the financial returns. Rents and house prices rose in proportion to the market scarcity. For the majority of Brighton's working population, buying a house is out of the question. They do not earn enough to be able to get a morgage. As scarcity increased, overcrowding and sub-standard accomodation became more and more common.

Secondly, there are no institutional channels for dealing with the problem. Despite the fact that over the past two decades industry, rather than agriculture or tourism, has become the major factor in the Sussex economy - more than 50% of Brighton's income comes from industry - the organised Labour movement is very weak, and the workforce mainly un-unionised.

Thus we have a situation where discontent with the housing situation is widespread, but unorganized and inarticulate, and alleviation of the problem is not within the perspective of the Tory Authorities.

Also, as is frequently the case in such situations, information on the problem was almost non existant, or, where available, inadequate and misleading. For example, it was claimed that because the number of applications to the Rents Tribunal were small, people were largely contented. But, later, we clearly showed that the small number of applications was due to ignorance and fear, rather than contentment.

In 1968 a socialist group - the May Day Manifesto Group - set out to do a survey, and gather information generally, on the housing situation in Brighton. They produced a report, "Housing and Rents in Brighton" that showed the situation to be far worse than their own most pessimistic estimates.

Simultaniously, on the National scene, the problem of homelessness was coming into public focus. "Cathy Come Home", Shelter's factual disclosures, and the direct action of the East London Squatters in Ilford, all contributed to public sympathy and knowledge of the problem.

Now, in a Socialist analysis of things, homelessness, bad conditions, scarcity, rising rents, etc., are all aspects of the same problem. To attack one facet is to attack them all. Several groups in Brighton realised that Homelessness and Squatting could be used as spectabular levers to attack the whole problem.

With this much common ground, students from the University RSFF (Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation) began to meet with the group that had done the original survey on an informal basis. And two new ideas were injected. Direct democracy and direct action. The first was the principle that only demands and principles directly endorsed by the people at mass meetings were legitimate. The second was the principle that direct action was better than pressure on the "usual channels", and arose, in brief, from the belief that the "usual channels" would not serve the people, no matter how much pressure was placed on them, because that was not what they were there for.

From these informal discussions, the Public Meeting that marked the birth of the Brighton Rents Project was called.

5.3. The First Public Meeting Pavilion Buildings, 8pm 6 May 1969.

Vertical take-off.

"It was really beyond our wildest dreams in terms of the number of people who turned up. The place was absolutely packed out. We got more chairs in ... a bloke told us we were breaking the fire regulations ... what did he suggest? ... he just went away. The meeting was electic from the start. People getting up and talking about their problems" (Gary)

Between two and three hundred people crammed into the hall. The chair was taken by Ken, a member of the original survey group. Ordinary people vied to give public accounts of their appalling housing conditions. Various theoretical perspectives were given by the RSSF and IS* group members present. But the demands the BRP had started with (see Leaflet 1) seemed too remote or too abstract. The original slogan "HOUSES FOR PEOPLE NOT PROFIT" was unanimously supported. But everybody wanted to do something.

"... the idea of squatting was mooted. There was immediate uproar and everyone clapped ... the idea ... this was a thing everyone was in agreement on". (Andy)

Squatting had been discussed before the meeting, but had seemed impracticable.

"Someone came to one of the Manifesto meetings and said that squatting wasn't on in Brighton, because there wasn't a problem of homelessness. It wasn't homelessness, so much as bad conditions ... But at the meeting the idea of squatting came up again, and the problem of there being nobody homeless seemed to disappear, 'cos there was such a welter of bad conditions that we knew somebody would". (Gary)

Also, at this point, a strong Anarchist influence was recognised.

"Saul was the person who really hit that meeting... he and I, essentially, together, did the work in the early squatting group". (John)

"Saul got up and spoke about Ilford. He got himself situated as being a squatter, you see. A bit later on, somebody said, here is somebody who knows about squatting. He ought to be in on it". (Gary)

The idea of a decision making mass meeting was also new or foreign to many people.

"What I thought was going on was simply that there were very big meetings that were badly chaired - not deliberately badly chaired - but unchaired. The people in the room had a

* FOOTNOTE
See glossary of initials at end of chapter.

L. 1

demands:

1 register all rents

2 houses fit to live in is a right not just luck

3 open the housing list to everyone

4 stop selling - start building council houses!

5 tenants control over your own home & neighbourhood

6 build homes not luxury flats and offices

7 housing for people's interest not profiteers'

8 public ownership of all land and property

join the campaign for homes

consensus to let things emerge, to be as democratic as one possibly could. I was worried that there was no co-ordinating committee to process ideas". (Chris)

"I recognised that the people who had already discussed what the Rents Project could, and should do, before the meeting, could in fact control what decisions were taken at the meeting. In other words the group can support eachother by saying "I agree entirely with what Comrade so-and-so has said. This tends to create the illusion that there is a consensus in the whole meeting". (Andy)

Anyhow, whatever the exact mechanics of the decision making, the original platform was endorsed (See Leaflet 1) and a decision to investigate and stage a token squat was made. It was also decided to picket the next Council meeting in support of better housing conditions, and the opening of empty houses for the homeless.

Then, after behind-the-scenes meetings over the next three days: SQUATTERS IN TAKEOVER OF EMPTY HOUSE ran the front page headline in the midday edition of the Argus, on Sat. 10th May. SQUATTERS IN TAKEOVER OF TWO HOUSES ran the mid-afternoon edition. The first action of the Rents Project was under-way. (See news 1 : 10-5-69*)

5.4. The Token Squat in North Place

The occupation technique used was to become fairly standard. For security reasons the house to be occupied was located and investigated by a small number of people. Usually not more than half a dozen. The selection criteria for the house were that it had been empty for some time; that it was publicly owned: that it was sound and habitable. A date would be decided, and all the regular members of the Rents Project notified.

Then at about six in the morning the small squatting group would

*FOOTNOTE
All newspaper references are to the Evening Argus unless otherwise stated.

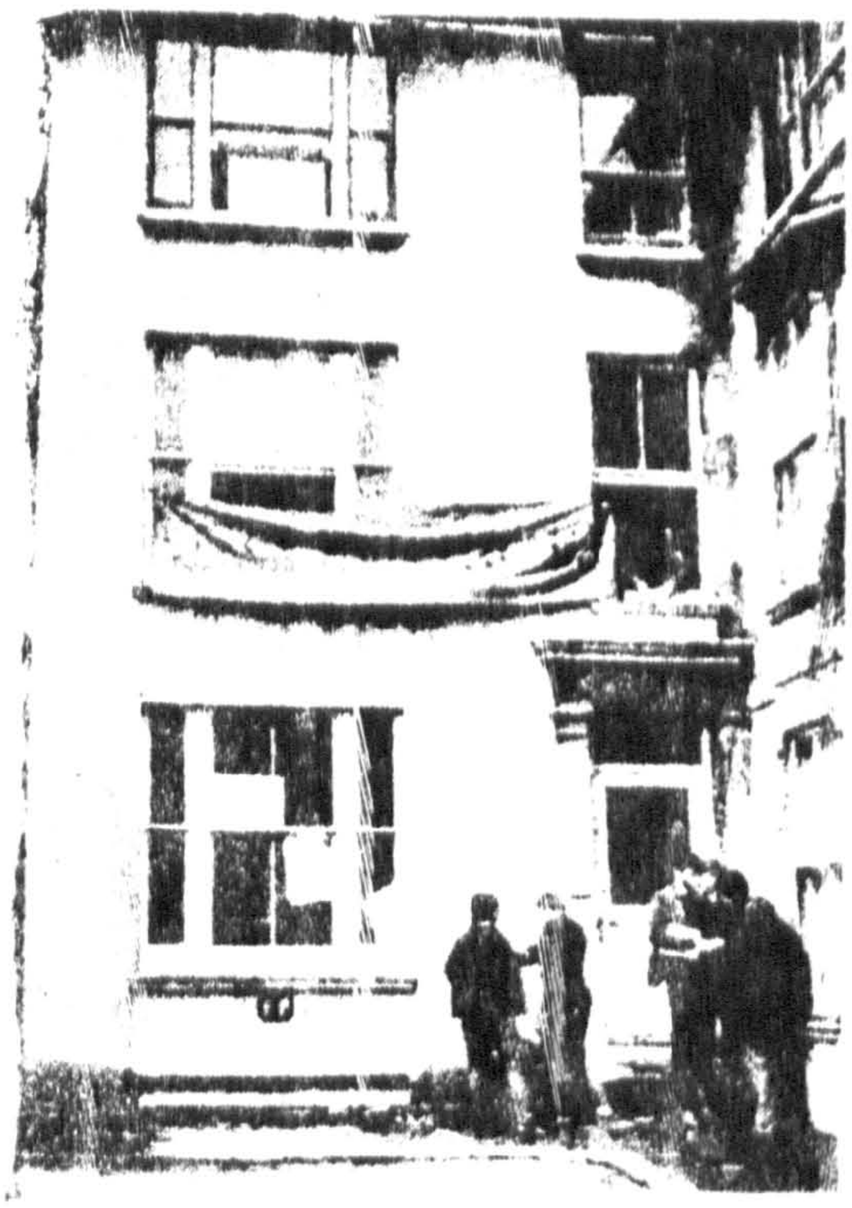
Evening Argus

SPECIAL

Saturday May 10, 1969 — Incorporating the SUSSEX DAILY NEWS — Fivepence

Squatters in takeover of empty house

MICHAEL BURY — "Number 12 is being occupied to expose gross distortions of human priorities. While Mr. and Mrs. X with their three children (one spina bifida) live in a damp flat with no drainage, while five young families with children share one decrepit Victorian house with just one toilet, many sound properties remain empty due to council officialdom."



By DOUGLAS DAVIS

ABOUT 20 members of the Campaign for Homes have occupied an empty Brighton council house at 12 North Place. The occupation will go on all day today.

The occupation has been staged to draw attention to the "appalling scarcity and quality of accommodation and homes in Brighton.

Among the occupiers are two families with their children. The Campaign for Homes was formed by a group called the Brighton Rents Project. The project was started by a group of young Socialists who spent the past year looking into the town's housing problem.

Last Tuesday night, they packed a conference room at the Brighton Royal Pavilion when they held their first mass meeting.

It was decided at the meeting to take direct action to spotlight the problem and a token occupation of empty council houses was among the suggestions.

NORTH PLACE

[illegible]

Kennedy blows his cool

SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY warned [illegible] tough speech against [illegible] [illegible] student [illegible]

Fairfax ahoy

YOUR PE
DRY CLEAN
Me
Craftsmen

Telephone
Head Office
170 Church Ro
Hove 737268
for your
nearest
Sussex Branch

OUR
SER
2-Hou
6-Hou
3-Day
3-Day
3-Day
1-Day
Golf

AB

Evening Argus

1A EXTRA SPECIAL

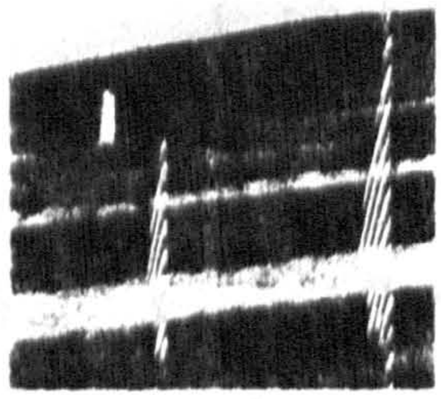
Saturday May 10, 1969

Incorporating the SUSSEX DAILY NEWS

Fivepence

Squatters in takeover of two houses

This HOUSE is needed for PEOPLE



By DOUGLAS DAVIS

JUST one hour after members of the Brighton Rents Project occupied an empty council-owned house in North Place, they moved into a second house next door—also council-owned and empty.

The occupation, which will probably last all day, is a protest "against the appalling scarcity and quality of accommodation and homes in Brighton."

The occupation was organised by the Rents Project after they held their first mass public meeting in Brighton last week, when they packed a conference room at the Brighton Royal Pavilion.

It was started by a group of young Socialists who spent the past year examining the town's housing problem.

Between 9 a.m.—when the occupation started—and 10 a.m., support for the occupation had increased from about 20 people to 60.

At 10.30, a police car drove up to the houses. Doors to both houses were hurriedly closed—and the police drove away.

Meanwhile, the owner of 10 North Place, Mrs Violet Probert, who is supporting the action, opened her doors for a Press conference.

Council members, who decided to pull the two houses down to make way for a car park, she said, had no idea of the problems of "ordinary working-class people."

"It was an unfair decision made by a small minority behind closed doors," she said.

NORTH PLACE

"Problem families" had been housed in one of the houses for short periods since they were taken over by the corporation, she said.

Two families, who are living in poor housing conditions are among the occupiers.

Also among the occupiers, is Mr. Ray Blackwood the Labour councillors who was defeated at the local elections in the Lewes Road Ward last week.

"Councillors like myself were representing wards in the town where there are a very large number of families in sub-standard houses," he said.

Mr David Steed, the unsuccessful Conservative candidate for St Peter's Ward, was also present.

Mr. Blackwood said he had been campaigning for better housing for the past 26 years. Today's

Robens blows his cool

LORD ROBENS, chairman of the National Coal Board, said today that the Government's folly was that it was charging ahead with what it thought was best for people, without adequately consulting those it thought it was helping.

He said at the annual conference of the British Association of Colliery Management at Black-

could coal compete with nuclear power.

"We have been able to show that there is no nuclear power station which can generate electricity as cheaply as coal-fired stations."

The coal industry's future lay in its ability to compete with nuclear power and the Coal Board should know what it had to face to win the race.

"All I am interested in knowing is at what cost per therm coal would be to compete in the next 20 years," he said.

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enter and occupy the house.

Immediately this was accomplished, as many members of the Project as possible would be rushed in.

Within half an hour of the original entry between 20 and 50 people would be installed.

Then the publicity machine would swing into operation. The front of the house would be draped in banners, poster put in all the windows, the Press notified, and Public Statements issued.

Then, when things calmed down a bit, a meeting would be called to assess the action, and decide on the next step..... Which was of course where problems arose. Having created an entirely new situation, there were no rules or procedures to deal with it.

The first part of the operation was clear procedurally, and in its aims - occupy a house and gain maximum publicity. By midday, this had been achieved. The local daily paper featured the following statement prominently, in bold type, on its front page.

"Number 12 is being occupied to expose gross distortion of human priorities. While Mr. and Mrs. X with their 3 children (one spina bifida) live in a damp flat with no drainage, while five young families with children share one decrepit Victorian house with just one toilet, many sound properties remain empty due to Council officialdom".

But what next? A meeting was held. Some saw it as an opportunity for a discussion to raise our own level of education on housing. The motivation was there, but the cold and damp was not really conducive to an acedemic discussion. Some felt that having gone this far, we should keep the house - there was a serious discussion on turning it into a Housing Advisory Centre, where people could come for advice and assistance.

On the other hand people were asking why there wasn't a family in. Then the discussion came down to "We didn't know exactly what we were doing. We decided at the end to withdraw while we were in force. And we left on Sunday .. I suppose .. Did we?" (Gary)

We didn't, in fact. Most people did, but others stayed on. Meanwhile, there was the second Public Meeting. (15 May '69). This was as large as the first, and elated by the publicity success of the Token Squat. Organisation emerged. There were certain activities that everyone agreed should be pursued.

Squatting
Rent Registration
Propaganda
Investigation: (whose fingers were in what pies)
Pamphlet: (detailed publishing along the lines of the original survey).

Groups should be formed around each of these activities. On top of this there was a Co-ordinating Committee (to avoid duplication of work and disseminate information) and a Teasurer. Policy decisions remained the province of Public Meetings. People chose groups that coincided most with their own interests, and each group nominated someone to the Co-ordinating Committee. Detailed determination of their own function was to be left to the groups themselves. Each group appointed a convenor, and decided on a regular day and place (someone's house or flat) to meet.

At this point BRP history goes in several different directions. There is the mainstream history of the Rents Project itself, as defined by major events, interviews, and hindsight. Additionally, there are the internal histories of each of the subgroups. As I shall largely omit subgroup history, except where it touches mainstream activities, a schematic account of the various subgroup histories is presented here.

5.5. The Subgroups

5.5.1. The Rents Registration Group

This was the most stable of all the subgroups. It lasted almost as long as the Rents Project itself. In fact, it had been in existence for about a year, in almost the same form, before it was "set up". It was the original Brighton Rents Project. Its aims were to encourage and assist people in furnished and unfurnished accomodation to register their rents. And it was pretty good at its job. Its methods were simple and direct. Members would go round in two's or three's knocking on doors and enquiring about conditions. Where bad conditions were found, the tenant would be encouraged and assisted in using the Rent Tribunal or Rent Officer machinery to try and improve his or her lot. The Rents Registration group produced a report on its activities and findings (Rents in Brighton. 1969) which is worth quoting. The report contained several sections : its initial goals; 8 detailed and harrowing case histories; assessment of the roles and attitudes of landlords, the Rent Tribunal, the Rent Officers, and the local Authority conclusions and recommendations.

Goals: "To help any individual tenant to register his rent;
To encourage several tenants of the same landlord to apply simultaneously, thus presenting a united front against any victimization;
To produce complete surveys of selected streets, thus putting individual cases into perspective". (p.1)

Typical extracts from case histories:

"Mr. & Mrs. C. of .. Road were paying £5.10/- for a tiny and dirty single room at the top of a house, furnished with one bedstead (no mattress) and one sideboard. With their child they had to share the one bed. The house had one unhygenic toilet shared with 15 other people, and one unusable bathroom..."(p.3)

"Mr. & Mrs. C of ... Place have two rooms for which they were paying 6 gns weekly. They share the toilet and bathroom (often out of order) with about 20 other people...." (p.4)

"Mr. K. lives in the Basement and is bedridden. He is looked after by a lady in her seventies. On the day the landlord's lease ran out he intended to put them out onto the streets. Without a Court Order or proper notice. "I shall just call an ambulance and have them removed"." (p.5.)

The Rent tribunal:

"Mrs. B. complained vehemently at being subjected to indecent exposure, immoral suggestions, and physical maltreatment..... the Chairman patiently explained to her that if she did not like the place she was free to leave". (p.10)

"Furnished tenants were the least well off. Security of tenure for them is an illusion as they can be evicted with relative ease by the persistent landlord who has no obligation to find them alternative housing". (p.9)

The Rent Officer:

"Works on the totally unreal assumption that a furnished tenant has deliberately taken accomodation which has furniture sufficient for his needs ... he is actively encouraging slum landlords to "furnish" their properties with a few bits of junk. In Brighton this abuse is widespread, and hundreds of landlords thereby evade the controls on unfurnished properties". (p.12)

"only a minute percentage of applications come from poorer tenants" (p.12)

The Local Authorities:

".. Brighton Housing Committee is actually proud of having 18,000 enquiries at the Housing Managers Office last year, when it rehoused less than four hundred families." (p.14)

"The Chairman of the Housing Committee, himself an estate agent, said boldly enough on Radio Brighton (23rd May 1969), "Every single inch of land in Brighton that goes over to council housing is against any estate agent in the town as he is losing housing that he could deal with, sell, or let." " (p.14)

Reform:

"We are very pessimistic about the willingness of most local authorities to do anything realistic to solve the housing shortage. Individual pleading, public petitioning, noisy campaigns for reform can be contemptuously disregarded ... even if liberal opinion was united within Brighton Council and outside it, there would be a virtually inexhaustible repertoire of minor reforms which could be conceded withour this shortage being substantially effected". (p.17)

Conclusions: With the addition of a demand for th abolition of the Rents Tribunal, the conclusions were essentially those presented in leaflet 1.

In addition to this report, which was widely circulated, the Rents Registration group received a lot of attention in the local press. (See, for example, News 2: 3-9-69.)

£48,000 for a new library

EAST SUSSEX County Council agreed at Lewes to spend up to £48,000 on the provision of a new library in Burgess Hill's town centre.

They rejected by an overwhelming majority an alternative proposal to extend the present library in Oakmeeds Road, close to the town's secondary school, at an estimated cost of about £30,000.

Some members spoke against the idea of an increase in cost of about £18,000 so that the town's new library can be included in the current development of the town centre close to the civic buildings, shopping precinct and car parks. But no one moved an amendment and the £48,000 recommendation went through.

DISAPPOINTED

Lt.-Col. M. B. Coleman said he was disappointed that the Finance Committee should have asked the council to agree to a 60 per cent. increase in cost so that the library users could be saved a walk of 50 yards from public car parks and the inconvenience of a joint roof screen with Oakmeeds School.

Mrs. Eleanor Bridgman, one of the Burgess Hill representatives on the county council, said that as chairman of the County Planning Committee she was strongly in favour of transferring the library to the new town centre. It was not a question of merely saving people from having to walk a few yards; it was a question of putting the cultural, civic, shopping and car park facilities in the same area. From the long-term it was the correct solution to the problem.

The Finance Committee report made it clear that when the new library is built, the present library and its site will be sold for some other purpose and the money used towards the new building.

Tribunal praises member of Rents Project

Cut for tenants

A MEMBER of the Brighton Rents Project was congratulated by the Sussex Rents Tribunal for "so ably" representing the tenants of a house in Bedford Place.

Mr. Chris Baxter appeared on behalf of a 71-year-old woman, Miss E. A. Barrett, with a bedridden middle-aged man to look after, and Mr. W. H. Rowden, a man in his late 60's with an elderly spastic wife, all of whom live in Bedford Place in a house owned by Bedford Properties, Ltd.

Mr. Baxter alleged that the company had allowed another tenant to let the house fall into "an appalling state" so that they could get rid of the tenants and redevelop the property more profitably.

He told the tribunal all the other tenants had already been "illegally evicted," and Mr. Rowden and Miss Barrett had been served with notices to quit which expired in May.

And he claimed that a third tenant of the company, Mr. F. Buechler, was acting on behalf of the company when he threatened to have these remaining tenants removed in an ambulance if they would not leave voluntarily.

'SCANDAL'

Said Mr. Baxter: "Their only crime is to stand in the way of profitable conversion of the house. They could stay there and conversion be carried out one room at a time.

"It is a well-known scandal in this town that middle-class landlords who wish to convert properties let the place run down so they can get a closure order."

When the tribunal chairman, Mr J. R. W. Alexander, said the landlord was always entitled to eventual possession of his property, Mr. Baxter replied: "I do not see that your remarks are compatible with natural justice.

"Rent tribunals should be given the power to force landlords to bring their properties up to standard."

IMPROVEMENTS

Describing the property, visited by members of the tribunal, Mr Alexander said: "There is no question that the whole of this house is in a most unsatisfactory condition. Major improvements will be needed and even then it is doubtful whether it would be an economic proposition to make the place habitable."

The Rowdens had a single room on the first floor and paid £3 a week inclusive. They had electric light but no other power at all.

Miss Barrett and the bedridden man she looked after shared the basement flat — two rooms in a condition, said Mr. Alexander, "as near uninhabitable as a place could be." They paid £3 10s. a week.

Describing the whole house, Mr. Alexander said: "It is not a suitable place to live in, but unfortunately in this world there are people who have to live even in these conditions. It is quite clear the rent is excessive."

TRESPASSERS

Representing Bedford Properties, Ltd., Mr. Thomas Field said his clients had owned the house since 1960. Until June this year, when he was forced to leave, Mr Buechler kept the rent.

Since then no rents had been charged and the company regarded the Rowdens, Miss Barrett and her guest as "trespassers."

The company wished for vacant possession of the property, fully realising that it was in a shocking condition. "My clients are anxious to put it into a good state."

Mr. Field added that the company did not believe the property provided suitable accommodation for tenants like those living there at the moment.

Many of Mr. Baxter's remarks seemed "unnecessary and probably a little fatuous."

FRIENDLY

Mr. Frederick Hamilton, a director of Bedford Properties, Ltd., told the tribunal he regarded the tenants in a friendly way and had made every effort to fix them up with alternative accommodation.

"But the trouble is you cannot find anything at a reasonable rent. The only thing is about £6 a week and they just cannot afford it."

There was no question of throwing them on to the street.

Mr. Alexander commented that they were both "very sad cases" and highlighted an unfortunate situation arising out of social problems which was now "being placed on the backs of the landlords."

He said: "This is a problem for the whole community, not just the individual landlord."

REDUCED

The tribunal reduced the Rowden's rent by £1 to £2 a week and gave them security of tenure until November 28. They reduced Miss Barrett's rent by £1 5s. to £2 5s. and gave her security of tenure until December 1.

At the end of the hearing the tribunal congratulated Mr. Baxter "for so ably representing the tenants."

RED WATCH HAS A NEW CHIEF

HOVE fire station's Red Watch—one of the three teams who take it in turns to be on duty in the town—has a new man in charge.

He is DAVID WILSON (right), aged 31, who has been promoted to the rank of sub-officer. Mr. Wilson, married with one child, has served at Hove for the past 10 years.

Three other firemen are promoted to the post of leading firemen. They are: GEORGE HAMMOND, DAVID SHIRLEY and DAVID SHEPHERD.

Mr. Hammond is aged 24, married with one child, and has been at Hove for five years.

Mr. Shirley, aged 32, also married with one child, started at Hove in 1962.

Mr. Shepherd, aged 27, and married with two children, joined the fire service at Uckfield in 1961 and is now transferring to Hove on his promotion.

Firemen are planning to get airborne

SUSSEX firemen are training to improve their techniques for fighting ship fires. And, in addition to being airborne, they are studying the possibilities of being airborne when the need arises.

The new arrangements, which call for the fullest co-operation between brigades, coastguards, lifeboatmen, local boatmen, the crew of the British Rail tug Blockship, and the R.A.F. helicopters on Thorney Island, are being drawn up in the light of the experience gained through the fire which split the m.v. Sitakund in two off Eastbourne last October.

Mr. D. M. Sheppard, Eastbourne area secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, writing in Fireflighter, the union's journal, says:

"On October 21 Eastbourne firemen were faced with one of the largest incidents to occur since the Second World War—the fire aboard the m.v. Sitakund.

ARDUOUS

"Needless to say, they did an excellent job in dealing with this great threat to the town, under what might be called the most arduous of conditions.

"After the incident it was abundantly clear that little had been done about pre-planning in the event of such an incident occurring in the vicinity of Eastbourne."

After describing how a committee was set up to consider the problems, Mr. Sheppard writes: "The many points discussed included the quantity of life-jackets, suitability of life-jackets available, provision of Neil Robertson stretcher on first attendance, first-aid arrangements, sea sickness tablets, training and manpower, to name but a few.

"At last we were getting over to the employers the simple fact that a fireman's mentality does stretch far beyond the point of wielding a mop around the station and that, with the proper co-ordination of such important issues, far better working conditions can be reached for all concerned."

Mr. Frank Tarling, who has been Eastbourne's chief fire officer since November, told a reporter: "The committee we formed in Eastbourne, with representatives from the National Association of Fire Officers as well as from the Fire Brigades Union, met six times to consider how to improve our methods of dealing with offshore fires.

HELICOPTERS

Funny Money

Anglia savers will tell you they've never had it so good with the net interest rate at 8%. If they pay income tax at standard rate that's equivalent to £8. 10s. 2d . . . no wonder they're chuckling. With a confident smile they'll tell you their money's as safe as houses and the smile broadens when they go on to tell of the easy withdrawals. A lot of the smiling faces you see today belong to Anglia savers.

Polishing up your driving

Sussex police are holding Better Driving courses during autumn and spring for drivers who hold full licences and want to add a little polish to their driving.

Each course will last for five weeks, with a two-hourly lecture on one evening of each week.

The courses are being held at Chichester College of Further Education; Crawley College of Further Education; Worthing College of Further Education; Knoll School, Hove; Pelham Evening Institute, Brighton; Eastbourne Grammar School; Newhaven Further Education Centre; Lewes County Secondary School; Uckfield County Secondary School, Burgess Hill Evening Institute, Imberhorne School, East Grinstead; Hastings College of Further Education, and Rye Evening Institute.

Lifeboat—£328

Flag day for the Brighton branch of the Royal National Life-boat Institution raised £328—nearly £100 more than the total at the last flag day three years ago.

Said hon. treasurer Mr. Ivor Davies: "It is better than we expected but Brighton is still not paying her way."

2

Det. Chief Insp. T. Jackson

Ch P. F

PROMOTIO FOR ELEVE POLICEME

ELEVEN Sussex policem been promoted and been transferred to n

Insp. Thomas Jackson, C.I.D. at Bognor, detective chief-inspec Division at Crawley, with one child, Det. C Jackson, aged 41, former West Sussex 1954.

Insp. Keith Cantle, age the Regional Crime Brighton, switches to ing to become detect inspector in charge C.I.D. of B Division married, with two and joined the former Force in 1955.

Insp. Peter Homewood C.I.D. at Brighton, police headquarters to become chief inspe is 42, married, with t and joined the former Force in 1949.

Chief Insp. Gerald Ba Lancing, transfers to Married, with one joined the former Force in 1948.

TRANSFER

Det. Chief-Insp. William of Crawley, transfers C.I.D. at Brighton. married, with two ch and joined the form Sussex Force in 1951.

Sgt. David Osborne, age the C.I.D. at Brighton fers to the C.I.D. at become an inspector Osborne, who is marri one child, joined the Brighton Force in 195

Sgt. Alfred Hopkins, C.I.D. at Eastbourne, moted to inspector C.I.D. at Lewes. He married, with one ch joined the former Eas Force in 1952.

Sgt. John Patten, aged the C.I.D. at Bognor, to the C.I.D. at Lewes inspector. Insp. Patte is aged 36, is marri two children, and join former West Sussex 1955.

Sgt. Terence Sullivan, of Brighton, becomes inspector and rema Brighton. He is marri one child, and join former Brighton Force

WARRANT OFF

P.C. Alexander Haffenden warrant office at Hove, moted to sergeant. He at the warrant office. 46, married, with two dren, and joined the East Sussex Force in

P.C. Dennis Seward, aged traffic division at Ha Heath, becomes a serge maining at Haywards He has four childre joined the former East Force in 1948.

P.C. Terry Robinson, C.I.D. at Hove, transfers C.I.D. at Brighton as gaunt. Sgt. Robinson, is married, with three ch and joined the forme Sussex Force in 1964.

P.C. Roger Foxton, aged the C.I.D. at Eastbourn comes a sergeant, rem at Eastbourne. He is with three children and

The editor reserves the right to amend, curtail or delete material for any reason he considers necessary.

Squatters victims of the faceless anarchists

THERE IS no need for people to search for the cobra reported missing. I'm sure my wife and I had portions of it served up to us when dining out last week. BERT BRUNDLE, Abinger Road, Portslade.

Historical Sussex coast shipwreck

HAVING read your article on the treasure ship which foundered off Bulverhythe, you might be interested in the following paragraph written by Mr. J. D. Parry, M.A., in the "Coast of Sussex," published 1833.

"Off Bulverhythe the Amsterdam, a large Dutch ship heavily laden with costly articles, was stranded and sank irretrievably into the sands in the year 1743. The crew, we believe, were saved. After the sands have been washed up by a violent sea the ribs are occasionally visible at low water.

"Attempts were made by

WHILE NO DOUBT the majority of the squatters are unfortunate and misguided victims of the materialistic rat race of society, some are feckless, greedy, selfish queue-jumpers who are being used by utterly ruthless extreme Left-wingers, such as anarchists, Communists and other assorted progressive bandwagon jumpers-on.

They shamelessly exploit young children and unborn babies by using them to blackmail the community into giving them what they are unwilling to work and wait for.

Two of the squatters refer to a four-month pregnant woman who lost her baby after being hit in the stomach by a bailiff. I would ask by what moral right this woman got herself pregnant when she could not provide her child with a decent home and, having got herself into that condition, by what moral right did she and her husband expose their unborn child to such danger by breaking the law and trespassing?

Brighton squatter Mr M. Chrismas has displayed both courage and a high moral sense in denouncing the lies put out on his behalf, but without his knowledge and permission, by the faceless people behind the Brighton Rents Project.

To the squatters I would put the following questions:

1. Why did they bring children into the world before they had the means to provide a decent home for them?

2. If they cannot find suitable housing in Brighton at a price they can afford, have they looked elsewhere or considered emigration?

3. If they cannot earn enough to house themselves what steps have they taken, or are taking, to improve their educational and other qualifications which would enable them to earn more?

4. Do they expect privilege over those who have planned their families, studied, waited and saved, or moved from their home town in order to provide decent homes?

BUSINESS

One of the Brighton squatters who unsuccessfully defended himself against the people of Brighton in the county court—at the taxpayers' expense, naturally—afterwards admitted that he was earning £20 a week but that he could not find accommodation with enough room for his family and with space to enable him to develop his business ideas. So, presumably, the community must provide it, and why not, if they are mug enough to do so?

On at least three occasions the faceless anarchists behind the Brighton Rents Project have plastered their posters all over the town; this "fly" posting is illegal and it is high time someone was prosecuted.

The more these people are appeased the more arrogant and demanding they will become. The pantomime has gone on long enough; it is time law and order were established before real harm and injury are done. **Peter Dally,** Rock Street, Brighton.

IT'S CHAOS FOR

Naturally, there was also vociferous right wing opposition to these activities, of which the letter (See News 3) of 21-10-69 is a good example.

The activities of the Rents Registration group were consistent over the nine months of its official existence - especially when it is compared with the other groups. As Chris, the convenor, said "We felt the group was getting on very well... that we had the mechanics right". They registered rents, produced a pamphlet, initiated a demonstration at the Town Hall, and a "day of action" in Bedford Square - an area notorious for its dilapidation and overcrowding, and got good publicity in the local papers. As late as February 1970, individuals were still working on particular cases - well after the main Rents Project had disintegrated.

What were the characteristics of this group?

Firstly, it was homogeneous. Its members, with one exception, were all members of the Labour Party, were all university educated, and mainly aged between 25 and 35. They obviously had a lot in common, and had little difficulty agreeing on working principles and tactics.

Secondly, the core membership of about 8 people remained the same throughout.

Thirdly, the activity of the group could be controlled. It didn't snowball, or unleash unforseen consequences. The group could take on as many cases as they felt competent to deal with, and soon developed a good idea of the amount of work each case involved. At the same time the work was interesting. Each case was different - and the furious reactions of many landlords a fruity scource of amusement and anecdote. Also, as time went on, enough small victories were chalked up to make it seem worthwhile.

In other words, a technique, similar to the one described on P.4. for squatting, was evolved.

5.5.2. The Pamphlet Group

This group was set up to collect and publish information on the housing situation - along the lines of the pre-BRP survey done by the May Day Manifesto Group.

It failed.
The projected pamphlet was finally published by the Rents Registration Group.

Why did the Pamphlet group fail so quickly?

The group decided, in its first meetings, to do a survey, using a questionaire, of Denmark Terrace. The survey was attempted, but abandoned, because "the people were in general old, difficult to talk to, and fairly satisfied with their conditions" - and the questionaire form was not adequate either.

The fifth meeting would have needed to reconsider and redesign the aims and strategies of the group. Instead there was a joint meeting with the Rents Registration group to survey Bedford Square. This was fairly successful, but members of the Pamphlet Group saw that the Rents Registration group were better at it than they were.

Thus, demoralized by early failure, seeing others do the job better, and losing many (student) members because of the Summer Vacation, the Pamphlet group never managed to generate sufficient cohesion and interest to launch a second survey attempt.

After the Summer Vacation, there was an attempt to revive the group, but again there were insufficient people to do anything.

5.5.3. Investigation (Fingers-in-the-Pie) Group

This group was set up to investigate the financial background to the Brighton housing crisis, especially in terms of vested

interests. Its initial project was to try and find out why National Car Parks had aquired such a large slice of Brighton on apparently give-away terms. (Demolition of houses was the usual way of creating car parks)

The group started thorough and painstaking investigations, mainly through public libraries. Quantities of information were gathered on local councillors, J.P.s, directorships, contracts, Government Reports, and local rate spending. Despite some fishy connections nothing sensational turned up.

The Investigation group was the most heterogeneous of the five (four distinct political groups were represented), and had the highest turnover of members. It met weekly. From the sixth week onwards - as no concrete results had appeared - much of the time was given over to argument. "Talk.... they had us over a barrel .. said we weren't taking the right line, and must decide before doing any work... "(Jean).

The group folded at the end of August through disinterest on the part of members. "As all of the groups which were meant to use our information never actually asked for anything, there didn't seem an awful lot of point going on." (Jean).

5.5.4. Propaganda Group

The idea was that this group would produce posters, leaflets, and placards as they were needed by the other groups. Its function was to provide technical skills.

This was the shortest lived of all the subgroups.

It had no independent reason for meeting, only met twice, and failed to determine a regular meeting place. Its members tended to drift to other subgroups - and when it was needed, it no longer existed as an entity. The corollary of this was that the specific skills needed (silk screening, duplicating, etc) were posessed by individual members of other groups, and

publicity was needed, it was easier for the group involved to produce its own material directly.

5.5.5. Other Groups

The Squatting group, Co-ordinating committee, and various other ad-hoc bodies (eg. the Post-Eviction committee), form part of the mainstream history of the BRP, and will not be dealt with separately.

5.5.6. "Factions"

As well as the formal subgroups within the BRP, there were "factions", and the interaction of these with the whole needs to be understood. There follows a brief description of each faction, its size and ideas.

a) Anarchists. This tended to be a label used by "non-anarchists" rather than a consistent political ideology. "Anarchists" were interested in action without explanation. "The more squats the better, so lets stop talking and get on with it." (Saul). About ten people.

b) Families. After a while the squatting families themselves formed a distinct group. Their aim was very concrete. A home. Anyone they saw as obstructing this was an enemy; anyone holding out promise, a friend. This ultimately posed serious problems for the group as a whole, which are dealt with in the main history. On average, excluding children, about fourteen people.

c) Humanist and uncommitted. About ten people.

d) Internationalists. A Sub-sect of Maoism. Main aim was the glorification of the cultural revolution to Project members. Minimal involvement in action. About five people.

d) International Socialists (IS). Concerned with selling their paper, "encouraging working class militancy, and the active involvement in the Project of the organised working class". (Pete) About five people.

f) Labour Party "Left". Mainly concerned with the Rent Registration Group, and publicising the original aims of the Project (see Leaflet 1). About ten people.

g) Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation (RSSF). Mainly students concerned to "beef-up" struggles. Played an important role in structuring the group around the idea of "direct democracy". About ten people.

The statistics of subgroup and faction composition and interaction will be more fully dealt with in Chapter 6.

5.6. The Re-occupation of North Place

"The attack on the Town Hall - or the affair round the Town Hall with the arrests and things - and the North Place occupation, were collective actions done by the Rents Project. It was the Rents Project as a whole. Everybody who was in the Rents Project was involved in those activities". (John)

The Second Public Meeting had decided:

i) To take steps to try and prevent the demolition of the two houses in North Place. Legalistic methods were planned - a public audit and an injunction - but in the event the demolition went ahead so quickly that only direct action was possible.

ii) To present a petition to the Council demanding the letting of all empty Council property to homeless families.

The morning after the Second Public Meeting, at 7.30 in the morning, the demolition gang moved into the North Place houses. The alarm went out, and the houses were re-occupied. (See News 4: 16-5-69)

The same thing happened on Sunday. The demolition men moved in while the "occupiers" were still asleep, and started ripping tiles off the roof. After frantic phoning, about 40 people turned up within half an hour. The roof was being demolished in front of our eyes. After a hurried conference, we formed a ring round the house, so any tiles thrown down would have hit us. The demolition came to a stop.

We discussed the situation. Over half the roof was now gone. Rain would cause further damage, and we had no tarpaulins to keep it out. As we had already gained so much favourable

Squatters halt the demolition men

— then they join in a game of football

MORE than 50 members of the Brighton Re Project today stopped workmen from continuing to demolish two houses in North Place which they had occupied for the day last Saturday in protest against corporation houses standing empty.

[illegible] of the houses past [illegible] before [illegible] start work at 7.30.

An hour [illegible] some of the campaigners were playing an impromptu game of football with demolition workers at the rear of the houses. They decided to [illegible] the house [illegible] day preventing any demolition work being done.

The two houses, both corporation-owned, are being pulled down to make way for a parking site for six cars.

Pictures show (above) the "squatters" taking over one of the two houses in North Place and (left) putting up a "Build, don't bulldoze" notice

[illegible] demonstrate [illegible] and packed [illegible] the Project on a [illegible] from [illegible] the Royal Pavilion [illegible]

[illegible] explain to the [illegible] that the buildings are [illegible] and persuade them not [illegible] the houses down [illegible] said [illegible]

[illegible] this morning the workers were [illegible] prosecuted. [illegible] are [illegible] back to work we will go on with the demolition [illegible] said one of them.

[illegible] we are not going to do what we were supposed to do. But we can't go and there are still people [illegible] the houses. With things flying around the place someone is bound to get hurt.

MOTION

Yesterday the demolition men began work in one of the houses. Floorboards on the ground floor were taken up and woodwork and furniture were dropped from the upper floor.

[illegible] had planned to complete the work within the week.

Last night the Royal Pavilion [illegible] passed a motion deploring the [illegible] demolition [illegible] during the demolition [illegible] which [illegible]

[illegible] appointed a [illegible] Mr. Colin Brand and [illegible] Mr. Stephen Nicholas.

INJUNCTION

[illegible]

HOBDEN DIVORCE CASE IN JULY

[illegible]

GROUPS

[illegible]

PICKET

[illegible]

SETTLED FOR £150

[illegible]

SALE OF WORK

publicity, and as there was no family in occupation to fight for, we decided to vacate the houses. Two days later they were razed to the ground. The site is now a parking lot.

However, the action was generally seen as successful - the destruction had not gone ahead unopposed and unnoticed - and preparations were now in full swing for the Town Hall Demonstration.

5.7. The Town Hall Demonstration

The Town Hall Demonstration stood out in everybodies mind as a success.

In contrast, the ultimate rehousing of squatting families, was almost unanimously seen as a failure.

Since these judgements are in direct contradiction with the explicit aims of the Project, this fact needs some analysis.

The aim of the Town Hall demonstration was the presentation of a petition to the Council, urging them to open empty Council property for renting to the homeless. The 2000 signature petition was to be backed by a demonstration outside, and a presence inside the Council Chamber to express the urgency of the situation. The (hopeful) consequence of this would be the Council's agreement with our suggestions, and subsequent action on their part to relieve th position of the homeless in Brighton.

No such thing happened.
Instead Project members were violently ejected by the police before the petition was even read, and nine arrests were made.

Why then was the action a success?
Firstly, it was well organized. The petition was got together by people who later became the Rents Registration Group. Everyone had been informed and the decision made at a full

meeting. The publicity was good, and there was no shortage of leaflets and placards.
Secondly, it was well attended.
Thirdly, it got very wide press coverage, even reaching the Nationals. (See news 5: Guardian 23-5-69).
Lastly, and probably most importantly, the events confirmed everyones' suspicions about the nature of the Council. The Council Leaders were fuddy-duddy, money grabbing reactionaries, impervious to rational argument, unconcerned with the needs of the people, and ready to resort to violence at the slightest provocation. In a word, they were the Enemy. Before this, there had been some confusion. Bad conditions were either "in the nature of things", or they were a function of some abstract "ruling class". There was no chance of doing much about either. But now the Enemy was personified and out in the open. A clique of landlords and estate agents were perpetuating the housing shortage for their own profit. On the other hand, we, the people, were organised and ready to take them on. The stage was set.

This feeling, along with the general excitement, came through every account.

"... as soon as the housing committee came up, Chris presented the petition. Got inside the chamber and said 'Mr. Mayor..' or some such thing. He was told to shut up ... the Labour Party man came round. Before he could get round to Chris to take the petition off him, the Mayor ordered the thing to be cleared. And we all ... uproar ... and old Maureen started shouting 'You don't care..' and all this... then they just disbanded the meeting. And they tried to clear us all out. We sat still and they carried us all out. They carried me out and dumped me on the floor. I just sat there so they picked me up again. I grabbed hold of all the flower pots. Dragged this huge ... this bay of flowers came all crashing down ... all earth and leaves all over the place. They blamed Tom for that at the trial, if you remember.

There were lots of people. Councillors coming out of their entrance to look at what was going on. People being herded around. Ken shouting very angrily. Maureen screaming at them. There was a big fracas. I was carried off and thrown down the stairs, and I landed on top of somebody. Bob picked me up and told them to piss off and leave me alone. Then Tom came crashing past me being pushed and kicked by the fuzz and god knows what

THE GUARDIAN

Friday May 23 1969

Demonstrators protesti against housing conditions Brighton yesterday

Protest end with 10 arrests

By our own Reporter

Ten people were arrested Brighton Town Hall yesterd after an attempt to deliver petition to the council's annu meeting protesting agai housing conditions in the tow had ended in the police bei called in to clear the pub gallery. The charges we obstructing the police and, one case, assaulting a poli man.

The petition had b organised by the Brighton Re Project, the organisation wh recently installed two homel families in empty council-ow houses. It had about 2,(signatures.

After picketing the town h the protesters—most of th students—went into the galle They were twice threatened w expulsion for applauding. Th when Mr C. Baxter, a lectu at Sussex University tried present the petition, the may adjourned the meeting and ask the police to clear the gallery.

One of the students, Nicholas McGerr, said last nigh "We sat down and the poli carried us out bodily. Some the girls were screaming a one chap was dragged along his feet and brought half flower pots along with him."

else. And they started shouting out the numbers of the police. I was shouting "we know you, number ninety whatever-it- was". And this huge hand grabbed me by the neck and said 'You've got a big mouth, haven't you?', and threw me down the next flight of steps to the ground floor." (Gary)

"It was the first time I'd been in a situation like that, and it was really quite dramatic, and it really changed my ideas about British Justice..... that a Mayor could shout "Clear the gallery", and police would come pouring in and throw people down the stairs, which is what they were doing..... ..... (later)..... We started to wander off. And I saw this guy being carried into the van. And I turned round and thought "Well, its not right that he should be the only one arrested, and it wouldn't look very good in the papers". And I turned round to Jane and said "Perhaps we should get arrested as well" but I wasn't being serious about it. A policeman came up and said "Hey! We've told him three times to move on. Get him!" So they got me. ..... (later, in Court)..... Graham made the best off-the-cuff speech about the housing conditions, and why we were demonstrating. 'I made some short statement about the difference between the Council's hysterical attitude towards demonstrators, and their cynical indifference .." (Andrew)

".... the arrests, which I think really did shock people. The ten or eleven people. Because it was quite clear they were mass political arrests. You don't .. I mean one or two... but ten out of thrity becomes a mass arrest. They were just arresting people willy-nilly ... They wanted to get rid of these people. Stop it there and then... we were on to an explosive thing .. very, very touchy ... a lot of wheeling-dealing going on underneath ... I mean the housing thing was a real scandal."

All these events - the Public Meetings, the formation of working groups, the Occupation, and the Demonstration - took place within the first 20 days of the Project. They mark its opening phaze.

During this period people began to get to know one another, and a common language and history were generated. Certain types of action were "in", and others were"out".

The project had established itself, and its aims, on the Brighton scene. The members and supporters stood on one side, the opposition on the other.

5.8. Terminous Road

I left out an account of the squatting group in the previous subgroup descriptions. This is because the history of the squatting group became very quickly the main history of the Rents Project.
How did this happen?
The squatting group was set up at the same time as the other subgroups, and given the general mandate to squat families. Its composition was technical. People with practical experience of squatting; an electrician, a plumber, a builder and so on.

The occupation technique they used was an elaborated version of that described on P.4.

A homeless family would be found and interviewed. This interview served two purposes. The family was informed of the seriousness of the step it would be taking. On the other hand we could assess whether they were the sort of people that we could work with.

Then an empty council owned house would be found that was "open". Unless a door or window were open there could be a breaking and entering charge. If there were no such opening, it was not unknown for a coincidental drunk to pass the night before the squat, and hurl his empty bottle through a window.

Then, early in the morning the house would be occupied, the family moved in with their furniture, the press notified, and the gas and electricity connected.

On the 7th June, two families - Mr. and Mrs. Chrismas & Mr. and Mrs. Byrnes - were moved into two empty Council houses in Terminus Road. (See news 6: 7-6-69)

Squatters move into empty homes

BY DOUGLAS AND HELEN DAVIS

TWO families were moved into two empty council-owned houses in Terminus Road by members of the Brighton Rents Project at 6 a.m. today.

Outside each house was pinned a notice which said: "We've occupied this property, we're in possession of it, we're claiming it and we intend to stay."

"So you want us out? O.K. But make sure you don't break the law in doing so, because if you do we'll lay the information before the local magistrates and if the Crown won't prosecute then we'll apply for a summons and do it ourselves."

Rents Project members refused to give the surnames of the families they moved in.

John, a 37-year-old carpenter and father of two children aged two and seven months, said he and his family had been living in a one-roomed Hove flat for the past three years.

One of the families who moved in today

BABY

They had been on the Hove council house list for the past two years and were told there was a possibility of a council house in July, 1970.

"But I'm expecting another baby and we just couldn't stay in that room," said his wife, Sarah, who is 23. "We've been looking for another flat ever since we moved into the room but not only are the rents too expensive, landlords just won't take children."

The other family are Valerie and Mick, both aged 21, with a six-month-old baby and another on the way.

They were evicted from their Robertson Road flat in Brighton and were then housed in the Welfare Department reception centre in Elm Grove.

Valerie and Mick were separated and had to be in the hostel every night by nine.

Both Terminus Road houses are large and airy and have supplies of gas, electricity and water. No. 24 has a large bathroom and two upstairs bedrooms, and a kitchen and two smaller rooms downstairs.

No. 25 has a bathroom toilet and three large upstairs rooms, and another three rooms and a kitchen downstairs.

Beds were made in both houses and in one a five-month-old baby was sleeping happily in her new bedroom.

Rents Project members were hard at work scrubbing windows and floors, cleaning stoves and baths and generally making the houses as comfortable as possible.

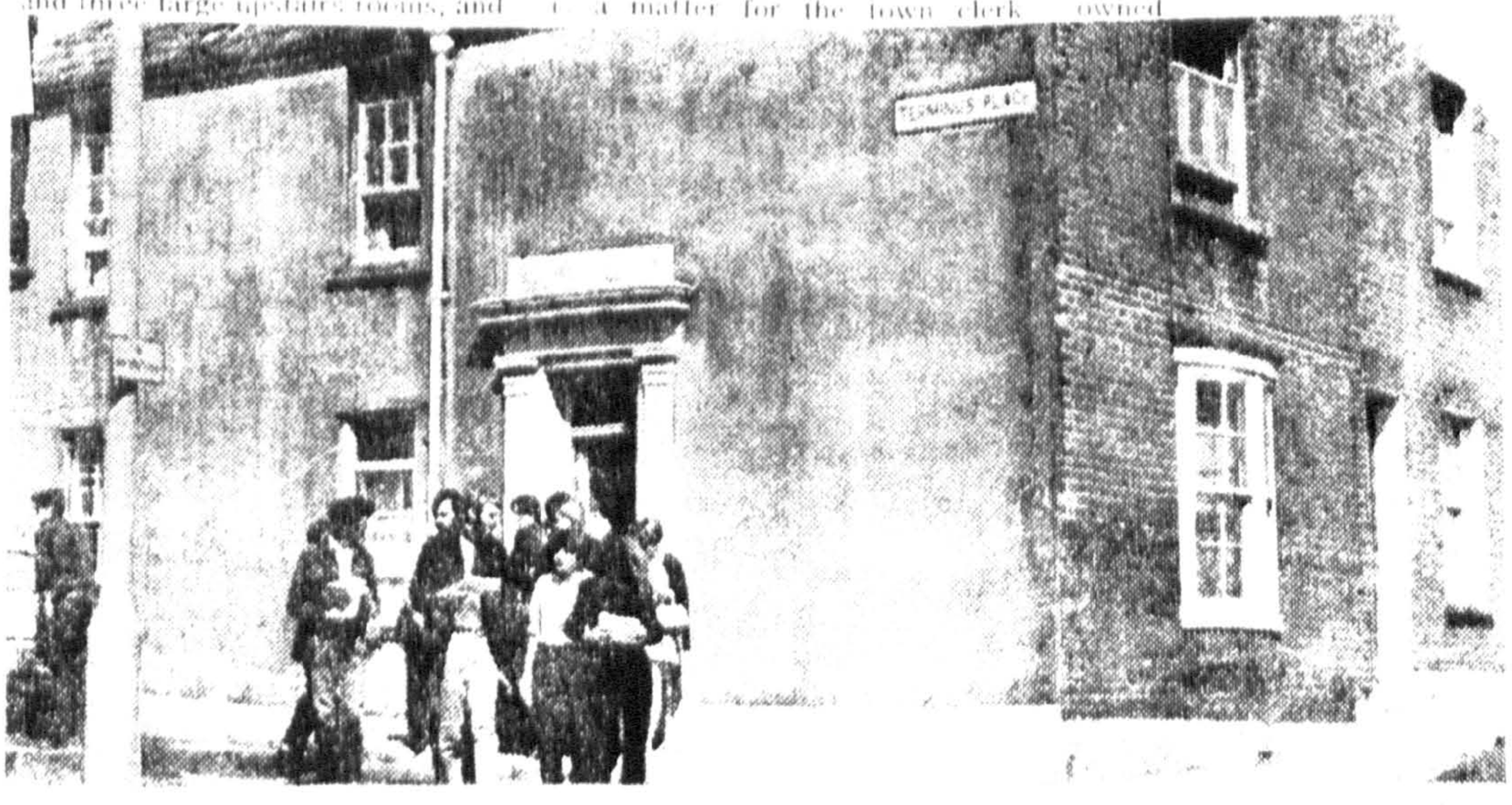
A nurse, carpenter and electrician were on hand to help care for the children and cope with major repair work.

Ald. Stanley Theobald, chairman of the Brighton Council's Housing Committee, said of the squatters' action: "We will do nothing until after the weekend. It is a matter for the town clerk. It depends, then, on what damage has been done to the houses."

On being told that the squatters were probably improving the Ald. Theobald remarked: "Well it's nice to see them doing some work for a change."

The chairman of the Welfare Committee, Cr. Constance Nettleton, said the committee had a policy of dealing with squatters. The first meeting of the committee for the municipal year would be held on Monday morning.

In a pamphlet handed out today members of the Rents Project demanded that homes be made right, not a privilege; that homes be produced for people, not profit and that all housing be publicly owned.



Members of the Brighton Rents Project were busy today making repairs to the occupied houses

This squat marked the beginning of a very real transformation within the Project.

The crucial factor in this transformation was the aquisition of "habitat". The group had surfaced in the real world (as opposed to the worlds of "politics" and ideas). Objects in the real world take up space. This event was obscured to me for a long time because the aquisition of habitat (a necessary but unconscious condition of group survival) coincided with the primary aim of the group - "Homes for the homeless". Indeed, whether the occupied houses were only homes, or homes and meeting places, was always ambiguous. The dilemma (family privacy vs. group survival) was never explicitly recognised, although both terms were recognised in the frequent conflicts that this engendered.

The importance of a permanent physical meeting place cannot be underestimated. It allows information exchange outside forwal channels and at low cost. Small groups cannot for long bear the high cost of formal communication channels. If the group can only meet at specific times, and at specific places - an arrangement which is inevitably inconvenient for many -, then it must also spend its time on agenda arrangement, formal discussion, and arranging other meetings. Informal discussion is undesirable and time wasting under these circumstances. Yet it is precisely this informal discussion that is essential in the creation of the language and norms necessary for the smooth functioning of the group.

Secondly, the consequence of a physical meeting place was the creation of a new actual leadership. Those who could spend most time on the site had the most information, and were called on to do the day to day decision making. Thus the actions, and sometimes the intentions, of the full timers became information as far as the others were concerned. Another general aspect of this control was that the

interpretations of events by those at the centre of the communications net obviously tend to become the standard interpretations.

In addition to these general consequences, the aquisition of territory caused the Rents Project to become socially real in two other, interlinking modes. The group now had a collective responsibility to the squatting families - a continuing real problem independently engendering further problems that had to be dealt with. In permanently occupying council property the group established itself as a permanent, and therefore real, problem to the local council.

The consequences of these factors, together with the initial set of aims and beliefs, almost entirely determined the future of the project.

The first consequence of the squat to become obvious was the change of leadership. Broadly, the squatting group took over from a University based group. Their claim was to decision making autonomy in squatting. However, as squatting was seen as the central aspect of the project, both by the group and the media, and as the consequences of squatting involved far more people than the squatting group itself, this was more than just a limited claim.

Three major groups evolved as a result of this. The squatting group, based on the squat itself, anarchist dominated, and with the emphasis entirely on practice. This group evolved the slogans "make squatting a mass movement", "the more squats the better", "Families before politics", "only those involved in actions have the right to decide or criticise". Their concern was mainly with physical self-defence - barricades and security to thwart any possible attack by bailiffs or other thugs.

The second group - The Revolutionary Socialist Group - was equally concerned with the squat, but was not based on it, if anything it was a University based group, and its major concern - under the slogan "houses for people not profit" - was to geralize and widen the struggle. Its major concern was with propaganda. In the literature and press statements put out by the Project as a whole, the views of this group tended to predominate. When they did not there was trouble.

The third grouping - broadly the Labour Left - organised itself in and around the Rents Registration group, and was largely detatched from the squatting activities except at moments of crisis.

Each of these groups had a different organisational paradigm. The first - the squat based anarchist group - believed in individual action without any check.
The second - the Revolutionary Socialist grouping - believed in evolving policies by democratic debate at mass meetings, and that these decisions should be binding on everyone.
The third - the Labour Left group - believed in control by a centralized executive, under broad policy lines laid down by the majority.

Although the second procedure was the one usually followed in practice, when conflict did arise there was no generally accepted procedural ground for its resolution.

Following the sucessful establishment of the first squat, the squatting group decided to expand its activities. A week later four more squats took place in quick succession.

Mr. & Mrs. Baker and their children moved in on the 14th (See news 7 : 14-6-69) followed on the same day by Mr. & Mrs. Wares. Maureen Nihil moved in up the road a couple of days later. An artist and his wife took over a disused shop just down the road a day after. Steve Prior, his

The Saturday squatters strike again at dawn

Moving in. Young Keith helps with some of the family's possessions

BRIGHTON Rents Project squatters t over another empty council-owned ho just after dawn today.

Fifteen helpers cleaned the three-bedroomed h in Terminus Street from top to bottom while the occupiers, who refused to give their surnames, set in.

Florence and her husband Brian brought with them two of their three children.

She said she and her husband had been married for nine years and never had a home of their own.

For the last five months they had been living in one room in her mother's council house.

LIST

Brian was told by a Brighton council official that the family could not be considered for a council house of their own until they had been on the list for three years.

His wife has tried to get a flat but no landlord will accept the children. She said they wanted to stay in the Terminus Street house permanently.

They intend to apply to the council for a rent book and will put money aside each week.

No action was taken by the council today.

One of the helpers from the Brighton Rent Project said they had quite a few more families lined up to move into other empty council-owned properties in Brighton.

But the project urgently needs more funds and a large van to help with removals, he said.

The house the squatters t over today

wife, nanny (!) and child moved into adjoining Railway Street. (See Map 1.)

This rapid escalation of the siuation came as something of a shock to the Revolutionary Socialist group. The organisation of the first squat had been mandated to the squatting group by a Public Meeting. The second squat seemed a reasonable extention of this mandate. But by this time the squatting group had been reconstituted to include only those who were physically present at the squat, and to exclude some of the original university members. Nobody outside the squatting group was consulted about the third and fourth squats, and the squatters themselves denied any knowledge of the Rents Project.

While on the outside the Project appeared strong, stable and determined, on the inside there were many divisions.

A further division, which I have not mentioned yet, was between the families and everyone else.
In fact, in the interviews I did, what comes across most strongly is the high level of bitterness, disagreement and misunderstanding between groupings within the project. The hostility of the Council, the Courts, and other authorities is taken for granted and hardly mentioned in internal discussion (although it was of course mentioned at every opportunity in public discussion). Nevertheless, I feel this expressed ingroup hostility is important in the group process, so I will detail it here.

Firstly, there was the formation of the squatting subgroup. Andy, Nick, Dave, Dave, Barbara, Caroline, Judy, Nigel,. Prof, Buzz, and Tub, formed the nucleus of this group. They lived almost permanently on the squat, painting, decorating, "guarding", baby sitting, and so on. They developed the idea that squatting was a full time job, and from this that only full timers were genuine squatters, and should have full decision making power. The corollary

Wykeham Terrace & Queen Square
1st.Squat
Town Hall
North Place
Law Courts
ARGUS Office
BN3
R.R. GROUP BN1 ACTIVE HERE
BN2
TRAFALGAR
RICHMOND PL
YORK
DENMARK TER
VERNON T
ROAD
QUEENS
NORTH
WEST
STREET
ST. JAMES'S
MARINE
PARADE
GRAND
JUNCTION
MONTPELIER
WESTERN
THE ROYAL ALEXANDRA HOSP
Concert Hall
WEST PIER
REFERENCE
Places of Interest
One Way Streets

MAP I

of this was that anyone who was not full time had no right to a say in things. If you wanted a say you had to work for that right. The Rents Project, run as it was by a University based group, seemed alien to them. The squatters had done all the work, and were entitled to the credit. The Rents Project was either an interference or an irrelevence. Thus the squatters saw no necessity to inform, let alone discuss with the Rents Project, any actions that they might plan.

The squatting group, in its relative isolation from the rest of the project, developed its own rationale for squatting, and the aim of squatting, as the de facto destruction by disregard of the laws of private property. "If someone doesn't like the house they are living in, and there is a better one empty next door, then they will just pack up their bags and move in" (Andy)

Within this rationale, the squatting group saw no reason to exercise control over squats, or select suitable families. Anyone who wanted to squat was suitable - and "the more the merrier". The more people who took over empty houses the happier they were.

This group maintained its leadership of the squat during the Terminus Road phase, and is still recognisable as a group today, long after the end of the Rents Project.

Thus the history of the Terminus Road period is largely a history of this anarchist grouping. Members of the other parts of the Rents Project were taunted or ignored whenever they turned up.

"You'd go for your guard duty, and they'd make all sorts of sarcastic comments about "oh, so you've come round at last", and things like that and "where were you when we did the decorating?" ... not very many people came to do guard duty. I went along a few times, but I just sat around. Nothing much to do" (Gary).

"Several times I tried to do some baby sitting, or guard duty, or whatever it was called. The times I went up, however long for, there was never any need for it, so I came away". (Chris)

"I went only once to the first squat at Terminus Road - as a guard. At that time some anarchists turned up with a record player and started playing records, and I was a bit pissed off with this because I thought about revolutionary discipline man, and I thought they were going to turn it into a discotheque..... After that I wasn't involved in anything to do with squatting". (Andy)

This taunting and discouragement was important because it preserved the squatting group by preventing others from doing anything, and thus acquiring the right (as defined by the squatting group) to participate in decision making.

The three exceptions to this were Jonathan, Steve and myself. All three of us managed for long periods, to work within the squatting group while preserving a major allegiance to the Project as a whole. Each of us, however, became, at some time or other, involved in the "elitist" decision making of the squatting group, even though we did not develop the supporting attitudes. On the other hand none of us were ever fully received into the squatting group. "... there was great emphasis on secrecy, on technical ability, and keeping a large number of people out of the picture. There was emphasis on this at first because of the enormous secrecy required to find a site, to break in, to get the families and so on, without being busted before you even started .. The problem was that the communications system of the Rents Project was never sufficient... when we'd actually put the families in, the communications to the other people was never sufficient .. half the Rents Project were doing nothing, while the other half were sweating their guts out on the squat". (Jonathan)

This split situation demanded reconciliation, and both Jonathan and I successively filled this function. We were both in the position of feeling and recognising, yet denying and bridging differences.

"... after the first squat onwards there was always a division between .... well, there was officially a division, and I never accept this division, and I don't think there is - the way it was most obviously termed was a division between the squatters group and the Rents Project - I never saw this division as such. That form of expressing it was in fact put by some members of the squatters group, and also by some members of the Rents Project". (Jonathan)

Jonathan then went on to explain how this difference was personal rather than political, and never affected the "real leadership" - I am not sure I agree with either point, but that was his way of reconciling things.

"The dispute, at one point I remember, crystallized over the hanging of the Rents Project banner along the side of one of the Terminus Road houses, and this was ripped down by one of the so-called anarchists... and there was a row about that". (Jonathan)

But the real disputes were about who controlled squatting, how many, and what sort of families should be squatted.

After the first two squats - involving four families - there was a large emergency meeting in Terminus Road to discuss the issue. To add to the confusion, by this time disagreements were emerging between the families and the squatters. But this only highlighted the main issue. Who should squat and who should decide? Forty people were packed into a small front room. The only seating was the floor and an old mattress. The first bone of contention was the Rents Project Co-ordinating committee which had

called the meeting. What was it and what powers did it have? The squatting group saw it as a beaurocratic device packed against them - and in lots of ways they were right. It had been set up as an information exchange - but the problem was precisely that no information had been exchanged. "You are not going to tell us what to do" said the squatting group. "We are not going to take public responsibility for you lunacy" was the response. The co-ordinating committee - no-one was really sure who belonged to it anyway - was ditched, and it was suggested that a majority vote at the meeting should be binding. "I'm not having that" said Andy "I havn't seen most of these people here before". "The project was our idea, and we are not going to allow you to wreck it". "In that case why haven't we seen you?", "What is the Rents Project anyway", "We'll squat whoever we like - we've managed so far without your help". "Look, let's be sensible...", and so on.

Finally the meeting reached a compromise agreement that the Rents Project would be informed in advance of any more squats, and that Project members would give much greater practical help.

The decision went unheeded by both sides. The squatting group carried on squatting, and many members of the Project "left squatting alone and did something else". "I then went to London for the weekend, then found that another squat had taken place without informing the Rents Project". (Jonathan) "I am afraid my only participation in squatting in the early days was to try and stop it... there were too many people being squatted.... the whole thing seemed to me far too chaotic". (Chris)

By the time legal action by the Council started to apply an external brake, seven families were squatting.

The internal processes of the squatting group were not as chaotic as they appeared on the outside. "There was a regulation laid down that we would squat no family which

had problems other than housing.... This crystallized over a case of an old woman and an old man and an old woman and their son and daughter and things - whose names I've forgotten - who came round one night. Steve, Andy and I - we were the crucial people at that time - were dashing round for hours and hours and hours trying to get these people off our hands ... their names I cannot remember.... he had a hernia, the son was mad and locked up in jail at that time for setting fire to a house. The woman was very old and very ill. Another son was at Chic's social club all the time, and slept on the beach the other half of the time. If we'd invited him in, we'd have got Chic's social club - all the petty criminals, failed criminals essentially, hang out there. What eventually we did ... we took them- we felt very bad about this, and she was absolutely in floods of tears - to the Welfare people in Elm Grove. It was a really bad scene". (Jonathan)

I personally remember when a family of heroin addicts wanted us to squat them. There was a great debate then. They were pleasant enough people and they were homeless, but if the press found out we'd all be crucified. In the end the dilemma was resolved by the intervention of the squatting families. They wanted to have nothing to do with it - so we did nothing.

Also a lawyer was found by the squatting group who managed to "win" our first court appearance for us. On the 18th June the Council was refused an interim injunction to prevent the families from squatting. Soon after this - at the big Co-ordinating Committee meeting - I volunteered to do legal liason for the families, (largely as a concession to the squatters demand that project members should participate more fully). Anyhow, I got landed with the job. Within a month I found myself slipping into Jonathan's job, as full time organizer.

5.9. The Families

In every case the families made the initial contact with us. The first families phoned a number we put in the local paper, others contacted us directly on the squat. They were all homeless, and with children. The project put out a booklet with background information on the families as a factual illustration of the housing problem. Here are some extracts from it.

John and Sara

For several years John and Sara were living in one room in Hove and paying £4 a week basic rent. After the birth of their first child they applied to go onto the Hove council housing list and were informed that until they had "found a proper flat" they would not be eligible.

They reapplied for a council house 18 months later when their second child was born. But some time after this they were told that there was no guarantee that they would get a council house, even after a further three years, and no chance before them.

John is a carpenter and sculptor and does a considerable amount of work at home. Thus it seemed that a family with two children was condemned to living three years in one room because, in spite of repeated efforts to find other accommodation at a reasonable rent, John and Sara were unable to move out. It was in this desperate plight that they came in contact with the Brighton Rents Project and with their help moved into an empty council house with six rooms in Terminus Road.

.....

Comment

The housing problems faced by families in Hove are the same as those living in Brighton as we can see from the above.
The experience of John and Sara in trying to get a council house shows the various ways in which a council is able to evade giving a family a home. THERE ARE NOT IN FACT ENOUGH COUNCIL HOUSES AND THE ANSWER IS OF COURSE TO BUILD MORE AND DEMOLISH LESS. It has been Alderman Stanley Theobald's proud boast that as Chairman of Brighton Housing Committee he has built more new council properties than any of his predecessors. This claim ignores the fact that he has also pulled down more, such as the two in North Place, in order to make room for 6 cars.

.....

Mick and Val

The troubles of one of the families - Mick and Val and their young baby - began when they were illegally evicted from a house in Robertson Road. This was the climax of several months of harrassment by the landlord, Mr. R.C. Knight. His activities over those months has included drilling a hole through the wall to spy on Mick and Val in their bedroom, laughing when asked to give assistance when the baby was ill, kicking the dog down two flights of stairs and at one point moving all the family furniture into one room.

During this time Mick was negotiating with the Council for a house, Despite the fact that Mick has always been in good employment they refused a loan for a morgage on a house, And, although their councillor, Mrs. Morrison, was told they would be put on the housing list, Mick was told by a council official that he would never be given a house because he was "undesirable".

After the eviction from Robertson Road, Val and the child went to live temporarily with her sister in Lewes while Mick found himself on the streets. Then for two months they went to stay in the Council Reception Centre at Elm Grove. Here they were split up and repeated attempts to take their child away were made. At the end of their stay the Welfare Service offered them what were described as "really good" accomadation. This later transpired to be a 12 foot square room let privately for £8 a week. The lavatory and bathroom they shared with six other families.

It was at this point they contacted the Brighton Rents Project who assisted them to move into a house of their own in Terminus Road, from which they are now being evicted.

.....

There are obvious common threads running through all these accounts. Foul, damp, unhygenic, overcrowded and grossly overcharged conditions are the most obvious. The immense difficulty, for a working class family, in finding anywhere to live at all, and the resultant psychological stress of split families, are the next most obvious. Then there is the totally unhelpful attitude of the Council, either in helping the immediately homeless, or in building houses as a long term solution.

Then we were at pains to emphasize that the families were in no way excentional. They were ordinary families, and the men had ordinary jobs - bus driver, engineer, salesman, carpenter etc.

I think it says quite a lot for the families that the local council and press did not attack the families as people at any point. They attacked squatting as a "prelude to anarchy" and the squatters for "trying to jump the housing queue".

5.10 The Reaction of the Authorities to Squatting

So far I have outlined the early history, and the formation of groupings within the Rents Project. But our actions were also conditioned by the actions of outside bodies, as well as the overall housing shortage. The authorities directly involved were the Local Council, the Police, the Ministry of Defence, the Courts, and, of course, the Press.

In the early stages (the Terminus Road period) only the Local Council and the Press were involved. The Police decided the matter was a dispute for the civil courts and outside their jurisdiction, and so did not interfere.

The reaction of the Council can conveniently be divided into three sorts: action, threat and propaganda. The action was to use the courts to try and gain repossession of the houses; the threat was to strike the families who squatted off the housing list and refuse them any future assistance; the propaganda was that they were jumping the housing queue, and that they were being led astray by evil people.

Ald. Theobald's press statement after the first two families had lost the first court case, and been struck off the housing list, is a good example of this attitude:

> "We had to do this, and the idea is to prevent squatters, some from outside Brighton, trying to jump the housing queue in front of those people who have waited patiently and legally on the housing list. It would not be fair to them.
>
> We all know the sad problems of those who are homeless. We have been working for years and we are doing all we can

to help. But if these people are foolish enough to allow themselves to be persuaded to enter and take over empty houses by militant and illegal means, they will be struck off the housing list.

We really have no option. We must protect the people whose plight may be worse than the squatters. If we close our eyes to this and condone it, this could lead to anarchy"

(Brighton and Hove Herald. 4th July 1969)

Threats and propoganda had little effect on the families. The Council had already refused to help most of them, and those that were on the housing list saw no chance of ever reaching the top anyway.

The Court action had more effect.
The Council applied for repossession of the houses, damages, and an injunction preventing squatting in any of their empty properties. The first court case deferred the matter - saying it was not an emergency. On July the second, when the matter came up again, the Byrnes and the Chrismas families were ordered to vacate the premes within 28 days, pay £7 damages, and give an undertaking not to switch houses, or to move out and directly back in again. Most of this was agreed between the barristers, rather than ordered by the Judge.

This compromise enabled us to avoid a general injunction against any squatting, to avoid court costs, and to pay only minimal 'damages'. Except that not everybody saw it that way.

Many of the squatting group saw it as a major and possibly final defeat. "Its all over. Its finished. Whats the point of carrying on?" Some wanted to leave there and then.

The families were baffled. Why hadn't it been fought? The barrister hadn't even tried to defend them. The Judge had been thoroughly abusive, and no-one had said anything about it. Their desperation hadn't been

mentioned. And they'd been ordered to get out. Why? The barrister was no good. They'd been let down. Sold out.

All this emerged in the middle of a press conference immediately after the case. Fortunately for us only hints of it actually appeared in print. The rest was BRP members putting on a brave front.

"The Brighton Rents Project will carry on as before, increasing and extending our activity wherever possible. The needs of the homeless and tenants all over Britain are overwhelming, and they can't be stopped by vicious intimidation by any Council or Government"

(Chris - B & H Herald. July 4th 1969)

"We will treat the Council's opposition with the contempt it deserves. We deplore both the outcome of the case and the council's action in bringing the case. But this will not make any difference at all to our activities. The problem of homeless families isn't going to be solved by messing about in Courts - and if they don't tackle this problem, then we will".

(Mike - Argus. 3rd July 1969)

However no-one in the Project had the slightest idea what to do next. This, and the ethos surrounding it, were decided by the squatting group.

5.11 The Move to Wykeham Terrace

With Court Orders to Quit against two families, and Actions imminent against the other four, it was obviously soon going to be necessary to move all the families.

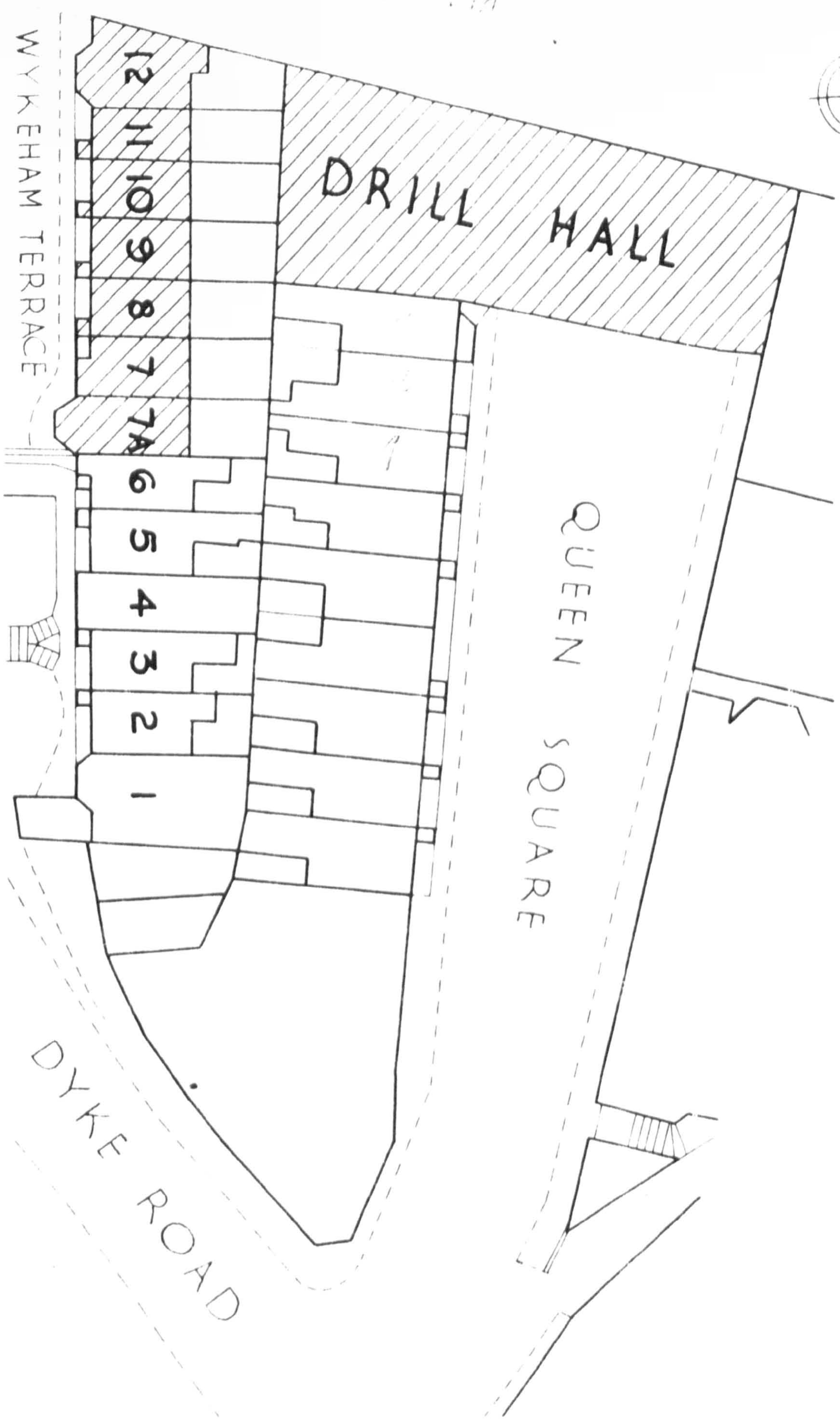
Not only this, but the occupation time for a family for any given house was, on present form, two months at the outside. In all probablity this would come down to a month once the Council got itself sorted out.

So squatting, as it had been done so far, had a lot of disadvantages. Once the matter got to Court it seemed we couldn't win. The only delaying tactic that seemed plausible was to prevent the Council finding out the name of the occupying families, thus preventing the service of a Summons. But if this was successful there was the possibility that the Council, in its frustration, might resort to strongarm tactics, as had been done in Ilford. None of our houses could be defended against a determined attack.

Wykeham Terrace seemed the answer to many of these problems. It was, in a lot of peoples' minds, a natural fortress. It was a terraced block of eight flats standing in its own grounds, and built like a rock. (See Map 2). It was surveyed and found to be habitable. The survey was carried out in greatest secrecy around midnight one night. One of the surveyors broke a leg trying to get out of an upper storey windown, thus avoiding a discussion of the merits of private property with the caretaker. Fortunately the secrecy was preserved.

Occupation of the Terrace promised many disadvantages. The families would be together, and would be able to give eachother mutual support. There was also a good chance that writs could be ducked. As the Terrace had seperate front doors, it would be necessary to summons each family seperately. On the other hand, it would be impossible, from the outside, to discover which family was living in which flat, so it should be impossible to summons anyone. On the other hand, should the Authorities finally resort to violence, the Terrace could be fortified as a block.

Last, but not least, there was the prestige value of the occupation. From a scattered set of slum houses in the back of beyond to a luxury block (official definition) in the heart of Brighton. Just let the Council pretend we didn't exist then!



MAP 2

DRAWN	TRACED	CHECKED	APPROVED	DATE
E IAGO				

This, as reported to me later, was the substance of the discussion within the squatting group. The conclusions were apparently unanimous.

The operation of occupation went birlliantly, and involved all members of the Rents Project. The first I heard of it was two days before, when I was asked to hire a van on Friday, and have it available at 6am the following morning. But I was given no inkling of where the move was to. Four vans and half a dozen cars were finally involved in the move. A large Project meeting was called the night before the move by the squatting group, the reasons for the move were explained, but the location was kept secret.

The next morning, Saturday July 19th, fifty people were at work by 6.15 am. The vans all had numbers, assignments, and loading and unloading bays chalked out on the streets. Wykeham Terrace was taken at six in the morning, and by mid-day the move was more or less complete. Six families and all their possessions moved in the space of six hours.

The Argus headlined the event "SQUATTERS INVADE THE ARMY IN DAWN SWOOP".*

5.12. Wykeham Terrace

"We've moved in, and we're not going to be moved out", became the major statement of the squatting group's position from then on. They came to regard everything except physical defence as irrelevent. The original squatting group was reinforced by a contingent of anarchists who came down from London to help. The Terrace was due to be auctioned on the following Wednesday, and it was feared that an attempt at physical eviction might be made.

---

* Footnote. Wykeham Terrace belonged to the Ministry of Defence.

By Order of the Territorial Auxiliary and Volunteer Reserve Association for the South East.

FOR SPECULATIVE RESTORATION

7-12 Wykeham Terrace

(Dyke Road)

Brighton

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Also at
Eastbourne and Worthing

H.P.S. STILES & CO.

This Auction will proceed as advertised despite illegal occupation by squatters. Completion of the purchase being deferred until such time as Vacant Possession can be given. Action through the Court is in hand.

(2

"Preliminary" defences were erected, and further defence plans drawn up. The preliminary defences included reinforcing all the doors with girders that could be dropped into place behind them, sealing up all 'unnecessary' entrances with barbed wire entanglements, studding all other doors with 6 inch nails to prevent anyone pushing against them, sealing all ground floor windows, and carting piles of rocks and petrol bombs onto the roof to hurl at any assault team. Trip wires, alarm bells, and rotas of tin helmeted guards were also arranged. Steve and Mick M were the main driving force behind all this. Mick M also had a huge and savage alsation for good measure.

Being in physical occupation of the new "habitat", the anarchist way of thought prevailed - for the time being.

The next hurdle was the auction of Wykeham Terrace. It fell through. Bidding failed to reach a reserve price. About twenty members of the Project turned up and the jubilation was intense. However, the morning's headline in the Argus had been: "PETROL BOMB ARMY WAITS FOR BAILIFFS" (see News 9: 23-7-69)

Despite a large article the next day ("Jubilant Squatters Hail Sale Victory") a lot of people had been upset by the previous day's headline, and felt that things were going too far.

This time the disagreement was not over the number of families, or the move to Wykeham Terrace. This had already been thoroughly discussed, and it had been agreed that the problem pointed to one conclusion - which was Wykeham Terrace. There was also agreement over the need for some defences against strongarm eviction.

The disagreement was over the "scare" headlines that Steve Prior managed to generate, and some of the more extreme defences. Petrol bombs on the roof and "mining" of the forecourt against "hostile" vehicles, were two innovations that caused considerable consternation amongst Project members.

"It was coloured throughout by differences of opinion between the Rents Project and the squatting group. Various attempts were made to overcome this. Like Nick tried to spend more time up there, I tried to spend more time up there ... they'd say, screw locks on all the doors, and bolts, so I did that. And you'd go round next week, and they'd all been taken off and moved somewhere else. It didn't last very long because I soon discovered that I was being quite useless. I was just trying to show myself that if you got in there and did some work and things, something would happen. But then there were all sorts of other conflicts that arose that couldn't be resolved so easily. Like the petrol bomb thing where Troy refused to give her Tampax away". (Gary) (Note. Tampax were apparently needed as bomb fuses)

SALE
CONTINUES AT
Hills of Hove
Further Reductions

Evening Argus 9

Wednesday
July 23, 1969

Incorporating
SUSSEX DAILY NEWS

Fivepence

EXTRA SPECIAL

Boycott wrecks health project

WEST Sussex County Council has stopped work on the £250,500 health centre for Horsham and cancelled the contract because of a row with doctors.

"Obviously it will mean paying some compensation to the builder but we do not know how much it will cost," said Mr. J. R. Healey, Deputy Clerk of the Council, today.

The trouble is over disagreement over a new design of the centre which is different from the original concept agreed with them in September last year.

For capital programmes of the county council provides £27,500 for the site, £142,000 for the buildings and fees, and £30,000 for furniture and equipment.

The centre was planned to serve 44,000 people and it was hoped to complete it in 1971-72. It was going to have 18 consulting rooms for doctors and 14 of the 18 practising in Horsham had agreed to work there.

ATTEMPT

A last minute attempt to solve the crisis was made by officials of the Ministry of Health on Monday night but no solution could be found during the seven hours lasting over 2 hours.

The dispute flared up after the Regional Hospital Board announced on May 6 that it was prepared to close the casualty department at Horsham where the centre was being built.

The doctors then announced that they were withdrawing from the casualty service on July 1 and they regarded the action of the board as grounds for withdrawing from the health centre project.

The county council, however, now have given instructions on April 30 to the contractor, Smith Scaife Ltd., to start building at Blatchs Road, Horsham, close to the hospital.

CONSULT

According to Mr. Geoffrey Goodman, clerk of the county council, the building had been designed in LB consultation with the medical profession.

It was to provide certain facilities for the county council, the Regional Hospital Board, and through the West Sussex National Health Executive Council, consultants, dentists and pharmacists for local doctors and patients.

Discussions on the scheme were the responsibility of the executive committee and conferring the doctors in question with major consultants in the New and Redhill area Hospitals, the Regional Hospital

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11

'Petrol bomb army' waits for bailiffs

SQUATTERS armed with petrol bombs stood by today ready to fight any attempt to evict them from the old Territorial Army married quarters in Wykeham Terrace, Brighton.

The squatters and their Brighton Rents Project sponsors have barricaded the house against bailiffs with nails and barbed wire.

"The petrol bombs, said a spokesman for the project, are for use under particular circumstances."

With the help of about 50 supporters of the Brighton Rents Project seven squatter families occupied the property—about 100 yards from Brighton's Clock Tower—early on Saturday morning.

Guards stand by to guard it every night both on the roof. They are armed with sticks, nails—and petrol bombs.

An alarm system has also been set up so much that to warn squatters of possible dangers and to protect each flat nails have been hammered through the front doors to prevent them being broken down.

Barbed wire has been strung round the entrance to the flats in the basement and around the sides of the properties.

Squatters stand guard on the roof of the old married quarters, armed with stones and petrol bombs.

SHOOT

But the public auction of the houses will go ahead this afternoon—whether or not the squatters and Brighton Rents Project want it. Brighton auctioneers H. D. S. Stiles and Co. who are responsible for the sale said:

"Unless they shoot on all fours and snap like a member of the zoo said

"I should imagine there will be some demonstration but this would not affect the sale in the slightest."

A spokesman for Brighton Rents Project said that there would be no violence and force would be used only if the squatters were forcibly evicted.

"We have taken legal advice and we have taken steps to prevent any illegal eviction," he said.

The spokesman said that the squatters would be willing to negotiate with the authorities and discuss the future of the property.

Project supporters have also drawn up a draft which will be handed out to passers-by to support.

When you read in the papers of people who find it hard to keep their roofs over their heads, it is appalling to think that there are houses like these empty.

The tenants are a cross section of the people who need a home. Some are in appalling conditions and others have no home.

The squatters claim that a Government department should encourage this project. Special allowances and grants for rehabilitation could be offered by the ministry of this department.

● H. D. S. Stiles and Co. said that the company would be willing to negotiate with the squatters for a lease or sale of the property.

SHARED

The [illegible] which [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] the property. Project supporters have also drawn up a draft which will be handed out to passers-by to support.

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MOTION

[illegible]

Stowaway boys fly to Iceland

[illegible]

Space noises—just a prank

[illegible] mysterious noises crackled down from Apollo 11 yesterday, but nobody was very concerned. They just seemed to add to mysterious atmosphere. The noises were variously described as whistling like a very years celebration, the soundtrack from a science fiction film or a musical being played at the wrong speed. [illegible] Have anybody on Earth with power [illegible] Charlie Duke behind the astronauts as the first of two hours in the [illegible]

"We have some strange noises coming up the downlink and thought we had some [illegible] up there," Bertha Michael Collins or his crewmates Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin said anything to ground controllers about the noise and they never acknowledged hearing it.

"We know it came from the spacecraft," said a Space Centre spokesman. "And someone is just a little prank on the ground controllers by the astronauts."

See Laugh in Outer Space page

WO

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The escalation from this point on can more or less be traced to one person - Steve Prior.

The escalation was in newspaper stories, the number of families, and the amount of property occupied.

In terms of size, the next step was the takeover of the Drill Hall and three adjoining houses on the back of Wykeham Terrace. The Hall itself was huge (300 x 100 ft), had a gallery, and several smaller, though still gymnasium sized, rooms. It was announced that this space would be used for playgroups and meetings. The houses were for families. (See news 10: 4-8-69)

The Drill Hall and the Queen's Square houses were opended and occupied by Steve, Buzz, and Mick M, without consulting anybody. They were then presented as a fait accompli. "Come and see what we've got now".

It didn't seem too bad. The electricity was on, and we had somewhere to meet. The same evening Steve organised a party for the families. The Drill Hall was christened with music and dancing.

Then there was Steve's myth about the Private Army. Realizing that the Drill Hall was very vulnerable as it was often empty, he invented the story that 300 students from LSE and Essex were on the way to help defend it. This duly appeared as fact in the local press. See news 11: B. & H. Gazette: 8-8-69.
He scored another press success when we moved a family of seven into Queens Square (See news 12: 8-8-69) and with many non-stories that kept the Project in the public eye. (See news 12: 14-8-69)
Then he made jaunts up to Westminster and enlisted the support of the local MP. (See news 12:11-8-69)

But Steve's biggest success of all was to obtain a full page in one of the local papers that we wrote ourselves.

(BRP 33A)

4-5-69

TROUBLE AT NO. 10 : The building in Queen Square which squatters have occupied

Squatters upset milk race man

TWO SQUATTER FAMILIES — helped by the Brighton Rents Project—occupied an empty corporation-owned office building in Queen Square yesterday — and upset not only corporation officials but the organiser of next year's Milk Race.

BY DOUGLAS AND HELEN DAVIS

The organiser, Mr. M. A. Cumberworth, has rented the ground floor of the office building next door as his headquarters for the race—and there is access from one building to the other.

When Mr. Cumberworth arrived at his office today, he found that the basement door had been ripped off its hinges and some of his property—£800 worth of equipment for the race plus "irreplaceable records"—had been damaged.

MALICIOUS

"It would seem that someone has disturbed Mr. Cumberworth's belongings and caused malicious damage," a corporation spokesman said.

The extent of the damage had not been fully assessed but police were called in this morning and are investigating.

Mr. Cumberworth found a Brighton Rents Project "Campaign for Homes" poster on the front door of the building, and inside the building, on a door, an inscription has been painted: "No milk today. The race went that-away."

DISTURBED

Mr. Cumberworth, who is organising the race for the Milk Marketing Board, is debating whether or not to give up the 12-month lease on the premises.

"This is the world's biggest amateur cycle race," he said. "I am naturally disturbed that someone has broken into the office where I am storing a tremendous amount of equipment."

The spokesman said he did not think the corporation could offer Mr. Cumberworth alternative premises elsewhere in the town.

The properties were bought by the corporation from the Territorial Army about two years ago. They have been empty ever since.

The building backs on to the Wykeham Terrace flats which have been occupied by seven squatter families. The flats belong to the Territorial Army and came up for public auction last month, a few days after they moved in.

LANDLORD

The squatters who moved into the Queen Square property include a 22-year-old mother with three children, aged six, four and eight months. Her sister has also moved in.

The mother, who refused to give her name, said she had previously lived in a flat in Holland Road, Hove, which she had rented from tenants who were supposed to be living there.

"I paid rent to the tenant but it turns out that he never paid the money to the landlord," she said. "I have an up-to-date rent book.

"I was taken to court and evicted in March." For a while the family lived with friends, until the friends, in their turn, were evicted.

ILLNESS

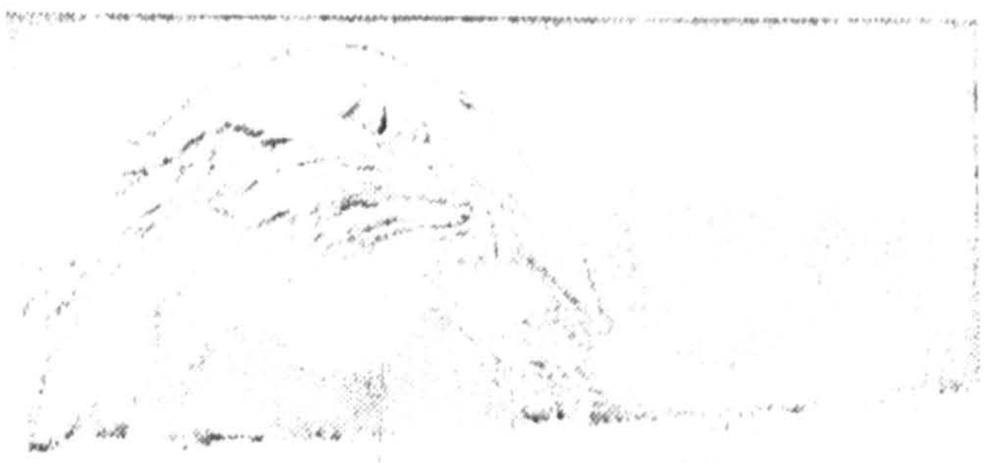
The other family who are squatting also come from Hove. The husband is receiving Social Security benefit because of illness and they have two children, aged two and one.

"The assistance is not enough to clear the rent, rates and feed us all," said his wife. "We fell behind on our rent and we were told we would have to get out."

A council spokesman said that "appropriate action" would be taken against the squatters.

Drugs charge

Richard Graham Jenkins, 22-year-old gardener employed by Hove Corporation, of St. Michael's Place, Brighton, was at Brighton today remanded in custody until August 13, charged with being in possession of cannabis resin.



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BRIGHTON & HOVE
GAZETTE
And SOUTHERN WEEKLY NEWS

COMPLETE SHOW GUIDE 11
FULL-OUT SUPPLEMENT

Concern over 'private army'

BRIGHTON police officers yesterday met leaders of the Brighton Rents Project in a move to cool the situation which is arising from the community of "squatters" and their "protectors" now in the Queen Square vicinity of the town.

The Project have taken over properties in the square and Wykeham Terrace, adjoining it at the rear, for homeless families.

And connecting the two is the empty, corporation-owned Territorial Army drill hall where the "protectors" are now staying. These are mainly students from Essex University, the London School of Economics and from Ilford—scene of a recent major "squat-in."

Brighton Corporation have already stressed that they will rely on court action to evict the "squatters" from the Queen Square houses and the drill hall. But this is likely to be delayed until after the summer recess in mid-September.

The Town Clerk (Mr. W. O. Dodd) said: "The corporation are immediately issuing proceedings for possession and damages." Last week Judge Harold Brown, at Brighton County Court, awarded damages to the corporation against three couples who had previously occupied houses near Brighton railway station.

The town clerk said: "The judge expressed himself very clearly to the squatters on that occasion." Last night a Project spokesman said they would be appealing against Judge Brown's decision.

The corporation bought the drill hall last May for development as a sports centre but the proposal has been shelved for a year. Two of the properties in Queen Square were intended for youth offices and the third house is occupied on the ground floor by the organiser of the national cycling Mills Race.

The corporation are relying on court action to secure the return of their properties. If they had chosen to adopt strong-arm tactics to evict squatters, as was tried at Redbridge, they could have found themselves in a battle with the student "guards" camping in the drill hall.

It was this situation which yesterday led to talks meeting between the police and the Project members.

A police spokesman told the Gazette afterwards: "We pointed out that it is the responsibility of police to maintain law and order in the town no matter who calls upon them and said we have no desire to see any disorder in Brighton."

"WE WERE ALARMED BY REPORTS THAT THE PROJECT WERE BUILDING UP A PRIVATE ARMY."

In a statement issued after the meeting the Project leaders said they reiterated that their campaign was not of a violent nature but was directed at solving the chronic housing shortage.

Yesterday too the Project leaders claimed that they had received offers from circles and from the state agencies acting for the Ministry of Defence over the sale of the West Hove Terrace properties. They hoped to evict the building contractors and obtain a mutually acceptable lease prior to the premises.

Only one couple from Wykeham Terrace had been evicted from the Project.

A police car from Sussex and Co. Sussex Supplies visited the area.

The agent is planning to sell the properties recently with-drawn from an auction because it did not reach the desired price—by private treaty.

The Project are now planning a teach-in on "squatting" to take place in the drill hall. The students already there are expected to be joined by more next week.

They also have plans for providing an adventure playground for Brighton children in the hall: they want to stage plays there and put on dances.

Cr. Danny Sheldon, who is chairman of the council's Corporate Estate Committee responsible for the drill hall and Queen Square houses, this week called for tougher laws against "squatters."

"I don't think the courts or the public will tolerate this sort of behaviour much longer," he said. "There is no doubt in my mind that legislation will soon have to be introduced to make penalties higher of this sort of thing continues."

● Residents in Wykeham Terrace, next door to the squatters, had another cause for complaint this week. A new discotheque opened opposite their flats in a converted church. Its name: Sloopies. Residents complained about the noise of people leaving at 2 a.m. Others thought it might bring down the value of their property. The owner, Mr. Charles Cassom, said: "Brighton is short of decent entertainment and this is decent entertainment."

The Edwards family outside Brighton Welfare Offices yesterday. From left: Mr. Edwards, Alison (two), Stuart (three), Jacqueline (seven), Lesley (five) and Lynn (two months).

Next week

CARNIVAL PICTURES

—and full coverage of Brighton Lions' big event tomorrow (see Show Guide)

WALK WITH JIMMY SAVILE

and help Penny Gobby House School. Full details in the Gazette next week

RENTS PROJECT IN 'KEEP IT COOL' MEETING

Shoppers and passers-by soon got used to being photographed and "written up" in the local Press, but last night Mr. Norman Freedman, Mayor of Hove (Cr. and Mrs. Norman Freedman) said he didn't know that their fame of our work by the pin-ball machine in Hove's amusement arcade.

THIS IS YOUR STORY, Mr. MAYOR!

SOON after he took office at the end of May the Mayor of Hove (Cr. Norman Freedman) mentioned that he would like to see the Gazette produced one week.

And last night his wish came true when he and the Mayoress came along to the Southern Publishing Company, Ltd's., works in Robert Street to see this edition "put to bed."

The mayor and mayoress saw all the departments involved in getting the paper out each week.

And they were fascinated to see their own photograph, just taken by Gazette photographer Ralph Capps, being made into a block ready for the space left for it here.

When they had seen the many processes involved the mayor went down into the machine room to set the presses rolling. And when he and the mayoress received their copies of the first editions they found they had made front page news.

NOW FAMILY JOIN THE SQU

CONTINUED FROM PAG

last month a court brought and he and were given 28 days t

When possession Wednesday, Mrs her five children to in Ireland while her h a tiny single room V.las Brighton.

Explained Mr. Ed

wife and family to Ireland yesterday and to stay so I decided my car and to let the room. It really was the children and wretched night."

Earlier in the recommendation of

Department. Mrs the children had housed for the hom Sussex Kent border

"But it was terr when we got there There were bed beds and the children ing once we got m have we tried to gage but without

★ Specialist in quality low

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SOUTH COAST
62 ROAD.

THIS WEEK

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Family of 7 camp out in welfare office

The Edwards hastily at the Welfare Offices

THEN THEY DISAPPEAR

A COUPLE and their five young children today squatted in Brighton's Welfare Offices in Princes Street.

They [illegible] on the floor [illegible] and chips.

When officials went [illegible] to search the interview reception rooms were locked, but no attempt was made to shift the family.

Mr Robert Edwards, aged 45, his Irish-born wife, Josephine, and Jacqueline (seven), Leslie (five), Stuart (three), Alison (two) and Lynn (aged [illegible] months) prepared to stay [illegible] for action.

IN ATTIC

Mr Edwards [illegible] applied to Brighton Welfare Department for help.

I was met with indifference, he said. "They told me they couldn't do anything for us. Now we intend to stay put here until we get some satisfaction. We'll stay overnight if we have to."

But, despite his intention, [illegible] Mr Edwards and his family had disappeared when staff returned to the office after lunch.

Said Mr R. N. Neal, Director of Brighton's Welfare Services: "No one actually saw them go, but they apparently left of their own accord at about 12.45 p.m."

Mr [illegible] said: "I don't know where they have gone, but they have gone because the office [illegible] anyone."

Mr Edwards, wife and [illegible] returned to a forced [illegible] in [illegible] at Preston Villas, Brighton, but [illegible] big enough for the family.

Mr [illegible] said [illegible] "[illegible] Department [illegible] Board [illegible] Brighton. [illegible] all."

Lord Hill says sorry to Bognor for TV errors

B.B.C. chairman Lord Hill has unreservedly apologised to Bognor Regis Urban Council for "inaccuracies and omissions" in the 24 Hours television programme about old people living in the town.

"I would like to assure you that any suspicion there may be that either they (the film crew) or the B.B.C. acted with malice against Bognor Regis would be totally unjustified," says Lord Hill.

Mr. Reynolds, who went with a deputation to meet Lord Hill at Broadcasting House, commented: "The letter speaks for itself.

SORRY

[illegible]

HOSPITAL CALL

[illegible]

An air trip to deliver the Tea Set trophy

[illegible]

Poison threat alert

[illegible]

SECTION

[illegible]

'Modernise primary schools'

TWENTY-FOUR MEMBERS of Brighton Town Council have signed a notice of motion calling on the town's Education Committee to bring forward within six months a programme for the modernisation of Brighton's primary schools.

The motion also says that, pending the approval of a complete programme for primary education throughout the town, no action be taken on the threatened closure of schools such as St Martin's Primary School.

The motion, proposed by Mrs. Mary Mackintosh, reads: "The council, having made such significant strides in the provision of further education, believes that its proposals for replacing and improving outdated primary school buildings have been too long postponed and therefore directs the Education Committee to revise its proposals in the light of today's circumstances and to bring them within six months a programme for the modernisation of Brighton's primary schools."

SEE PAGE [illegible]

Radioactive mistake

[illegible]

Vietcong blast a hospital

[illegible]

It's squatti that unites the Leftists

BY DOUGLAS DAVIS

THE BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT held a public meeting in a conference room at the Royal Pavilion on May 6. Since then, through a [illegible] of dramatic and headline-catching events, it managed to keep well in the public eye.

But what is the Brighton Rents Project? How does it [illegible]? Who makes it work? These questions raise angry [illegible] from those who are squatting as part of an internal [illegible] and even uncommitted moderates.

There are no ready answers to any of these questions, perhaps the only common denominator is that virtually all the movement's supporters are of the Left. There in fact are few [illegible] the Left which have been able to [illegible] support of all factions of the Left.

NO LEADER

The project has no leader, no constitution and no [illegible] only supporters. It is because of this loose structure and of "hard line" policy that the movement has been able to [illegible] such a width of opinion and ideology.

All supporters agree that everyone should have a decent [illegible] and that a roof over one's head is a right and not a [illegible]. And they all feel that squatting is the most effective way of fighting the problems of families without homes or living in [illegible] conditions. Beyond that there is little likelihood of unanimous agreement among supporters for a particular line of [illegible].

One supporter, a radical Socialist, would like to see organisation to stimulate tenants to form associations among themselves and control their own homes. "They are the people who should be on the Housing Committee," he said. A Marxist [illegible] sees the movement as eventually being absorbed into a political organisation and another Marxist [illegible] sees the [illegible] of the Rents Project as a fight by the working class against [illegible].

In Brighton there are about 250 supporters and probably about 250 reasons why they support the movement and where they want to see the movement going.

INTENTIONS

Squatting can highlight the problems of housing but in itself it [illegible] nothing. So far the movement has shied away from [illegible] long-term objectives. Under direct [illegible] this [illegible] and to [illegible] the immediate [illegible] of the movement. But [illegible] and other political goals [illegible].

[illegible] that the [illegible] is the [illegible] would try to convert the [illegible] to accommodate their demands; some would prefer to negotiate with the authorities.

[illegible] themselves are [illegible] on policy [illegible] and over their heads. [illegible] high with [illegible] and [illegible] houses for every [illegible] of the squatters who are [illegible] families, from [illegible] to a year [illegible] Brighton.

[illegible]

CENSURED

[illegible]

SECRECY

[illegible]

BARRICADES

[illegible]

Even

Monday
August 11, 1969

Hobden backs Rents Project

CR. DENNIS HOBDEN, Labour M.P. for Kemp Town, Brighton, has decided to support the Brighton Rents Project.

He will address the next public meeting of the project in the council-owned drill hall in Queen Square which was taken over by the project last week.

He has also agreed to negotiate with the Ministry of Defence on behalf of the project for permanent squatter occupation of the former married quarters of the Territorial Army in Wykeham Terrace.

Squatters, with the aid of the project, took over the property last month.

Following a two-hour meeting between Cr. Hobden and three project supporters, one of the supporters said: "Cr. Hobden read our aims and said he is in complete agreement with us.

INFLUENCE

We were immensely pleased with the outcome of the meeting, particularly with regard to his attitude in assisting us in negotiations with the Ministry of Defence.

His influence can go a long way and in the Brighton Council chamber. It could be of tremendous help in putting our views across and also in obtaining answers to questions which the council aren't prepared to discuss with us.

This is a real step forward and gives us influence where we didn't have influence before.

But," the supporter added, "we must be very careful that we won't just be absorbed into the Labour Party."

18—EVENING ARGUS, Thursday, August 14, 1969

'Biggest squat of all' claim

WITH 15 squatter families installed in flats in Wykeham Terrace and Queen Square, Brighton, the Brighton Rents Project are now claiming the biggest squat in the country.

They estimate that well over 100 people—squatters, helpers and guards—are now living in properties they have seized from Brighton Council and the Territorial Army over the past six weeks.

The project have claimed to be drawing on support from students at the London School of Economics and Essex University. Many of them, they claim, are employed by Brighton Corporation as waiters, deckchair attendants and kitchen porters.

But a spokesman for the corporation said today there had not been an unusually large number of students applying for jobs.

At present, about 25 were being employed by the corporation, he said. "We have applications for jobs almost every day from students. But this is not unusual for this time of the year."

DEMANDS

Support for the project has been enlisted from Labour M.P. for Kemp Town, Cr. Dennis Hobden, who has agreed to negotiate with the Ministry of Defence, on behalf of the squatters, for permanent occupation of the Wykeham Terrace properties.

The Rents Project themselves have sent a list of demands to Brighton's Town Clerk Mr. W. G. Dodd, which will be forwarded to the meeting of the Housing Committee next month.

They are demanding the council recognise "in public" that the idea and stimulus for the renovation of unused development property has come from the project.

They are also demanding that:

- The council accept the principle that a house is a basic right of every individual, and that they take all possible steps towards the immediate realisation of this principle in practice;
- All empty private property be rated;
- A representative of the Brighton Tenants' Association be an ex-officio member of the Housing Committee with right of veto on all matters concerning council housing;
- No one with commercial vested interests (i.e. estate agents, building contractors) be on the housing or planning committees, except in a purely temporary or advisory capacity;
- A stop is made to all luxury development until no one remains in need of housing in Brighton;
- The housing list be opened to everyone and that no qualifications be necessary.
- As a gesture of good faith, the council publicly renounce all claims to costs and damages awarded against squatting families, and recognise the public service rendered by these families in bringing the housing problem to the attention of Brighton.

They had made several editorial attacks on us, and he demanded the right of reply, or else threatened to exclude them from all our future press conferences.

At this time Gary and myself were in the process of forming an education group. At its first meeting Steve rushed in with the news that we had a full page if we could get it written by mid-day tomorrow. We worked all night on it, and at 11.30 the next morning presented the copy to the Herald Offices. Amazingly it went through without a hitch. We got our publicity. (See news 13: B. & H. Herald: 15-8-69)

Steve was also responsible for finding four out of the five families that joined the squat after the move to Wykeham Terrace.

In short, for the month after the move, Steve was personally responsible for almost everything that happened. He was a dynamo of enthusiasm, and his only principle seemed to be "the more action, the more publicity, the better". Everyone else more or less sat back. The families in particular welcomed the chance of a little peace and security.

Unfortunately Steve was a Special Branch agent and police informer. The night before our public meeting at which the local MP was to speak, he pursuaded three Hell's Angels who were hanging around on the fringes of the squat to bomb the local army and navy offices. (See news 14: 19-8-69)

5.13 Decline

Retrospectively, one can clearly say that this bomb incident marked the turning point of the squat.

Before this point actions were offensive, expansionist, and optimistic. Afterwards actions were marked by

ANATOMY OF A SQUAT

The actions of the Brighton Rents Project have been in the headlines since they began moving squatter families into Corporation-owned houses in June. The Herald has been strongly critical of the group, who in return have claimed that the Press has been biased in its treatment of them. This newspaper has, in fact, published many reports containing accounts of the Project's intentions and objectives. But on this page today, for the first time in any local newspaper, we invite the Project members themselves to present their case, to state their aims, to explain their structure.

BRP IS FOR KEEPS

'THE Brighton Rents Project is for keeps. It is not an experiment or a protest movement. Our final aim is a total change in the distribution of housing and the economics of housing.

The B.R.P. is enthusiastic and makes up for lack of money by hard work. We do not employ furniture removers. We move furniture in borrowed vans, even by hand. Our publicity is not paid ads in newspapers or on television, but real people trying to get homes, word of mouth communication and handing out leaflets in the street.

The B.R.P. is democratic. All major decisions are taken in mass meetings and votes. Everyone can speak. Sometimes it is chaos, often it is boring. But everyone is involved. No one is told to do something without knowing why.

The B.R.P. is anxious. It has housed 17 families, and many more are on the waiting list. Until the Council accepts its responsibilities to these families or is defeated (we shall be putting up candidates for the next elections) we accept full responsibility for these families. We are anxious lest Rhodesian-style bailiffs swoop and put them out on the street.

We are anxious in case our efforts to defend the families (our barricades and guards) should offend the public.

The B.R.P. is friendly. Everyone is welcome to come and talk with us, to put their point of view. The B.R.P. is people with housing problems coming together, and deciding to do something about it—a sort of trade union for tenants.'

Case history No. 1

O[illegible]

Living apart

[illegible]

[illegible caption]

QUESTION AND ANSWER ABOUT THE SQUATTERS

[illegible]

If you have questions about the B.R.P., come up to Wykeham-terrace—we will be happy to try and answer them for you.

The national situation

THE housing situation in the United Kingdom has now become so intolerable that people have, all over the country, cast aside bureaucracy and substituted "direct action" as the only means of getting things done and have found that it is working.

[illegible]

Case history No. 2

MARGARET is 23 years old. After seven years of marriage she separated from her husband because of his alleged adultery and took the three children, aged six years, four years and eight months. For the 18 months before March of this year she was living in a £4 a week flat. The flat was sub-let to her by a lessee.

Although she paid the rent regularly every week to him, he was not giving any money to the landlord. The landlord then took out an eviction order against her, and then Margaret came to the B.R.P.'s legal department for advice. But we were unable to help her. Although she was obviously not at fault, there was no defence in law. In court, Judge Brown described her as "a very honest woman."

Searched in vain

As she now had nowhere to go, friends who lived in the basement of the house offered her accommodation while she looked for a home. The Ministry of Social Security offered her up to £4 a week to pay the rent on a flat—if she could find one. At the same time, they said that although they could not possibly allow her [illegible], it was most unlikely that she would find an unfurnished flat, that would allow three young children, at that rent.

Margaret soon found out that this was the case. She stayed in her friends' flat for [illegible] months while she searched in vain for somewhere to live. For five months two families, the friends had two children and a third on the way, three adults and five children lived in one small basement flat desperately hanging on to what little independence they had left.

The father of the families had been ill for almost a year. The family whose flat it was were well behind with the rent. "How can you feed and clothe your wife and children on £[illegible] a week sickness benefit and have money to pay all the other bills?"

Eviction

[illegible] Margaret's family for the second time.

Margaret came back to the B.R.P. [illegible] and asked if she could put her case to one of our meetings. She told us her story and we agreed to help move her and her family into Wykeham-terrace.

Her friends from the basement, who were preparing as a last resort to move into an old [illegible]

Case history No. 3

A[illegible]

No help

At the beginning of 1967 they were told by a councillor that the Housing Manager thought that their flat was medically unfit, and that he was asking the chief public health inspector to take action. However, three months later, they were informed that it had been decided that theirs was "reasonably adequate accommodation" and there were, therefore, no grounds for rehousing them.

Mr and Mrs Williams then began a lengthy correspondence with councillors, local politicians and [illegible]

Priority

About a year ago the Williamses were informed that the Housing Manager had [illegible] that they had been put on [illegible] priority [illegible] But at the same time they were warned that there might be delays as there were many cases of longer waiting periods [illegible] and of higher medical priority.

[illegible]

[illegible] They are now living in a perfectly healthy flat in Wykeham-terrace.

YOU JUDGE

HAVE the squatters helped [illegible] This was the question posed in the Herald's editorial on [illegible] But helped whom? We haven't helped the landlords. It is our first objective [illegible] Brighton Rents Project was to take up the housing problem of the mass of people to expose the nature of the problem clearly and to join with people in solving it [illegible] would bring back [illegible] homelessness [illegible] for housing people.

It is clear which side is responsible for the problem. But the landlords, the Council and the Press naturally wish to protect themselves. Their view is that the squatters and the Brighton Rents Project are the problem. [illegible] Project members should consider whether their actions, now in the best interests of the unfortunate [illegible] into an ugly situation."

[illegible]

Squatting has highlighted the sort of problems people are facing not only here in Brighton, but all over the country. Take any one of the case histories printed here: families divided or living in one room ... these are problems everywhere in Britain.

According to government statistics there are 1,800,000 slums; 2,300,000 houses lack basic amenities (e.g. a bath); another 2,700,000 need major repairs. 80,000 homes degenerate into slums every year—and only 70,000 are cleared every year.

The problem is national, not just local. And this is reflected in the support people offer us going past Wykeham-terrace. They come not just from Brighton but from all over.

EMPTY

What does this housing problem arise from? On the national level racketeering interest rates make it impossible for many young couples to get a house of their own. They have to look for rented accommodation. Landlords, cashing in on the bankers' boom, are subdividing their property into flatlets: more rent and more overcrowding. Unable to profit from selling houses, building firms are laying off workers. So we have unemployed building workers and homeless or overcrowded families.

How about here in Brighton? Take the squat in Queen square. The property was to be empty for a year and could be used either for offices (which [illegible]

VIOLENCE

It is against the law to evict squatters without a court order. Nonetheless, if the landlord (or Council) hire a gang of thugs to illegally evict squatting families the landlords, the Council and the Press tell us that the danger arises from the squatters protecting themselves, that the violence would be their fault! So the landlords say "If we hire thugs to illegally evict you by violence—the violence is your fault." This is how their robber-logic works.

When talking of the squatters' children, do they concern themselves mainly with the appalling conditions they had to live in before squatting (see case histories)? No. The "Herald" speaks up for the landlord: "What is so serious is the lasting effects this must have on the squatters' children. This is a shocking example to set any child who will grow up believing that they have the right to take the law into their own hands and seize what is not legally theirs."

OBJECTIVE

To come back to our objective. The problem is being clearly posed. Bankers, big businessmen and landlords are profiting from the situation. They have no housing problem as we know it—and they are keeping things that way.

Have the squatters helped expose the problem and the people responsible? You judge.

OUR 10 DEMANDS

1. That the Council immediately use all their houses (not just those in the hands of Housing Committee) to provide homes for the people of Brighton.
2. That the Council recognise in public that the ideas and stimulus for the renovation of unused development property came from Brighton Rents Project.
3. That the Council immediately accept its responsibility to house (NOT institutionalise) the homeless—this to include the families now squatting and the hundreds of families crammed into single rooms in Brighton.
4. As a gesture of good faith we demand that the Council publicly renounce all claim to costs and damages awarded to them against any squatting family, and recognise the public service rendered by these families in bringing the housing problem to the attention of Brighton.
5. We demand that no-one with commercial vested interests (i.e. estate agents, building contractors, etc.) be on the Housing or Planning Committees, except in a purely temporary or advisory capacity.
6. We demand that a representative of Brighton Tenants' Association be an ex officio member of the Housing Committee with right of vote on all matters concerning Council housing.
7. We demand that the housing list be opened to everyone, and that no qualifications be necessary.
8. We demand a stop to all luxury development until no one remains in need of housing in Brighton.
9. We demand that all empty private property be rated.
10. We demand that the Council accept the principle that a home is a basic right of every individual, and that it take all possible steps towards the immediate realisation of this principle in practice.

All of these points are directly within the power of the Council to implement.

'We do[illegible] want[illegible] violenc[illegible]'

W[illegible]

13

BRP: histo[ry] and structu[re]

T[illegible]

[illegible] unfurnished flats. The result of the effort was that 30 families had their rents registered, and, subsequently, reduced.

After a year of this sort of work, the need to expand activities became obvious. Bad, often appalling conditions, high rents, extreme difficulty in getting accommodation for families. (Landlords were subdividing yet again, and letting to students at £4 £5 per small room.)

Birth

Finally, May 1968, a public meeting was held in the Pavilion. Over 200 people attended and the Brighton Rents Project formally came into being.

A decision was taken at this meeting to stage a token occupation of two houses in North-place. These houses were due to be pulled down, after having been empty for four years, to give additional space to National Car Parks Ltd.

It was also decided to circulate a petition, for presentation to the Mayor at his inaugural council meeting. The petition demanded that the Council utilise all empty council (and redevelopment) property for housing.

At the inaugural meeting, when the Mayor called for a list of Housing Committee nominations, a spokesman of the Rents Project asked to be allowed to present the petition, which now had the signatures of 2,000 Brighton residents. The Mayor responded to this request by adjourning the meeting and calling in the police to clear the gallery.

Groups

Such was the Council's answer to the request of 2,000 people. After the first token squat, and the rejection of this petition, the B.R.P. realised that if the housing problem were to be tackled efficiently it would have to organise. At the next public meeting a series of groups were set up, each with a specific function. They were to communicate through a co-ordinating meeting, but all lines of major policy were to be, and still are, laid down by agreement of general, public, meetings.

The groups are as follows:

Rents Registration Group. This group has continued the tradition of survey, discussion with tenants about conditions, encouragement of tenants to register rents, and general education about the legal position of the tenant. The group works intensively in specific areas, and has recently been active in Bedford-square—and with a good measure of success.

A serious problem facing this group and tenants who are attempting to claim [illegible] their legal rights, is the shortage of rent officers to inspect the [illegible]. Further, many landlords have threatened their tenants with eviction and/or violence to deter them registering their rents. In practice this is often very diff[illegible]

[illegible] group. This group formed to investigate the interests and [illegible] prominent Brighton [illegible] housing in Brighton [illegible]

Legal Committee. [illegible]

[illegible]

Assistance

[illegible]

Evening Argus

Tuesday August 19, 1969

incorporating the SUSSEX DAILY NEWS

Fivepence

SPECIAL 14

Th
Wool
PIN
CLASSIC
3/11 Ball

Twin bomb blast rocks Brighton Service offices

A tarpaulin covers a gaping hole in the R.N. recruiting office in Brighton's Queen's Road

By PHIL MOGER

BOMBS exploded in a Brighton street late last night and early today during twin terror raids on the town's Army and Navy Recruiting Offices.

The raids were in the same street—Queens Road—and within hours of each other.

Early today a bomb was hurled against the window of the Navy and Royal Marines Careers Office.

It shattered the window but crashed back on to the pavement sending a sheet of flame roaring up the side of a wall—just yards from where 16 hotel guests were sleeping.

Earlier, a few hundred yards away on the other side of the road another bomb had been poked through the letter box of the Army Careers Office.

Detectives and fingerprint experts were called out in the middle of the night and spent several hours at the scene.

Police searched the pavements and gutters for signs of bomb making equipment. Both bombs were believed to be crude home made ones.

From outside the Navy Office police took away a charred length of wire.

Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kellick were in their rooms at the Stafford Hotel, Queen's Road next to the Navy Office when the bomb exploded.

Said Mr. Harold Mr. Kellick, a woman and Frank Kerr, "There was a tremendous explosion. There was a sheet of flame and we saw the flame. Mr. Kellick looked out the window and saw people running around outside."

The manager, Mr. [illegible] Wilson said: "The bomb was in the extinguisher."

EXPLODE

At the Navy Office, Mrs. Irene Weeks, 19, and RSM George Wa[illegible] were [illegible] the window [illegible]

Now hurricane Debbie moves up

HURRICANE CAMILLE, the most severe in United States history, disintegrated today over central Mississippi. But weather experts watched another approaching storm to see if a bombardment of silver iodide from an aircraft had calmed its violent wind.

Camille killed at [illegible] people, made 75,000 [illegible] and did millions of dollars of damage to the Gulf coast from New Orleans to [illegible]

The damage was [illegible]

Belf has qui nig

BELFAST h quietest night rioting and g started last w

Early this mor only been two although during police had to op

Shots were fired men in a car wi stop when ordere police. It was cha 80 m.p.h. throug area, where it rac police checkpoints found abandoned.

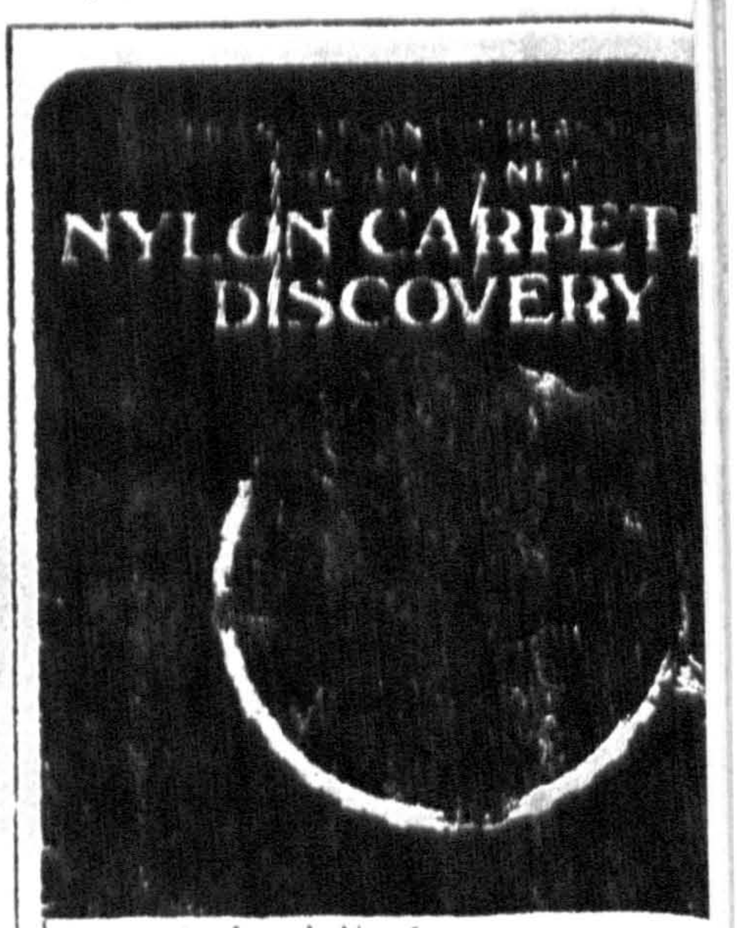
And earlier a p thrown through a community centre area. It set fire caused no seriou nobody was hurt.

This morning tr were opening the motorists to ease traffic.

Troops were als lan-built barricad where their remo lead to further fr

The East Belfa mittee started only is beginning a recr for more peace patrols because o easing tension and calm.

NYLON CARPET DISCOVERY



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TRADE ENQU

defensiveness and pessimism.

Before the bomb, many mistakes had been made, silly things done, and disagreements sustained. But none of this really mattered. There were no consequences beyond the action itself, and perhaps some internal disagreement. Official reaction was baffled and restrained.

After this incident (Though not because of it) the initiative passed into the hands of the Authorities.

Firstly there was an intensive police investigation into the bomb incident, several arrests were made, and the press linked the BRP with the bombers.

Then, as this shadow began to pass, the Hippie Squat and defeat in Piccadilly discredited squatting nationally and gave the Owners new weapons in the form of speedy Court actions.

Immediately after this, summonses were issued against all the families, and the police invaded and retook the Drill Hall. The Press had a ball with the mess it was in. (See news 15: 26-9-69). Simultaniously the police began intensive investigation into conspiracy charges against the entire leadership of the BRP, combined with personal surveillance and phone tapping (See news 24: 31-10-69)

Under pressure from all these factors, the leadership of the project finally decided to discontinue squatting, and to try and salvage the families and the organisation from the wreckage.

This is an overall picture of events. I shall now recover the ground in more detail.

Immediately after the bomb incident it become more or less general knowledge who had done it. Steve had just

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EXTRA SPECIAL

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1969

Fivepence 15

Police and council swoop on Drill Hall

BRIGHTON'S SQUAT-IN SHAMBLES

BREAKER'S YARD. This is what police found in the drill hall today

BRIGHTON CORPORATION officials today snatched back the council-owned Drill Hall in Queen Square—a squatters' stronghold since August.

The building fell in a dawn raid by a team of Park Constables led by their chief, Mr. Joseph Morton, a former police inspector at Brighton. Only one squatter was in the drill hall—sleeping in a car.

Shortly afterwards the hall was entered by Brighton police.

And in the building which was proclaimed a children's playground when taken over police found half a dozen upturned cars and vans.

GARAGE

A quantity of loot was found in the back of one of the vans. Police said it appeared the place was used as a garage for repairing and building motor vehicles. Police found two vans [illegible] the name "B H [illegible]".

Two men and a woman were charged by police at Magistrates' Court [illegible] adjourned for [illegible].

The squatters' chief, Mr. Park, said: Mr. J. Morton said that the squatters were [illegible]. They had consulted with the [illegible] and [illegible] squatters in occupation of the drill hall.

Mr. Morton said: "As the dawn [illegible] to open the doors of the drill hall had been sealed up with iron bars and it was necessary to smash down the doors in a [illegible] attack. No one was injured.

"The police were [illegible] in removal trouble. The squatters [illegible] were merely asked to leave the premises."

NO FORCE

Mr. W. O. Dodd, Brighton [illegible], said: "[illegible] was no force. We [illegible] the building [illegible] Queen Square [illegible] on the ground floor [illegible].

Mr. Dodd said [illegible] was going to the [illegible] hoping that [illegible] the squatters [illegible] the building [illegible].

[illegible] was [illegible]

ESSENTIAL

[illegible]

RORY CALHOUN

Actor denies '79 women' claim

FILM ACTOR Rory Calhoun, aged 45, yesterday denied in court at Santa Monica his wife's allegations that he committed adultery with actress Betty Grable and 78 other women.

Calhoun appeared in court but did not take the stand. His denial of the charges was made in a legal document presented to the court by his lawyer.

[illegible] and specifically denied all the 79 adultery charges alleged by his wife, Lita Baron, [illegible].

Miss Baron filed the action [illegible] March after Calhoun started his own divorce action, citing 79 of adultery.

Calhoun alleged that she had committed adultery with Lucille Ball, television [illegible], Mr. Wrigley [illegible] of the chewing gum series.

GRABLE

Miss Baron [illegible] her complaint [illegible] named [illegible] women including Miss Grable, [illegible] and listed the "[illegible] 79 [illegible]". She said he would give names, places and dates when the action came to court.

Calhoun appeared in court yesterday for an answer to another charge brought by his wife—failure to pay support to her and their children—[illegible] Lawyers served the opportunity to deny the actor's allegations.

Mrs Baron [illegible] that Calhoun was 6000 dollars (about £2,500) behind in the payments, asked the court to double the 1000 dollars a month support she was awarded. She also asked that Calhoun should be held in contempt.

Court action in Miss Baron's complaints was continued until December 15.

Calhoun and Miss Baron were married at Santa Barbara, California, in 1948. Their children [illegible] are [illegible] to 12 years.

Military coup in Bolivia

[illegible]

Sussex financier cleared of fraud

ON THE direction of Judge Brodrick, QC, 45-year-old financier Claude Kingsley Rudd, of Jones of Greenacres, Old Heathfield, was acquitted by the jury at the Old Bailey today after denying misapplying by fraud £[illegible] on July, 1969. He was discharged.

It had been alleged [illegible] Rudd [illegible] the South East, he caused the money to be sent to Knowsley Holdings, Ltd., his own company, but used it for his own purposes.

Jurors [illegible] by Mr. [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] Rudd.

[illegible]

' plans to Israel'

[illegible]

inte

For standard rate [illegible] gross equivalent of the income tax is paid by the [illegible] culated daily and paid ha[illegible] from £1 to £10,000 [illegible] invested with complete [illegible] return. Withdrawals are [illegible]

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ESTABLISHED 18

Phone tap questions in Commons?

KEMP TOWN MP Mr Dennis Hobden is to take up with Lord Hall, the new head of the Post Office Corporation, a Brighton man's complaint that his private telephone line is being "tapped." Members of the Civil Liberties Group in the House of Commons will also be given details of the allegations, and questions may be asked in Parliament.

The man who claims that his telephone conversations are being overheard and recorded is Mr Richard Moseley, of Park-terrace, 28-year-old graphic designer and secretary of the local group of the National Council of Civil Liberties. He believes the secret listeners-in are police acting on Home Office authority.

He has given details to the London office of the Council for Civil Liberties and they will present them to Mr Eric Lubbock MP, who is chairman of a Parliamentary Civil Liberties Group.

He has also contacted Labour MP Mr Hobden, in whose constituency he lives. Last night Mr Hobden told the *Herald*: "I will put the case to Lord Hall by correspondence. But no one will admit it, if it is happening."

Mr Moseley has noticed delays, noises and other faults on his telephone line recently. Then on Monday, after a call to the Council's London office, he heard a man's voice say "Recording finished." That was five seconds after the person he had been calling had hung up.

Nothing to fear

Mr Moseley says that personally he has nothing to fear from a police tap on his line but many of the people who telephone a Council of Civil Liberties secretary are seeking advice. "We advise on the telephone many people with complaints about discrimination, police treatment, victimisation and plain injustice, and the conclusion we are forced to draw is that the authorities find it useful to have prior notice of complaints, or proceedings being taken against them."

Told of the contents of a letter to the "Herald" in which Mr Moseley first made his allegation of phone tapping, a Sussex police spokesman said: "If Mr Moseley's letter is to be taken as a suggestion that the Sussex police are interfering with his private telephone, either at his home or place of business, the Sussex police say categorically that this is completely untrue.

"If he has any complaints about telephone interference, he should report it to the Post Office."

Mr Moseley said he has reported to the Post Office regional supervisor that he thinks his telephone is being tapped. Up till last night he had had no reply.

Bills blocked

The National Council of Civil Liberties and a number of MPs have presented Bills in Parliament giving a legal right to privacy. "All have been blocked," says Mr Moseley. "Contrary to general belief, we have in Britain no legal right to privacy either in common or statute law, and from the growing number of cases it is clear that unwarrantable interference by the authorities into one's private life is increasing and uncontrolled."

He claimed: "Many people are not aware that though the practice of letter and telephone intercepting has never been sanctioned in law, it is in common use by many authorities by grant of a Home Office warrant. This can be issued on the grounds that the offence is serious, that other methods of securing a conviction have been tried and failed, and that such interception is likely to secure a conviction."

New look for St. Mark's

A £93,000 school to replace part of St. Mark's Church of England Primary School is to be started early next year in Manor road, Whitehawk. The school will provide 320 places for five- to eight-year-olds, leaving the old St. Mark's school for nine- to 12-year-olds.

Headmaster of the present St. Mark's, Mr Leslie Smith, said he was "delighted" about the new school.

"It is," he said, "to be built on the site of the old Training College right next door to the vicarage and so we are a church school this is an excellent situation.

"The new school will be a 'first' school for five- to eight-year-old children while the present school will carry on for children from nine to 12. This will, in fact, double the size of St. Mark's School."

Mr Smith said that the long-term future of the old St. Mark's had yet to be decided, although a lot depended on the Brighton Marina roads system. At present the plans for Marina roads swept right through the school's playground.

JPs elect their chairman

THE annual meeting of Brighton Magistrates yesterday voted Mr George Parks to be the new chairman of the Bench. He will succeed Mr Herbert Cushing, who is retiring at the end of the year.

Mr Parks, a former member of Portslade Council, is a trade union official. He was appointed a magistrate in 1956. He is a member of many local organisations connected with employment and industry.

An inquest will be held today at Hove on two-year-old Peter David Jones, of St. Peter's road, Portslade, who was found dead in his home earlier this week.

24

LIBERTIES MAN PROTESTS OVER PHONE-TAPPING

A CIVIL LIBERTIES group representative in Brighton has lodged an official protest because he is convinced his telephone is being tapped and conversations with the town's squatters recorded.

THE EVIDENCE: Delays on the line and two crucial words at the end of a conversation on Monday night.

Mr Richard Moseley, secretary of the Southern Group of the National Council for Civil Liberties, said when he stopped speaking there was a pause and then a man's voice said: "Recording finished."

"I heard it quite distinctly," Mr Moseley said at his home in Park Crescent, Brighton, today. "It was as clear as daylight."

He added that over the past few weeks there had been delays in getting calls through and crackling on the line. He had been in dispute with the G.P.O. over a bill and found that his phone had been cut off on a Sunday. Suddenly it was reinstated.

Mr Moseley has protested to the G.P.O. and his local M.P., Mr Dennis Hobden.

He has told the National Council for Civil Liberties as well and they may take it up through one of their M.P.s [illegible] for them in [illegible]

UNTRUE

A Sussex police spokesman said: If Mr Moseley's remarks are to be taken as a suggestion that the Sussex police are interfering with his private telephone either at his home or place of business we say categorically that this is completely untrue.

A spokesman for the telephone manager's office in Brighton said: "We have no authority to do this kind of thing off our own bat. Under of this future [illegible] the Home Office. We [illegible] yet had, as far as I am [illegible]

Mr. Richard Moseley on his phone today

come back from an Anarchist camp, and was walking round with a smug smile on his face. It took the police twelve hours to pick up the Angels. A day later they arrested Steve, when, in his capacity of police informer, he led them to a further cache of bombs in Shoreham.

As Terry said "The first time I saw Prior he was done up in a suit, car outside, and was smoking the best fags money could buy. Somebody said he was going to be a Labour MP or something. I went away on holiday, came back, and met him on a bus. He was excited, telling me all the fantastic things he'd been doing. He obviously thought of himself as the leader of the project. He informed me he was a squatter himself. I also found out that he had a nanny, and was a Company Director... people looking back now can say "blime! you should have known he was a bit fishy" ... but you could have said that of dozens of people".

And of course he was right. There was no way we could check up on people. The most we could do was try and ensure that no unreliables got into responsible positions. Although, as we have seen, that was not entirely successful. Then we could censure people for acting out of line. This was done once or twice, but was never very wholehearted. Finally we could expel people from the group entirely. This happened twice. On both occassions some action was done that caused immediate, deep concern to everybody, and an immediate meeting of families and project members was called. The matter was discussed and a verdict reached.

On the first occassion a big, violence prone anarchist called Mix was expelled. Ironically this was because he and a couple of others had dragged Steve from his bed in the middle of the night and beaten him up, on the suspicion that he was a police informer. On the second occasion someone called Paul was expelled for being a police informer.

Apart from the occasional final measure, there was no internal discipline as such. Part of the reason for

this was the existence of the several distinct groups within the project. An attack on any one member would be taken to be an attack on the whole group, and, rather than split the project, the matter would be dropped.

The day after the bomb incident we had a public meeting at which the local MP, Dennis Hobden, spoke. The preparations were routine, the meeting well attended, and the speeches unexceptional. The real business of the moment, and the underlying fear, was dealt with at the next night's squatting group meeting. It was here that Paul was thrown out for being an informer. Then it was decided that the bomb really had nothing to do with us, we should ignore it. We finally reached the consensus that "we can't be blamed because criminal elements get attatched to us, any more than the Mayor of Brighton can be blamed because ciminal elements get attached to Brighton" (Jonathan). Jonathan and I had both been working to institute order and a sense of community at the squat for some time. The idea was for the families to get together and help themselves. This notion was always well received by newcomers, or in time of minor crisis (such as a flea epidemic, when all visible cats were chased out, or caught and bathed). But basically nothing very much was done. And it was usually project members that did it. "We initiated an attempt to clear the place up, and to start a sort of creche, and things like this, and to get the dustbins organized. After about a week or two we were both going round saying we hadn't really succeded. Alright, we had done a lot of work, and cleaned the place up, but it just seemed so apparent that it was not in fact penetrating through to the families". (Jonathan).

This comment illuminates one of the differences that emerged between Project members and the families. On the one side, members of the Project saw the families

as part of the Project, as people who should participate in all the decision making and all the activities. On the other hand the families saw themselves as a distinct group, and the Project as an outside agent. They were almost entirely disinterested in the politics of the situation. This difference occasionally seeped over into the Press. (See news 16: B.&H. Gazette, 29-8-69)

But this mismatch of mutual expectations was mainly found in internal statements made by the families and by Project members. In this particular, the statements made by the families when I interviewed them are probably less strong than they might have been, as I was obviously a member of the Project. One of the questions I asked was "How could the Rents Project be improved?". Brian Baker's reply was possibly the most extreme. "Don't know much about the Rents Project. Don't know what it is, or who runs it". Other comments in the same vein were "Chris was s'posed to be a founder of the Project. Well, I've never seen him ... he's more in the public eye ... he should show a bit more interest in the squatters. There is not enough interest from different groups of the Rents Project. People should com... show an interest.... they only come when there is a party or a dance...if there is work to do they are all gone." (Mr. Chrismas)
"A lot of them don't seem to want responsibility .. at the meetings a lot of ideas are thrown in suddenly.... no-one to carry out these ideas or follow them through". (John Byrnes). "If it got more organised" (Margaret)

Comments from Project members are sometimes less guarded. "You could tell the families that you could class as good families, and those that, for one reason or another, are irresponsible, because all the good ones were packed and ready to go, (This is a reference to the move to Wykeham) whereas X, he just left it to us .. to change the baby as well ... and I'll swear he had two babies when he set out... I'm sure that baby is round there still, back at

TEXT BOUND INTO

THE SPINE

Terminus Road". (Terry) Andrew's comment is interesting here, as it includes his own changes of attitude. He only became really involved with the families when the euphoria was over, and the counter offensive had started. "I was really shocked. It seemed inconceivable to me that this (The Drill Hall chaos) should have been allowed to happen..... It (the Squat) had failed because of the complete non involvement of a lot of members. That people who were down there were more or less idiots... people like Andy, and I thought the squat had gone to pot because of this, because of these anarchist elements. I tried from that point on to involve myself directly with the families. .... It seemed to me that no decision should be made about the squat unless all the families were present. .....There was a lot of feeling about this in the BRP at the time, that the families were being ignored, that decisions were being made without them.. Also Brian Baker told me that he thought the BRP was a load of shit, or words to that effect, and that he didn't want anything to do with it. It struck me that if attitudes were like this throughout Wykeham Terrace, this was the BRP's fault, that it was my fault, that it was everybody's fault. .....
I volunteered for the Post Eviction Committee because I was quite clear in my mind that this was going to be a key group, and this was how I could best involve myself with the families. Yes, I was naive, because I subsequently found out how difficult it is to deal with the families. Although at first one was quite happy to go round and see all the families, because you've never seen the families, and its a very interesting experience, when subsequently the idea is mooted by someone else that we should all go round and see the families, and get their opinion on this.... you think, "O Christ, not again". Subsequently I've come to have a much more aggressive attitude towards the families. Especially after finding that people could be so short sighted as to steal the lead off their own rooves, then members of the same group complain that the rain is coming in.

Another anecdote that springs to mind is when we, the Post Eviciton Group, decided we had to move furniture out before the eviction, we rushed around like blue arsed flies with garages and vans. We moved the furniture out. The X's were the last people to have their furniture moved out. Mrs. X said to me as I was carrying her television set away, "You'd better not damage that, otherwise we'll sue you". Which seemed to me symptomatic of the attitude of the families".

To ignore these tensions would be, I think to misunderstand the basis of many subsequent decisions. However it must also be remembered that all the interview material I have was taken in this later period of disillusion with squatting. Consequently, there is an emphasis on the problems, rather than the successes of the project. It must also be remembered that there was agreement throughout all sections of the Project on the nature of the housing problem, and on direct action as a means of combating it.

"The families themselves have got a lot out of this as well. They've talked things they've never even heard about before. I think some people have overlooked the fact that they've been educated in a way. The other night at a meeting it struck me. At one time they wouldn't have said anything, but now they take an active role. They know the system's wrong, and why its wrong. Maybe they can't express it in the same terms that we use, but they definately know. They know how many houses are empty in Brighton. They know Theobald (Chairman of the Housing Committee) is an Estate Agent, and things like this. Every time they've been on Television they've always answered well". (Terry)

Also when interviewed, there was unanimity amongst the families on their "right" to occupy empty property, their determination to defend their positions, and their awareness of where things were going wrong.

Apart from these factors, another change took place at the time of the bomb incident. Project actions became, by and large, externally rather than internally stimulated. Up to this point the project controlled the

type and timing of its actions, afterwards actions were largely reactions to external threat and damage. This is reflected in the size fluctuations of the squatting group meetings of this period.

Event	Squatting group meeting size.
Bomb incident	20...11...5... 0
Council indirectly suggests talks	31....21.....8
Hippadilly. Threat of immediate eviction.	55.....33....20
	(dots indicate days between meetings)

After the bomb incident, there was amoment of optimism when an aricle appeared in the Argus seemingly offering talks. (See news 17: 3-9-69)

After this report a meeting of all sections of the Project - families, Project members, Rents Registration Group, and the anarchists - was called. After a long debate we decided to take up the invitation of a meeting, and reformulated our list of demands for the occasion. At the meeting some interesting differences between Project members and anarchists came to light. Each was under the misapprehension that the other was not interested in the families and was out to use them or precipitate violence for political ends.

A recall meeting was held five days later, at which Chris presented a long document (a further statement of our position) that was discussed and then sent on to the Council.

Nothing further was ever heard from the Council. The matter gradually faded away. Matters seemed to be steadying themselves again, and a small caucus of Project members met on the 17th to discuss the situation. After this lull we all felt that more offensive action was needed. We discussed the possibility of a squat in

Rents men welcome housing chief talks

A SPOKESMAN for Brighton Rents Project—the ginger group who have organised the occupation by squatters of council-owned property — today welcomed the opportunity of a round-the-table talk with representatives of Brighton Housing Committee.

When the committee met yesterday afternoon they had before them a letter from the Rents Project, signed by Mr. George Armstrong, making a number of demands and asking for a meeting as soon as possible.

The committee decided that chairman Ald. Stanley Theobald and vice-chairman Cr. John Leach should meet leaders of the Rents Project "unofficially."

Ald. Theobald said: "It will not mean that we recognise them as such, but we may be able to clear the air in many respects."

SNEER

Commenting on the committee's decision, a Rents Project spokesman said: "We're delighted. This is just what we've been asking for. I am hopeful now that new areas of negotiation will be opened up.

"The original reaction of the Housing Committee chairman to us was to sneer at 'banner-waving demonstrators.'

"We welcome the change in attitude and the committee's acceptance of the seriousness and usefulness of the Rent Project's activities."

Rents Project members meet tonight to formulate the views they intend putting to the chairman and vice-chairman of the Housing Committee. They were today consulting squatter families and will be largely influenced by their wishes.

It is known that some of the families are becoming fed-up with the uncertainty of their present situation, and security for these families is almost certain to dominate the Rents Project's argument.

DEMANDS

The Rents Project's letter to the committee emphasised the word "demand" many times. Cr. Mrs. Catherine Vibe said: "I object most strongly to the word demand. We are dealing with anarchists. Some of the Rents Project are not even Brighton ratepayers. I don't see what business it is of theirs."

Cr. Mrs. Vibe said she had sympathy with the squatter families who were homeless, although it was not necessarily the community responsibility to house all of them.

"I would meet the squatters, but never in a million years would I have anything to do with the Rents Project," she said.

Cr. [illegible] Shrives declared: "This letter does not merit any kind of answer. It is schoolboy crassness."

But Ald. Theobald said: "I do not see what harm it can do for the vice-chairman and myself to have an unofficial round-table conference with the Rents Project. At least then they will not be able to say we are riding the high horse.

"It strikes me that at present they are completely lacking in knowledge. If we meet them we may be able to enlighten them."

VETO

He was supported by Cr Peter Best, chairman of the Finance Committee.

Ald Theobald said one of the letter's demands was for a Brighton Tenants' Association representative to sit on the Housing Committee with right of veto on all matters concerning council housing

"The constitution of housing committees has been decided by Parliament," he commented. "They seem ignorant of this."

The Rents Project also asked the council to recognise in public that the idea and stimulus for the renovation of unused development property came from them. But Ald. Theobald said the Housing Committee had embarked on this scheme long before the Rents Project was heard of.

BASIC

The Rents Project demanded that:

- The council accept their "responsibility" to permanently house the squatter families.
- The council accept the principle that a home is the basic right of every individual and take all possible steps towards its immediate realisation
- All empty private property be rated.
- A representative of Brighton Tenants' Association be an ex-officio member of the Housing Committee with right of veto on all matters concerning council housing.
- No one with commercial vested interests, such as estate agents and building contractors, be on housing or planning committees except in a purely temporary or advisory capacity (Ald Theobald is an estate agent)
- A stop be made to all luxury development until no one remains in need of housing in Brighton.
- The housing list be opened to everyone, and that no qualifications be necessary.
- The council publicly renounce, as a gesture of good faith, all claim to costs and damages awarded to them against any squatting families and recognise the public service rendered by these families in bringing the housing problem to the attention of Brighton

The Rents Project's letter also called upon the Housing Committee to make available complete lists of all council-owned houses, those scheduled for renovation with the estimated costs, slum houses and areas not scheduled for renovation, and other data.

'REGISTER RENTS' PLEA

FIVE HUNDRED tenants in families have occupied the former married quarters of the Territorial Army.

"We have helped many families in the area over the last few months who now pay less rent and have security," the letter states.

"Of course, you cannot be thrown out for going to the rent officer or the Rent Tribunal. And in any case, the law is clear—no eviction is legal without a court order. There are severe penalties for illegal eviction."

The letter added: "When the rent is registered you benefit. And so does any tenant who comes after you. So get it registered now. We will gladly help you for nothing."

The letter also lists some of the rents which have been fixed in Montpelier Road, with details of the flats. Tenants are asked to compare their rent with those already fixed by the tribunal.

The letters will come from the rent registration group of the project who have spent the past four months interviewing tenants and explaining the workings of the tribunal to them.

A leading member of the group, who has organised the many meetings and is himself a landlord said he has encouraged his tenants to register their rents.

INVITATION

The letter invites tenants who have "any worries or problems" to go to Wykeham Terrace where the Brighton Rents Project and eight squatter

FATHER OF PUBS DIES AGED 96

SIR Sydney Oswald Nevile, of Mill Road, Worthing, the man chiefly responsible for the transformation of the English pub from a drinking house to a modern, comfortable, social centre, died yesterday aged 96.

He had been in the brewing industry for 81 years, and during the First World War among teetotallers and prohibitionists, launching experiments to limit opening hours, and trying to make people pay for their own drinks.

KNIGHTED

Sir Sydney, who was knighted in 1942, began his link with the brewing industry in Hove at the age of 14.

It was a decision made by his mother, who was responsible for using the available funds in her

★ NO DEPOSIT TV for the of 5/6

Sussex Square (the very heart of upper class Brighton), and decided to organize a National Housing Rally to coincide with the Labour Party Conference (which was being held in Brighton at the end of the month).

The next day the massive hippie squat in Picadilly happened. A week later the hippies were all evicted by an equally massive force of police. Apart from the general discrediting of all squatters caused by this fiasco, a deadly legal weapon emerged. The precedent of issuing injunctions against unnamed persons. To date, our strategy had been based on the fact that the authorities could not identify which family was living in which flat, and therefore could take no action.

The basis of our legal security, not to mention public sympathy, was removed at a stroke.

A meeting was called immediately, and 55 people turned up, at a few hours notice. The meeting was held in one of the large rooms above the drill hall, and the atmosphere was fraught with tension and panic. All sections of the project were there in force, including the families. The meeting was a more or less permanent state of uproar. Chris, and other Registration group members opened. They admitted that there was a strong possibility of imminent eviction, and said that we should make plans for what would happen afterwards, and organize a series of leaflets and demonstrations. The families and the anarchists simply didn't want to know. The families because they wanted to know how they could <u>not</u> be evicted. The anarchists because, hammers and clubs in hand, they were ready to turn the place into a fortress, and resist any attempt at eviction - legal or illegal. Individual quarrels and shouting matches broke out everywhere. Then the anarchists walked out- their usual move under such circumstances. In the confusion the families followed. The rest of the meeting broke up. Nothing was decided. In the event nothing much was done either.

The Drill hall at this time was full of old cars and vans - relics of the optimistic days wehn we planned to get a fleet of squatting "peoples' motors" on the roads. Realizing that this was never to come about, Paul and some of his friends started cutting them up with an oxy-actelene cutter ready for disposal as scrap. A day later, at six in the morning, 30 Council Officials and police kicked in the doors and reoccupied the Drill Hall. Using the Hippadilly paradigm, the papers hit us pretty hard too. "BRIGHTON'S SQUAT-IN SHAMBLES" (See news 15)

Following these events, demoralization was rife. On top of all this we had planned our "National Housing Rally" to take place in the Drill Hall in two days time. All the publicity was already out, and speakers were coming dowm from London. In a last aggressive burst, we issued leaflets saying the rally would take place "as planned". The idea was to assemble everyone in Queens Square, use one of the Queens Square houses as a platform for a couple of short speeches, then march through the centre of the town to an alternative hall. But the three families in Queens Square had been terrified by the violent re-taking of the Drill Hall. They immediately moved round to Wykeham Terrace where they felt safer. It proved impossible to maintain the appearances of occupation once the families were gone. Without us being able to do much about it, the police moved in and we had lost the Queen's Square houses too. On the evening of the meeting the police threw a cordon across the bottom of the Square, and the possibility of even rallying for a march was denied us. The meeting took place fairly successfully, but, as with the previous public meeting, the substance of the problems that really confronted us were reserved for the night after. The press reports of the Rally reflected our own defensive reaction to the recent police offensives. (See news 18: 30-9-69)

The following night we all met at 12 Wykeham Terrace to discuss our next actions. 33 people, incuding all the families were there. The major iten under discussion was resistance to eviction. To date, the major threat

Fury over the traffic warden 'Fuhrer'

TRAFFIC warden John Brooks told Haywards Heath Court that when he spoke to a driver about moving his vehicle the man became abusive and said: "You are a — Hitler aren't you."

David John Mullett, aged 27, a pipe fitter, of Wivelsfield Road, Haywards Heath, who was accused of using threatening and insulting behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace, admitted he lost his temper but denied threatening the warden at Grover Road.

Mr. Brooks said that Mr. Mullett had sworn at him, shaken his fist and had said: "I will get you." He also alleged that Mr. Mullett had said: "What time do you finish, I'll get you somewhere."

The defendant said that he had been angry because the warden was moving him on from a place where workmen were usually allowed to unload their tools. He was getting materials for a job.

Mr. Mullett was fined £10.

olish grant

Tory councillors lacked vision and courage. They had a financial problem to face but their policy was one of deterrents. Their only solution was to dismiss a highly-qualified performer which gave tenants freedom to choose their own material and colour for their home.

Goodwill between the council and tenants would be destroyed. Tenants had already suffered a rise in rents, which came into effect only three weeks ago.

ECONOMIES

Mr. J. Hobbs said he was disturbed about the abolition of the gardener which was a breach of faith to recent discussions about work study. A pledge was given that there would be no redundancies.

Mr. R. G. Barber, chairman of the Housing Committee, said the best interest rates and rents had brought about a situation where economies had to be made or rents had to go up.

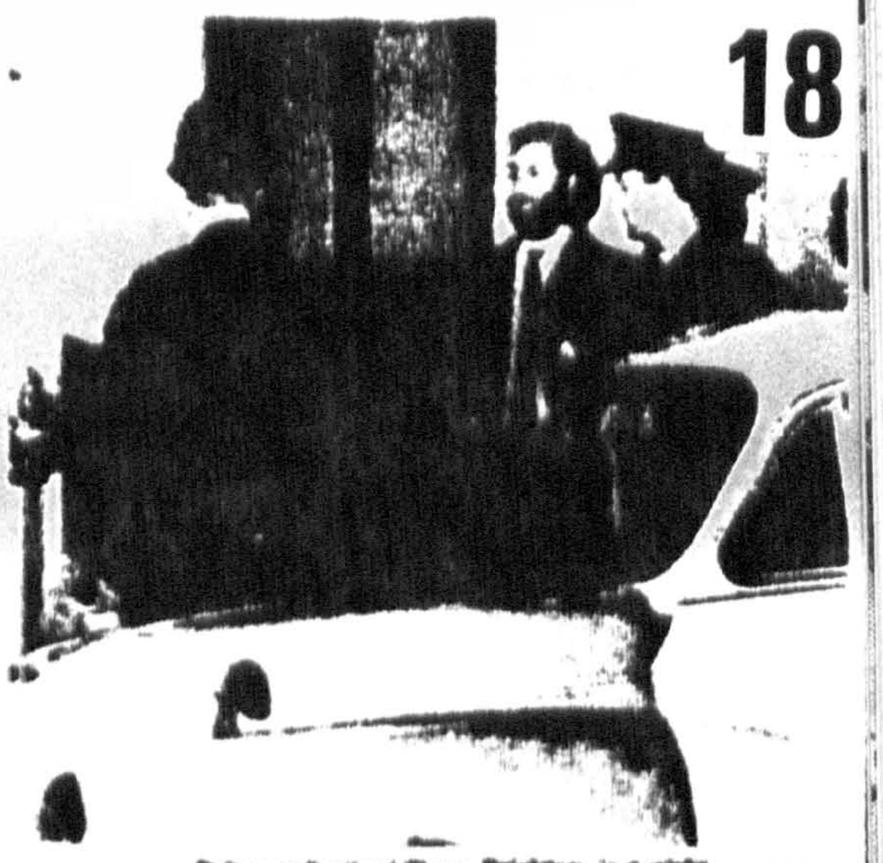
Suspension of the house decorating scheme would save the tenants from having to pay an immediate big increase in rent. He was sorry about the painters but they would receive redundancy pay.

Mr. A. J. Merrick said the council had to face financial facts. Previous councils had been overmanned themselves and a genuine attempt was now being made to balance the accounts.

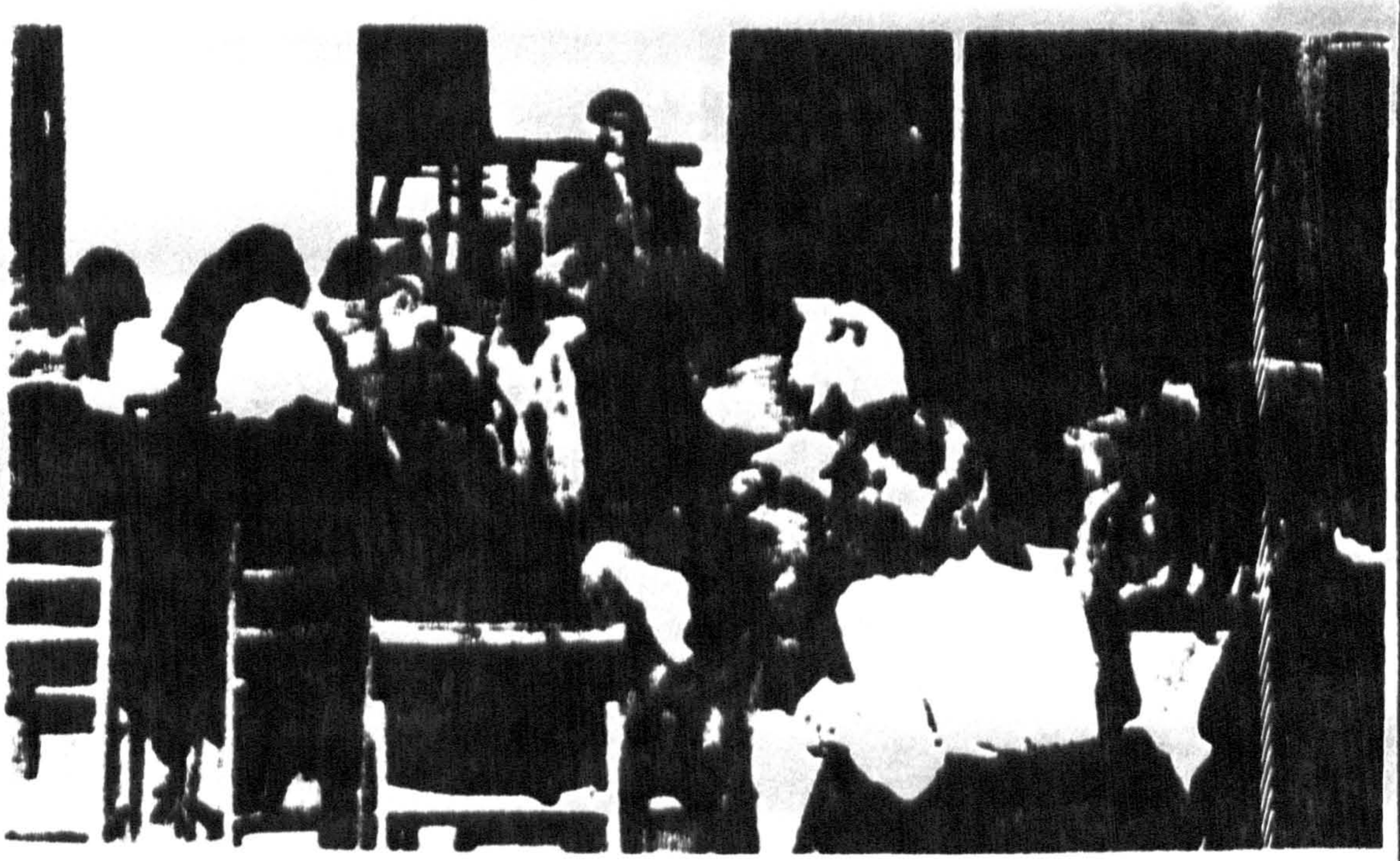
£2,000 WOOL RAID

Thieves who broke into Toffmans wool shop in West Street, Horsham, stole wool worth £2,000, Horsham police said today. The thieves entered the shop by forcing the rear door.

Squatters' backers throw out the police



Police in Bedford Place, Brighton, last night



The meeting was transferred to Bedford Place after police kept Rents Project members from the drill hall

PLAIN CLOTHES MEN SPOTTED, TOLD TO GO

BRIGHTON detectives were last night alerted from a Brighton Rents Project meeting after the organisers picked them out in the audience.

The meeting was originally scheduled to be held in the Drill Hall, in Queen Square, which the Rents Project seized at the beginning of last month but which is now back in the hands of Brighton Corporation, who own it.

The project announced on Saturday that they still intended to hold the meeting there, although they had lost control of the building, but when they arrived last night they found a formidable line of very burly policemen standing guard outside.

So, without attempting to enter, they switched the meeting to a church hall in Bedford Place, which had already been booked in case it was needed.

Policemen patrolled Bedford Place.

As Mr. Ian Macdonald, of the United Tenants Action Committee, from London, the main speaker, got up to address the meeting he remarked: "This place is crawling with fuzz."

A Rents Project official approached two men wearing lounge suits who were sitting towards the rear of the hall and said: "Before we proceed, I must ask you both to leave."

NOT WANTED

One of the pair said he was under the impression it was a public meeting. The official replied: "In law we are entitled to make you leave. We don't want you here."

When the pair still remained seated he warned them: "There is an observer from the National Council for Civil Liberties standing behind you. I advise you to leave."

EVIDENCE

The two then left. Questioned by reporters, they identified themselves as Brighton C.I.D. officers.

Mr. Richard Moseley, of the National Council for Civil Liberties, said later: "In all, five C.I.D. officers were ejected from the meeting. The Rents Project asked my advice before ejecting them.

"I told them that in law, if a meeting is held in private premises and no admission charged, the organisers are entitled to refuse admission or to ask people to leave and to use such force as is necessary to evict them.

"I have heard that there may be the possibility of serious charges against certain people connected with the Rents Project and I believe the C.I.D. officers may have been theer to try and gather evidence for a conspiracy charge."

He added that squatting was unpopular with the public at present and the authorities were anxious to stamp it underfoot while the going was good.

Uniformed police patrolled Bedford Place throughout the evening and police were still standing guard outside the Drill Hall in Queen Square late last night.

But despite the evictions from the meeting Mr. Moseley said he thought two women C.I.D. officers had escaped the net and were present throughout the meeting.

The old Drill Hall to be a youth centre

THE COUNCIL-OWNED Drill Hall in Brighton's Queen Square—which was regained from squatters on Friday—is expected to be operating as a youth and sports centre by the end of the year.

Contractors moved in immediately the building was vacated to start the long clearing up process preparatory to conversion.

No final decision has yet been reached on the actual form the centre will take.

Cr. Ernest Tugwell, chairman of the Parks and Gardens Committee, said: "We have lots of ideas at present and we have had many applications from different organisations in the town but the committee have not yet made up their minds."

He added: "We want a youth centre which will be of the greatest benefit to the most people."

Cr. Tugwell said that the drill hall was in a marvellous central position for the centre. "The scheme has been delayed because of the squatters," he said. "Of course we were not certain when the building would be available for conversion."

The Town Clerk (Mr. William Dodd) said the centre was to be a modified version of an original scheme which had to be abandoned because of the squeeze.

He hoped it would be in operation before Christmas.

Numbers nine and 10 Queen Square are to be converted into offices for use by the Youth Committee. "Work is to be started right away to repair and convert them," said Mr. Dodd.

The corporation are continuing to recover sums ordered by the County Court Judge to be paid by the squatters for their stay in the Terminus Road property. This is to cover rents. A summons has not actually been lodged in the High Court in respect of the Drill Hall and other Queen Square properties.

Sudden death

Elderly Mr. Frank Richard Simms, of Amberley Drive, collapsed and died in Trinity Way, Bognor, yesterday.

had been an illegal eviction, and the consensus had been for strong physical resistance to any such attempt. In practice this resistance would have come from the guards (mainly drawn from the anarchist faction) rather than the families. This consensus had generalised to active resistance to any eviction attempt, and (when I interviewed them) there was considerable agreement amongst the families to this effect.

"Would you fight Policemen?".(Interview question to families: 6 - 9 Sept. 1969)

.....

Mrs. B.: Depends on what they were doing....
Mr. B.: Try to avoid it. Not on your own. Some people have said right from the start that you must only squat if you are prepared to fight a legal eviction.
Mr. P.: Yes. If they fought me, I'd fight them.
Mrs. P: I'd fight. You wouldn't let them get on with it without having a go yourself would you.
Mrs. T.: Yes. Yes. It would be a dreadful thing for the police to come and say you cannot stay here, and absolutely push people with children out onto the street. What little they have here is there by right that they are citizens of the community.
Mr. C: Yes. After alls said and done, they are just suped up bailiffs, aren't they.
Mrs. C: Yes; I'd have a damn good go. Hit somebody over the head with a poker.
Mr. Y: No. I don't think so. Shouldn't think it will come to that. I suppose if they were very rough, or violent, or took advantage, I might. Such an emotional thing you would probably get carried away on the spot, do something without thinking.
Mr. E: I dont thik I would. I don't want things to go that far.
Mr. F: Yes (to son). You think, if we fought policemen you'd have their helmets to play with.
Mr. W.: Sure. All comers.
Mrs. S: Yes. If it comes to it.

Despite this general agreement, the subject of resistance to legal eviction had never been discussed as such in a meeting. Now it had come up, the seriousness of such a move became clear to everyone. Two main factors weighed on people's minds. Firstly, it seemed unlikely that physical resistance would be successful. How could a handful of families resist a hundred or more highly disciplined police? It just seemed impossible. Secondly, the penalties for making the attempt were high. Jail for

everyone seemed very likely. The most we could do was to put up token, rather than successful resistance. Was it worth resisting at all? No one had any doubts about this. As one family put it "We are not just going to walk out. We've got nowhere to go". And of course the other reason was that lack of resistance, or anticipated lack of resistance, was not newsworthy. We would get no press coverage. So how far should we resist? Enough to get press coverage, but not enough to get arrested, was the answer. Practically this mean barricades and passive resistance. The families would have to be carried out.

Linked to the question of the press, there was the question of the physical appearance of the place. The press must not be given the chance to make accusations of filth and wanton damage against us. Accordingly it was agreed to organise clearing up operations.

Then there is the question of what to do <u>after</u> the eviction. There is feeling against a resquat from the families (who according to custom, were given more or less absolute decision making power here). They were demoralized by the thought of being moved on over and over again (under the new precedent) with no security or peace of mind. It was decided to set up a Post Eviction Committee (PEC) to decide what to do afterwards, and to co-ordinate resistance. Because of all the conspiracy charges floating about (the latest one was "Conspiracy to Incite a Riot", after the Queen's Square fiasco), we decided that PEC membership should be confined to people who were not already under threat of being charged.

We also realized that our basis of support had been rapidly diminishing, and thought that we should try and rally more support by approaching all friendly seeming bodies (The Local Trades Council, Trades Unions, Tenant's associations, The University, and Brighton Colleges). Chris, in his absence, was nominated for this job.

One interesting sidelight on the generally unified attitude of the Project and the families towards their situation and correct courses of action occurred at this meeting. A bearded newcomer suggested that the families should form a private housing society in order to raise funds to build or buy their own houses. He was exposed to a few "Oh, yes, we've heard all that before" comments, and then ignored. There was in fact a political argument underlying this rejection, but the point is that no-one bothered to make it. Similar suggestions came up against similar rejections at other meetings.

With the exception of the newcomer (who never returned, despite the appeal we had made for public support the night before), everyone was fairly satisfied with the form and outcome of the meeting.

The pattern that emerged after this meeting was twofold. On the one hand there was an intensification of propoganda on behalf of the families, accompanied by the realization in all sections of the project that the families were central; on the other hand, a trend emerged for the total reorganization of the project, both its aims and structure. These two trends were highly interrelated, and initiated by broadly the same groups of people (the RSSF, IS, and Rents Registration groups) within the project.

5.14 Propoganda & "Family Welfare" Activity

Wed. 1st Oct.	Press invited to an open day on Friday.
Thur. 2nd Oct.	A dozen people involved in "clearing up" activities at Wykeham Terrace.
Fri. 3rd Oct	The families stage a morning demonstration outside the Labour Party Conference. (See news 19: 3-10-69) In the afternoon the Times and Guardian correspondants were shown around, and John Byrnes appeared on T.V. in the evening.
Sun. 5th Oct	Delegates were sent to appeal to the University, and Trades Council for help. (See news 20: 7-10-69,16-10-69, 23-10-69)

Sat. 11th Oct. More clearing up at Wykeham Terrace.

Tue. 14th Oct. Organization of emergency car, phone, and communications systems in case of a sudden eviction.

17th Oct - 5th Nov. Several journeys to London, by coach and car, to gain publicity, and defend ourselves in the High Court.

17th Nov. Demonstration by the families and all the children at Brighton Welfar Offices. (See news 21: 17-11-69)

23rd Nov. (Sun) Demonstration in Downing Street. Maureen hands in a letter to number 10, with national press and T.V. coverage.

In this period, the propaganda group was briefly resurected, and produced and distributed many leaflets and posters.

Then, on Tuesday the 25th November the Argus ran the Headline:- COUNCIL ARE TO REHOUSE SQUATTERS (See news 22: 25-11-69)
The heading in the later edition was more accurate: BRIGHTON REHOUSE SOME SQUATTERS. The Welfare Committee of the Council had decided to rehouse "in sub-standard accomodation", and "temporarily", five out of the nine families. They did this on the grounds that the families they had decided to help had "lived for some time in Brighton". The other families were not their responsibility.

Our analysis of this was somewhat different. We had generated considerable pressure, and Brighton Council simply could not allow itself to be seen to throw nine families with kids onto the streets. So they compromised. They rehoused some of the families to show they "were doing something", but allowed the others to be thrown out as "an example". Thus they avoided national pressure, while showing they would "have no truck with squatters". The "sub-standard housing" was another aspect of this. Except in one case, the houses were adequate, and it would now be the council's responsibility to keep the families housed. However it was a further attempt to

speed
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ls in
peline

introduce a bill on com-
next Parliamentary session,
ster of State for Education,
ference at Brighton today.
she said: "It is intolerable
have a completely different
the rest of the country."

ciple of comprehensive schools,
but we had hoped that we could
have got it cleared without com-
pulsion by alterations in the new
Education Act."

He added: "We are very con-
cerned about the practical prob-
lems of school buildings."

STEEL MEN IN UNION PROTEST

SIX clerks from a steel works in Scunthorpe staged a protest outside the Top Rank Suite while the Labour Party Conference was taking place today.

The six, three men and three women were protesting that their union, The Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, has not been recognised.

One banner read: "You nationalised us, now recognise us."

They travelled down from Scunthorpe, where the rest of the clerks have been on strike for four weeks. Other clerks have been on strike for up to seven weeks.

'Critici sm springs fro

19

Wilson regrets he's unable to dine today

THE PRIME MINISTER "regretfully" declined a luncheon invitation from squatters in Brighton today.

It was sent to him by families facing eviction from Wykeham Terrace who wanted to discuss their troubles with Mr. Wilson over lunch.

But Mr. Wilson was too busy today, with the Labour Party conference and with his plans for reconstructing the Government, to oblige them.

Ten homeless families with 20 children have been occupying a group of cottages in Wykeham Terrace since August. Last week they were served with a writ.

The squatters waited outside the Grand Hotel this morning to try to see Mr. Wilson as he went to the Labour conference. But Mr. Wilson was later than usual and they missed him.

The squatters wanted to know if he would accept their invitation. Home Secretary Mr. James Callaghan, whom the squatters had also invited, passed them and they shouted: "Callaghan! Callaghan!" and tried to speak to him, but he hurried on.

THE PRIME MI
winding up the
Party conference a
ton today, talked
"mood of resolve
party.

"We go back fr
determined to
that resolve int
and to take to ev
of Britain our ag
victory."

Mr. Wilson said th
ence was one of the
one present had atte
has been a happy co
good weather inside a
the conference hall. It
a proud conference—
Labour's achievemen
been a forward-lookin
ence, carrying forwar
future the party's pric
achievements.

"It is the achieve
five years of Labour g
which provide our
for the further mand
we shall seek.

"The spirit of this
has been felt not only
Britain, but abroad as

"We shall now a
interest statements mad
platform next week. W
whether the 'nationa
party will join with us
who comment on Br
abroad in applauding th
ments of Britain or wh
will still be a despair
to present Britain to
through the distorting
Tory propaganda."

There had been c
the Government at
ence.

"I welcome these
because they are critic
spring from pride and
prejudice. What has i
. . . has been not so
pride in achievement
impatient demand for a
realisation of the ideals

He said the confe

Answer to "Can Y
This?" — Bohemia,
country.

NOW SQUATTERS AS UNIONS FOR HELP

SQUATTER Donald Wares last night asked Brighton Trades Council to help families in squatter-occupied houses in Wykeham Terrace.

On Friday a High Court order for possession of the houses will be sought by the owners, the Territorial Army Association for the South-East.

"None of the families have anywhere to go," said Mr. Wares, a 27-year-old engineer with two young children. He has been at Wykham Terrace for three months, having moved there from Terminus Road. Previously the family were split between Hove and Brighton.

"The problem is we don't expect to get anywhere to live. We have children and furniture and we need help of some sort." He did not think finance would help at this stage, but aid was needed for removing furniture. "It will be hell on the day of eviction," he said.

CHILDREN

There are eight families with about 20 children in Wykham Terrace.

And after a long and lively discussion the trades council decided to give any help they could and to approach the local Lab with a view to meeting t cil's Housing Committee cuss housing problems ge

The squatters had aske pressions of support, tran physical help in resisting and any technical aid in damage by vandals.

Council secretary De thought there were two is families and the questio whole squatter movemer

He said it was a mistak Rents Project to allow t ters group to develop a shoot. And he hit out "senseless antics" of pe adopted "juvenile and ad tactics."

He said: "Many of the had drifted away and left lies. This proves they lous." The families were on a limb.

HUGE

If the order went agai on Friday, he hoped t would not move in stra "I don't think there is a all the families to be h the council. But they ca there indefinitely."

There are 1,400 appli the council's housing list

Chairman Mr. George said that the families quired to pay huge rent vance, and practically ne afford it.

Mr. Patrick O'Reilly sa a lot of guts to start squa they would do it again. T many empty houses "ro the town.

Mr. Hill said membe not go away thinking thei would solve everything mann may be dead but lot of disciples about."

Labour pair to help squatters

TWO leading Brighton S ham Terrace. They plan families.

The two, Kemp Town Labo Party agent Nobby Clark a Mr. Ray Blackwood, will th present their findings to Lab Party and Trades Coun officials.

Reason for the probe is to out exactly who the squatters a so that if help is needed t Labour Parties and Trades Cou cil will know all the problems.

Time is running out for the ni squatting families. In the Hi Court on Tuesday applications the Territorial Auxiliary a Volunteer Reserve Association the south-east—owners of t homes—for possession of property were adjourned for week.

OUTSIDE

The probe team has been set by Kemp Town, Pavilion a Brighton Central Labour Part and Brighton and Hove Tra Council.

Said Trades Council secret Denis Hill last night: "We ha four days at the outside to the information. Our only conc is for the families and th children."

Mr. Clark said that because t Labour Party were taking part the probe it did not mean th they supported the squatters.

"These people may have go to Wykeham Terrace in desper tion. We will interview t families separately and get all t background information we po sibly can.

"For instance we will want know how long they have be in Brighton and whether they a on the housing list.

THROWN OUT

"Of course they may not co-operate with us. But all we are trying to do is make sure that if they are evicted they aren't thrown out on the street.

"These people are the responsibility of somebody and we are trying to find out whose responsibility they are," he added.

The move to give the squatters some practical help was initiated by the Trades Council.

At their meeting last week they heard a plea from one of the

JAIL THREAT IF STUDENTS BACK THE SQUATTERS

WORRIED student leaders at Sussex University have been talking behind locked doors today in an effort to reach a compromise and avoid trouble.

Students' president Brian Leahy, aged 31, has been told that if a controversial motion on Brighton Rents Project is backed at an extraordinary general meeting of the union on Thursday he faces the possibility of jail.

SOLICITOR

The part of the resolution causing concern urges the president and his executive, together with representatives from the Rents Project, to draw up contingency plans for the immediate occupation of empty premises in Brighton in the event of the eviction of any of the families squatting in Wykeham Terrace.

As soon as he read the proposals, Mr. Leahy contacted his solicitor and was told that there was a possibility that charges of criminal conspiracy could be levelled by the police.

"I contacted the chief of Brighton police and he said that the police would take no action against the meeting. He said that a full and frank discussion by the union could no nothing but good."

But Mr. Leahy said that if the motion was passed he, as president, may face a jail sentence.

"I would have no alternative but to follow the demands of the meeting," he said. "I don't agree with it at all, but I must do what the majority of union members want."

The union's executive were meeting today and Mr. Leahy would try to bring about a compromise. He was asking three members — one from the Right another from the Left and a "liberal" — to work out a counter resolution which would be an acceptable compromise.

CHARGES

Fifty signatures are needed if a motion is to be presented. But although the present resolution has met this necessity Mr. Leahy doesn't know who the proposer or seconder are.

"I can only assume that they fear police charges if their names are known," he said.

The motion also asks the union to pledge complete support to the Brighton Rents Project and requests the Finance Committee to make a further donation of £50.

It calls upon the union to support the action of families who

Squatter mums and kids in plea for homes

SQUATTER families and their children crowded into the offices of the Brighton Welfare Service Department this morning to demand accommodation if they are evicted from Wykeham Terrace next week.

The families who were moved into Wykeham Terrace by the Brighton Rents Project during the summer now fear that an eviction order granted in the High Court against one of them, Mrs. Maureen Hales, will affect them all. This notice is due to expire at the weekend.

Eight of the nine families at present living at Wykeham Terrace confronted welfare department officials. Many of the mothers took their babies and toddlers with them.

Each of the families was given a form to fill in and told their case will be considered by the Welfare Services Committee when it next meets on December 1.

Mrs. Josphine Edwards, mother-of-five, said of the possible eviction: "We think it is disgusting with Christmas coming on and we wonder what sort of Christmas our children are going to have."

She described the strain of not knowing when and if the eviction order will be executed: "I think we will all have a nervous breakdown before long."

NOTHING

Another of the mothers, Mrs. Patricia Wares, said: "We are all worried to death."

Mr. R. N. Nicol, director of Welfare Services in Brighton, told two of the Rents Project members, Mike Robinson and Gary Robins, that nothing could be done for the squatters until the committee meets in December.

He was asked to try to arrange a meeting between the welfare departments and housing departments of Brighton and Hove, the Brighton Trades Council, Brighton Rents Project and representatives of the squatter families.

Mr. Nicol replied that he would contact the committee chairman and let the Rents Project know whether a meeting can be held.

Brighton's Welfare Services Committee have decided to consider making preparatory arrangements for housing evicted squatters at their next meeting on December 1. They were asked to call a special meeting for this purpose by the Brighton Labour Party, but

21

Evening Argus

SPECIAL 22

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1969 FIVEPENCE

Brighton to offer temporary homes

COUNCIL ARE TO REHOUSE SQUATTERS

FIVE of the squatter families who are to be evicted from Wykeham Terrace, Brighton, are to be housed in temporary accommodation by the town's Welfare Services Committee.

Acting chairman, Cr. Mrs. Bridie Carroll, said although the committee had no statutory responsibility to house the nine squatters in Territorial Army property in the terrace, they had agreed to give temporary accommodation to five families.

She named the families as Baker, Hales, Martin, Prior and Thornton.

She said: "The accommodation is temporary and it is second-class property we rent from the housing committee. The squatters will not be put into proper council houses so we are not putting anyone in front of the council housing queue." The Housing Committee have refused to rehouse squatters.

In a formal statement yesterday after a two-hour meeting to discuss squatters, Mrs. Carroll said since that since none of the squatter families would have been evicted under "unforeseen" circumstances, the committee had no statutory duty to rehouse them.

CLEAR

But in view of the concern the committee felt for the children the committee had considered each case on its merits.

She warned, however, that no further cases of squatter families will be considered by the committee.

HOVE can do nothing to help any of the squatter families. Hove's Town Clerk (Mr. John Stevens) makes this clear in a letter to the Town Clerk of Brighton (Mr. William Dodd).

"My council's policy is to rehouse people who are on their housing list. They are not prepared to accelerate the rehousing of the families to whom you refer to the detriment of families on the list."

If any were on the list, they would be dealt with in due order. "My council do not know the names of all the families who are alleged to come from Hove. The one family whose name we are aware is not on the waiting list.

"It is observed that your Housing Committee are not accepting responsibility for the families coming from Brighton and my council do not understand why they should expect Hove Housing Committee to accept a responsibility they themselves don't acknowledge.

WELCOME

The news that Brighton Welfare Services Committee are to house five families was welcomed today by Mr. Chris Baxter, of Brighton Rents Project, the ginger group which installed the squatters in Wykeham Terrace.

Referring to the standard of housing Brighton was offering, Mr. Baxter said he hoped it was decent housing or it would not be acceptable.

don and Charles Conrad (left to right) leave the helicopter route to quarantine after last night's Pacific splashdown

Moonmen start the rundown

APTAINS Charles Conrad, Alan Bean and chard Gordon — promoted to their new Naval

get that LM (lunar module) down in one piece."

The three astronauts are living inside their mobile quarantine facility (M.Q.F.)—rather like a caravan — aboard the U.S.S.

show that "squatting doesn't pay".

5.15 The Re-orientation of the Project

This took place gradually, but decisively, over the two months following the meeting of the 30th Sept. Firstly there was a "caucus" meeting at Chris' house. (RSSF, IS RR). The brief description from my diary is probably the best:
"In fact, it was a platform for Chris to attack the anarchists, who were not present. There was agreement that a "firm line" was needed, but no one had a clue what it should be. There was also agreement that the BRP was, de facto, centred around squatting."

This was followed by a General Meeting of the Rents Project (14th Oct) at which well over a hundred people were present. The first thing to note here is that this was a "General" not a "Public" meeting, despite the size. In fact, there were no entrance qualifications, anyone could vote, and the majority of people came because of the immediate danger to the families. In other words there was no real procedural difference. However, the change of name was indicative of a change in attitude. The meeting was conceived as organisational rather than agitational; it was seen as necessary to organize specific defensive actions (defending the families from eviction and ourselves from prosecution) rather than agitate for offensive action on as many fronts as possible.

The first part of the meeting was taken up by a motion from the Rents Registration Group criticising the Squatting Group, and calling for re-organisation of the Project. Most people would not go along with the criticisms of the squatting group (which would have split the project), although they agreed with many of the criticisms. The second part of the motion, calling for re-organisation, was carried overwhelmingly.

After this, the meeting got down to the business of organizing contingency plans for the impending eviction.

This discussion was the first of its kind in several ways, all of which reflected the change in direction from agitation to organisation. It was the first time a formal motion had been put for reasons other than Press consumption. It was the first time a group introspective motion had been put - ie. a resolution by the project on itself, rather than a resolution on the Council, or on actions to be carried out.

Two weeks later, (th 28th) a meeting decided on the form of the re-organisation. 55 people, including all the activists were present. The numerical breakdown into groups fairly accurately represented the composition of the BRP, and was as follows:-
i) anarchist — 9: ii) Family — 7: iii) RSSF-6:
iv) RR — 13: v) IS — 6: vi) onlookers etc — 14.

The anarchists and the families were not interested in the procedings and left soon after the start of the meeting; the anarchists as a group, the families in ones and twos.

Two documents were discussed. Both were accepted with minor, often purely linguistic, amendments.

This meant that, in terms of organization, membership and an executive committee (EC) were introduced. In terms of further action, the IS document was accepted, and it was decided to concentrate on the creation of a "United Tenants Movement".

The first Executive Committee meeting was held nine days later, on the 6th. of November. 16 people turned up, and strong feelings of disillusion with squatting were expressed. It was finally decided, by 15 to 1, not to undertake any new squats, or to resquat the existing families. PEC (The post-eviction committee, set up on the 30th Sept) was to continue its work of

making arrangements for the families during and after the eviction, but was told not to resquat. In other words, it was finally decided to wind up squatting. This decision was never publicly announced. In fact, on 15th Nov. , Chris, the main opponent of squatting, caused a we-wil-carry-on article to appear in the Argus. (See news 23: 15-11-69)

However, winding up squatting was easier said than done.

5.16 The End of Squatting

On the 13th of November a possession order against the squatters was given in the High Court.
By the 27th, the Council had decided to house 6 (as opposed to its original announcement of 5) of the families.
On the 28th of November, in a snowstorm, the bailiffs moved in to evict the remaining three families.

There was very little we could do. The place was surrounded by police. Passive resistance relies on force of numbers, and there were only three families left.

Our phone and communications system got the Press, and 100 people to Wykeham Terrace by 9 in the morning. The families offered no resistance and were all out by 11 in the morning. Our hopes for National Press coverage were dashed. No rumpus - no pictures. Terry kept up a beautiful barrage of heckling, "Aren't you proud. Throwing out women and kids so your bosses can make a profit. Aren't you proud. Look at that child. How much are you getting paid for depriving him of a home. Go on, look at him. Your wife and kids are going to be proud of you tonight. But these children won't have a home. How much are you getting paid per child - or is it a job lot?" and so on in the same vein. Some of this got on the radio, but we didn't make any of the popular Dailies.

Apart from this, all the contingency arrangements went

FAMILIES PLAN TO CARRY ON SQUATTING . . .

THE Wykeham Terrace squatters will resist any attempt to evict them, a spokesman for the Brighton Rents Project said last night. And he hinted that the families had already decided where to squat next if they are evicted.

Mr. Chris Baxter, a member of the Project, told a reporter: "If the Brighton and Hove councils won't provide the families with somewhere to live, then we shall have to.

"All I can say at present is that the police would wish to try to prevent what has been decided."

A High Court judge decided on Thursday that he had power to make a possession order against only one of the seven squatters.

But he gave directions which would enable the owners of the property, the Territorial Auxiliary and Volunteer Reserve Association, to gain eviction orders by next weekend.

Mr. Baxter said the Project were anticipating that an attempt to evict the squatters would be made a week on Monday.

He added: "I am quite certain that the police will try to prevent the Rents Project from helping the squatters by physically dividing them from the families.

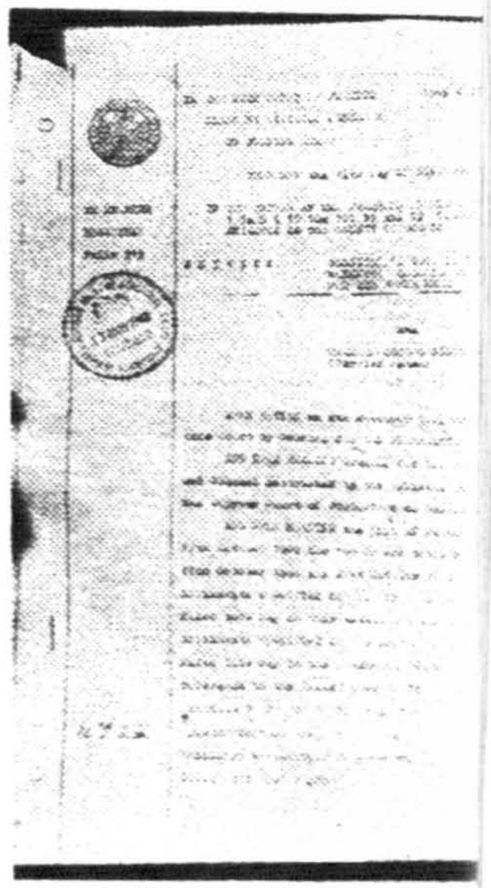
"But these tactics won't work, because the families have plans which they will put into operation whether we are there or not."

HOMELESS

Mr. Baxter said the families would be meeting last night to finalise arrangements. "These people were homeless and they have tried to make the local authorities face up to their responsibilities.

"They most certainly don't intend to give up now. But it is still possible that the authorities will see the light and provide welfare accommodation."

Mr. Baxter added that lawyers who had represented the squatters in the High Court were still considering an appeal. "The decision of the court was considered by many to be nothing more than a travesty of justice."



The High Court order

Why I'm a squatter, by an 'ordinary mum'

MRS. MAUREEN HALES says she can't figure out why she and her three children can't have a council house.

"I could understand if I was a beatnik or a hippie, but I'm just an ordinary mother trying to fight for her children.

"But people won't have it. They think we're troublemakers."

Mrs. Hales is the only one of the Wykeham Terrace squatters named in the eviction notices which were fixed to the doors yesterday.

SEPARATED

She is a tired-looking 25-year-old with three children . . . Terena, eight; Lee, seven; and Simon, four. She is separated from her husband and started squatting last June because "I had nothing to lose."

She and her three children had been living in two rooms in Belvedere Terrace for which she paid £4 10s.

"Oh, it was a filthy place; there were rats and no toilet facilities."

She says she would have had to leave there anyway, because she was expecting another baby. But with "all the aggravation" of the squatters' battle, she had a miscarriage.

Mrs. Hales has been taken off the council housing list since she started squatting.

She won't go into a welfare hostel because she would be separated from her children.

At Wykeham Terrace she shares a three-bedroom house with another mother-of-three. She brought her own furniture, including an old-fashioned sewing machine, with her. With its boarded-over windows the house is not attractive. But it is warm, clean and dry.

"It's not such a lot to ask out of life . . . just a house for these kids before they get older and start pinching things and end up in Juvenile Court."

Mrs. Maureen Hales and two of her children, Simon and Terena

well. Vans got all the furniture away, then we marched en masse, down to the welfare office. We stayed there till about 4, demanding houses, arguing with officials, and generally occupying the place. Then the three remaining families were moved to the University.

At this point, the Rents Project, as an organisation, ceased to be involved. There were many quarrels, incidents, and mass meetings of the Student's Union, a further demonstration at the Welfare Office, and three days picketing of the Town Hall. But this was all organized by a steering committee, elected from a Union meeting and using Student Union rescources. Rents Project members were involved in this only as individuals.

By the end of January, after an intensive search, homes were arranged for the three remaining families.

5.17 The End of the Rents Project

On the 5th of January, 1970 an article appeared in the Argus pldging "even more trouble in the new year. Our aim is to improve the housing situation in Brighton, and we will continue to fight for that cause".

This was effectively the last that was heard of the Rents Project. The best description of this decay (the Project was never formally wound up) is a bald statement of the frequency and attendance of post eviction meetings, and an extract from the last newsheet produced by the reformed project.

18 Dec. General Meeting. 13 people present.
8 Jan. Executive meeting. 8 people.
20 Jan. Executive meeting. 6 people.
22.Jan. General meeting.8 people

"The last General Meeting of the Project was held at the Labour Club Lewes Road on 22nd Jan. Due to bad publicity and a general falling off of support this meeting was very poorly attended. Certain immediate

issues need emergency action:details of these are outlined below. These are urgent matters which cannot go forward without the active involvement of project members. A general meeting will be held on 3rd Fed. room 7, Labour Club, 16 Lewes Road, Brighton. This meeting will be the starting point for action on these issues. Please make sure you come and try and tell anyone you know about the situation. Our strategy will be useless unless it is put into effect - the two major issues are:..."

27. Jan Executive meeting. 10 people.
3. Feb. general meeting. 14 people.
12 Fef. some leafleting. 5 people.
17. March. Meeting. 6 people.
....

5.18. Glossary of Initials.

B & H Herald —— Brighton & Hove Herald
BRP —— Brighton Rents Project
RSSF —— Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation
IS —— International Socialists
RR Group —— Rents Registration Group
PEC —— Post Eviction Committee

Also note Newspaper references are in heavy lettering. eg. "See News 48" would refer to **48**

CHAPTER 6

THE BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT

6.1. Recapitualtion
6.2. Measurements
6.3. Predictions
6.4. Overview of Results
6.5. Results - Group as a Whole
6.6. Results - Subgroups
6.7. Change in Normative Structure.
6.8. Conclusions.
6.9. Summary.

6.1.

It is obvious from Chapter 5 that the Brighton Rents Project was an extremely complex phenomenon. The main features of the organization and history will therefore be recapitulated.

6.1.1. Structure and composition of the Brighton Rents Project

The formal organization of the Project was a series of subgroups, centred on activities, communicating via a Co-ordinating Committee, and following policies laid down by open meetings of the entire membership and supporters. This formal structure is illustrated in Fig. 6.1.

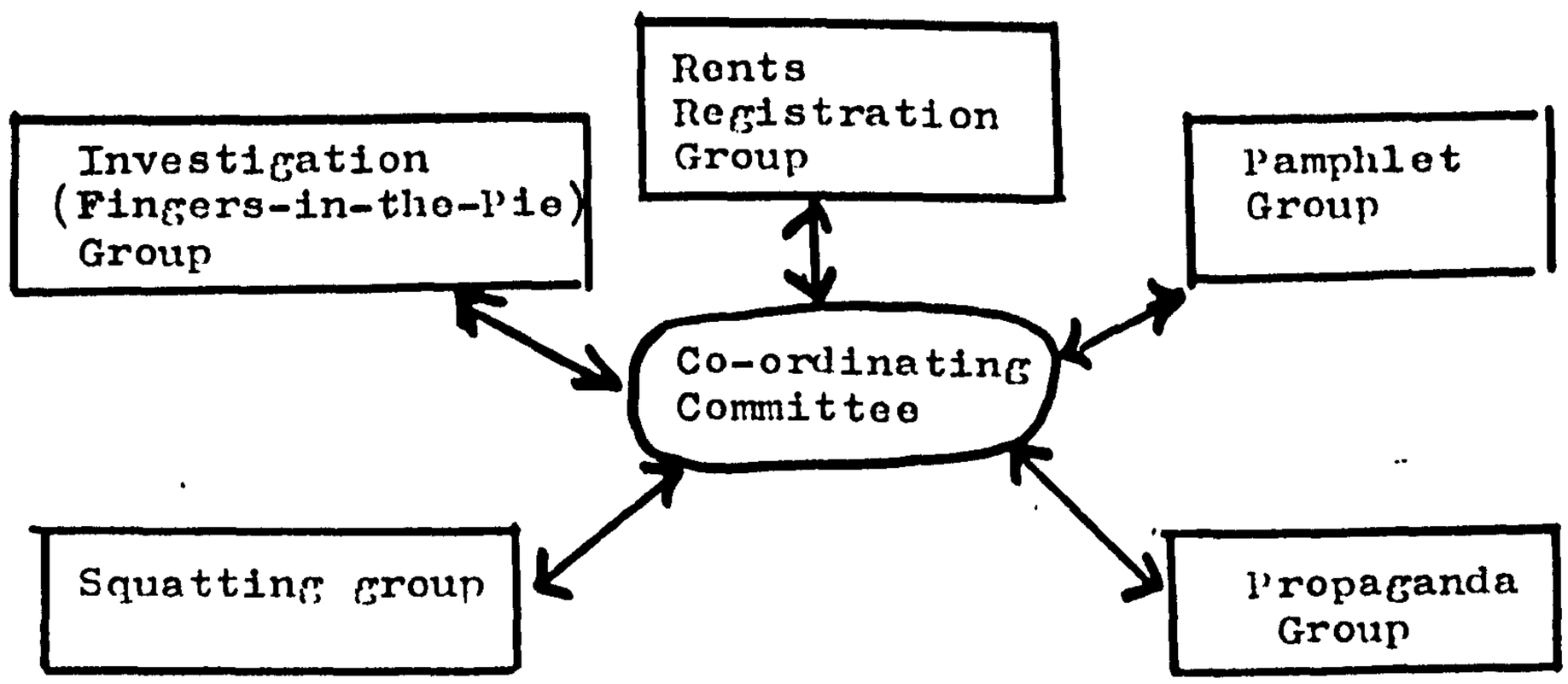


Fig. 6.1.

In practice, the functions described in the formal structure were carried out by two semi-autonomous groupings, illustrated in Fig. 6.2.

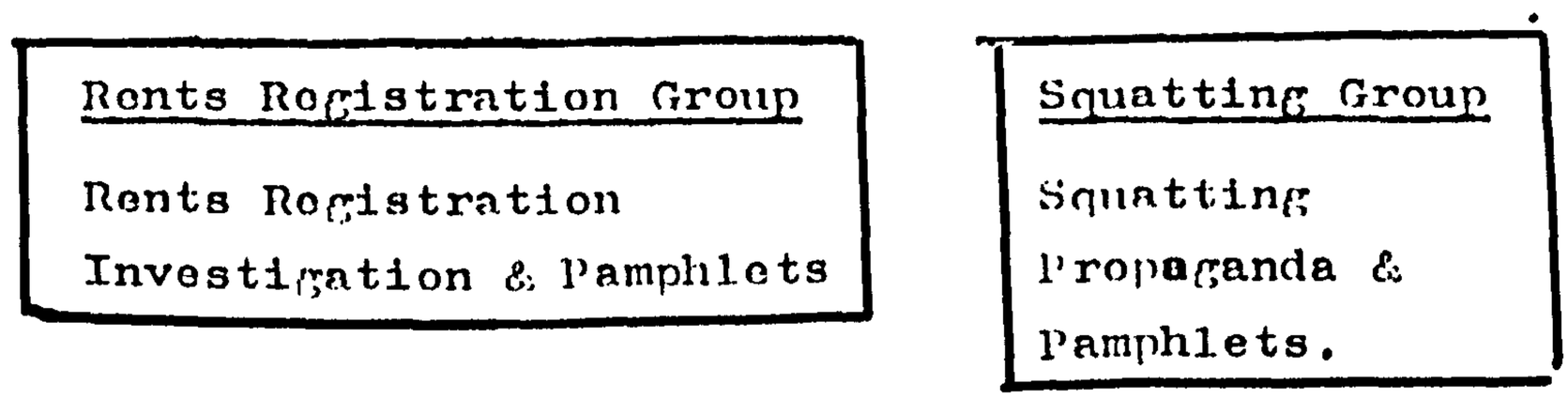


Fig. 6.2

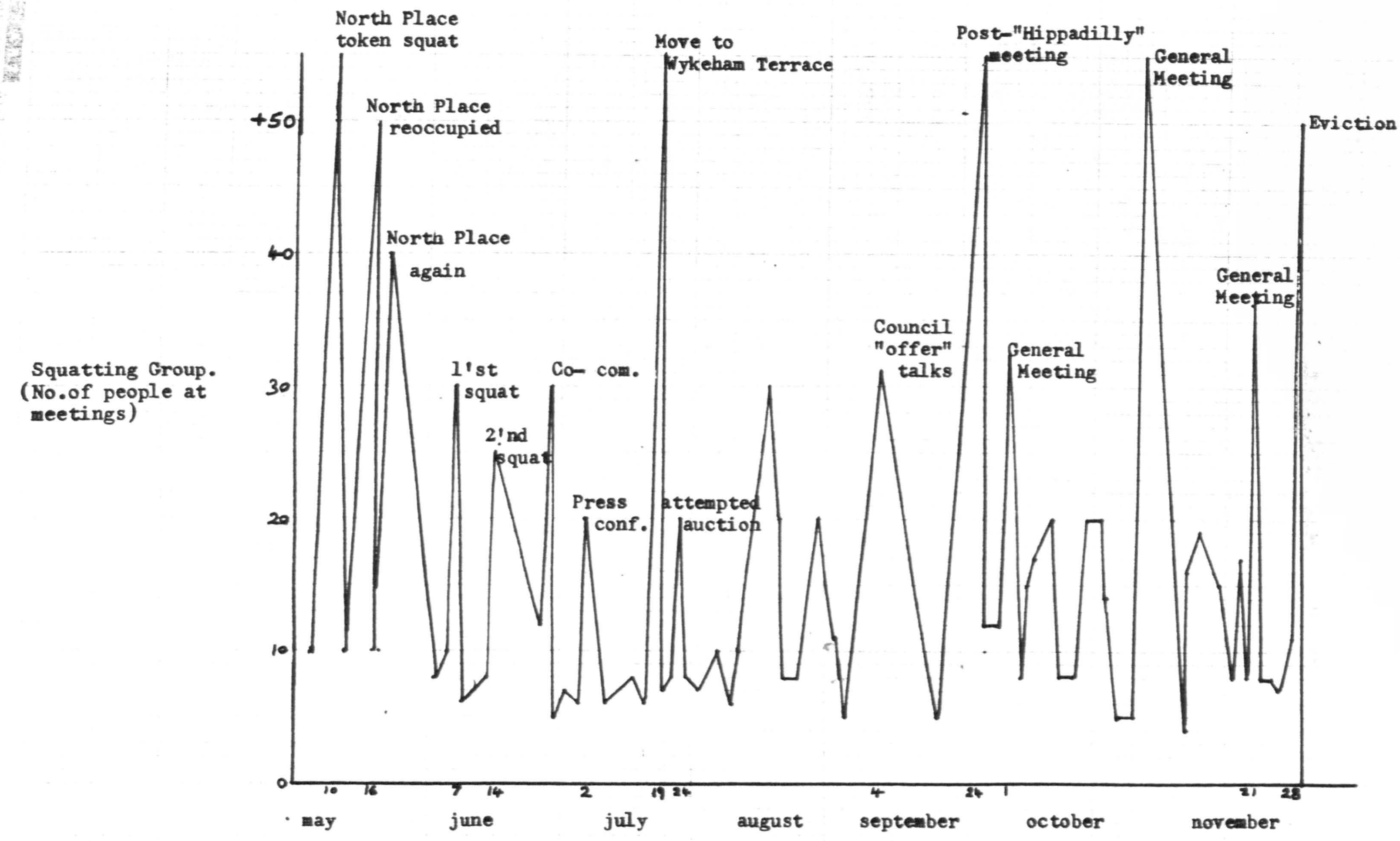


FIG.6.3 HISTORY OF THE SQUATTING GROUP.

The Rents Registration group was homogenious in composition. The Squatting Group comprised three major subgroupings: Anarchists (squatting and allied physical activity) Revolutionary Students (propaganda, press statements, and pamphlets); Families (Squatters).

6.1.2. Outline History of the Brighton Rents Project

The history of the project more or less coincides with the history of the squatting group. (See Fig. 6.3). This history divides into two distinct periods:
a) May to Mid-August. The project is founded in May, and stages a successful demonstration and token squat. In June the first family is squatted. After a period of steady but uneven escalation, fifteen families are squatting by mid-August. During this period the Project was on the offensive, the Authorities on the defensive.
b) Mid-August to December. After a series of dramatic reversals in August and September (the bomb incident; "Hippadilly"; Council re-occupation of the Drill Hall; numerous prosecutions), the project goes onto the defensive. The aim becomes to defend and rehouse the families. After the final eviction in November, the Project attempts a re-organisation to "Tenants Work" and collapses.

6.2. Measurements

6.2.1. Size Size of group was measured as the number of people involved in meetings or activities on any given day. Where meetings or events attracted more than 50 people the figures are accurate to the nearest 10 people.

6.2.2. Activity In line with the definitions in Para. 3.7., the best measure of activity for the Brighton Rents Project was the number of column inches devoted to the group per day in the Brighton Evening Argus. As some activities were reported the day they took place, others on the following day, data was standardized by

eliminating all obvious time lags.

It was apparent that the accuracy of column inch data as a measure of group activity was liable to several types of possible distortion: "slack" days on the paper; feature articles; reports initiated by activities of other groups towards the Rents Project.

An alternative measure of activity was the frequency of publications (leaflets, pamphlets, posters, documents etc) issued by the Project. This measure has the advantage of being more intimately connected with group functioning, but the disadvantage of being less frequent (only 20 documents were published in total) and less quantifiable (how can a short mass circulation leaflet be compared with a long small circulation pamphlet).

In the event both measures were used and the publication data used as a check on the column inch data.

6.2.3. Norms. The Bates & Cloyd (See Para. 4.4.5.) method of norm measurement was used. To recapitulate, and incorporate the present context:-

a) The identification of behaviour traits about which members of the group may have definite normative sentiments - carried out by the Researcher as participant observer, aided by discussion with group members.
b) The establishment of the fact that these sentiments are shared by a significant portion of the group.
c) Evidence that members are aware that their attitudes are supported by agreement on the part of other members of the group.

b & c. were established by the use of interviews, questionaires, and recording of group discussion and disputes.

6.2.4. Other Observations In addition to the quantative data, a detailed record of all aspects of group behaviour was kept (See Chap. 5).

6.3. Predictions. It was predicted that size and activity would fluctuate independently within limits determined by the normative structure, (See Fig. 4.27., reproduced here for convenience).

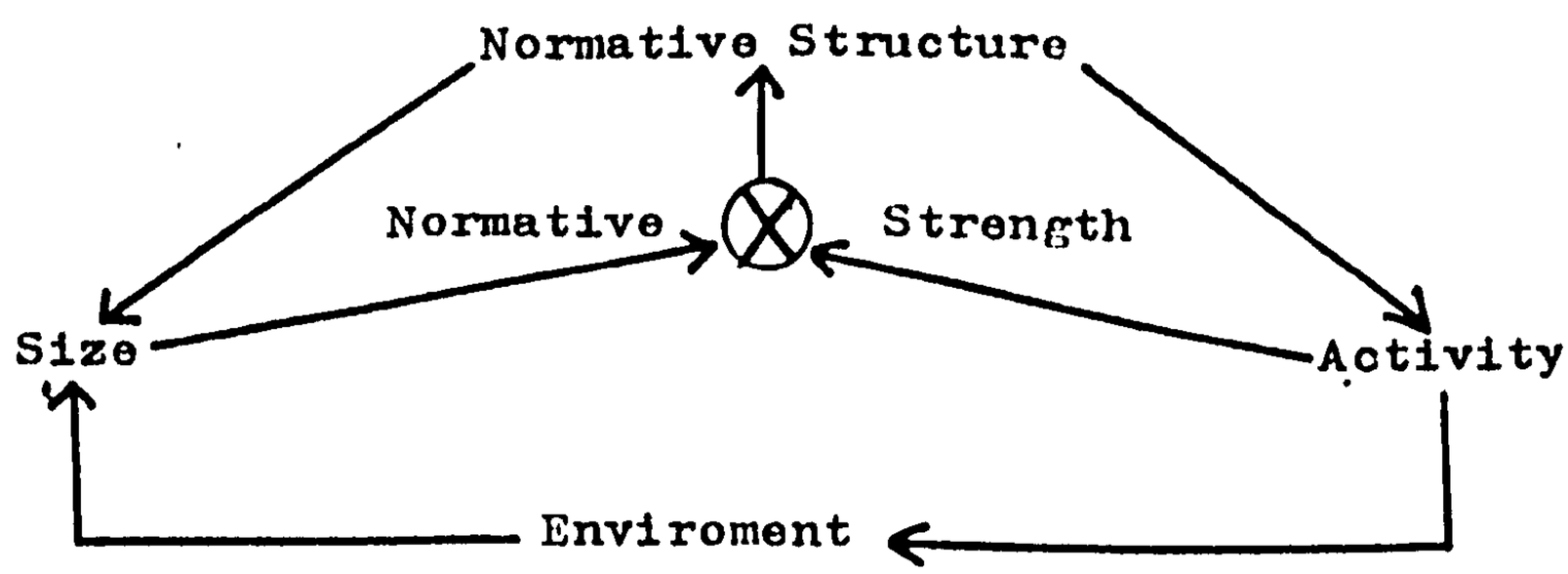


Fig. 6.4. (Fig. 4.27.)

It was expected that size decay would be precipitated by individual inactivity caused by "shortage" of activity as resource, itself norm determined. Size increase was expected to follow a high level of activity that rendered the group socially visible.

It was also expected that, if observed, a high level of disagreement with any major norm would precipitate a change in the normative structure and thus in the functioning of the entire group.

6.4. Overview of Results

The predictions of Para. 6.3. were made on the assumptions that the Brighton Rents Project could be treated as a single group, and that it would be viable in the long term. In the event, neither assumption held. The Project was composed of several distinct groups, and effectively collapsed after an erratic existance of only 8 months. Nevertheless, the data that did emerge was both useful and of interest. The most important

findings were the independent viability of some subgroups, and the importance of "technique". The following account is therefore divided into two main sections: an examination of the group as a whole; an examination of the subgroups of which it was composed.

6.5. Results (Brighton Rents Project as a whole)

Except where otherwise stated, data is taken for the period 1 May 1969 to 7 December 1969 (221 observations). The latter date was when the group effectively collapsed, although in theory it persisted until 17 March 1970. (See Fig. 6.6.) Where statistical tests are used, rejection of the Null Hypothesis at the 5% level is taken as the criterion of significance.

6.5.1. Size Size, as experimentally defined, ranged from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 200, with a mean of 13 and a standard deviation of 31. The requency distribution of different sizes is given in Fig. 6.5. below.

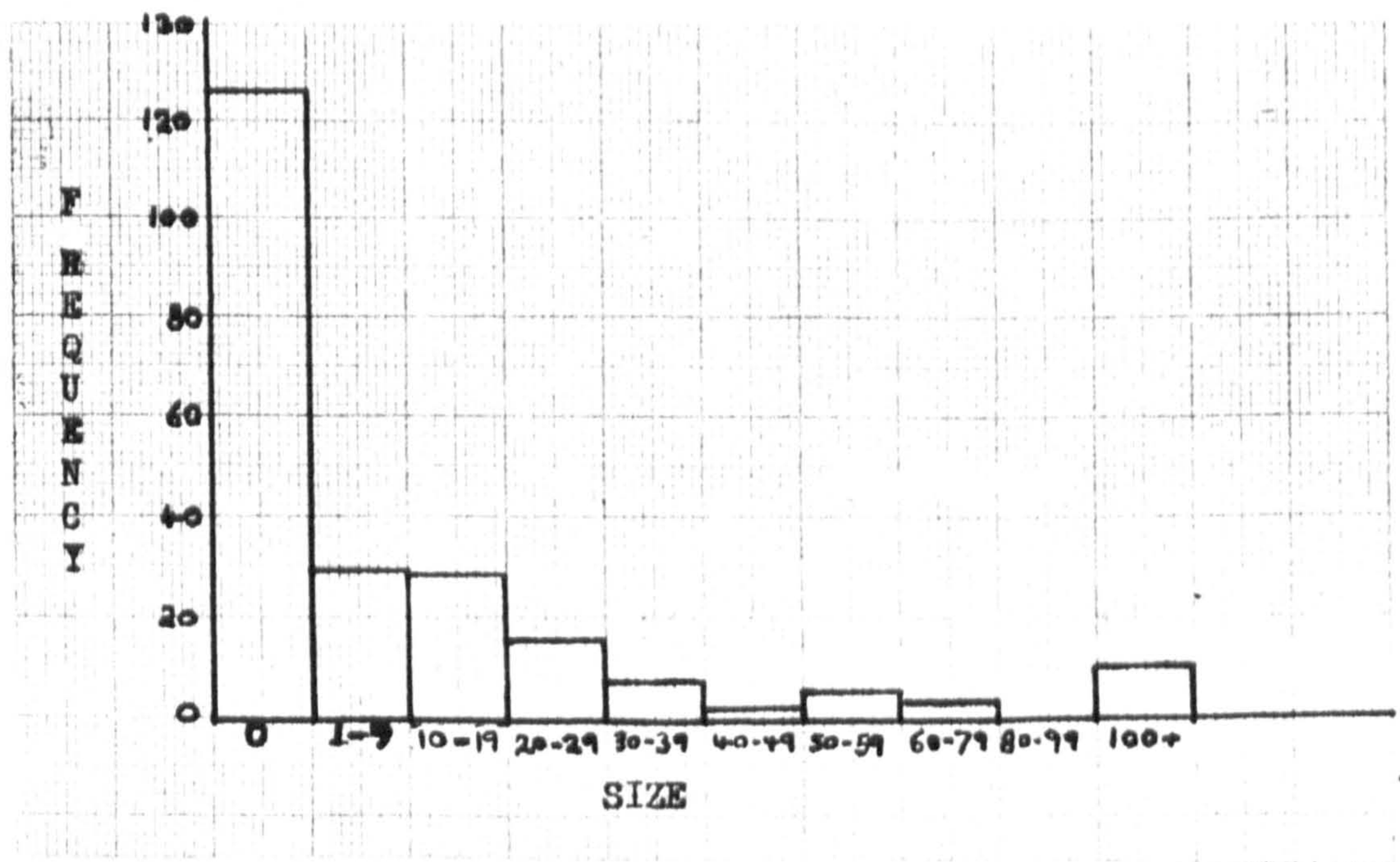


Fig. 6.5. Size Frequency Distribution of Brighton Rents Project

Autoregression showed no relation between size on one day and size on the next.

Contrary to expectation, regression of size on time showed a statistically significant downward trend. This was however considered empirically insignificant since the constant was 20 and the decrement 0.6 per 100 days - a loss of only 1.3 persons during the life of the project. (cf. Fig. 6.6.)

Comment. The lack of time trend, the oscillations of the time/size plot, and the skewed size frequency distribution suggest a regularity made up of several factors, rather than a unitary coherence. An analysis of these factors (which are, in fact, subgroups) will be made later in para. 6.6.6.

6.5.2. Activity

Data Reliability. Two sets of data were collected as indices of activity (See Para. 6.2.2.); column inches per day in the local paper and Rents Project publications. The former was used as definitive data as it was more frequent and better quantified. Publication data was used as a check, as follows:

To achieve frequency comparability between the two data sets, only those days on which news coverage exceeded 40 column inches were used. Major items of news coverage (n = 25) and publications (n = 20) were then plotted against time. (See Fig. 6.7.). The time was divided into fortnightly periods, and the frequencies correlated using the Spearman Rank Correlation test. After correcting for ties, this gave a t of 3.98. The Null Hypothesis was rejected at the 0.005 level - giving a very strong indication that the two sets of data were measuring the same phenomenon.

Activity, as experimentally defined, ranged from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 80, with a mean of 14 and a standard deviation of 20. The frequency distribution of differing activity levels is given in Fig. 6.8. below.

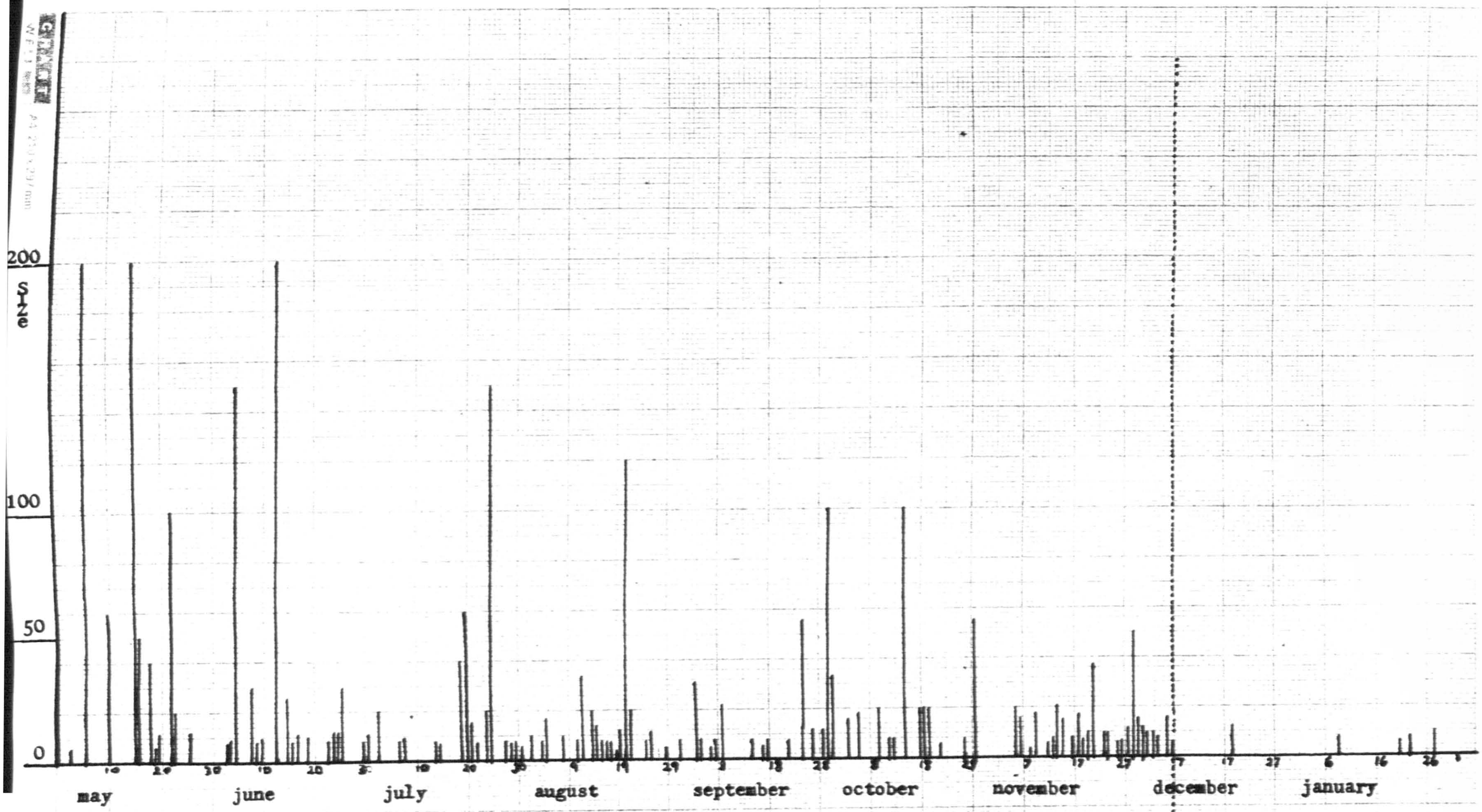


FIG.6.6 BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT: SIZE AGAINST TIME.

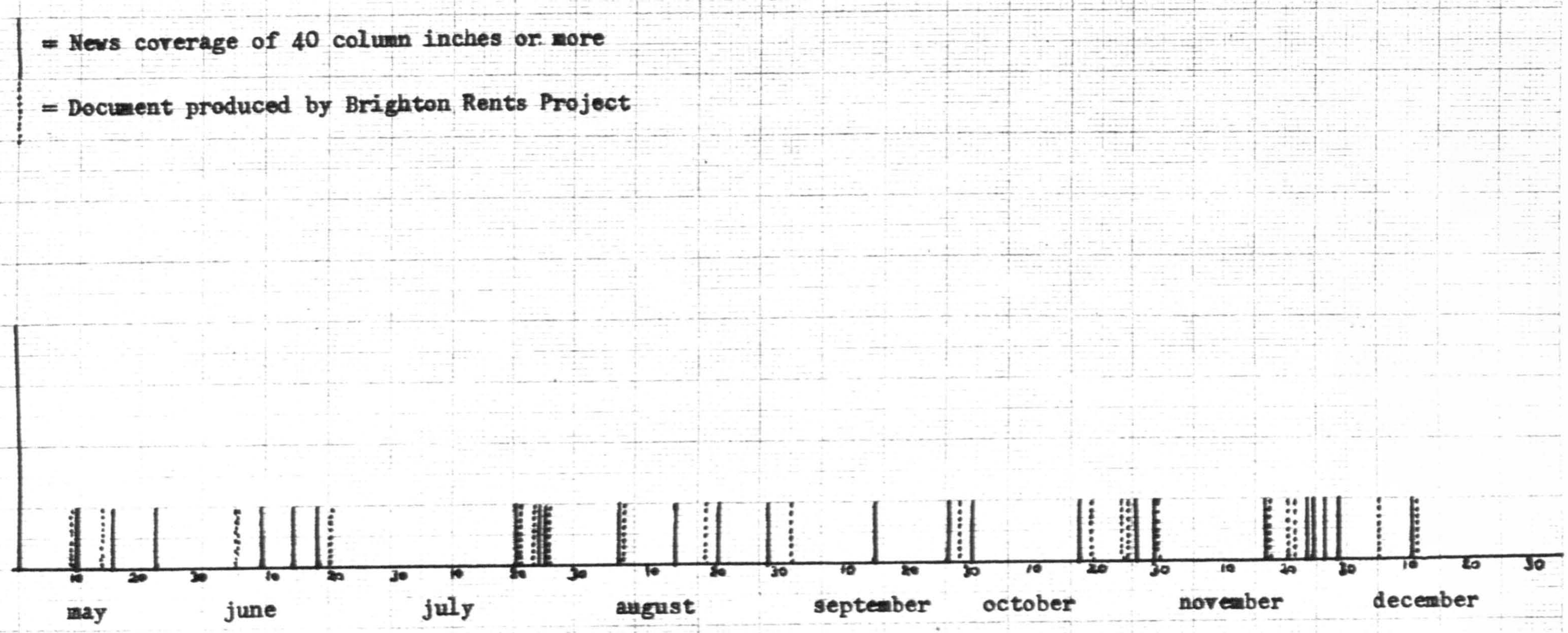


FIG.6.7. BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT: COMPARISON OF ACTIVITY MEASURES.

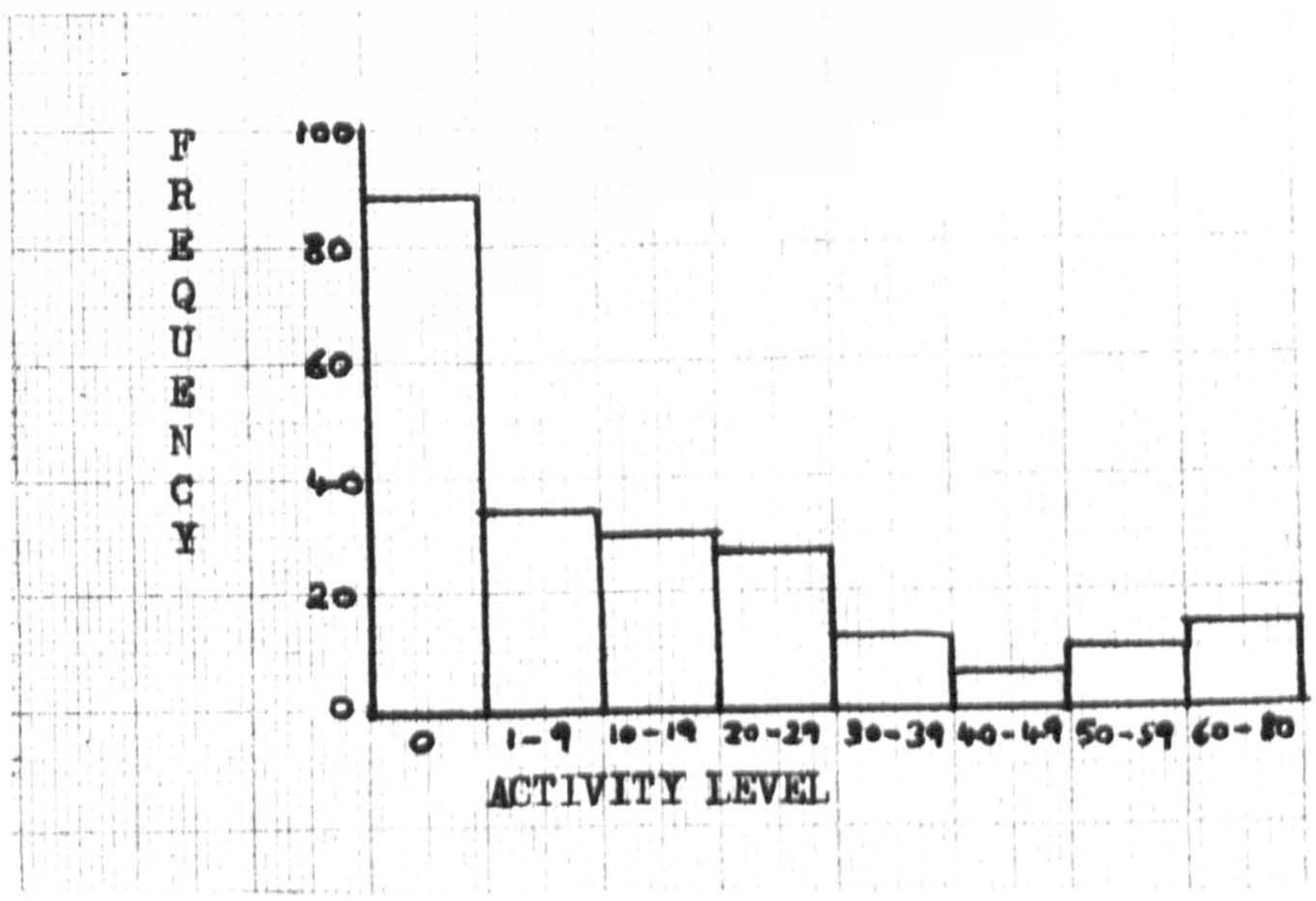


Fig. 6.8. Activity Level frequency distribution of Brighton Rents Project

Autoregression showed a significant relationship between activity on one day and activity on the next. The equation (11.2 + 0.2 activity at t) was not helpful either in approximating the actual data, or in predicting the time trend. (As expected, there was no relation between activity and time). See Fig. 6.9.

6.5.3. Activity and Size

Against expectation, but in accord with inspection of the data (compare frequency histograms of Figs. 6.5. and 6.8. and Fig. 6.10) regression showed a highly significant relation between size and activity. Although a negatively accelerated function would probably fit the data better than a simple straight line, there is no doubt of a direct, positive association between size and activity.

6.5.4. Activity and Size at t + 1

Against expectation (see Para. 6.3.) there was no relation (using regression) between high levels of activity and subsequent increase in group size.

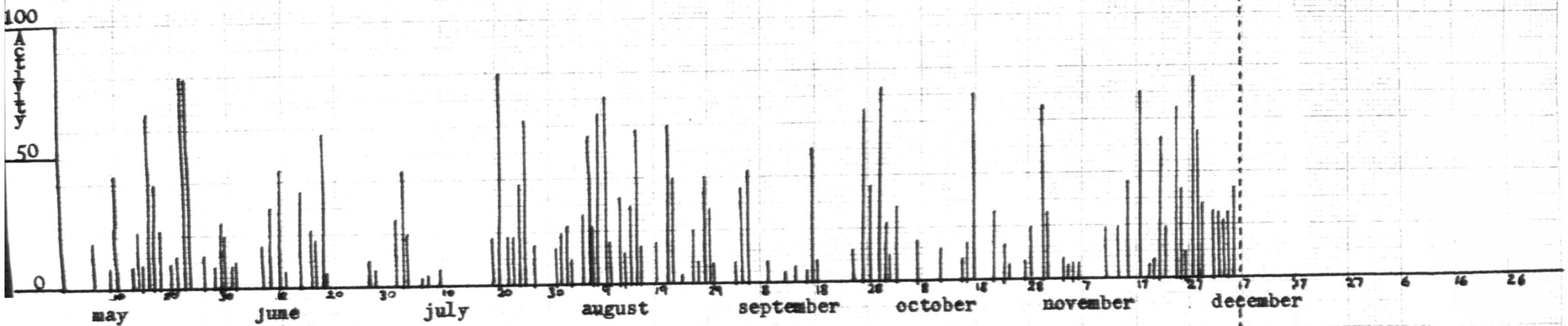


FIG. 6.9 BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT: ACTIVITY (column inches) AGAINST TIME.

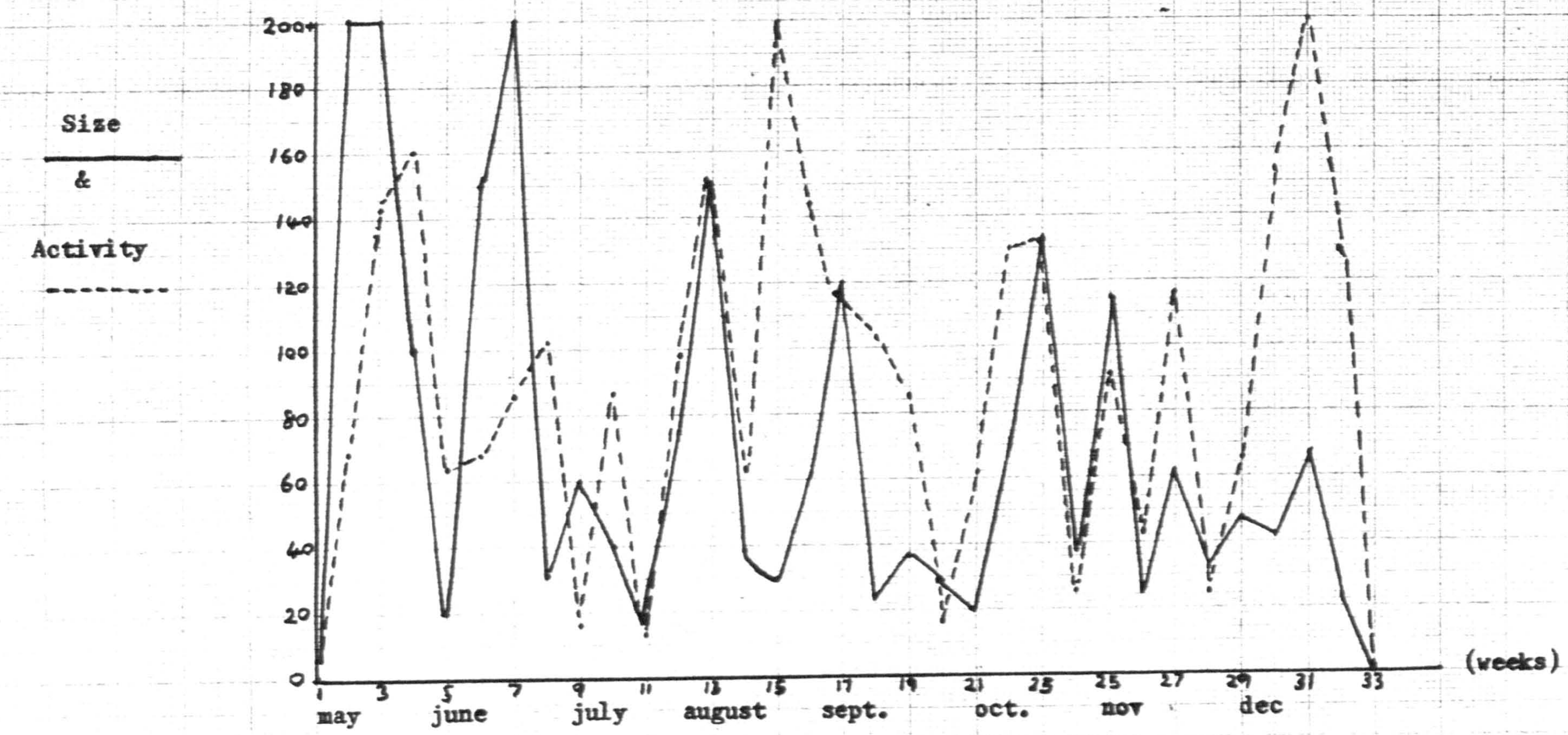


Fig.6.10 BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT: SIZE & ACTIVITY AGAINST TIME (WEEKS).

6.5.5. Norms

The norms of the Rents Project turned out to be both wider and more structured than anticipated in the experimental definition. Members not only had definite normative sentiments about behavioural traits, but a common characterization of the socio-geographical environment, a common version of the group's history, and a common set of general intentions. These constituted the coherence of the group as a whole.

Specific norms about behavioural traits - which, importantly, were those connected with activity structuring and size control - were concentrated in subgroups. These will be examined in Para 6.6.8.

A significant difference between the norm measurements made on the Rents Project (a "natural group") and those made in the Crime Simulation Game (a "laboratory group") was in personal and perceived levels of agreement. In the laboratory group the mean level of personal agreement with norms was 76%; the mean level of perceived agreement was 90%. (See Fig. 4.14). In the Rents Project the mean levels of personal and perceived agreement with the general norms were practically indistinguishable from 100%. In over 30 interviews with Project members, common characterization of environment, history, and intentions emerged from which there was no disagreement by negation, only differences in emphasis.

The common picture of Project history is illustrated in Fig. 6.3. The common socio-geographical map is shown in Fig. 5.1.

Commonly accepted intentions and beliefs of the Rents Project* are listed below:-

a) to attack the authorities over bad housing by direct

*FOOTNOTE
Derived from discussion, documents and press statements; and confirmed by interviews.

action involving the working class.
b) direct democracy is a good thing. Belief in a system where people have the power to collectively decide on all matters effecting them.
c) society is ruled by a minority who manipulate things for their own benefit, and to the detriment of everyone else.
d) poverty is not an accident, or the result of laziness, but a consequence of c.
e) all institutions are suspect.
f) social services are not meant to work.
g) improvements in conditions for the majority have to be forced from the minority. The minority is not amenable to rational persuasion.
h) direct action is the most effective form of coercion.
i) a mass movement involving the working class is necessary to achieve specific changes, and also desirable in itself.
j) squatting is good as it embodies the above beliefs, serves a practical need, links students into the community, attacks the property owning class, and spreads the ideas and practice of socialism.

This does not imply that there were not profound differences between subgroups in interpreting key words (eg. direct democracy, direct action, working class). Nevertheless, the words themselves were universally accepted, and acceptance of them served as a preliminary filter for membership of the Project.

This "general" language of the Porject provided a framework for, and was supported by action, discussion and anecdote. It served as a preliminary membership filter (actual size regulating mechanisms were embedded in subgroups, not in the group as a whole) by excluding those who could not speak, or would not learn, this language.

6.6. Results (Brighton Rents Project as a set of Subgroups)

6.6.1. Formal Subgroups (See paras 5.5.1.-5.5.4. and Fig 6.1.)

Those were:- the squatting group
the rents registration group,
the pamphlet group
the investigation (fingers-in-the-pie) group
the propaganda group
the co-ordinating committee.

6.6.2. Informal Subgroups & Factions (See para 5.5.6)

These were:- anarchists
families
humanist
Internationalist
international socialist (IS)
Labour "left"
Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation (RSSF)

6.6.3. Factional Composition of Formal Subgroups

The numbers in the following table should be taken to represent proportions rather than people, since both absolute numbers and factional representation varied with time.

Subgroup	Time: Terminus Rd. (7-6-69 to 19-7-69)	Wykeham Terr.1 (19-7-69 to 20-8-69)	Wykeham Terr.2 (20-8-69 to 7-12-69)
Squatters	Anarchist 12	Anarchist 12	Anarchist 6
	RSSF 1	RSSF 1	RSSF 6
	Family 6	Family 12	Family 12
Rents Registration	Labour left 8	Labour left 8	Labour left 8.
	Humanist 2	Humanist 2	Humanist 2
Pamphlet	Lab Left. 2	---------	---------
	Humanist 2		
	Internat. 1		
	IS 3		
	RSSF 2		
Investigation	Anarchist 1	Internat 2	----------
	Humanist 3	RSSF 2	
	Internat. 3		
	IS 1		
	RSSF 2		

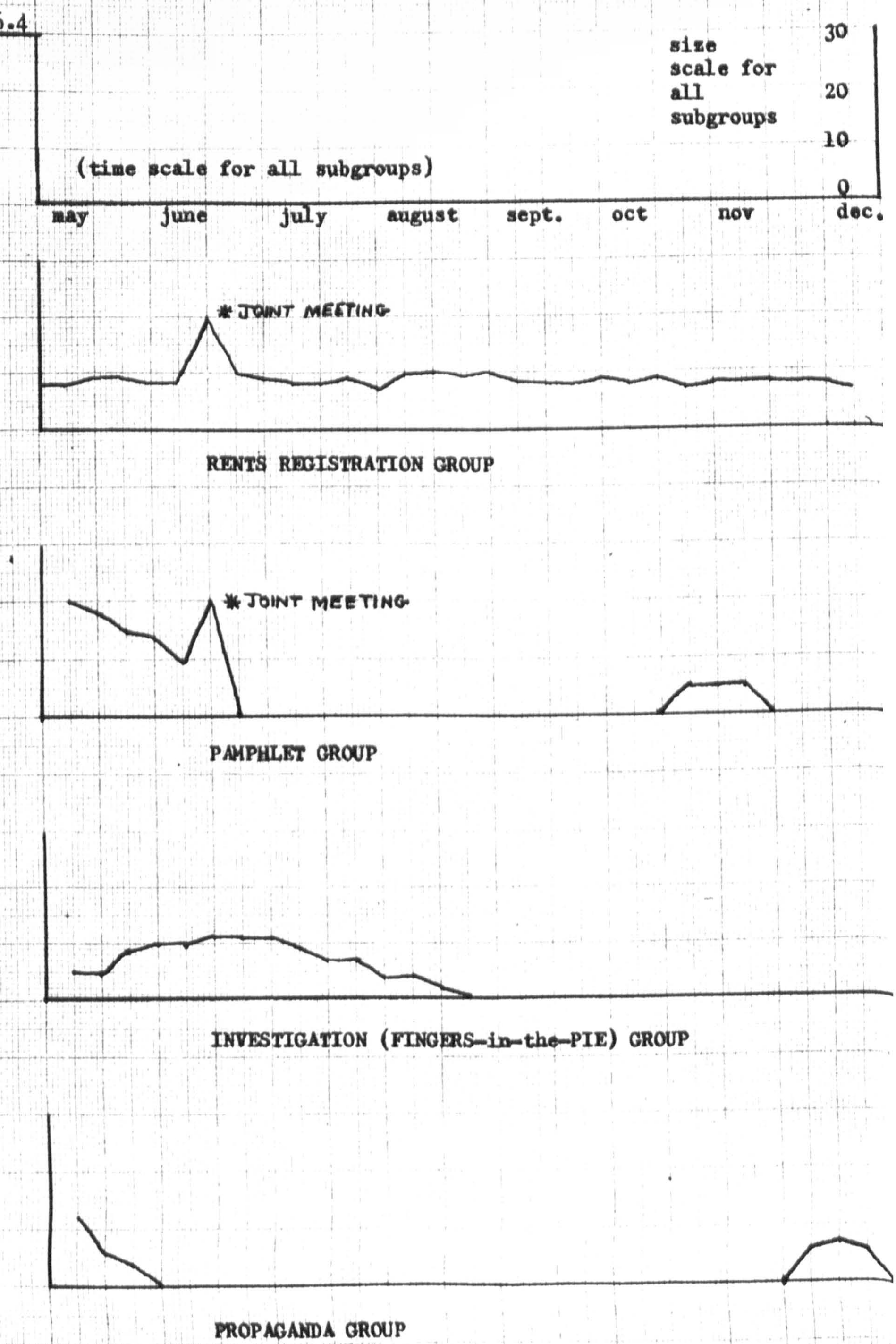


FIG.6.13 BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT: LIFESPAN & SIZE OF FORMAL SUBGROUPS.

(See Fig.6.3 for Squatting Group)

CHART WELL A4 210 x 297 mm

Subgroup		Time	
	Terminus Rd.	Wykeham T. 1	Wykeham T. 2
Propaganda	Anarchist 3 Humanist 3 RSSF 3	----------	----------
Co-ordinating Committee	Anarchist 1 Family 1 Humanist 2 RSSF 3	----------	----------

Fig. 6.12

6.6.5. Lifespan and Size of Informal Subgroups

No detailed record was kept of the membership and size of the various factions operating in the Rents Project. Most of the factions had an existence independent of the Rents Project, and only a part of ther membership was in the Project. The figures in Fig.614 therefore represent the degree of participation rather than the absolute independent size of the factions. Time is represented by period rather than date. Terminus Road (7 June - 19 July): Wykeham Terrace 1. (19 July to 20 Augus): Wykeham Terrace 2 (20 August - 28 November)

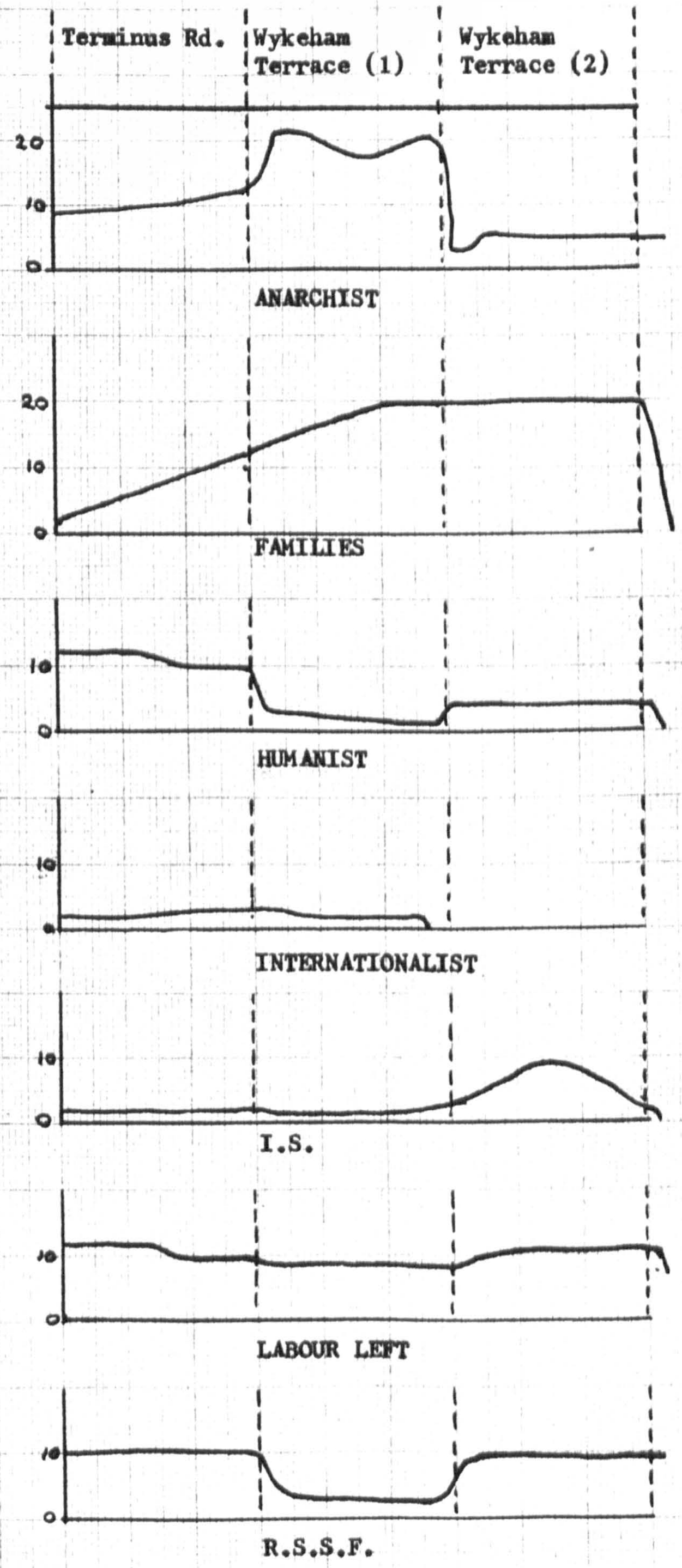


FIG.6.14 BRIGHTON RENTS PROJECT: PARTICIPATION & SIZE OF INFORMAL SUBGROUPS.

6.6.6. Size of Subgroups and Size of Total Group

The maximum sum of subgroup sizes (formal or informal) was 60 people. Given that some people participated in several subgroups, the maximum size at any time was probably never more than 50 people.

Since membership of the project meant, in practice, membership of a subgroup, there is something suspect about moments when total group size is recorded as more than 50 - 60 people. This is explained by the fact that many people who were not members of the Project attended Public Meetings. But this in turn casts doubt on the concept of group size as the number of people atteding meetings on any given day. To members of the Rents Project, "size of the Rents Project" meant the sum of those people in subgroups who were recognised as members by other members of the subgroups. This concept of size would not be effected by the non-occurrence of a meeting on any particular day.

Size of group is thus a more sophisticated concept than originally envisaged.

6.6.7. Activity Levels of Formal Subgroups

No independent record was made of subgroup activity levels. News coverage would only have been an appropriate measure of the activity of the squatting group; a partial measure for the Rents Registration Group; inappropriate in the other cases. The only measure which could have been applied to all subgroups would have been person-hours spent in Project-related activities. Insufficient data was recorded to allow a meaningful construction of this measure.

We can say, however, that only the Rents Registration Group achieved a stable level of activity. (See Chap. 5.)

6.6.8. Norms in Subgroups

Both formal and informal subgroups accepted the general Project norms (See Para 6.5.5.) but often placed strongly differing interpretations on them. The most important example of this is the belief in "direct democracy". To the anarchists it meant the pursuit of individually chosen actions; to the RSSF and IS it meant majority decisions at mass meetings; to the Labour "Left" and humanists it meant general resolutions on policy were interpreted by an executive. The conflict precipitated by these differences will be examined later.

Unlike the project as a whole, subgroups did develop "definite normative sentiments" about specific "behaviour traits". In general these served to differentiate their own subgroup from others, and was the major factor in preventing dual membership of subgroups. Outsiders usually did not grasp the behaviour appropriate to a given subgroup, and were consequently rejected by that subgroup.

Examples of this process were fairly common.
"... a lot of Party members came... very naive... very conservative in their view about what could be done .. came and were generally derided by the rest of us. They never came again. Then a new lot came and left". (Gary - talking about the Pamphlet Group)

"Several times I tried to do some baby sitting, or guard duty, or whatever it was called. The times I went up .... there was no need for it, so I came away". (Chris - talking about the squatting group).

Similarly, despite a fusion of functions of the Pamphlet and Rents Registration Groups, and the theoretical dissolution of the former into the latter, the Rents Registration Group did not increase in size.
A further important factor which can be dealt with under the head of subgroup norms was "technique".

"Technique" is the name of difinite and integrated set of procedures that must be carried out for the successful attainment of a specific goal.
The technique developed by the squatting group is described in para. 5.4 ; that of the Rents Registration Group in para. 5.5.1. The Investigation Group developed a technique for finding, recording, and filing information. The Pamphlet, Propaganda, and Co-ordinating Groups developed no techniques at all.

Techniques functioned precisely as norms within subgroups by defining appropriate activity, and by assigning roles to actualize that activity.

6.6.9. Subgroups as Size and Activity Regulators.

We have seen that the Project as a whole provided a crude entry filter (the general norm set) but had no mechanisms for regulating size or activity. This is almost tautological since size and activity of the Project was a direct function of the size and activity of its subgroups.

Activity in subgroups was regulated and defined by the techniques available to the subgroups. Once a technique was established, it was only modified by the intervention of forces external to the group. The techniques of the Rents Registration Group were disrupted by the crisis in the Squatting Group, and the crisis (of technique) in the Squatting Group was caused by the action of the Council, Government, Police and Courts.

Thus we may say that subgroups have a tendency to develop repeatable techniques, and the repetition of thse defined techniques is the regularity of activity.

The role assignment implicit in these techniques in turn defines a necessary* group size. Too few people, and the

* FOOTNOTE
Necessary size should not be confused with optimum or average size, since the match between roles and persons is never a precise one, and there are obious advantages in a certain amount of redundancy.

techniques cannot be implimented. Too many people, and there is redundancy, or competition for roles. Many instances were observed of the rejection of individuals or groups of individuals by subgroups. It is surmised that this rejection took place when the technique defined roles were filled.

6.6.10 The Viability of Subgroups

Since the Rents Project was observed from beginning to end, both viable and non-viable subgroups were also observed. This was fortunate as it enables distinctions between the two to be drawn.

The criteria for viable subgroups are the development of a successful technique (or set of techniques) and homogeneous composition.

The first subgroups to disappear (Pamphlet, Propaganda, Co-ordinating) were heterogeneous in composition (See para. 6.6.3.) and developed no techniques.

The next to disappear (Investigation) developed a rudimentary technique, but one that did not lead to success in terms of its own goals (public scandal). It was also heterogeneous in composition.

The two most successful groups (Squatting, Rents Registration) developed successful techniques, and were homogeneous in composition. The demise of the squatting group was preceded by abandonment of its established techniques, and by a transformation from homogeneity to heterogeneity in composition. (See para. 6.6.3).

Informal (and, by definition, homogeneous) subgroups should also, with the exception of the families, be considered viable. They were in existence befor the Project, and continued to exist after it had collapsed. Unfortunately, their techniques fell outside the scope of

the study - exceptions to this being the anarchists and the Labour "Left" whose techniques co-incided with the groups they dominated (Squatting and Rent Registration).

6.7. Change in Normative Structure

A dramatic change in structure and function of the group, as anticipated in Para. 6.3. took place on 14-10-69.

"Successful" techniques had been developed by the Rents Registration and Squatting Groups. However, as noted in Para. 6.6.8., there was a considerable divergence of opinion between subgroups on the meaning of "direct democracy" as the decision making process. In practice, decisions were mad by factions and carried out independently. When there was opposition, or conflict between factions, there was no method of settling it in a satisfactory manner. This was not serious when actions were seen as "successful" by the subgroup initiating them, or by the Project as a whole. Crises were experienced on many occasions. The loss of the first Court case, and the reaction by the Rents Registration Group to Steve Prior's scare headlines ("Petrol Bomb Army Awaits Bailiffs) were two good examples. In the first case the anarchists attacked the RSSF grouping who had organized the Court defence. However, the RSSF (and the Rents Registration Group) saw the verdict as the best outcome given the circumstances. In the second case, the anarchists were pleased with the publicity. In neither case were the opponents of the action understood by its proponents. Subgroups were committed to their own techniques, and had insufficient committment to the Project as a whole to accept majority decisions.

However, under the impact of the institutional counter-attack of late August and September (See Chap. 5) the continued practicability of the technique of squatting was cast into doubt. Dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs (and, by generalization, with the

techniques that had led to it) reached a peak. Significantly the attack which arose from the dissatisfaction centred on one norm only. This was the anarchist principle of subgroup autonomy.

The General Meeting of 14th October abolished this principle. It decided on centralization of the Project through the election of an Executive Committee. The anarchists withdrew. Following this the Executive decided to "wind up" squatting, and concentrate instead on the issue of Rent rises.

The displacement of one central norm had led immediately to a total change in the structure and function of the Project.

6.8. Conclusions

1. The Brighton Rents Project was a collection of groups. The viability of a collection of groups or (organization) can be expected to have different and more complex criteria than simple groups. Part of this criterion will be the viability of the component groups. Another part will be the development of norm regulated relationships between the component groups - something that did not happen in the Rents Project. The data also suggests that such relationships are more easily built when there is a functional interdependence between the subgroups. The Squatting group was composed of three interdependent subgroups (anarchists, families, RSSF) with semi-normalised relations. There was mutual independence between the Squatting group and the Rents Registration group. This exacerbated the collision that resulted in the restructuring and subsequent collapse of the Project.

2. The data on Project differentiation into formal and informal subgroups, and on their sizes (see Fig.s 6.13 & 6.14) lends weight to the suggestion (See Para. 3.6.) that there is an upper limit of 20 to simple or informal groups. This is further supported by the observations

on the universality and size of "segments" (Para. 3.1.4) in the group KDIL (Chap. 3)

3. The definition of size adopted for purposes of measurement was too simple. A better measure of size would have been "the sum of those people in subgroups who were recognised as members by other members of the (same) subgroups" (Para 6.6.6.) This would have been more difficult to operationalize, but would have had the advantage of a) excluding those people who came to Public Meetings, but played no significant role in the life of the Project. b) including those people who were members, but absent on a given day. c) eliminating the intuitively unsatisfctory fact that (by definition) the most common total group size was zero (See. Fig. 6.5.). The variable measured as "size of group" was in fact the sum of internal and external participation in the group activities.

4. The strong positive relation between "size" and "activity" (Para.6.5.3.) can now be explained. Participation (number of people present on a given day) is a crude measure of person-hours committed to group-activity - and an alternative measure of activity. It is, of course, to be expected that two measures of activity will be positively correlated.
The predicted independence of size and activity is thus not tested by the available data.

5. For similar reasons, the predicted relationship between high levels of activity (as "social visibility") and subsequent size increase were not tested by the data.

6. The variable chosen as a measure of activity worked well. The concept of activity as a measurable phenomenon was strengthened by the close correspondence between three intuitively convincing, but empirically different measures (column inches in Press; publications; person-hours). Although person-hours would have been the most universal index, in the case of large groups such as the Rents Project it would also be unwieldy and inpracticable.

7. The Bates and Cloyd method of estimating group norms proved satisfactory both for the group as a whole and for the subgroups. Different types of norm were seen to operate at different levels of group structure. At the level of the total group there was a "language" which embodied historical and socio-geographical maps, and a generalized, fairly consistent belief and intention set. (See Para.6.5.5.). The posession of, or willingness not to contradict this "language" functioned as an entrance qualification to the group as a whole. The language also facilitated (to some extent) communication and co-ordination between subgroups.

At the level of the subgroups norms were manifested as sets of behavioural prescriptions, which were termed "techniques". (See Para 6.6.8.). These "techniques" functioned (as anticipated in Para. 6.3.) to determine the limits of activity and, by defining necessary roles, the limits of size.

There were indications of a significant difference in normative structure between natural and laboratory groups. In natural groups, probably because of the function of general beliefs and intentions as a preliminary membership filter, the level of personal and perceived agreement with general norms was practically indistinguishable from 100%.

8. In Chapter 4 it was hypothesised that changes in the normative structure of groups would be "catastrophic" rather than gradual. In the case of the Rents Project, such a "catastrophic" change was observed (See Para.6.7.). Dissatisfaction accumulated over a period of time, resulted in a change in a (decision-regulating) norm, which in turn resulted immediately in a change in structure and function of the whole group.

In both the laboratory and the natural group the alternative norm was formulated by a faction. In the natural group the ability of one faction to impose its will on another was facilitated by a "crisis of technique" in the other.

9. Size and activity stabilization was only observed in the group as a whole to the extent that it was present in subgroups. Stability of a complex of groups, an organization, seems to call for a more developed structure than was present in the Rents Project. (See Para 6.8.1. above) Of the six formal subgroups, only two developed any form of stability - and only two survived any length of time. (See Fig. 6.13)

As mentioned in Para.6.6.7. it was not possible to construct an accurate activity measure for subgroups from "total" group data. It was however possible to construct a general pattern of activity for the two more successful groups from the records.

The Rents Registration group followed the technique described in para.5.5.1 . In tandem with this, it would periodically (approximately every six weeks to two months) launch a single burst of activity in another direction (the Town Hall Petition, joint survey with the Pamphlet group, the Pamphlet in Sept.) before reverting to its standard technique. Its regular activities, its regular activities, its irregular activities, and its size followed well defined and bounded patterns. It was the most stable of the subgroups.

The activity pattern of the Squatting group was far less predic t able. In the opening phase of the Project (May to mid-August) a certain regularity of activity was achieved by repetition of the squatting technique described in para. 5.4. . This is reflected in the steady increase in the number of squatting families in this period (See. Fig. 6.14). The continuation of this technique was blocked by its own escalating consequences - the counter offensive by the Authorities. This was, in effect, the response of a larger and more powerful system to a disturbance in its stability. After this point, certain other (propaganda) techniques were implimented with some regularity. However the rhythm of this activity was determined by the legal and police systems of society,

rather than the internal needs of the group. Also these later techniques tended to negate the effects of the earlier ones (propaganda for rehousing was effectively "desquatting"). In the long term, the Sqaatting group was not a viable entity - although it did develop many of the characteristics noccesary for viability. It is probably better viewed as a casualty of external forces, rather than a structural failure.

6.9. Summary

The mechanics of stability that emerge from the study of the Rents Project demand modifications of the model proposed in Para. 6.3.

The concept of "normative structure" must be expanded to include the sub-structure of "technique" as a category. The concept (derived in Chapt. 4) of "normative strength" (agreement/disagreement level) as a transducer (relaying the effects of size/activity chang/failure by a thresh-hold trigger into the normative structure) received some confirmation.

The concept of size must be modified to include the absent members and exclued present non-members (Para. 3 above). The ratio of absent to present members will also give an index of participation.

The inclusion of absent members as a variable is in line with previous small group research (See. Para. 3.6.) and suggests a further regulatory mechanism. Namely the adjustment of size to available activity by absenteeism/ participation as well as by absolute size change (decay, expulsion, restrictions on entry, and their opposites). The main determinant of absenteeism can be expected to be similar to that for exclusion/leaving - namely a shortage of available roles.

The modified model is schematized in fig. 6.15 below.

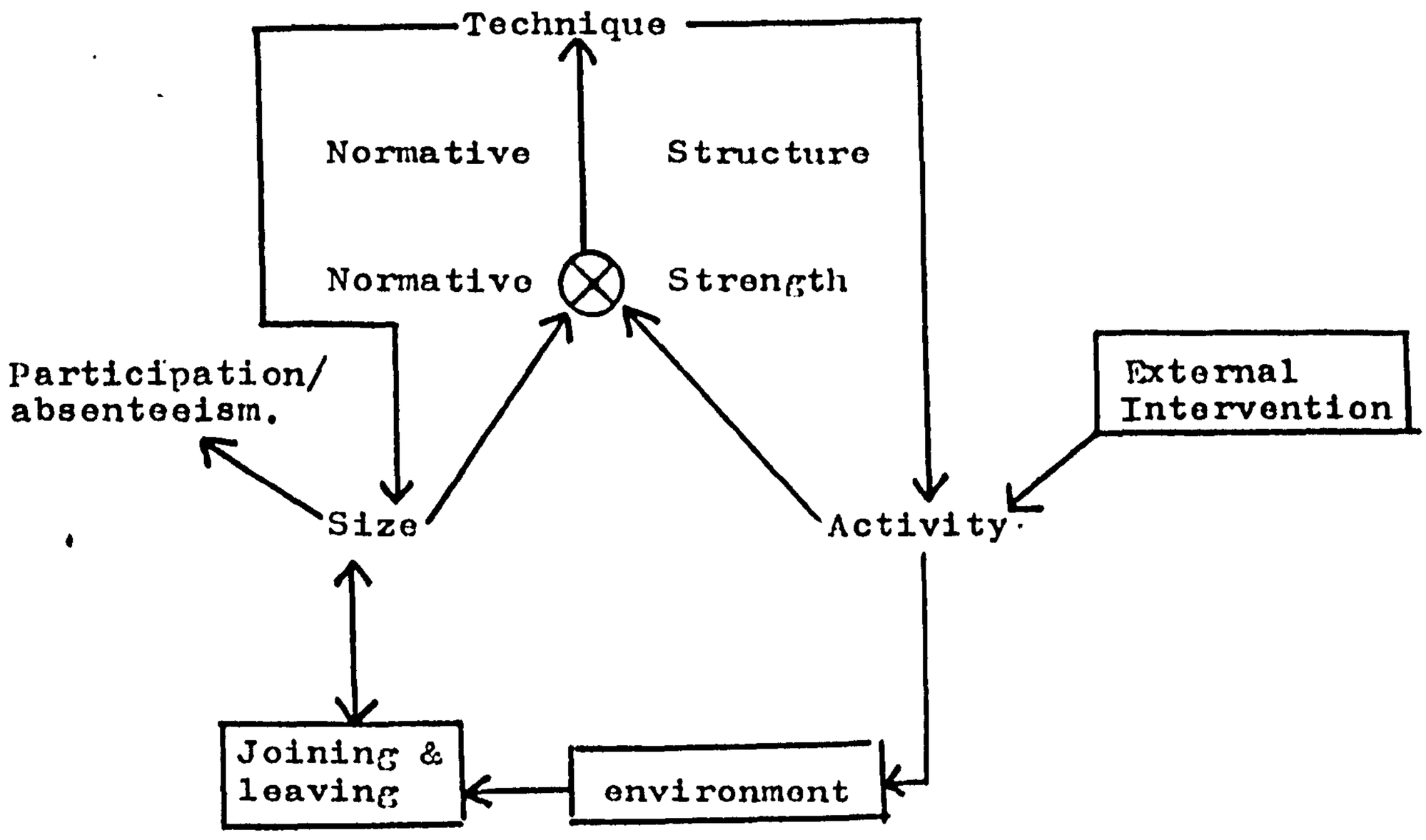


Fig. 6.15

CHAPTER 7

IREV

7.1. Introduction
7.2. Selection of a Group
7.3. IREV - An Informal Account
7.4. Data
7.5. Measurements
7.6. Results
7.7. Conclusions
7.8. Summary.

7.1. Introduction.

In order to test the modified hypothesis, two further studies were carried out.

a) A longitudinal study of a further "natural group, reported in this chapter.

b)Simultaneously with this, a computor simulation was carried out using a model embodying the modified hypotheses. This will be reported in Chapter 8.

7.1.1. General Predictions

Both studies were intended to test the following general predictions derived from the modified model of Fig. 6.15.

a) Size and activity will oscillate around "technique" determined norms

b) with respect to size, the norm is defined as the area in which

i) it is equiprobable that members will leave and new members join.

ii) there are sufficient individuals to fill the roles defined by the "technique".

c) High size levels should be associated with high absenteeism and a high probaility of leaving: low size levels should be associated with low absenteeism and a high probability of new members joining.

d) The variations in activity should be analysable in terms of "technique", but should be independent of size.

e) High levels of activity should be associated with an increase in group size.

f) Any crisis involving restructuring of the group will be preceded by the failure, for whatever reason, of an established technique.

7.2. Selection of a natural group

Three groups presented themselves as obvious candidates for the final study. "Obvious" in the sense that they

fulfilled the criteria for "natural group" outlined in section 3.5. and that they were immediately accessible to the writer as a participant and observer. These were i) a residents association, mainly concerned with traffic nuisance; ii) a committee against racism; iii) a small, far left political group. (IREV)
The last of the three was chosen for the following reasons:
i) it had a higher level of activity, and met weekly rather than monthly, or bi-monthly.
ii) it had been in existence for three years at the start of the observation period, whereas both the others were less than a year old.
iii) it was the smallest and least amorphous of the three groups.
iv) it kept a detailed record of its own activity and membership.

7.3. IREV - An Informal Account

IREV was, to give it its correct name, a local branch of the International Marxist Group, which in turn was the British Section of the Trotskyist Fourth International. Time and space do not permit an account of the political policies of the group. What is of importance is that the general principles were embodied in a large set of definite "positions" on specific issues. It was on these "positions" that people were attracted to the group, and the group's acceptance of new members depended on the new members accepting these "positions".

One example should be sufficient to illustrate this point. Someone who was attracted to the group by its "position" on Ireland (Troops out Now - Self Determination for the Irish People) would not be acceptable to the group unless he also supported its "position" on Women's Rights (eg. Free Abortion on Demand).

A three month probationary period preceded membership,

during which time intensive discussion of the various "positions" (and the theory behind them) took place.

As with the Brighton Rents Project (See Para. 6.5.5.), but in a slightly more formal way, this process established common general norms (ie. a common picture of the socio-geographical environment, of the groups history, of relevent "others", and of general intentions). Thus we see a replication of the mechanism which earlier I termed "preliminary membership filter". Again, as with the Rents Project, specific norms about specific behavioural traits ("techniques") were developed at branch level - the levelof the face to face group.

Thus the general normative structure (or "language") was defined, but individual groups were free to develop their own techniques.

During the 2½ year observation period there was a complete turnover in membership, but the basic structure, norms, and technique of the group did not change.

No elaborate informal account of the group IREV (such as that of Chap. 5) will be presented here as the group was observed in much finer detail, and most of its activity can be reconstructed from this chapter.

7.4. IREV - Data

7.4.1. Sources

All numerical data was obtained from a fairly complete set of Minute Books, covering the period 20-9-72 to 30-7-75 (nearly three years).

The minutes were of weekly meetings at which past activities were assessed, and future activities planned. Participant observation established these were accurate.

The categories of data extracted were determined by the

general predictions (Para.7.1.1.). Records of abstract discussions, and finances, for example, were not categorized.

7.4.2. Types of Data

The Minute Books yielded two types of data.
1) Data which was regularly and unambiguously recorded:- Size of Group; attendance & absenteeism (naming individuals) at each meeting; specific activities undertaken.

A slight technical problem with the last of these (specific activities) was that sometimes the Minutes would be premature or retrospective. In other words, an activity might be recorded the week after, or, on occasion, two weeks before it was carried out. A careful watch was kept for these items during coding. It is possible that a few activities were not mentioned at all, or that some that were mentioned were not carried out. From participant observation, I am sure that the former error was far less common than the latter. The following coding rules were introduced to cope with this problem:-
a) No activities not mentioned in the minutes are to be coded.
b) All activities mentioned are to be coded, except
i) where they are specifically mentioned as not having been carried out; ii) a specific individual is assigned a specific act in more than one successive set of Minutes. It should be assumed that the act was only carried out on the last occasion.

2) Data requiring some reconstructive effort by the coders (who were all group, or ex-group members, and thus familiar with the events referred to in Minutes). This data was:- which individuals carried out which activities; how long each individual spent on group activity per week; how many individuals were involved in each activity.

In general, I would estimate that the minutes were at

least 80% specific, even on these matters. (See the sample minutes used in the coding instructions). Where the Minutes were not specific, the coders memory, knowledge of the general division of labour within the group, and agreed coding rules, reduced the discrepancies between coders to very narrow levels.

7.4.3. Use of Group Members for coding and activity category construction.

I initially constructed a set of ten activity categories, which was expanded to twelve (See Activity Check Sheet) after discussion with group members. Group members were used for coding because the idiosyncratic style, frequent use of obscure initials, and occasional ambiguity required knowledge of the events referred to.

7.4.4. Coding Instructions

For full coding instructions, sample page from the Minute book and its transposition onto a sample coding sheet, see Appendix A.

7.4.5. Inter-Judge Reliability

An ex-group member agreed to encode the entire data set - a task which took 8 2 hour sessions.

As a check on the accuracy of the coding, another group member agreed to encode 25 sets of minutes chosen at random from the total of 135 sets. The most difficult data item to encode (as it required the most interpretation, and the most attention to detail) was the number of hours each individual spent in group activity per week.

The correlation coefficient of the 25 sets of minutes for this item was .91.

On an easier item - the number of activities undertaken

per week irrespective of individuals - the corrolation coefficient was .93.

The significance levels (t test) of both were well in excess of .001
Inter-judge reliability was taken to be very high.

7.4.6. Base Data

On the 25 "test" items there was only two gross discrepancies in scores. When the minutes for these two weeks were consulted, it was clear that the discrepancies were due to carelessness, and agreement was reached.

The writer then checked the full encoded data set against the minutes. 9 further "errors" came to light, of which 2 were due to ambiguity in the minutes themselves. These errors were corrected, and the resultant data set used as the base data in the analysis of IREV.

7.5. Measurements

The base data yielded the following measurements.

7.5.1. Size

Size was defined (following Para. 6.8.3.) as the number of members in the group at any point in time. "Member" was defined as someone who was recognised as a member by the majority of other members. In the case of IREV, a member was someone who appeared under the heading "Present" or "Absent" in the minute book.

The following size relevent measurements were made:
i) Size of the group each week.
ii) number of people present each week.
iii) number of people absent each week.
iv) number of people active each week (ie. people who participated in activity apart from the meeting).
v) number of people inactive every week (ie. people who came to the meeting but did nothing else)

vi) number of people who joined the group since the previous week.
vii) number of people who left the group since the previous week.

These measurements were related (by definition) in the following way:

size = present + absent
present = inactive + active
$size_t = size_{t-1}$ + joined - left.

In addition to this, records were kept of who joined and left, who was absent or present, how active each individual was from week to week, and which activities each individual participated in.

7.5.2. Activity

Activity was defined as the aggregate number of hours spent by members each week on group defined tasks.
In addition to this, two further measurements of activity were made. These were:
i) the number of active individuals per week.
ii) the number of roles filled per week. Roles were defined as subtasks carried out by individuals in order to fulfil a group task. The number of roles was always greater than or equal to the number of active individuals. This was because an individual could fill more than one role, but an active individual had at least one role.

7.5.3. Techniques

Technique was defined (following Para 6.6.8.) as a definite, integrated and repeated set of procedures to be followed in attaining a specific goal. The twelve coded categories of activity recomposed into seven techniques, as follows.

A1. Participation in meeting or demonstration

This was conposed of three activity categories;
i) attend meeting ii) attend demonstration iii) other.
The'other' category had been intended to catch irregular, once-off activities. As these turned out to be the group travelling somewhere to attend something (such as the Annual Conference), "other" was subsumed under A1.

A2 Preparation for meeting or demonstration

This was composed of three activity categories;
i) call local meeting ii) produce/distribute leaflets/ posters iii) prepare for demonstration. All involved propaganda, and attempts to mobilize people outside the group.

A3 Paper Sales

The group sold its newspaper in the local market, and outside local factories, on an irregular basis.

A4 Trade Union Intervention

Group members raised resolutions etc. in local trades unions.

A5 Internal Educational

Extra meetings for members at which theoretical/historical matters were discussed.

A6. Administrative

Actions facilitating the smooth running of the group: phone calls; letter writing; collection of dues; etc.

A7 Visiting Contacts

Visits by members to those interested (or reputed to be

interested) in joining the group, or in working with the group.

A further coded activity category "external educational meeting" was not included for two reasons. i) such meetings were not minuted ii) these meetings, when they took place, occupied the latter part of the regular weekly meetings. Since the weekly meetings were coded, they made no difference to the attendence/activity/etc. figures.

Each technique was composed of many definite elements. For instance A1 (Participation in meeting or demonstration) involved at least the following.
a) listing who was going b) evaluating appropriate speeches or slogans c) discussing stewarding arrangements d) organizing and co-ordinating transport e) instructing new members in appropriate dress and behaviour, etc.

7.5.4. General Norms.

New members could not join the group without a broad acceptance of its general norms and values. This preliminary filtering process is sketched in Para. 7.3. As with the Brighton Rents Project, agreement with the general norms of IREV by its members was indistinguishable from 100%

In three years the writer only observed two instances of disagreement. In the first, individual 7 expressed a belief in the "neutrality" of the Chilean Army - and faced the argumentative wrath of the entire group. This incident was never forgotten by the group.

In the second, Individual 10, a new member, expressed a belief in the "neutrality" of the British Army in Ireland. Discussion of this issue occupied the rest of the meeting. The new member was unable to accept the IREV "position", and left the group after the next meeting.

7.6. Results

Except where otherwise stated, results are based on 129 observations. (the minutes of 6 of the 135 weeks were lost, except for membership details). In all tests the 5% level of significance was taken as the criterion.

7.6.1. Size (130 observations)

Size ranged from 5 to 10 members, with a mean of 7.8. and a standard deviation of 1.2.
The total number of weeks spent at each size level is given in Fig. 7.1. below.

Size	no. of Weeks
5	6
6	11
7	34
8	29
9	45
10	5

Fig. 7.1. IREV Size

7.6.2. Size against Time

It was anticipated that, if IREV was a stable group, there would be no significant relationship between size and time.

Regression of size on time gave a t^2 significance level in excess of .01.
The constant was 7.3 and the increment 0.0078. This meant that 1 person would be gained every two and a half years. Starting with 7.3 people, the group would take $6\frac{1}{2}$ years to exceed its upper bound of 10.

Thus, although the time trend was statistically significant it was concluded that the group was, for all practical purposes, stable with respect to time. See Fig. 7.8.A for a plot of size against time.

7.6.3. Size against Size in the Following Week

It was anticipated that size would be inversely related to itself. In other words, an above average size level should be followed by a lower size level; a below average size level should be followed by a higher size level.

Regression of size $_{t+1}$ on size$_t$ gave t^2 of 454.6 - significant at a level approaching certainty. The constant was 0.83 and the increment 0.89. This meant that a size of 5 should be followed by a size of 5.28; a size of 10 shoudl be followed by a size of 9.75. The size at which it was equiprobable that leaving and joining would take place was 7.55.

Details of size transformations that took place are given in Fig. 7.2. The balance between joining and leaving is well illustrated in Fig. 7.8.β.

Size at t+1

Size at t	5	6	7	8	9	10
5	4	1	1	0	0	0
6	2	8	1	0	0	0
7	0	1	27	4	1	0
8	0	1	5	17	6	0
9	0	0	0	6	37	2
10	0	0	0	1	1	3

Fig. 7.2. IREV Size Transformations

7.6.4. Size against Absenteeism

It was anticipated that absenteeism would be positively related to size. A χ^2 test on absenteeism against size rejected the null hypothesis at the requisite 5% level of significance. (χ^2 probability of null hypothesis was 0.01). Inspection of the mean absenteeism levels for each group size confirms the positive association between the two (See Fig. 7.3.)

size of group

	5	6	7	8	9	10
mean no. of members absent per week.	0.5	1.2	1.5	1.8	2.1	1.2

Fig. 7.3. IREV Absenteeism and Group Size.

7.6.5. Size against Number of Active Individuals

It was anticipated that there would be no relation between size and the number of active individuals. The probability of the null hypothesis under χ^2 was .3 . Thus the null hypothesis could not be accepted at the requisite level of confidence - but nor could it be rejected. Inspection of the mean number of active individuals for each group size shows a positive association - however the proportion of individuals active at each group size shows a decline.

We therefore conclude that there is no strong association between the two factors.

size of group

	5	6	7	8	9	10
mean no. of active individuals per week.	3.0	3.8	3.5	3.9	4.3	5.0

Fig. 7.4. IREV Active Individuals and Group Size

7.6.6. Size against Number of Inactive Individuals

It was anticipated that there would be a positive relation between size and the number of inactive individuals. A χ^2 test rejected the null hypothesis at the 10% level of confidence. This result, although not reaching the required level of significance, in conjunction with the mean levels of inactivity for each group size (See Fig. 7.5.), and the plot of inactivity against size (See Fig. 7.8.c) was regarded as an indication of positive

relation between size and the number of inactive individuals. A χ^2 test rejected the null hypothesis at the 10% level of confidence. This result, although not reaching the required level of significance, in conjunction with the mean levels of activity for each group size (See Fig. 7.5), and the plot of inactivity against size (See Fig. 7.8.c), was regarded as an indication of positive association between the two factors.

	size of group					
	5	6	7	8	9	10
mean no. of inactive individuals per week.	1.5	0.7	1.9	2.3	2.6	3.4

Fig. 7.5. IREV Inactive individuals and Group Size

7.6.7. Size against Activity

It was anticipated that there would be no significant relation between size and activity (as measured by number of hours spent by group members on group tasks per week). The χ^2 probability of the null hypothesis on this data was .9. The null hypothesis was accepted.

As this result was a) important for the final hypothesis b) counterintuitive, it was decided to carry out a further regression analysis to assess whether any degree of dependence was detectable.

There was in fact a slight positive relationship, significant at the t^2 5% level of significance, although the correlation coefficient was only .15. The regression constant was 6.7, and the increment 1.2. In the group size range of 5 - 10 members, this accounted for an increase of six units of activity from the smallest to the highest size. Since the level of activity ranged from 0 to 36, with a mean of 13.3 and a standard deviation of 7.2, it was felt that, although size might have some small effect on activity, this could safely be ignored from the point of view of overall group stability.

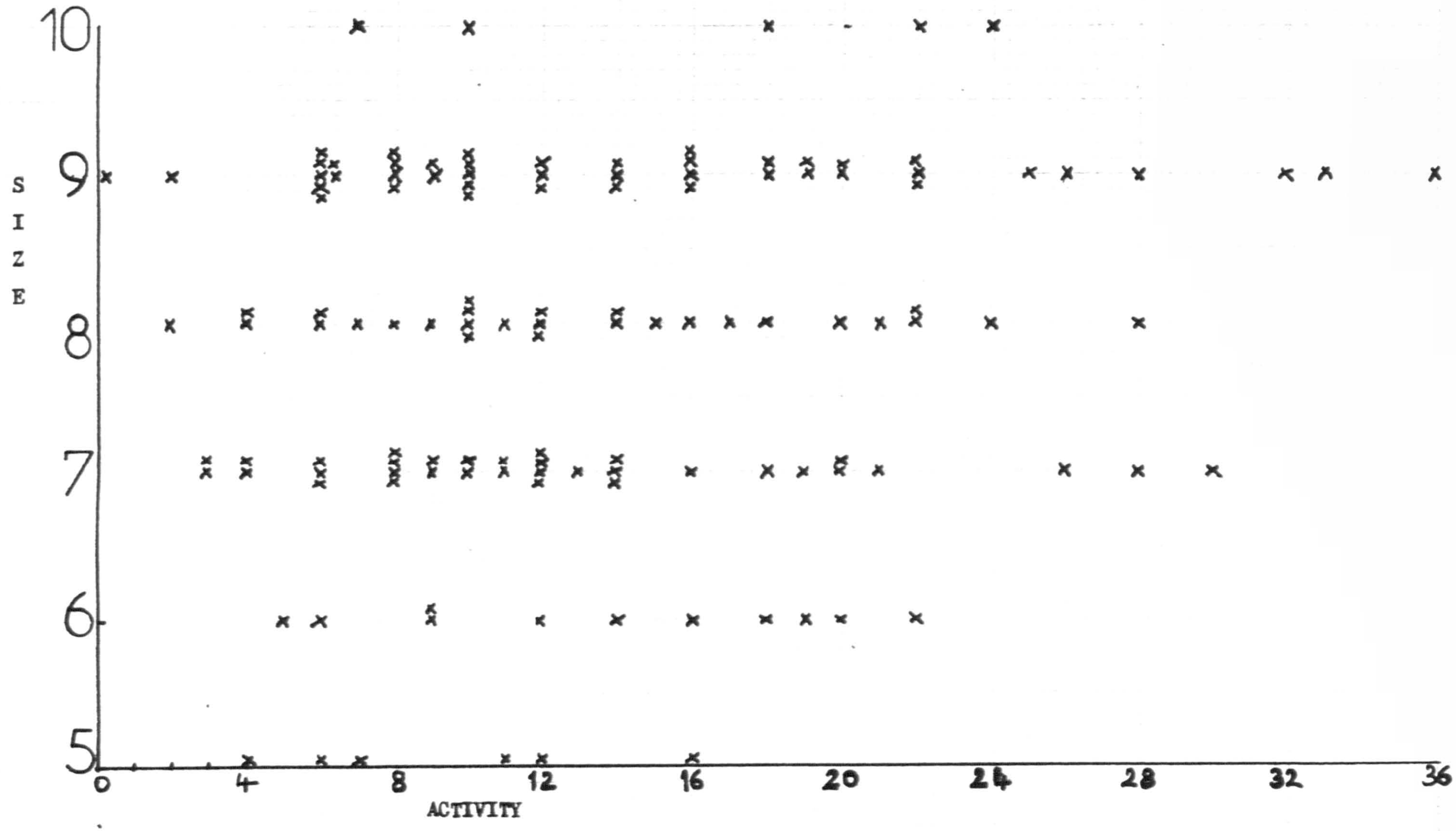


FIG.7.6 IREV: SIZE AGAINST ACTIVITY.

Inspection of the plot of size and activity (Fig.7.6) gives intuitive confirmation to this conclusion. See also Fig.7.8.A for a plot of Size and Activity against Time.

7.6.8. Activity

Activity - as measured by the number of hours spent by group members per week on group tasks- ranged from 0 to 36, with a mean of 13.3 and a standard deviation of 7.2.

The number of occurrences of each activity level is given in Fig.7.7.

Level of activity	No. of occurences
0 - 4	12
5 - 9	30
10 - 14	39
15 - 19	20
20 - 24	17
25 - 29	5
30+	4

Fig. 7.7. IREV Activity

7.6.9. Alternative Measures of Activity

The two alternative indices of activity were i) the number of active individuals per week and ii) the number of roles filled per week. (See para. 7.5.2.) The correlation coefficient for activity (hours) and activity (active individuals) was .83; that between activity (hours) and activity (roles) was .92. Both correlations gave t^2 values so high (278 and 687 respectively) as to approach certainty.

The relationship between the three indices (as given by regression) was straightforward.

Approximately: activity (hours) = 3.5 x activity (active individuals)
activity (hours) = 2 x activity (roles).

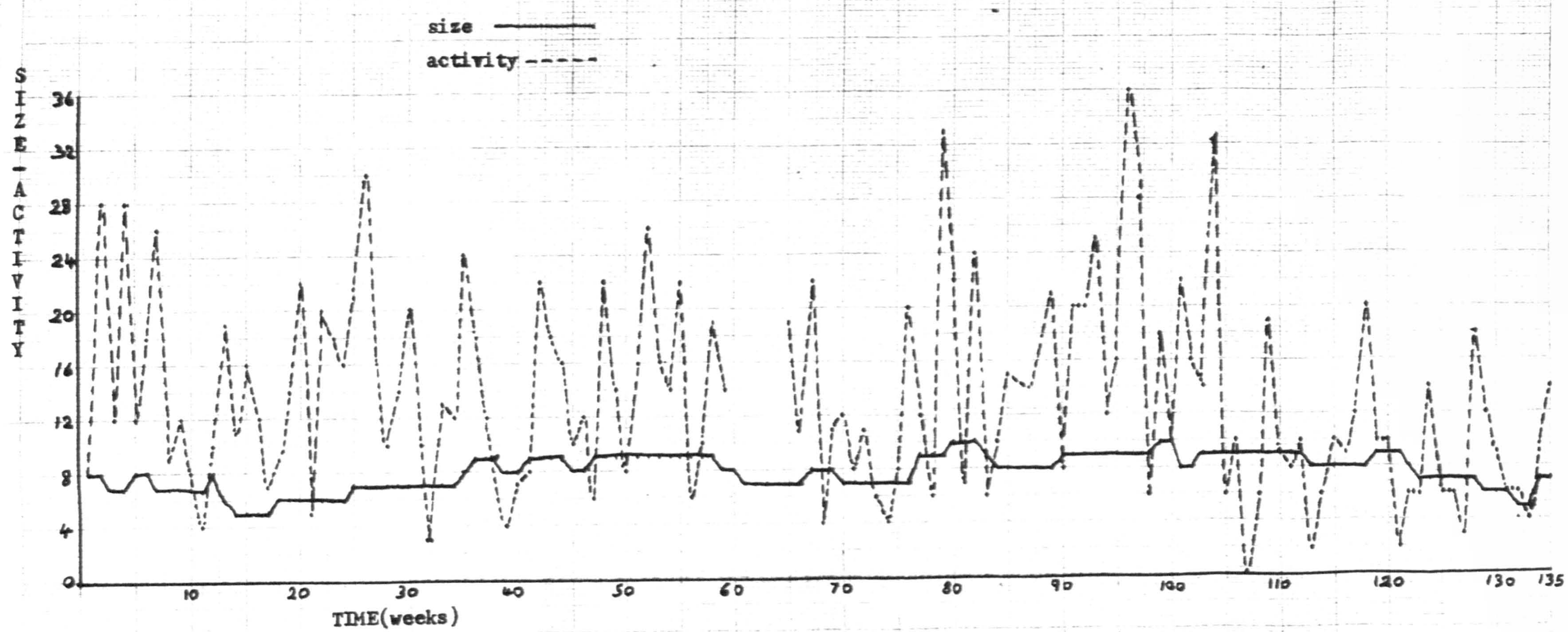


FIG.7.8.A IREV: SIZE & ACTIVITY AGAINST TIME.

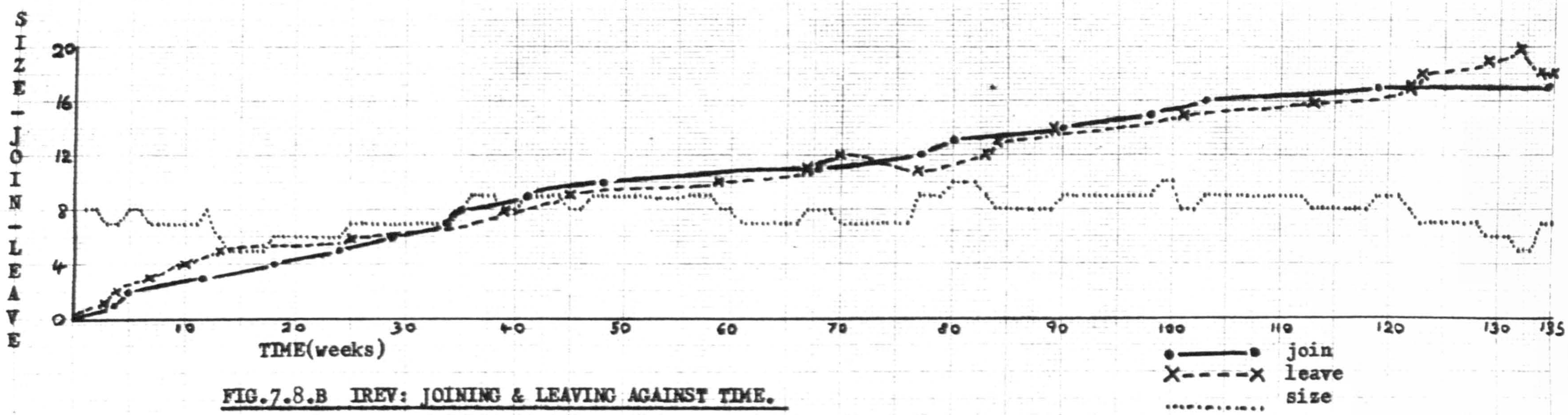


FIG.7.8.B IREV: JOINING & LEAVING AGAINST TIME.

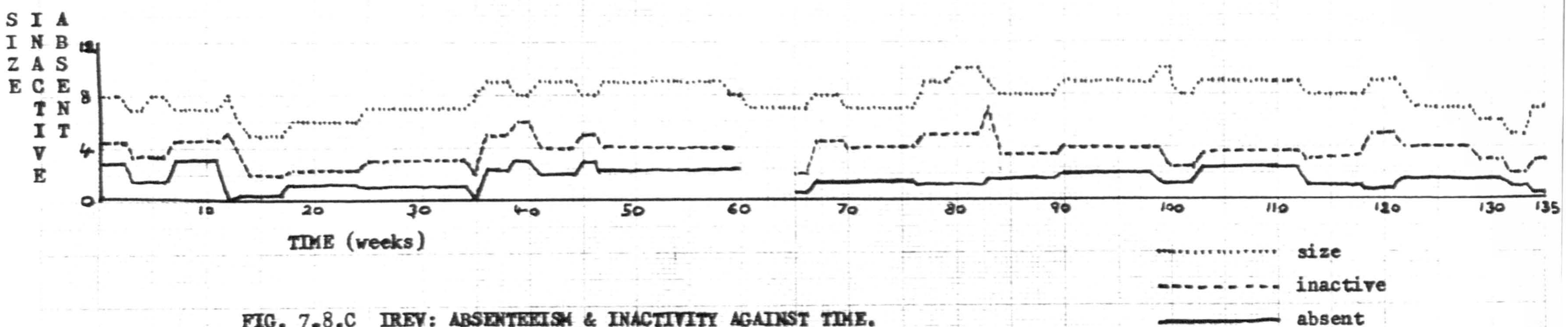


FIG. 7.8.C IREV: ABSENTEEISM & INACTIVITY AGAINST TIME.

We can therefore conclude that the three indices are, for our purposes, interchangeable, and that activity (hours) is a valid measure of activity, however defined, for the group IREV.

7.6.10 Activity against Time:

It was anticipated that, if IREV was a stable group, there would be no significant relationship between activity and time. Regression analysis confirmed this. See Fig. 7.8.A for a plot of activity against time.

7.6.11 Activity and Techniques

It was anticipated that the fluctuations in activity would be explicable in terms of techniques.

The 12 activity categories (para 7.4.3) were recomposed into 7 techniques (para. 7.5.3). The number of hours spent by group members each week on each technique was recorded, and the total number of hours spent on all techniques each week was the level of activity.
Thus : Activity = A1 + A2 + A3 + A4 + A5 + A6 + A7

In addition to this, a distinction was made between internally and externally generated activity. Internally generated activity was initiated by IREV, and comprised techniques A2 - A7. The sum of internally generated activity was termed Ait. Externally generated activity was initiated outside the group and participated in by the group. For example, a demonstration would be initiated by an external body, but participated in by the group. IREV participation in externally generated activity was measured as the level of technique A1.

Neither activity nor individual techniques showed any significant time trend* or autocorrelation up to a lag of 20 weeks. The implications of this wil be examined in concluding para. 7.7.2

* FOOTNOTE
Except technique A2, which showed a slight decline with time.

FIG. 7.9

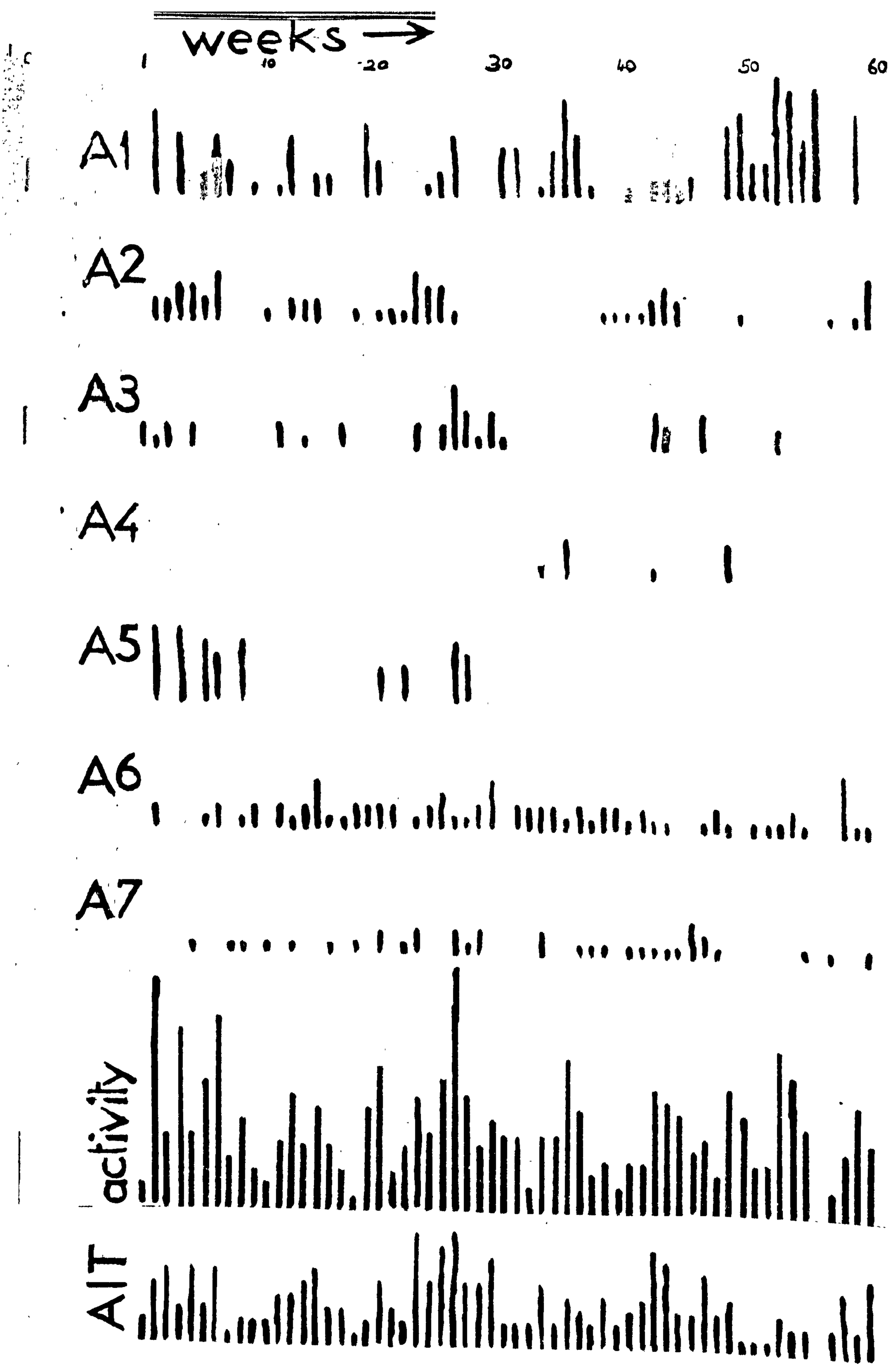
Techniques & Activity Against Time.

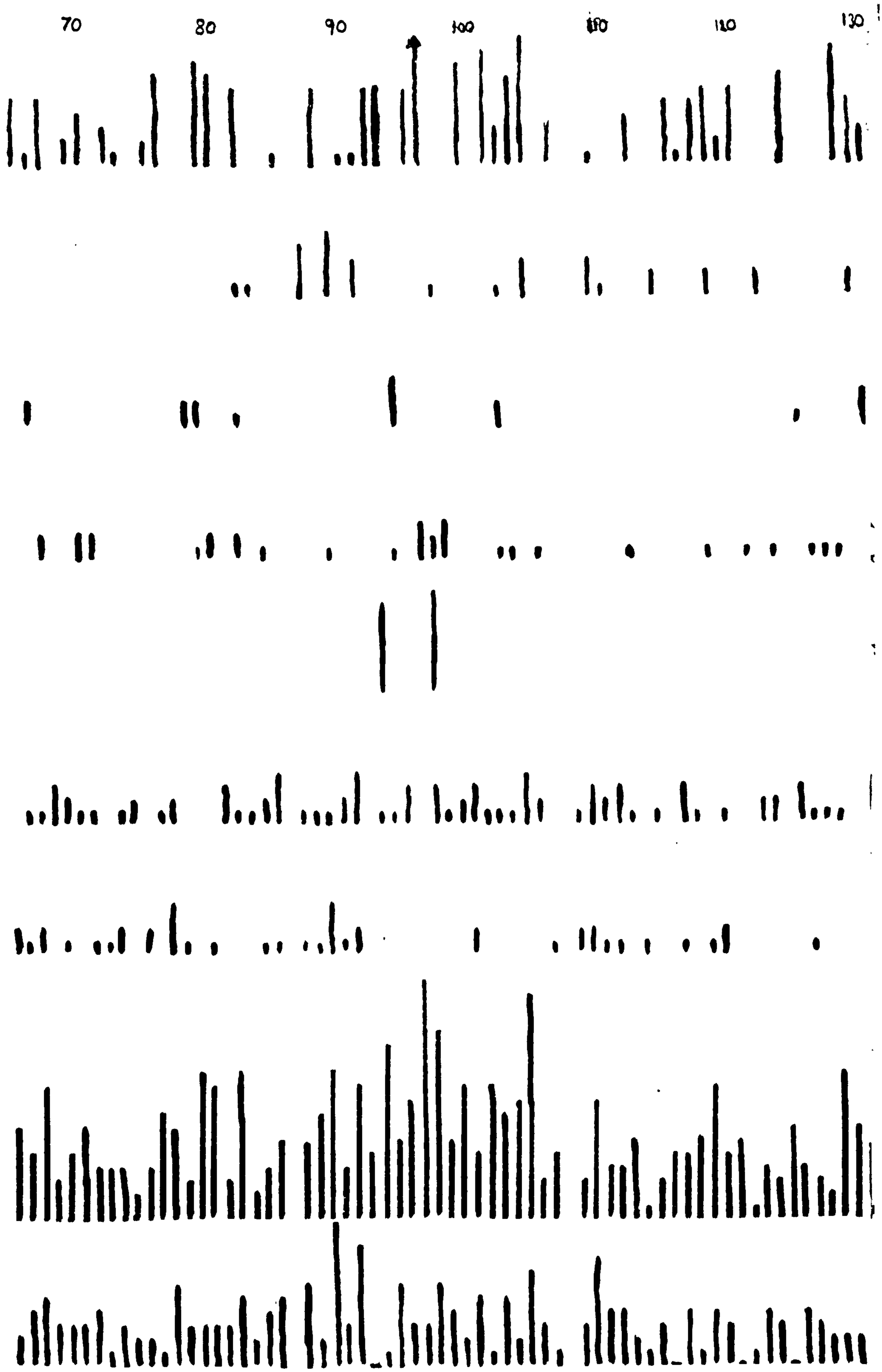
A1 to A7 and AIT on a 0 - 20 scale.

Activity on a 0 - 40 scale.

Weeks 60 - 65 missing.

SEE OVER


weeks →
1
10
20
30
40
50
60
A1
A2
A3
A4
A5
A6
A7
ALT activity


70
80
90
100
110
120
130

See Fig. 7.9., for a plot of individual techniques against time.

7.6.12 Leaving and Joining Behaviour

Both the group itself (its aim was to grow!) and the writer attempted to find reasons for people joining and leaving the group. Reasons for joining were usually expressed as "I was attracted by the politics". However, the writer considered this to be a group norm rather than a reason. Reasons for leaving were equally obscure. Most just "dropped out", and while expressing "sympathy with" the group, were unwilling to give any further reasons. The writer is of the opinion that this was also a group norm, because of its frequency, and because those who said it had seen several others do the same. Also the obvious exception (Individual 10 who left over an explict disagreement on the Irish question - See para. 7.5.4) left after only 2 weeks, and had not witnessed such behaviour. This compares well with Stephenson & Fielding's findings on behavioural contagion (See 4.2. note 1). (It also makes one wonder how many supposedly subjective reports are, in fact, "normal").

Some members (about 30%) came in from, or left to go to, similar groups in other parts of the country, and did not need "subjective" reasons.

Group size (See para 7.6.3.) was a good predictor of whether people would join or leave, but did not explain why.

7.6.13 Absenteeism and Leaving Behaviour

Previous considerations (Para 6.9. & para. 7.6.4) had caused the writer to expect both high size and high absenteeism to be associated with leaving behaviour. This led to the possibility that absenteeism was a temporary substitute for, and a prelude to leaving.

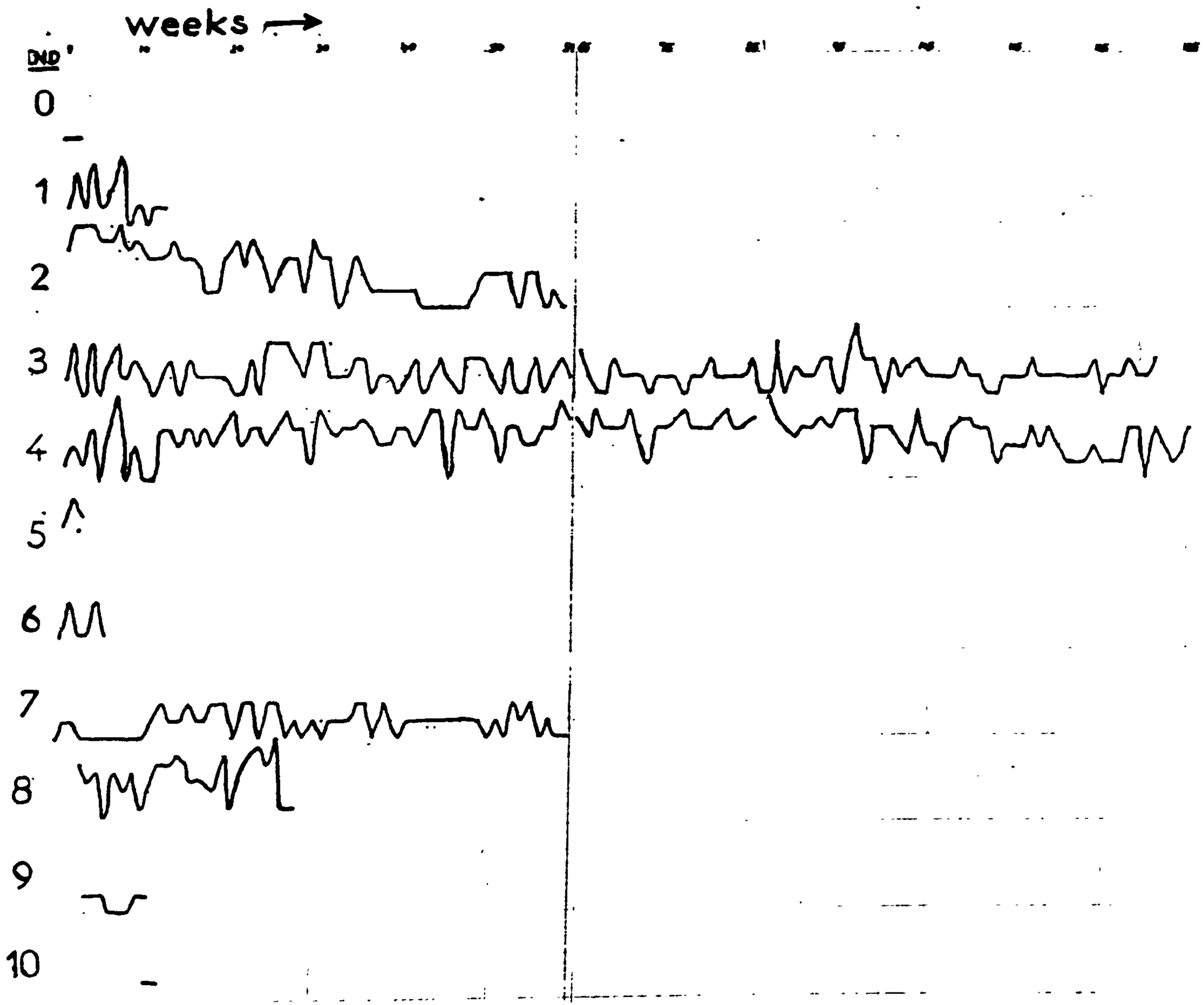
In order to test whether high absenteeism would lead to reduced size, size was regressed on absenteeism in the previous week.

FIG. 7.10.

Level of Committment of Individuals Against Time.

(Each Individual on a 0 - 10 scale)

SEE OVER


weeks →
DND
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

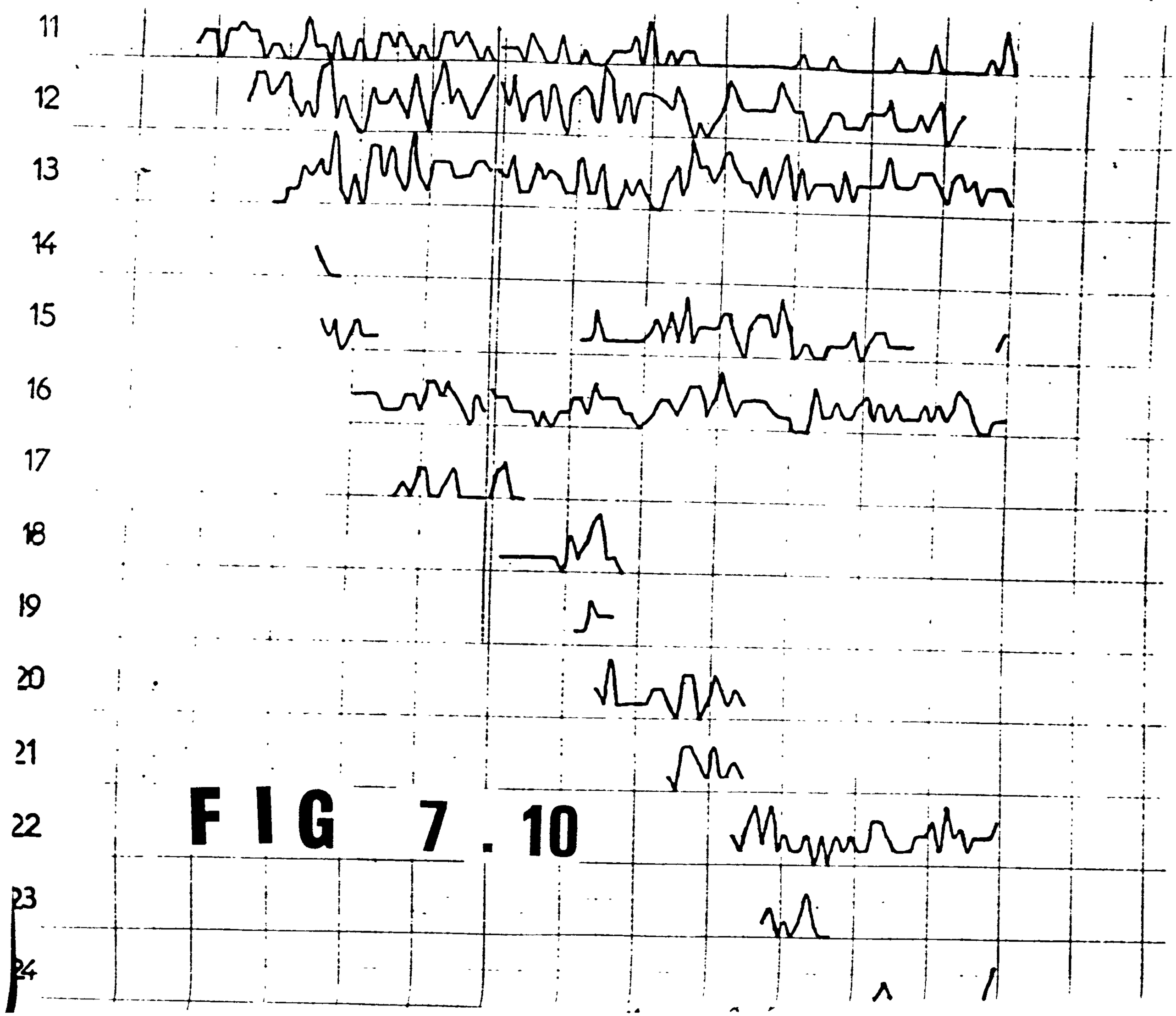


FIG 7.10

The result (with a t^2 significance level greater than 1001) was the exact opposite.
In brief, leaving was associated with high size and low absenteeism. The implications of this will be examined in concluding para. 7.7.8.

7.6.14 Individual Leaving Behaviour

In order to cast more light on leaving behaviour, in-group histories of individuals were examined. Two sets of information were available:
i) the length of time each individual spent in the group
ii) each individual's level of involvement (measured as the number of hours spent on group activity each week). See Fig. 7.10 for a visual representation of this data.
Three obvious hypotheses presented themselves.

a) leaving was a simple function of time spent in the group.
A χ^2 test was performed on the length of time each individual spent in the group, and the null hypothesis (leaving was independent of time in group) was rejected.
Inspection of the data (See Fig. 7.11) showed that members were highly likely to leave in their first 10 weeks and very likely to leave within a year. If members stayed in the group for more than a year, they were then not likely to leave until their third year, if then.

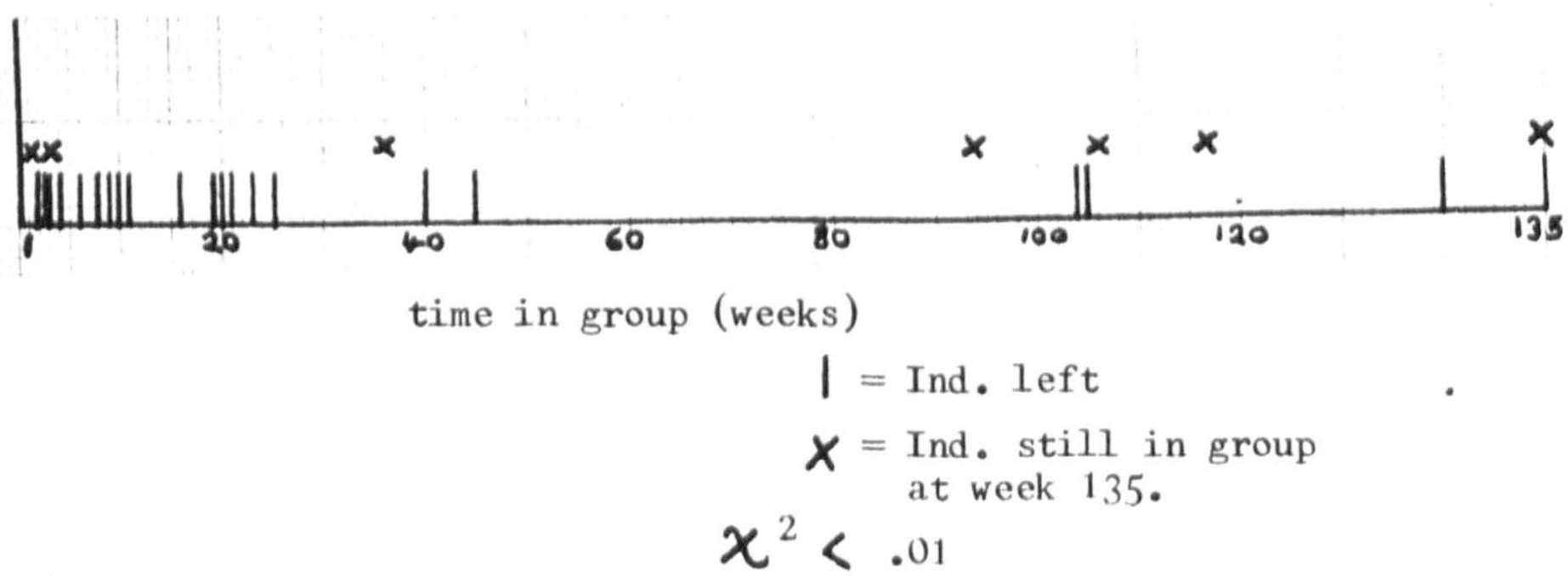


Fig. 7.11 Leaving and Time in Group

b) Leaving was a function of a low level of involvement.
A χ^2 test was performed on leaving and involvement, and the

null hypothesis was rejected. See Fig. 7.12.

	Level of Involvement	
	Below average	Above average
no. left	18	2

$\chi^2 < .001$

Fig. 7.12 Leaving and Involvement

c) Individual levels of involvement declined with time, and leaving was the terminal point of this process. Regressions (N = 17) showed clearly that individual levels of activity displayed no time trends. (with the exceptions of Inds. 2 & 11; both having levels of activity that declined with time). See Fig. 7.10.

7.6.15 Prediction of Individual leaving Behaviour

Hypotheses a and b were combined to give the following statement: the individuals most likely to leave the group have the lowest level of involvement, and have been in the group the shortest time. The three individuals most likely to leave were selected at each "leaving point", and the combined hypothesis gave a correct prediction in 16 out of 20 cases. Details are given in Fig. 7.13 below.

IREV: PREDICTION OF INDIVIDUAL LEAVING BEHAVIOUR

Week	Who left	1st Prediction	2nd Prediction	3rd Prediction	No. in Group
2	0	0*	-	-	8
6	6	7	9	6	8
12	9	10	9	-	8
12	1	10	3	1	7
13	10	10	-	-	6
28	8	11	8	-	7
38	14	14	-	-	9
44	15	2	15	-	9
58	2	17	2	-	9
60	7	17	11	7	8
69	17	17	—	-	8
82	19	15	18	11	10
83	18	18	-	-	9
100	21	3	11	22	10
100	20	3	11	22	9
112	23	23	-	-	9
121	24	11	24	-	9
122	15	11	22	15	8
131	3	11	22	16	6
128	12	11	16	12	-
	20	6	5	5	
			16		

* Underlined number indicates correct Prediction.

Fig. 7.13

7.6.16 Joining Behaviour

It was anticipated that joining behaviour would be associated with high levels of activity. (This would make the group "socially visible", and thus "available" to those with a preference for its activities).

As it was not clear whether or not this would be an effect with a time lag, three measures of high activity were used.
a) the activity level at t against size at t + 1.
b) the mean activity level of the previous 4 weeks against size at t + 1.
c) the maximum activity level of the previous 4 weeks against size at t + 1.

Regression showed all three measures to have a significant effect on joining. The best of the three measures was the maximum activity level, with a correlation coefficient of .32 and a t^2 significance level in excess of .001. (the constant was 6.6 persons (size) and the increment .06 of the maximum activity level). As this predicted an increase of more than 2 persons soon after the maximum "maximum activity level" (36) was reached, each time it was reached, this was felt to be empririically important as well as statistically significant.

7.6.17 Number of Roles and "Normal Size"

Normal size was defined (para 7.1.1.) as the area in which it was equiprobable that members would join and leave, and in which there were sufficient individuals to fill the roles defined by the techniques.

It is important to establish that these two conditions in fact define the same area as normal size.

We saw in para. 7.6.3. that the joining/leaving equilibrium point was a size of 7.5 members. The mean size was 7.8 with a standard deviation of 1.2. From this we conclude that the normal size range was between 6.5 and 9.

Since there was no correlation between number of roles (an alternative measure of activity) and size, we wish to establish that the maximum likely number of roles could be filled by the minimum normal group size. The mean number of roles was 6.4, with a standard deviation of 3.6. Thus the maximum likely number of roles was 10, and the minimum normal size 6.5. This would mean an average of 1.5 roles per person. However, given that there was no correlation between size and the number of active individuals; that the mean number of active individuals was 3.9 with a standard deviation of 1.7; (and thus the maximum likely number of active individuals was 5.6); and that each active individual filled on average 2 roles; we can see that the minimum normal size is capable of filling the maximum likely number of roles. ($5.6 \times 2 \simeq 10$)

7.6.18 Crises and Failure of Technique.

Neither crisis, nor failure of technique was observed.

7.6.19 IREV: Static Profiles

Most of the results so far have been concerned with dynamic relations in IREV. The following two results give a picture of the "average" state of the group. They are included for comparison with the simulation data (Chap. 8), and with other work on small groups.

7.6.20 Distribution of Activity among Group Members

The average number of individuals at each activity level is given in Fig. 7.14. (Activity is measured here as the number of hours each individual puts in per week - those who were absent from the meeting and did nothing were recorded as having a '0' activity level).

The distribution is interesting in its difference from the usual j-curve of decreasing participation (See Bales. 1951). Instead of tailing away with the largest number of people at the point of least particitation, the IREV curve returns on itself. The highest number of people are found at the

point of lowest positive participation - but very few people are found at the level of zero participation.

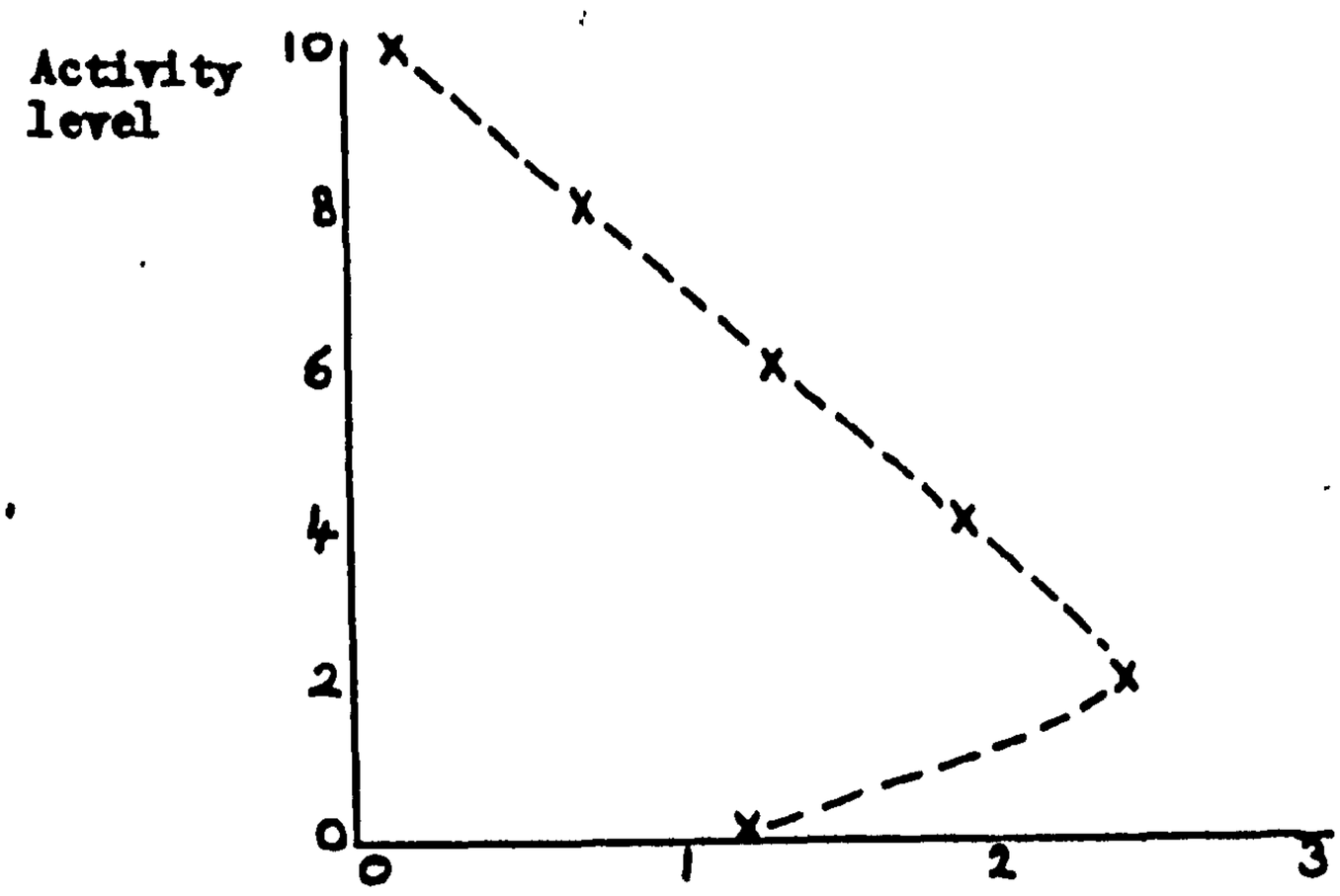


Fig. 7.14 Distribution of Activity among Group Members.

7.6.21 Relative Frequencies of Different Activities.

The relative frequency of each activity declined with the number of people it involved. The relationship, using Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient, was significant at the required level of confidence.

The most obvious explanation of this relationship was that activities involving large numbers of people were most difficult to organize, and often needed several preparatory activities (eg. admin; visiting contacts) for their accomplishment. The numerical relationships are given in Fig. 7.15 below.

Activity	No. of Occurrences	Mean no. of Participants.
Internal Educational	11	5.1
Demonstration	27	4.6
Rally/ Conference	10	4.3
Meeting	69	2.6
Paper Sales	27	2.1
Preparation/ etc.	55	1.6
T.U. Intervention	33	1.3
Visit Contact	69	1.2
Admin.	162	1.0

$r_s = 0.83$

Fig. 7.15

7.6.22 Role Stabilization

Some roles tended to be concentrated on individuals (A2;A4; A6;A7), while others (A1;A3;A5) were undertaken by all individuals in proportion to their length of membership. Details are given in Fig. 7.16. The numbers in the matrix represent the number of times the individual filled the role.

role — member

role	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
A1	3	19	34	60	2	1	8	7	-	-	9	49	52	1	14	34	4	2	3	9	7	20	1	2
A2	1	20	8	24	2	1	2	10	1	-	1	7	6	-	4	7	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-
A3	-	7	6	10	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	10	4	-	2	3	-	2	-	1	1	2	-	-
A4	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	15	19	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
A5	5	8	5	10	1	3	-	8	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
A6	-	20	6	76	-	-	-	10	-	-	7	11	17	1	7	7	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	1
A7	-	5	-	29	-	1	3	3	-	-	9	17	9	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
O	6	21	74	19	-	2	45	4	6	2	88	27	27	2	33	39	15	13	3	11	4	12	8	3

A1 = ATTEND MEETING OR DEMONSTRATION
A2 = PREPARE " " "
A3 = PAPER SALES
A4 = T.U. INTERVENTION

A5 EDUCATIONAL
A6 ADMINISTRATIVE
A7 VISIT CONTACTS
O A WEEK IN WHICH THE

FIG. 7.16

7.7. Conclusions

1. IREV was a stable group in the relevent system meanings of that term. Its size fluctuated, but within limits, and around an equilibrium point of 7.5 members (para 7.6.3). The independence of size and activity (para 7.6.7) meant that any technique could be actualized at any size level (para 7.6.17). Size levels that might, given time, have impaired this independence proved to be very transient (Fig.7.1)

The techniques were obviously originated because of their compatibility with the original size, and the effort individual members were prepared to put in. During the three year period of observation no new techniques were introduced, and no old techniques "failed". Moreover, each technique maintained its own level of actualization (recorded as "activity") both in relation to itself and as a proportion of the total activity (para 7.6.11 & Fig. 7.9). In the course of time, and with the evolution of stabilizing mechanisms, the techniques came to determine appropriate size by limiting roles.

2. The activity level (whether measured as hours spent on group tasks, number of roles, or number of active individuals) was the actualization of technique. This activity level, whether taken as a whole, or as a set of component techniques, was stable, and independent of both time and size (paras. 7.6.7 & 10).

It was hoped that each technique would have its own measurable rhythm, and that the total activity pattern would be decomposable into these rhythms. This expectation was prompted by the behaviour of the Rents Registration Group of the Brighton Rents Project study (para 6.8.9). Visual inspection of the frequency and level of actualization of each technique in Fig. 7.9. leaves one with the strong feeling that each technique has its own definite rhythm. However, these rhythms were not definable numerically using methods (autocorrelation)

available to the writer. (para 7.6.11). Nevertheless, in this case, visual evidence was felt to be sufficient confirmation of prediction 7.1.1.(a) - that each technique had a normal behaviour, and that the oscillations in total activity were a reflection of this.

3. Techniques determined the ranges of size and activity, but the techniques could only continue to "exist" if size and activity stayed within these ranges.

4. Size increases (joining behaviour) were, as predicted, associated with high levels of activity in the previous weeks (para 7.6.16) and with low size (para 7.6.3). Since activity was independent of size, this implied a constant "supply" of new members which was, at least partially choked off at high size levels.

This lent weight to the writer's impression that the "entrance requirements" (requisite level of agreement with general group norms and values - para 7.5.4) became stricter as size increased.

5. Size decreases (leaving behaviour) were, as predicted, associated with high size levels. It seems that this relationship was mediated by the level of inactivity in the group. The weak statistical connection between inactivity and size (para 7.6.6) was probably a function of the confusion introduced by "random leavers" (the 30% of leavers that left to go to other parts of the country) and the damping effect of absenteeism on leaving. However, there is no doubt that at the individual level inactivity was closely associated with leaving (para 7.6.15).

6. The level of inactivity, now postulated as the regulator of leaving behaviour, was a function of size and technique. Whatever the size of the group, technique would demand that a certain number of roles be filled. If the group was small, inactivity was reduced and leaving minimised - and vice versa.

7. This conception of activity (the actualization of techniques) as a resource to be shared in definite ways, is adumbrated in

3.9., and strengthened by the picture of average activity distribution given in Fig. 7.14.

This in turn accounts for the result (para 7.6.14 (b)) that the probability of a member leaving decreased with the length of time he spent in the group. Established members tended to have established roles (para 7.6.22) - and were therefore less likely to be inactive than newer members. This would mean that new members were more likely to leave. But this in turn would mean that existing techniques would be safeguarded. Members who had been in the group longest would have been selected for their preference for, and ability to actualize existing techniques. New, inexperienced members would be most likely to innovate - but are also most likely to leave.

8. Absenteeism was, as predicted, associated with high size levels (para 7.6.4.). However, against expectation, high absenteeism was not associated with size decrease (or leaving). Since high size levels were definately associated with the probability of size decrease, this result was doubly suprising. The writer can only speculate that absenteeism reduced the effective size of the group, and thus reduced inactivity. It may also be that absenteeism protected the group from over-frequent leaving, by giving "disgruntled" members time to recover.

9. No structural crisis of norms, or failure of technique was observed. We may speculate as to why not.
Firstly, no external intervention deprived the group of any of its techniques. In the Brighton Rents Project failure (through external intervention) of a technique led to a large number of inactive individuals. This in turn led to the development of (hostile) factions.

In IREV no such failure took place, and the smooth operation of the size equilibrium process precluded large numbers of inactive individuals. Factions were not formed. Secondly, no large exodus of members (as happened in the Rents Project as a consequence of large scale inactivity and a factional dispute) took the group to below its functional minimum - the point at which it would be unable to actualise its techniques,

thus becoming inactive and unable to attract new members.

More positively we may say that the function of stability is to prevent such crises and ensure survival. The continuation of IREV and the disappearance of the Rents Project underlines this point.

7.8. Summary

The results of the IREV study confirmed and elaborated the model presented in Fig. 6.15.

The size and activity of the group were independent of each other, stable, and determined by technique. High levels of activity were associated with new members joining, inactivity was associated with members leaving.

The pattern of leaving and joining resulted in size stability, and in the reinforcement of existing techniques.

The elaborated model is schematized below in Fig. 7.17.

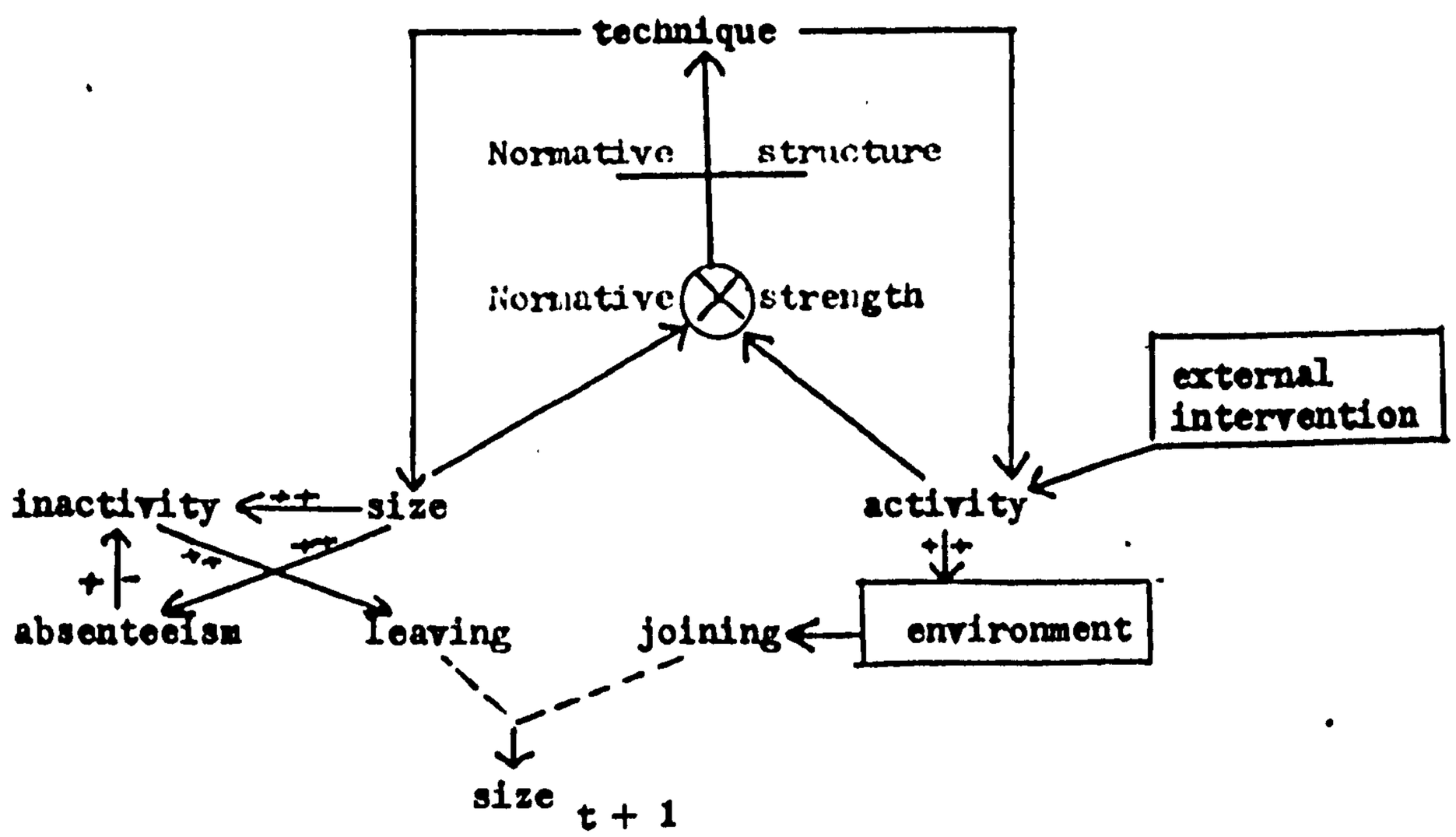


Fig. 7.17

A factor external to the group

++ A direct association

+ − An inverse association

level of disagreement at which a faction is formed as threshold.

CHAPTER 8

GROUP-1 SIMULATION

8.1. Introduction
8.2. Reasons for Simulation
8.3. Classification of the Model
8.4. The simulation program.
8.5. Initial Parameters.
8.6. Flow diagrams .
8.7. Results.
8.8. Conclusions.

8 .1. Introduction .

This chapter describes the construction and operation of a simulation model, based on the data generated by the Brighton Rents Project. The intention was the creation of a general model, capable of replicating, in a broad way, the behaviour of any stable small group ; or of identifying sources of instability in such groups.

Both objectives were attained; although the simulation model was better at generating realistic IREV-like behaviour (a stable group) than BRP-like behaviour (an unstable group). Sources of instability were identified, but consequences, except in a very broad way, were not.

8 .2. Reasons for Simulation

The simulation was carried out in order to clarify the model, identify its most important assumptions, and thus provide a general model capable of being reinterpreted as a description of the essential processes of any small group.

8.3. Classification of the Model

8.3.1. The Concept of "Model"

The concept of model used here is outlined in Para. 2.2. (Cybernetic Methodology). Briefly, a model is the best we can do, given that we do not understand the phenomena in its full complexity. Its purpose is to increase our understanding, and to enable us to build a better model.

We use models because it is often dangerous or impracticable (given our level of understanding) to experiment on the phenomenon itself. The type of model we use (clay; rubber bands and pins; digital simulation; biochemical soup) is determined by the project of the researcher.

Ashby expresses this very well when he says:

"It seems to me that this purely pragmatic reason for using a model is fundamental, even if it is less pretentious than some of the more "philosophical" reasons. Take for instance the idea that a good model has a deeper "truth" - to what does this idea lead us? No electronic model of a cat's brain can possibly be as true as that provided by the brain of another cat; yet what is the use of the latter as a model? Its very closeness means that it also presents all the technical features that make the first so difficult. From here on, then, I shall take as a basis the thesis that the first virtue of a model is to be useful"
(Ashby: in Stogdill 1970:p.96)

It was decided that the most useful way of clarifying and generalizing a verbal model of group process would be a digital simulation.

8.3.2. Level of Definition

The level of defintion of the simulation model is deliberately low. By this it is meant that all the simplifying techniques recommended by William Morris* are utilized - thus the complexity of the model is of a different order to the complexity of the phenomenon. Specifically it means that definite mathematical assumptions (of the sort explored by Berger, Cohen, Snell & Zelditch (1962), or Kemeny & Snell (1972)) are not employed. The direction of change, and the shape of curves, rather than their exact numerical values, are of importance.

8.3.3. Comparison with Other Models

In level of complexity and intention (to replicate a known set of process-descriptive data) the model can be compared

* FOOTNOTE
These simplifications are
— making variables into constants
— eliminating variables
— using linear relations
— adding stronger assumptions and restrictions
— suppressing randomness

(Morris: in Stogdill, 1970: p.91)

with the following studies.

i) Gilbert and Hammel's simulation (1965) of cross-cousin marriage in an Arab society, using territorial and residential assumption.

ii) Hanneman et al's SINDI 1 simulation (1969) of innovation diffusion in a Columbian Village.

iii) Breton's simulation (1965) of productivity in a work group, using social influence assumptions.

iv) Coleman's simulation (1962) of relations produced by triadic interactions.

v) Cartledge & Rezac's simulation (1970) of the Tsembega ritual cycle.

For a critical summary of the first four of these studies see Guetzkow, Kotler & Schultz (1972).

8.3.4. The Simulation Model was Deterministic

A deterministic program is one which, given the same data will produce the same result. This meant that no random number generator was built into, or coupled with the program. Although this created more work in terms of data preparation (since random numbers were used), it meant that the consequences of small changes in the program parameters could be assessed.

8.3.5. Other Data

The simulation model was realized as a Fortran program (named GROUP-1) on the ICL 1900 series computer at Brunel University.

8.4. The Simulation Program

8.4.1. The Variables

BRP and anticipated IREV variables (and indices) were represented in GROUP-1 in the following way.

BRP/IREV	GROUP-1
Date or Week no.	Cycle no.
Size	Size
Absenteeism (no. of people absent each week)	880 Prefix (indicated that an individual was in the group, but inactive or absent)
Inactivity (no. of people inactive each week)	
Active (no. of people active each week)	ICOMP (no. of Individuals who complete their selected activity)
Joined (no. of people joined since previous week)	JOINED (no. of individuals joined in previous cycle).
Left (no. of people left since previous week)	LEFT (no. of individuals left in previous cycle)
Activity (aggregate no. of hours spent by members on group defined tasks)	TOTLOC (Total level of committment of active individuals (ICOMP))
Names of members	IND.1 .... IND.N
Names of techniques	ACT 1 .... ACT N
Normative structure	PREFERENCE SET
Level of Committment of individuals	LOC
Maximum Weekly activity for an individual	MAXLOC
Minimum weekly activity for an individual, below which he leaves.	MINLOC
The function relating level of activity to individuals joining.	ENTER

8.4.2. Normative Structure as PREFERENCE SET

In order to construct an intuitively convincing and operational version of the important concept of Normative Structure, the PREFERENCE SET was introduced.

Normative structure was defined earlier as a set of beliefs which are both common to group members and perceived as common to group members by group members. The term "structure" rather than "set" was employed to indicate that the beliefs

were not independent, and that a change in one would (probably) precipitate a change in the others.

In the interpretation of data on natural group, norms were represented as being composed of three categories: "techniques", "normative structure", and "normative strength". (normative structure included both "technique" and"general norms"). In the simulation, "general norms" were omitted. The rationale was as follows. The functions of general norms are i) to provide a conversational context in which "techniques" are discussed and justified; ii) to act as a preliminary membership filter. In the simulation i) the set of techniques was predetermined, and did not need a "conversational context"; ii) the preference set of new members was, by definition, compatible with that of the group.

This meant that "normative structure" reduced to the sub-set of techniques preferred and actualized by the group. "Normative strength" was defined as the rate of change of this sub-set.

In order to construct the PREFERENCE SET it was assumed that each member of the group (IND 1.... IND N) ordered the possible techniques (ACT 1 ....ACT N) according to his own preferences. The PREFERENCE SET at any given moment was the collected individual preference levels for each technique (ACT.) These were represented in the form illustrated in Fig. 8.1. Each individual's original preference order was taken from a random number table.

IND	ACT 1	ACT 2	ACT 3	ACT 4	ACT 5	ACT 6	ACT 7	ACT 8
1	6	2	4	8	5	1	3	7
2	6	4	8	5	3	7	2	1
3	5	2	3	8	1	7	4	6
4	8	4	2	1	6	3	5	7
5	4	1	6	7	3	5	8	2
6	5	1	6	7	4	8	3	2
7	2	7	6	3	1	2	8	5
8	7	5	3	8	1	2	4	6

Fig. 8.1. A GROUP-1 PREFERENCE SET

The numbers in the matrix represent each member's (IND) preference. eg. ACT 1 is IND 1's 6th preference.
The matrix as a whole is the PREFERENCE SET.
The sub-set of techniques chosen for actualization by the group is determined by this PREFERENCE SET.

8.4.3 Norms and Individual Preferences

A word is in order here concerning the writer's view of the relation between individual behaviour and group norms. The view that norms are "things" over and above individual behaviour is rejected as a category mistake (See para. 1.2.) Conversely, the thesis that "social system behaviour can be explained in terms of psychological processes, and that no principles beyond those necessary to explain individual behaviour are required"* is also rejected. Firstly, the impact of ordered collective behaviour (or preferences) on an individual is entirely different from the effect of a random collection of behaviours. Secondly, in terms of the Gullahorns' formulation, unless the principles necessary to explain individual behaviour include combinatorial principles, nothing much will be explained about collective behaviour. Norms are composed of individual behaviours - but the matter does not end there. Norms (as opposed to collections) then influence individual behaviour.

8.4.4. Determination of Action by the PREFERENCE SET

The natural groups studied were "democratic" in the sense of Lippitt and White (1958); briefly this means that the choice of activity was consonant with individual preferences, rather than determined autocratically by any one member.

To reflect this, an algoritim (Subroutine VOTE) was developed. This operated on the preference set to select the most prefferred ACT.

* FOOTNOTE
(Gullahorn & Gullahorn: in Guetzknow, Kotler, & Schultz (1972); p.181)

Simplifying assumptions added at this point were:

i) No individual participates in more than one act.

ii) Each individual is assigned an act.

iii) Each ACT must receive a minimum no. of choices to be selected.

(Without this conditon each individual would have been assigned his most preferred activity).

iv) No ACT may be performed more than once per cycle, no matter how many individuals are involved in it.

Subroutine VOTE should be interpreted as informal discussion within a group, with all members expressing their own preferences ("I would rather do x, but as no one else is prepared to come, I'll go along with y").

Formally speaking, Subroutine VOTE is an n-person elaboration of a 2-person game theoretic payoff matrix, in which each player's outcome is determined by all players' choices. (See Shubik, 1964; Howard, 1971).

8.4.5. Interpretation of ACT

As mentioned earlier, an ACT was SELECTED (by VOTE) if it was "preferred" by more than a given minimum number of IND (group members).

ACT, like its counterpart "technique" in natural groups, refers to categories of activities, rather than specific activities.

8.4.6. DISSILLUSION and LEAVE

After ACT(s) have been SELECTED by VOTE, members who did not like the decision sometimes became disillusioned, and occasionally left. These processes were represented in the following way.

If an IND (member) was not allocated an ACT high in his preference order, then his level of committment (LOC) fell.

A member's level of committment (IND LOC) determined his possible activity level for that week (CYCLE). These changes were realised by subroutine DISILLUSION.

If an IND (member) had a level of committment (LOC) below a certain minimum level (MINLOC), that IND was deemed to have left the group. This was realised by the subroutine LEAVE.

8.4.7. ACTION

After ACT(s) had been SELECTED, they were "put into practice" by subroutine ACTION. This assessed the feasibility of ACTs in terms of the human internal conditions of the group. (External intervention, lack of material resources, acts of god, etc, were not evaluated).

The subroutine assessed whether the levels of committment (LOC) of the IND allocated the ACT matched the effort needed to carry it out. If the LOC of the INDs was greater than the requirements of the ACT, the LOC of the least committed INDs was reduced until a match was obtained. If the LOC of the INDs was less than the requirements of the ACT, the LOC of the most committed INDs was increased until a match was obtained. If the LOC of the INDs, after increase, was less than the requirements of the ACT, the ACT was NOT COMPLETED. If the LOC of the INDs matched thr requirements of the ACT, the ACT was COMPLETED.

8.4.8. DISSONANCE

After ACTION was completed, subroutine DISSONANCE modified the preference orders of participating INDs.

If the ACT was NOT COMPLETED, the ACT became less preferred by the participating INDs.

8.4.9. JOIN

Subroutine JOIN allowed new members to join the group as a

function (ENTER) of the current level of activity of the group (TOTLOC & ICOMP). In addition to this there was a facility for the random, or regular, joining of new members.

8.4.10 Other Subroutines

In addition to the six simulation subroutines, there were three others. Subroutine DISPLAY gave detailed information on INDs, ACTs, size etc., at the commencement of each cycle.

Subroutine ISQUASH manipulated subgroups in VOTE and ACTION.

Subroutine SUMMARY summarized the data at the end of each run.

8.4.11 Restrictions

In order to conserve computor time and core store, the following restrictions were imposed on GROUP-1:
i) No run to exceed 50 cycles.
ii) Pool of available INDs not to exceed 99.
iii) Group size, in any cycle, not to exceed 30.

8.5 GROUP- 1: Initial Parameters.

The experimenter was required to decide on the following parameters before running GROUP-1. Conditions used in actual runs are also listed here.

8.5.1. Number of Available ACTs

This was fixed throughout at 8; the smallest number of ACTs to give a wide range of choice at all size levels.

8.5.2. ACT Requirements

These were i) the minimum number of people needed to "vote" for an ACT in order to SELECT it: ii) the minimum aggregate LOC levels of INDs choosing the ACT in order to COMPLETE it.

Two conditons were tried. The first gave a range of ACTs of

increasing complexity (demanding more time (LOC) and more INDs). The second made all ACTs equivalent. See Fig. 8.2 for values used.

	Condition 1		Condition 2	
ACT	Min. No. "voters"	Min. aggregate LOC	Min. No. "voters"	Min. aggregate LOC
1	1	5	3	15
2	2	10	3	15
3	3	15	3	15
4	4	20	3	15
5	5	25	3	15
6	6	30	3	15
7	7	35	3	15
8	8	40	3	15

Fig. 8.2. ACT Requirements

8.5.3. Initial Size of Group

This was fixed throughout at 8. This was the average size of a BRP subgroup; sufficiently large to provide a variety of choice of ACTs; sufficiently small to be well away from the GROUP-1 size limit. (30).

8.5.4. Initial Stability of Group

This depended on the degree to which the preferences of the "founder members" were matched. Two conditions were tried: i) "founder members" with matched preferences; ii) "founder members" with "random" preferences.

8.5.5. Initial Level of Committment (LOC) of INDs who Join the Group.

Several conditions were tried:

— random

— fixed (5 or 4)

— lower than the average active IND:((TOTLOC/ICOMP) - 1).

8.5.6. Minimum Level of Committment (MINLOC) below which IND left the Group.

This was fixed throughout at 2.

8.5.7. Rate at which INDLOC was Reduced if a 1st Preference ACT was not Obtained.

Two conditions were tried:

i) DIVLOC = 0.5; ie. LOC was halved.

ii) If the IND was ABSENT (his preferred activity had been allocated to others), his LOC was reduced by 1.

8.5.8. Maximum Level of Committment for an IND (MAXLOC)

This was fixed throughout at 10

8.5.9. Joining Rate (ENTER)

Several conditions were tried:

— No. of new members proportional to no. of INDs involved in COMPLETED ACTs (INCOMP x ENTER)

ENTER = 0.5; 0.4; 0.2; 0.125.

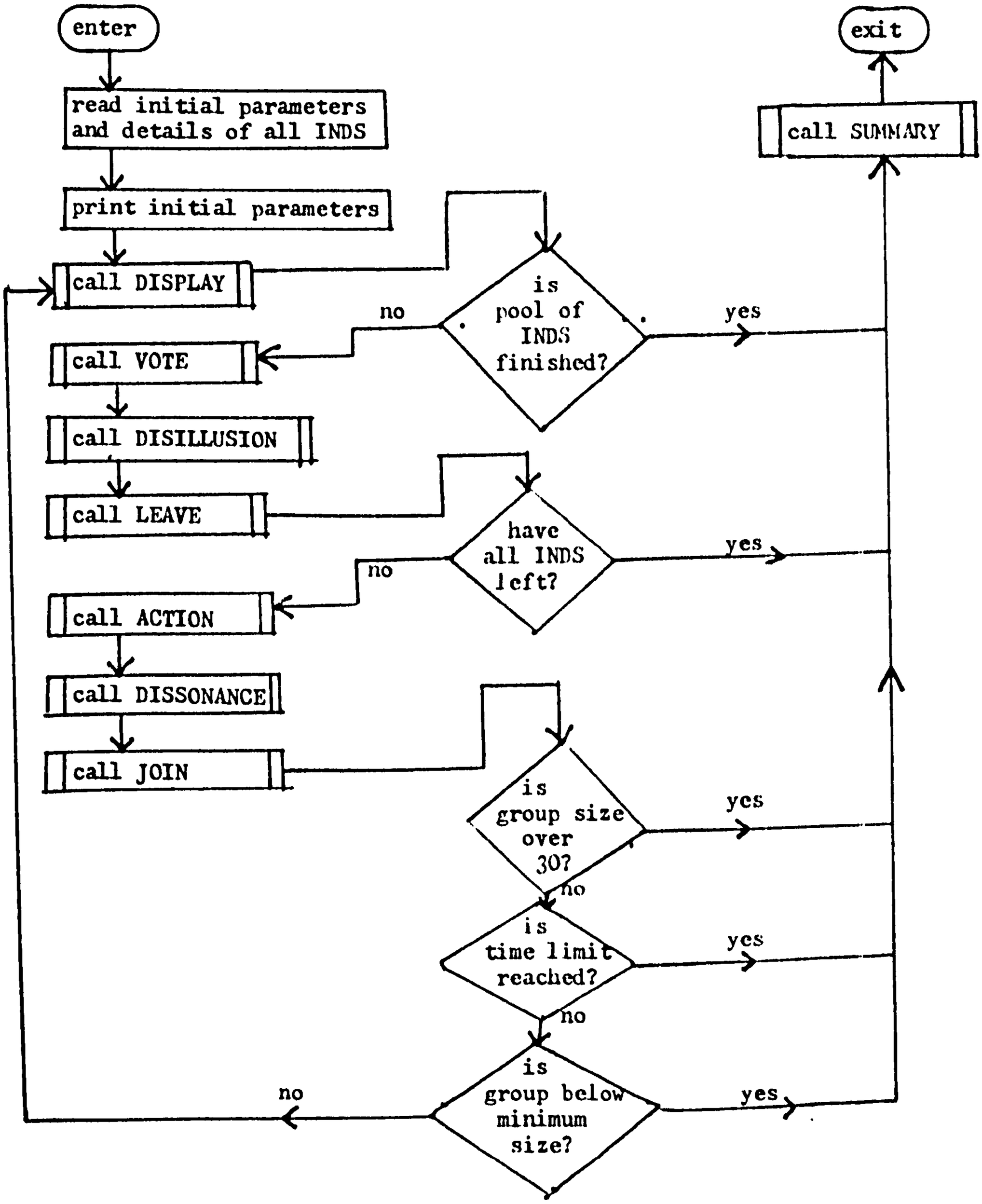
— No. of new members proportional to no. of INDs involved in COMPLETED ACTs and the average LOC of these INDs(((MEANLOC/10) -1) x INCOMP).

— New members added by predetermined schedule.

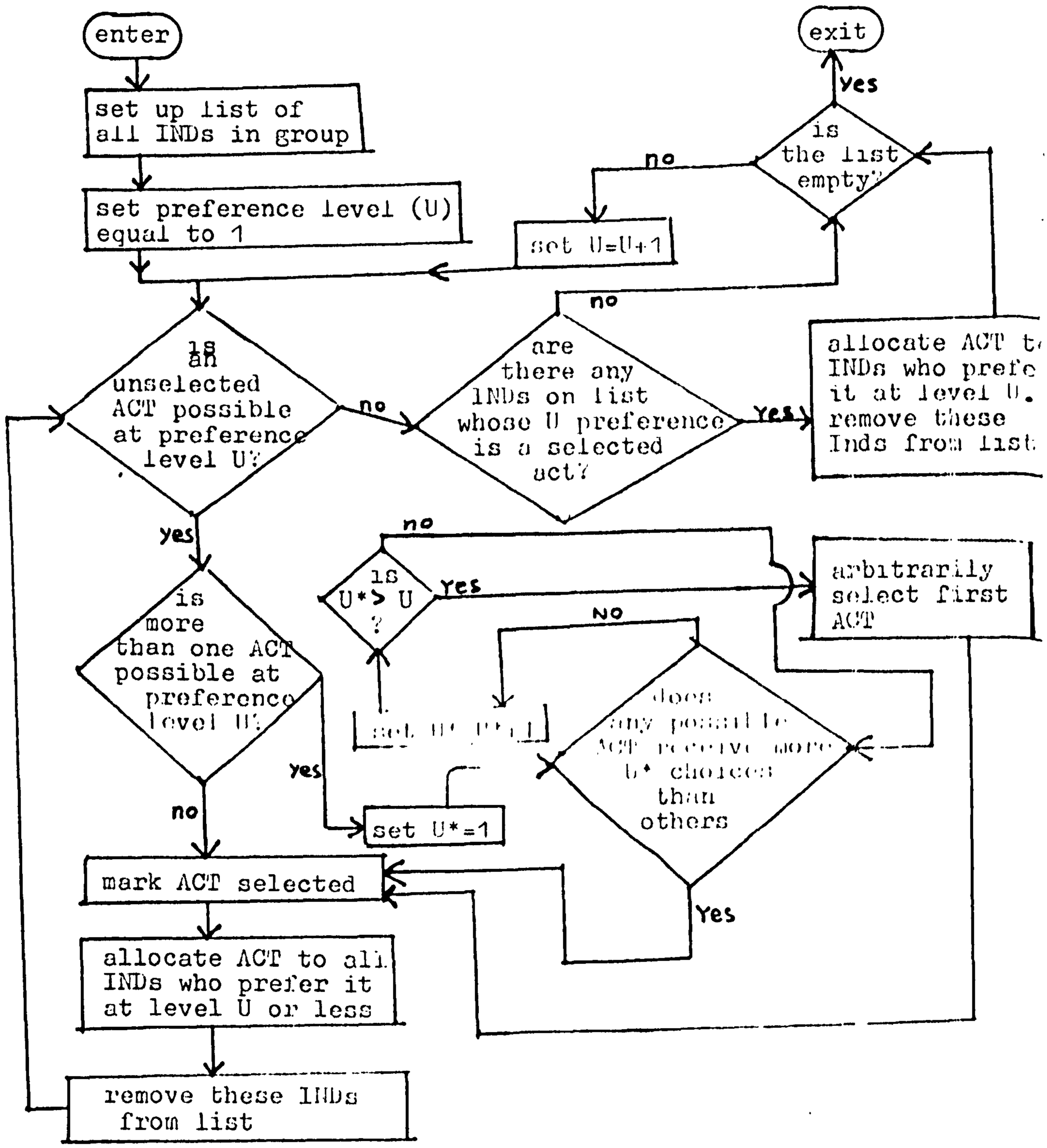
8.6 Flow Diagrams

Flow diagrams for GROUP-1 follow on pages 197 to 209. For a listing of the FORTRAN program, see APPENDIX B.

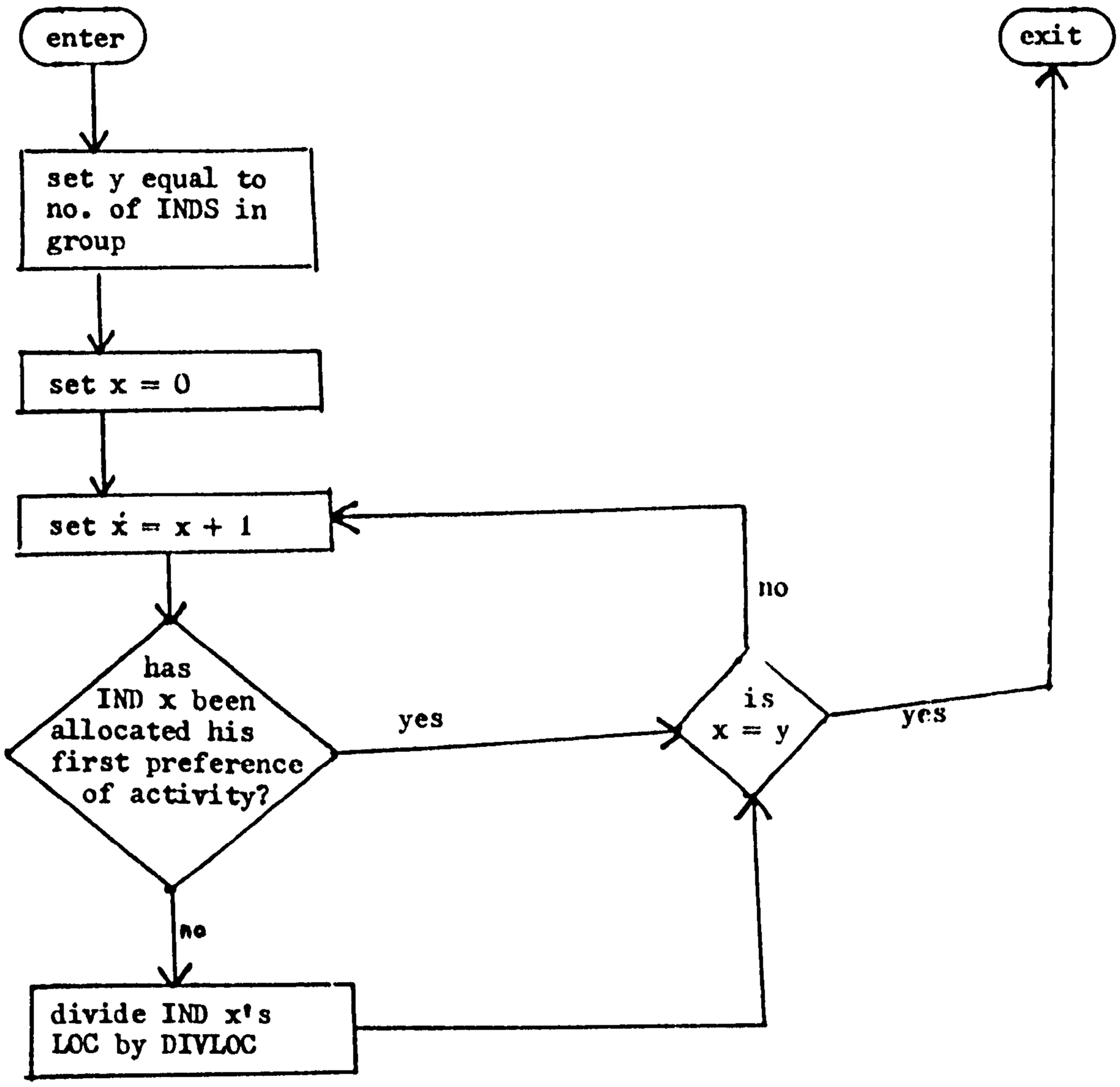
GROUP - 1


enter
read initial parameters and details of all INDS
print initial parameters
call DISPLAY
is pool of INDS finished?
no
yes
call VOTE
call DISILLUSION
call LEAVE
have all INDS left?
yes
no
call ACTION
call DISSONANCE
call JOIN
is group size over 30?
yes
no
is time limit reached?
yes
no
is group below minimum size?
no
yes
call SUMMARY
exit

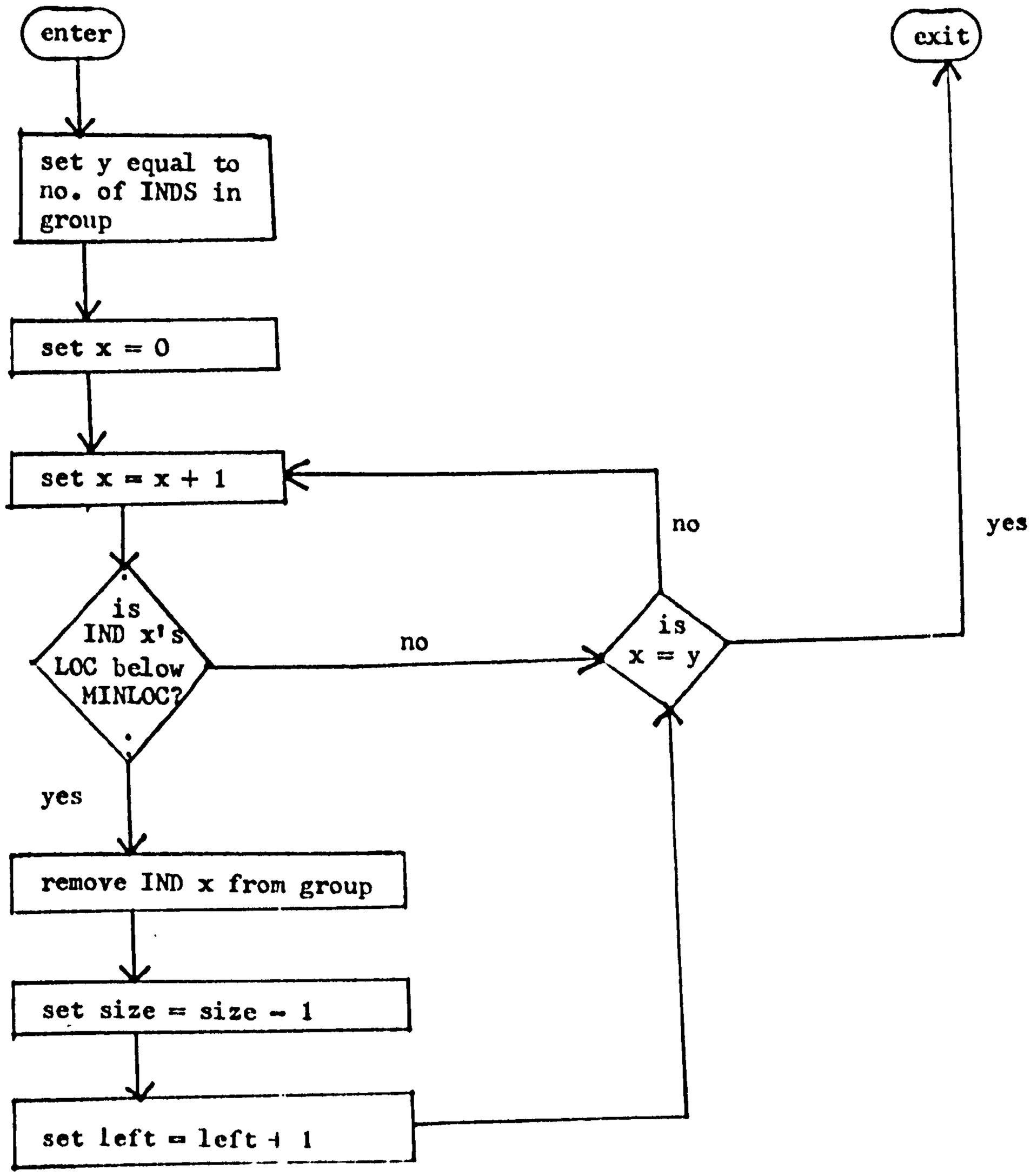
SUBROUTINE VOTE



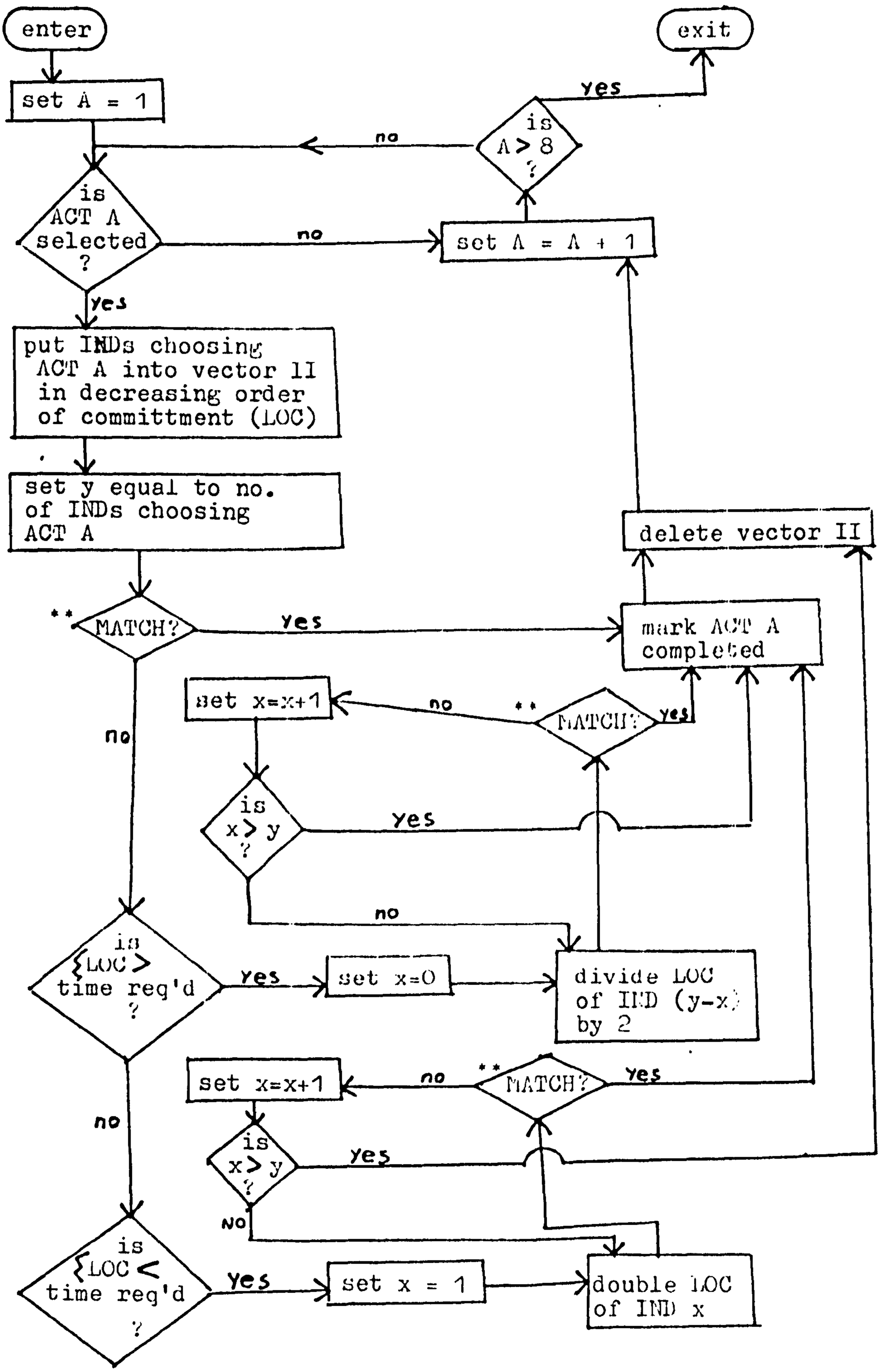
SUBROUTINE DISILLUSION



SUBROUTINE LEAVE

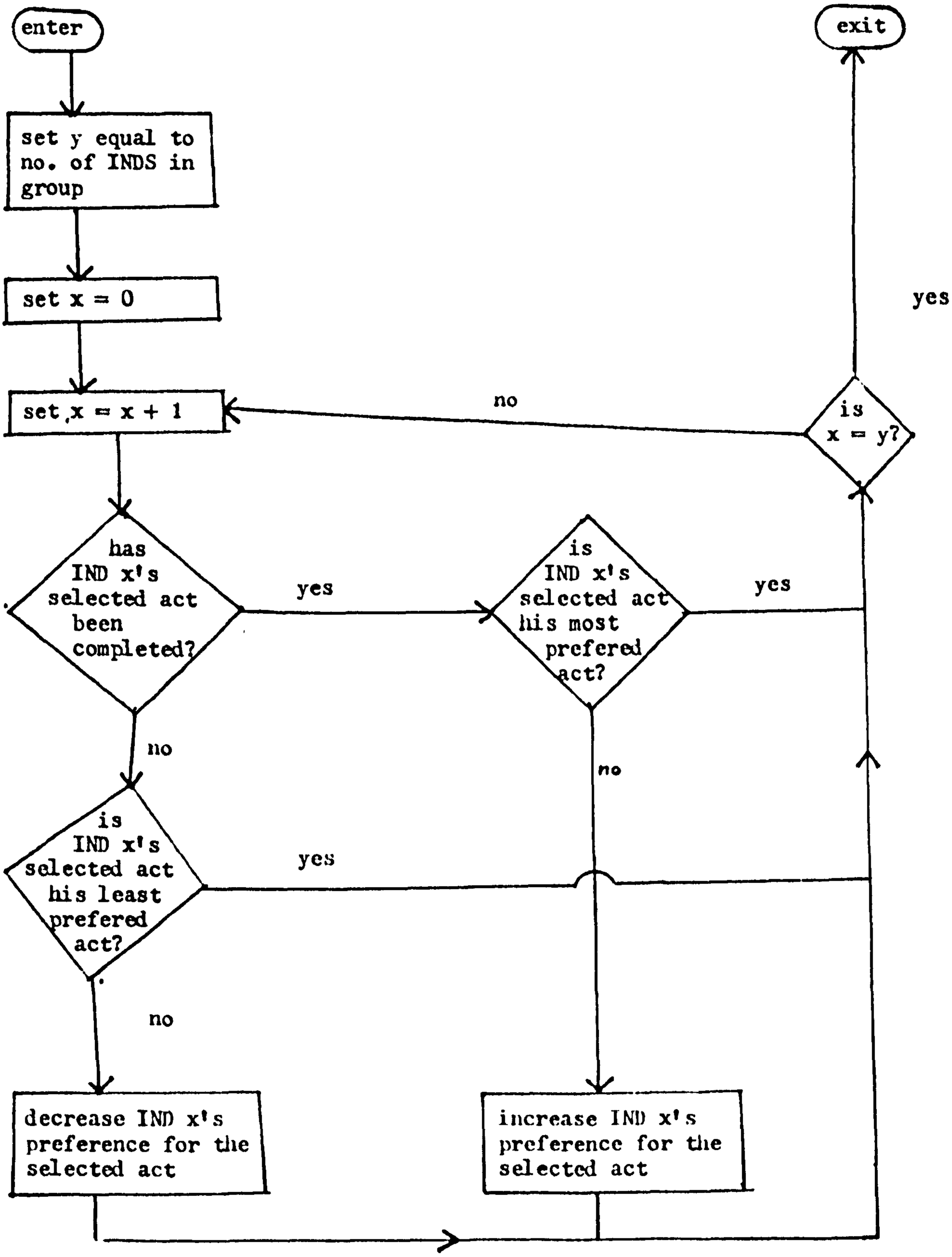


SUBROUTINE ACTION

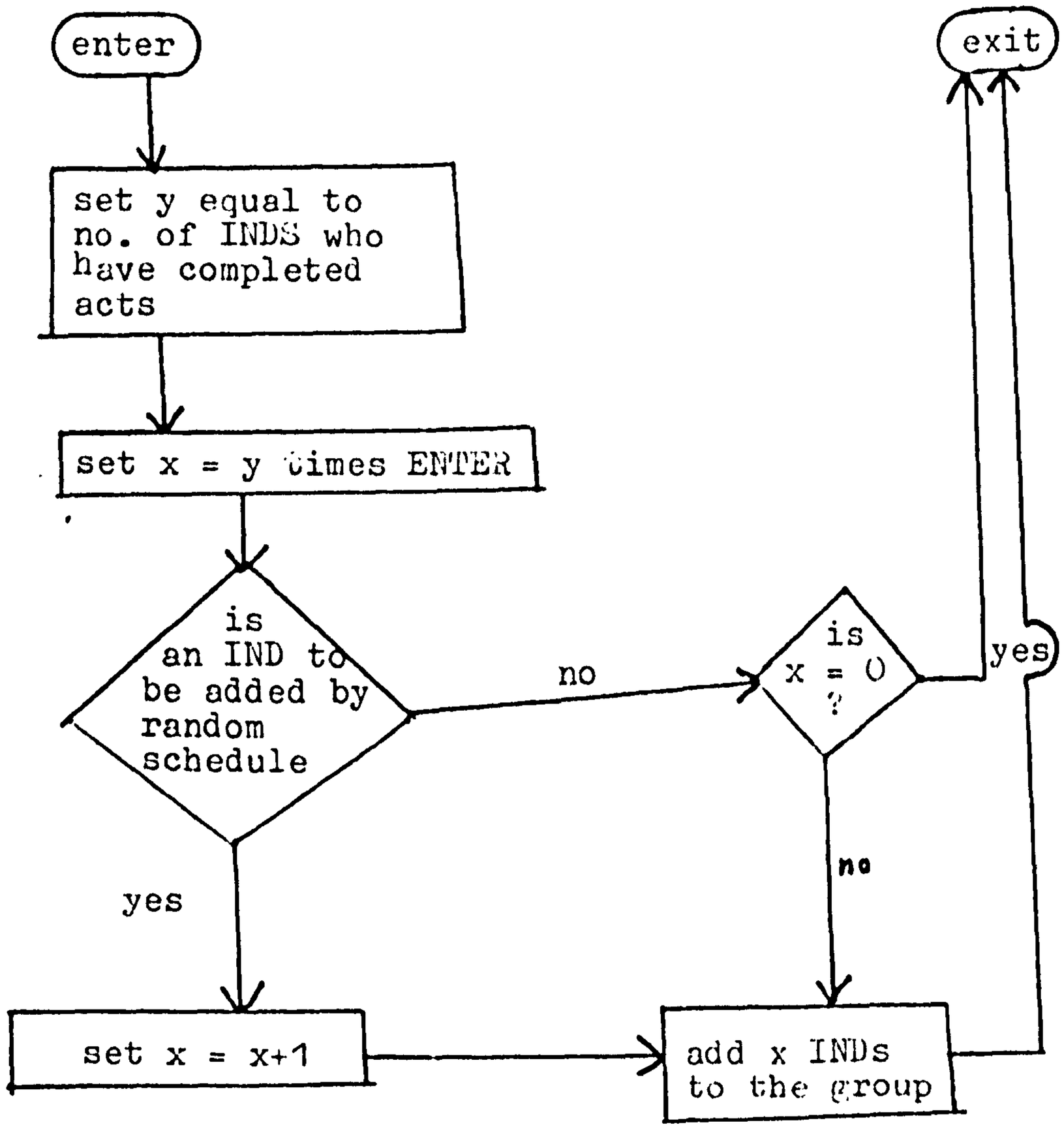


** FOOTNOTE: "MATCH" means "Is the aggregate level of committment ({LOC) of the INDs choosing ACT A approximately equal to the time required to complete ACT A ?"

SUBROUTINE DISSONANCE



SUBROUTINE JOIN



8.7. Results

8.7.1 GROUP-1 as Stable

GROUP-1 produced stable results under the following conditions:
i) joining rate was low (0.125).
This applied whether the joining rate was a) directly proportional to the no. of INDs involved in COMPLETED ACTs; or b) directly proportional to (a) and the average level of committment of the INDs involved.

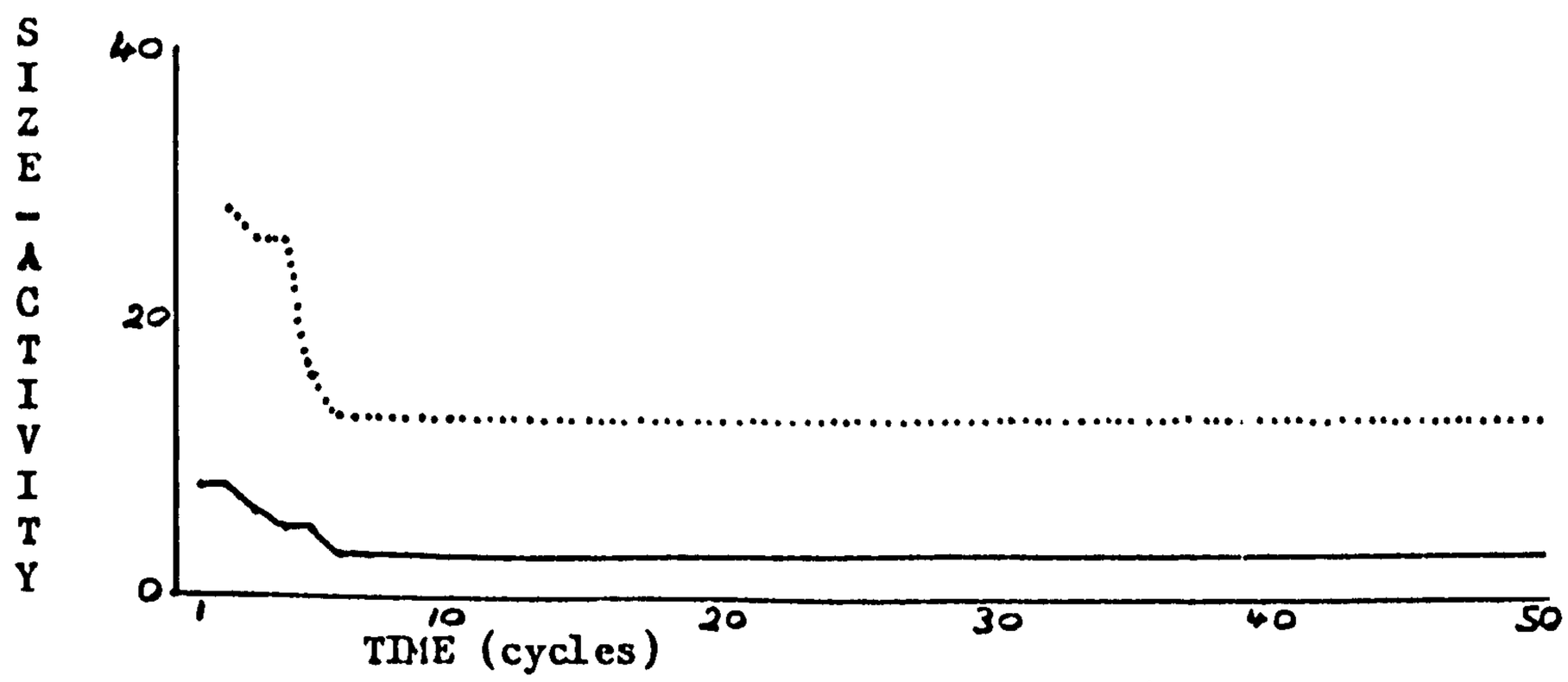
This also applied for condition i) and ii) of the ACT requirements; and for all conditions of the initial LOC of joining INDs.

ii) Joining Rate was low, and INDs were added randomly or regularly (one new member every three cycles).
iii) The level of activity stabilized below the level at which new members were attracted*
iv) The initial preference compatibility of "founder members" was high (whether this was arranged by the experimenter, or a "coincidence" of the random numbers determining the preferences of the "founder members").

Two forms of stability were observed. In the first, under conditions i) and iii), GROUP-1 was termed "rigid". In the second, under conditions ii) and iv), GROUP-1 was termed "stable".

8.7.2 GROUP-1 as Stable-Rigid

This result was easily obtainable under conditions i) and iii), but was also observed to follow some types of low initial preference compatibility with a higher Joining Rate(0.4). A typical stable-rigid run is presented in Fig. 8.3



..... activity
——— size

FIG.8.3 GROUP-1 as STABLE-RIGID.

* FOOTNOTE
It should be noted that condition iii) was not an "initial parameter" but a consequence of initial parameters.

As the reserch was concerned with permeable groups, this result was initially considered trivial. However, reflection on the interpretation of the run leads to a different conclusion. We see a representation of "the same people doing the same thing week after week". The possibilities for change exist, but are never actualized. In fact, once the group has stabilized ("ossified" might be a better word here) change can only come about through an external shock. The writer knows of many groups like this, and is sure that the reader will be able to provide his own illustrations of similar situations.

8.7.3. GROUP-1 as Stable-Stable

This result was often (but not always) obtained under conditions ii) and iv). Many of the runs produced results that were similar to the historical data on IREV.

Both size and activity oscillated irregularly around their means without time trend. (The means were 6.7 and 30.5 respectively in sample run). See Fig.8.5.
The sample run size distribution compared well with the IREV size distribution. See Fig. 8.4.

Size	no. of weeks (IREV)	No. of cycles (GROUP-1)
5	6	1
6	11	19
7	34	13
8	29	6
9	45	1
10	5	1

Fig. 8.4. IREV & GROUP-1 Size Distributions.

The sample run (GROUP-1) activity distribution differed from the IREV distribution in its range. IREV activity levels varied between 0 and 36; GROUP-1 between 26 and 34. This restricted range of activity in GROUP-1 was a consequence of the simplifying assumptions used: activities were either carried out consistently, or dropped; there was no facility for "rotating" activities, as seemed to be the case in IREV.

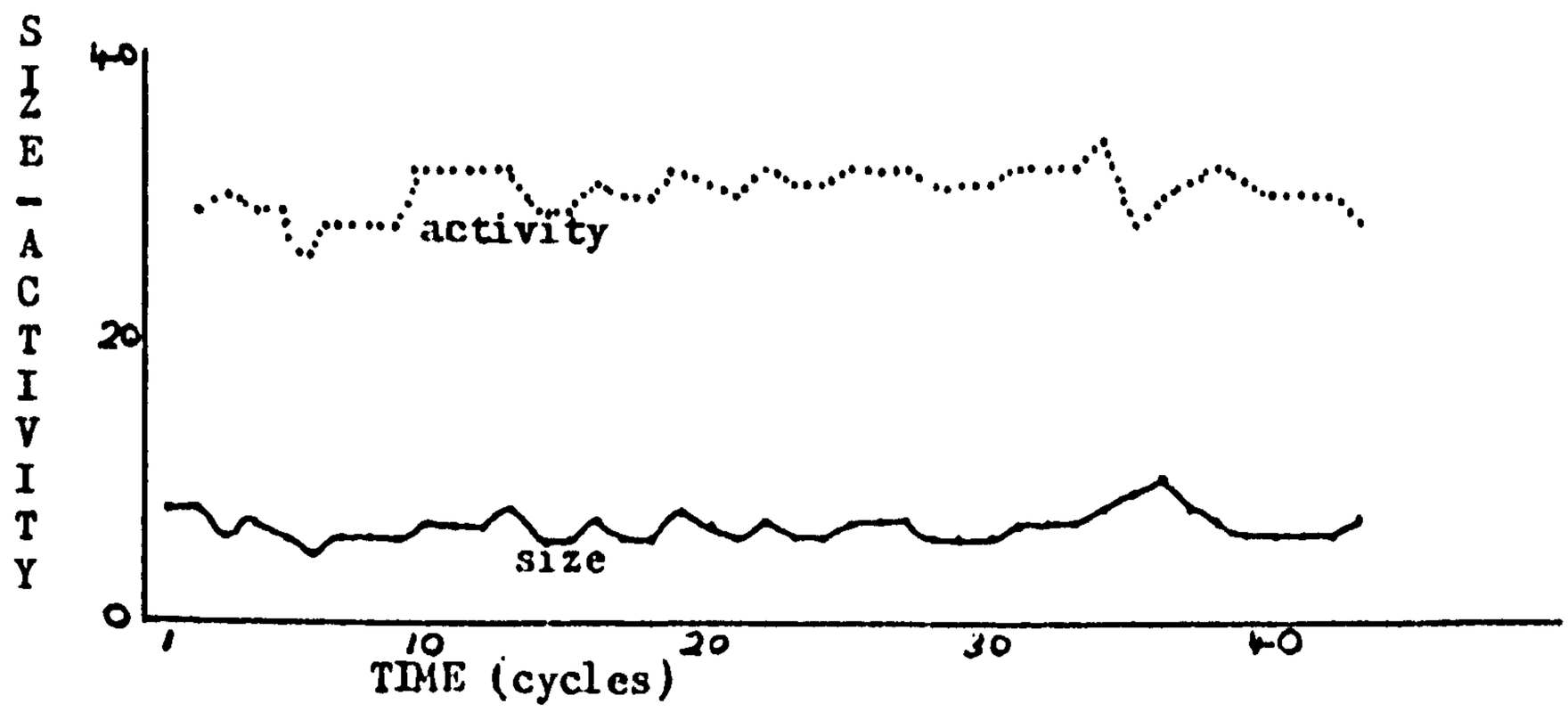


FIG.8.5 GROUP-1 (STABLE-STABLE) SIZE & ACTIVITY AGAINST TIME.

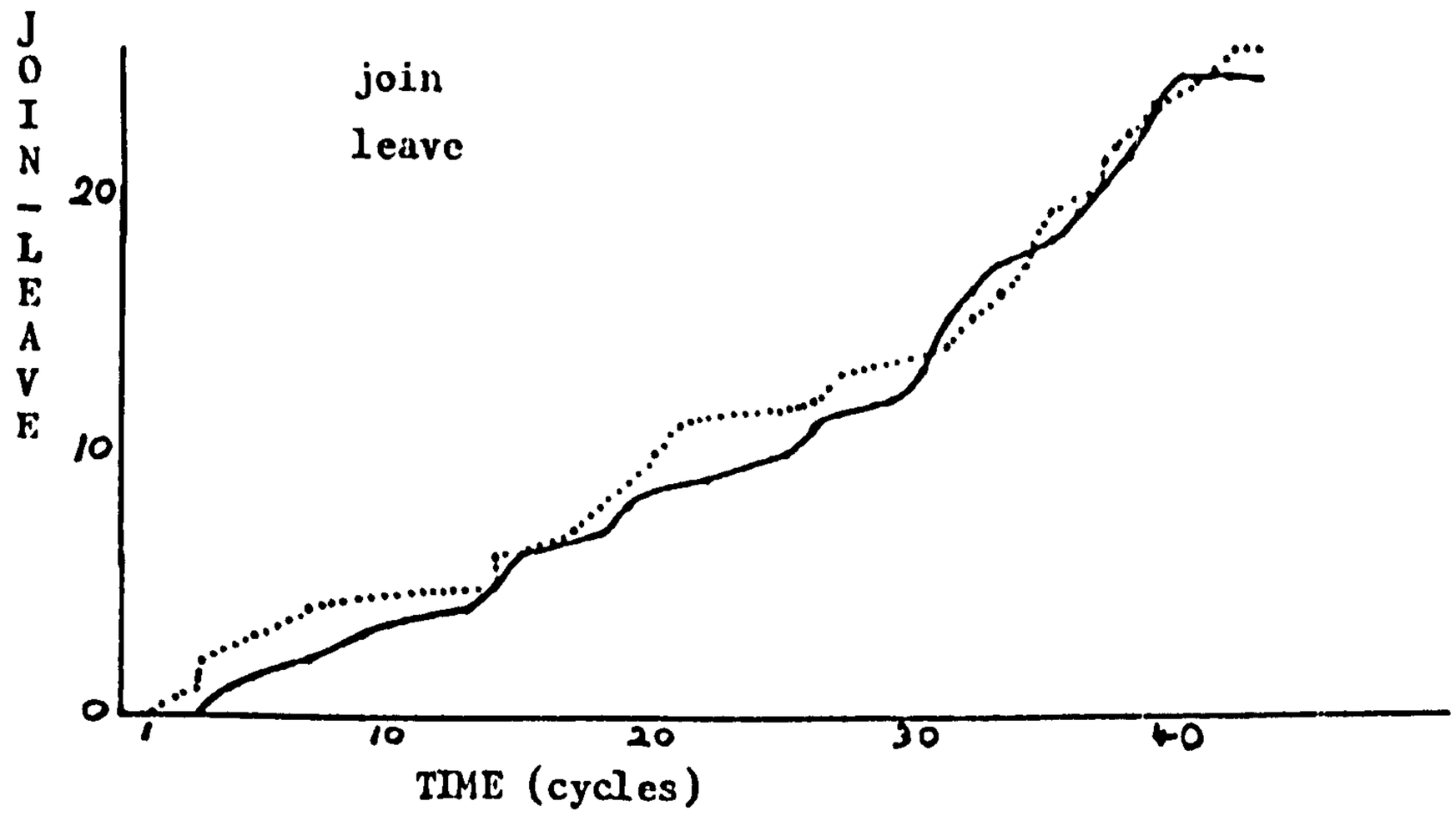


FIG.8.6. GROUP-1 (STABLE-STABLE) JOINING & LEAVING AGAINST TIME.

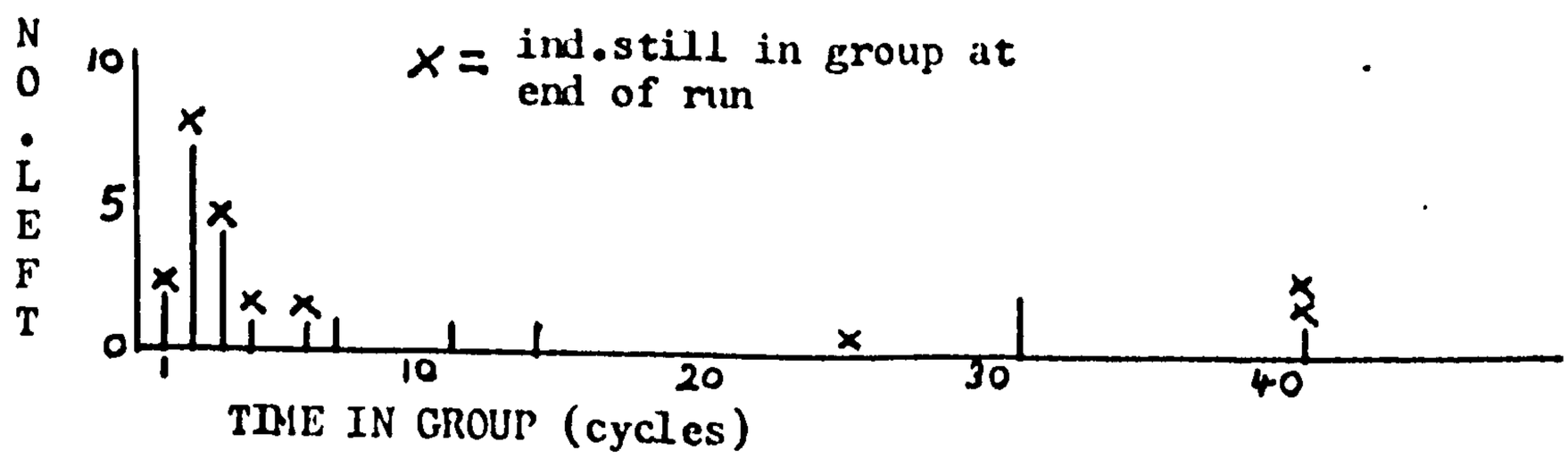


FIG.8.7 GROUP-1 (STABLE-STABLE) TIME-in-GROUP DISTRIBUTION.

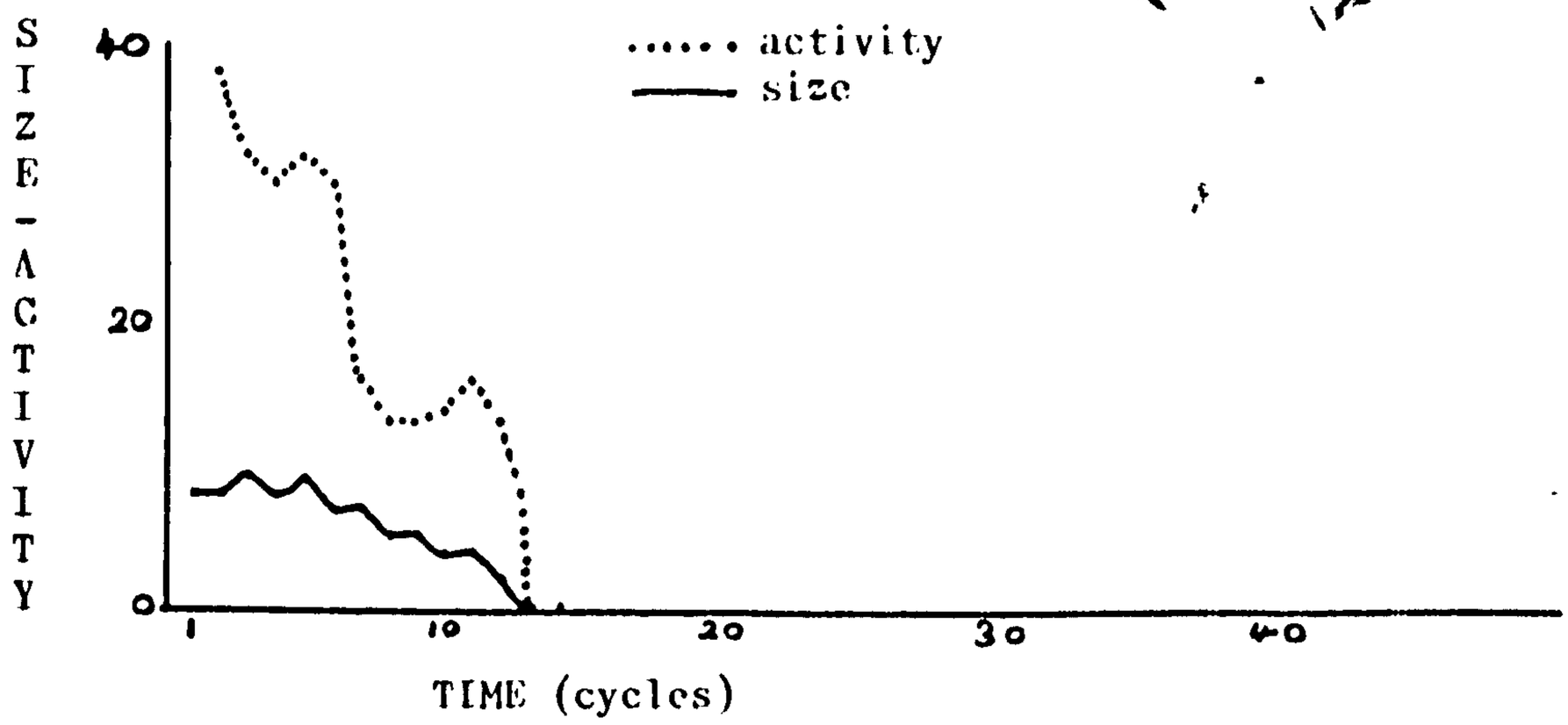


FIG.8.8 GROUP-1 (UNSTABLE-COLLAPSE) SIZE AND ACTIVITY.

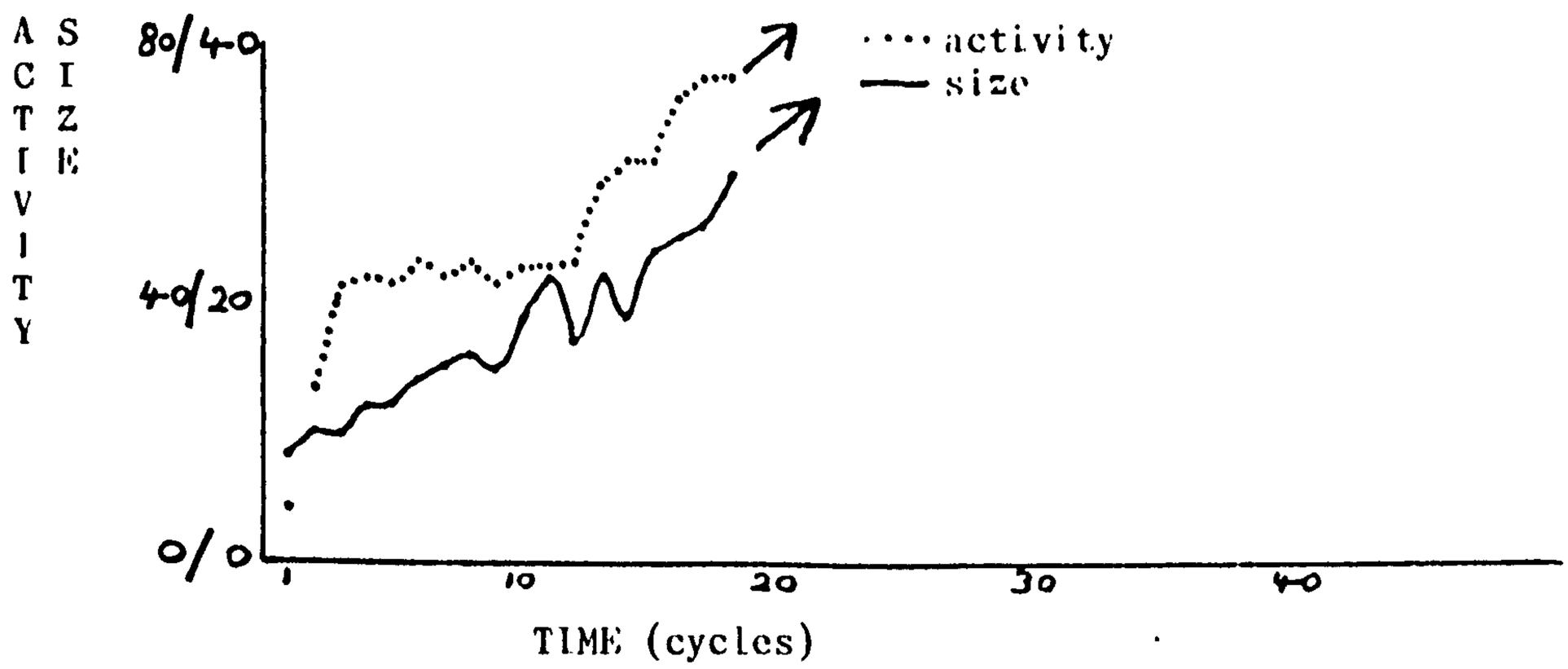


FIG. 8.9 GROUP-1 (UNSTABLE-EXPLOSIVE) SIZE AND ACTIVITY.

These runs are interpreted as "groups that never get off the ground". There may be an initial flash of activity; new members may even be attracted; but fundamentally there is no normative structure to hold the thing together.

8.7.6. GROUP-1 as Unstable-Explosive

This result followed from initial compatibility and a high joining rate - whatever the other parameters. This effect is illustrated in Fig. 8.9. No interpretation is given of this effect i) as it is not clear that there is a "natural" equivalent ii) as the consequence of this "explosion" were never explored: the group reached its size limit, or exhausted the pool of "new members", before it ran into the limits of possible activity.

8.7.7. GROUP-1 as Unstable-Explosive-Collapse.

This result is particularly interesting in that it partially replicates the Brighton Rents Project study from which the GROUP-1 assumptions were mainly derived. The parameter settings that produced this result were: i) initial compatibility ii) high joining rate iii) consistent high level of committment (LOC) of new members.

The results, briefly, were: an initial size explosion (8 - 20 in 10 cycles) and a high level of activity (40+) without corresponding increase in the number of activities.

This can be seen as similar to the initial BRP size increase, and concentration of activity around squatting.

The size increase comes to a sudden halt when 9 INDs leave simultaniously. In GROUP-1 this was caused by an overall decline in committment (LOC) as there was "insufficient" activity to go round. The corresponding event in the BRP was the blocking of squatting by the authorities, and the factional walkout by a majority of the squatting group. In GROUP-1,

sufficient "old" INDs were left to restructure the activity on a lesser scale, and for a while (10 cycles) the group appeared to restabilize at about size 10. The influx of new members was reduced, but the high level of committment of those that did join was sufficient to displace most "old" INDs, the preference set became destructured, and the group collapsed.

These GROUP-1 developments were highly suggestive of the final phase of the BRP. After the blocking of squatting, there was a stabilization of activity at a lower level, initiated by older members. However, the increasing influents of the Rents Registration group, and its attempted re-orientation of the BRP, led to the exodus, which meant no activity was possible, and the group collapsed.

For a plot of size and activity in this GROUP-1 condition see Fig. 8.10. In this condition, the distribution of members time in the group differed from the distribution in more stable conditions. (Compare Fig. 8.11 with Figs 8.7. and 8.13). A large proportion of INDs survived a phase of activity, rather than leaving early, or lasting all the way through.

8.7.8. GROUP-1 as Unstable-Stable

This result followed from i) initial compatibility ii) high joining rate iii) random level of committment of new members. It was characterized as stable because both size and activity were stable (in our sense of that word) See Fig. 8.12., and it produced a member's time in group distribution identical to that of stable groups (see Fig.8.13). There was, however, great variability in which activities were chosen, and a very high turnover of members. The preference set, instead of stabilizing or being "destructured" switched from one condition to another with apparent ease. This was because new members entered in groups, could often form a "clique" and initiate their own activity without interference from old members. Old members were, in any case, rapidly displaced by non-clique new members, who either annexed their roles or disrupted their

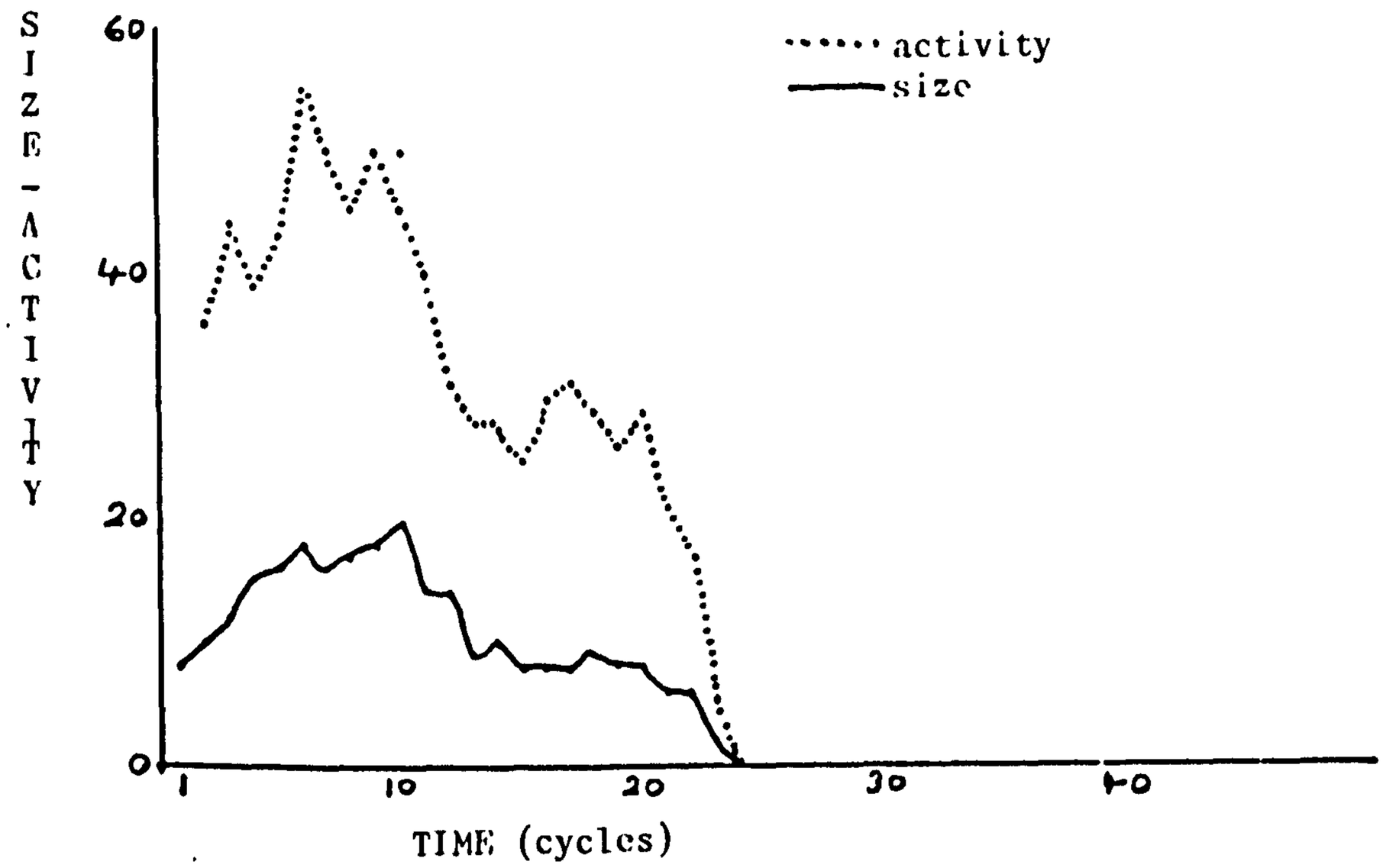


FIG.8.10 GROUP-1 (UNSTABLE-EXPLOSIVE-COLLAPSE)

SIZE & ACTIVITY AGAINST TIME

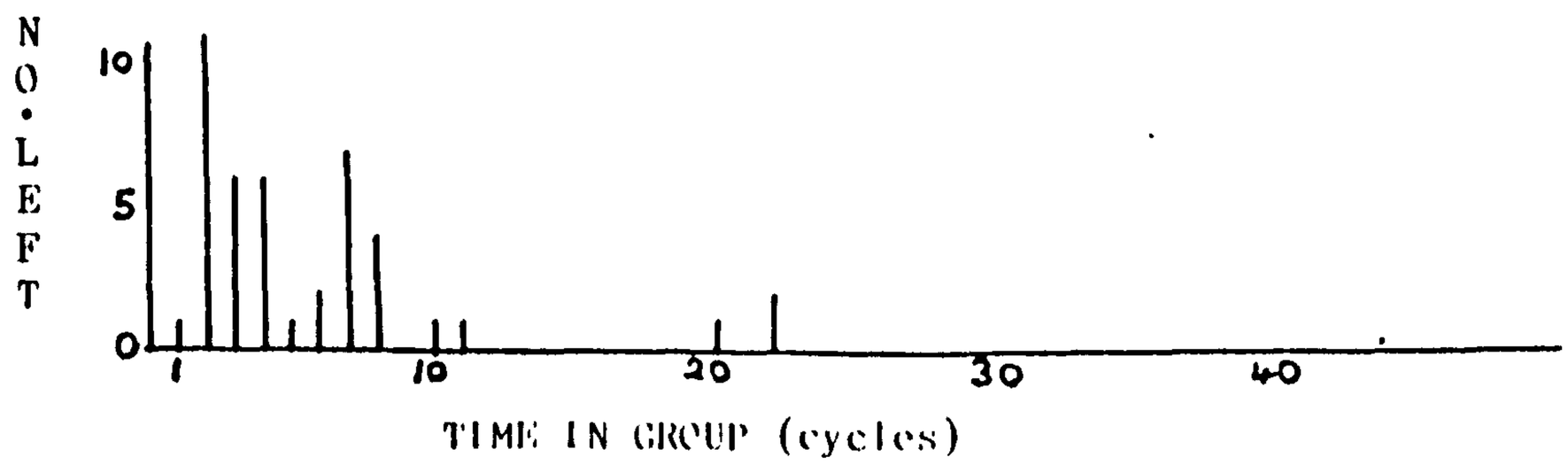


FIG.8.11 GROUP-1 (UNSTABLE-EXPLOSIVE-COLLAPSE)

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME IN GROUP.

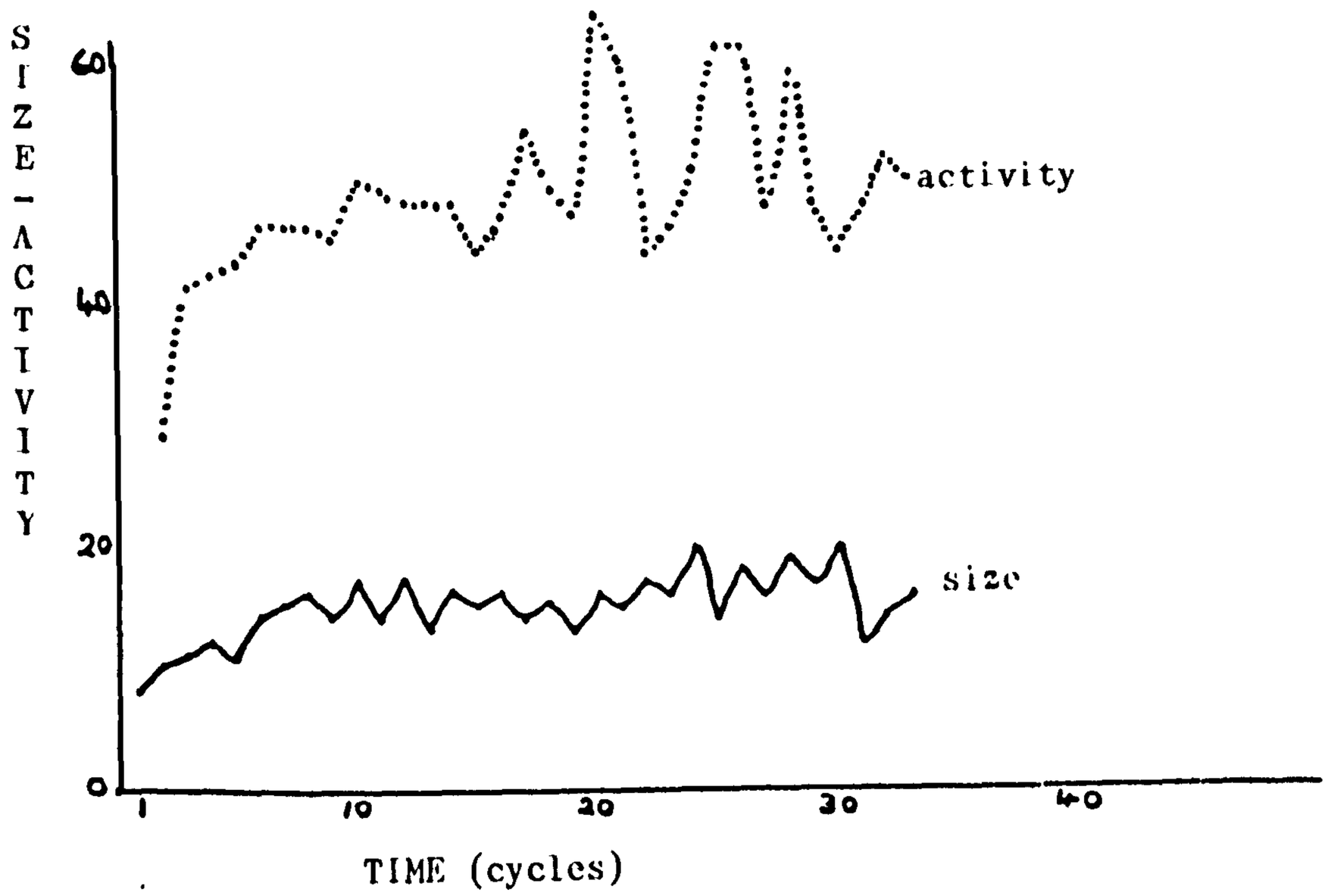


FIG.8.12 GROUP-1 (UNSTABLE-STABLE)

SIZE & ACTIVITY AGAINST TIME

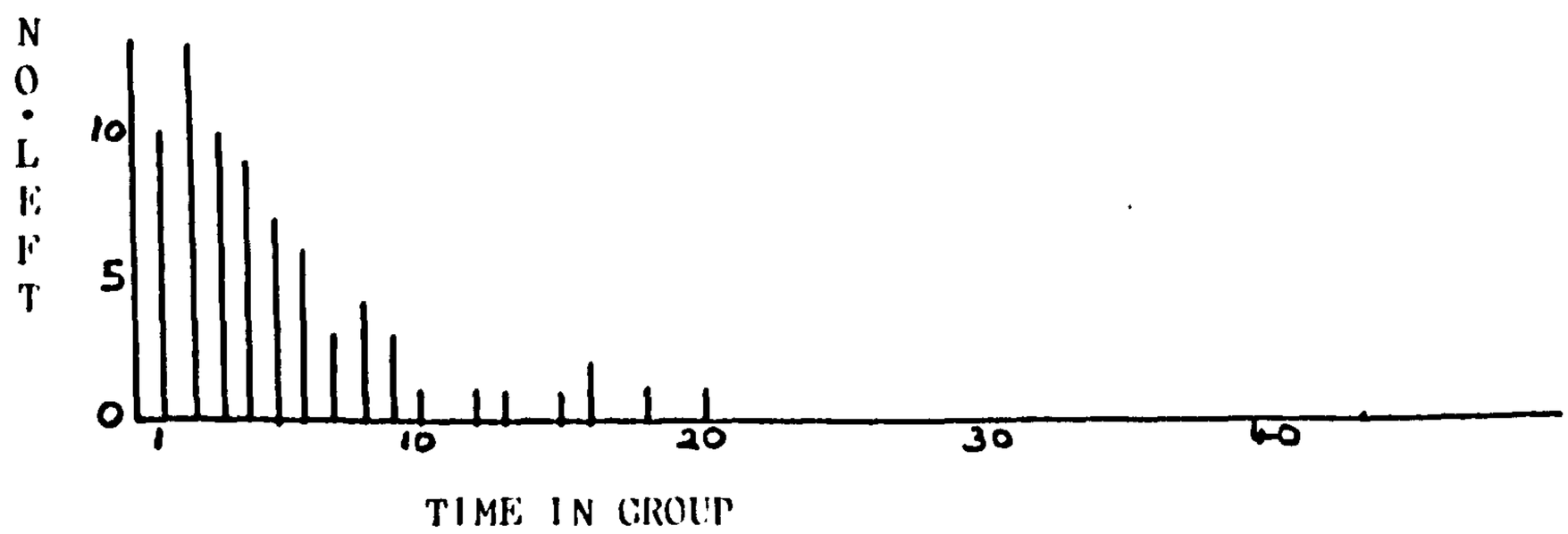


FIG.8.13 GROUP-1 (UNSTABLE-STABLE)

DISTRIBUTION OF TIME IN GROUP.

activity by joining in, then leaving.

The only "natural" interpretation the writer can give this result is the use of a clubroom, where both activities and people can change with great speed. In fact, the lack of continuity of both persons and activities preclude one from calling this condition of GROUP-1 a group in any ordinary language sense of that word. It is included in the results as it illustrates the role of "clique" (or subgroup) in the initiation of new techniques.

8.7.9. GROUP-1;Resilience

Two tests were made to examine the resilience of the stability in the "stable" conditions. Both tests were applied in mid-run.

The first test involved raising the requirements of SELECTED ACTs to an impossibly high level. This was intended to reflect the blocking of activity by an external force or agent.

Both the Stable-Stable and the Unstable-Stable "groups" recovered quickly from occasional blocks, and resumed their normal patterns. The Stable-Rigid "group" collapsed in the face of this intervention.

The second test involved the addition of "disruptive individuals". These were new members with matching preference sets, but zero committment. They functioned to encourage specific ACTs, then to disrupt them by leaving.

Again the Stable-Stable and the Unstable-Stable "groups" proved resilient to this form of intervention, but the Stable-Rigid "group" collapsed.

Application of either intervention on three or more successive cycles caused all "groups" to collapse.

8.7.10 A Quantum Relation Between Size and Activity

Although in the "stable"conditions of GROUP-1, size and activity were independent (in the sense that all levels of activity could be reached from all levels of size), this relation did not hold in the "unstable" conditions. (See Figs. 8.9. & 8.10)

In the latter cases, a size increase in the range of 4-8 resulted in a step increase in activity. Had the run parameters been switched from unstable to stable at these points, there is every reason to suppose that the "group" would have stabilized at this new level.

This may be interpreted as a successful restructuring of the preference set (norms), or adaptation to change. This is regarded as significant for it underlines the assumption that independence of size and activity as a precondition of stability only holds within a certain size range.

8.7.11 Absenteeism

The introduction of "absenteeism" into subroutine ACTION (See para. 8.5.7.) made no significant difference to the results in any of the stable conditions. It was, however, the mechanism that facilitated the size explosion in the Unstable-Explosive-Collapse condition. In this case it damped the effects of "overcrowding" until it reached the level where the Collapse crisis was precipitated. "Absenteeism" was not, as interpreted in GROUP-1, a stabilizing mechanism.

8.8. Conclusions

Given the simple assumptions of the GROUP-1 model, the results were better than one had any right to hope for. Not only were the data patterns of BRP and IREV reproduced, but so were the phenomena of collapse, change, rigidity, and factionalization.

8.8.1 GROUP-1 was a "tight" model.

By this it is meant that each step in the program causally effected each successive step in a very direct way. Deviations or interruptions worked their way very quickly through the system. This meant that "slack periods" could not exist; it accounts for the difference in the range of activity between GROUP-1 and "natural" groups. However, it was not felt necessary to "slacken" the model, since the assumptions produced realistic data, even with this linkage.

8.8.2 Differences that made No Difference.

Differences in ACT requirements (para. 8.5.2) and in the rate of LOC change caused by DISILLUSION (para. 8.5.7) made no obvious difference to the results.

8.8.3 Differences that made a Difference

The parameters that had most effect on the simulated behaviour patterns were:

i) The joining rate. If the joining rate was high, and linked to the activity level, there was no chance of the "group" stabilizing. The Stable-Stable condition was achieved when the activity linked joining rate was low, and INDs were added randomly, but on average not more frequently than every third cycle. Stability in this condition was a function of new INDs not disruption the preference set, and not forcing out old members on a wholesale basis (although old members were gradually replaced). The same phenomenon was observed in the natural group, IREV.

ii) Initial compatibility of "founder members", (whether by design, or by "coincidence")of the random preference sets. This was to be expected, and the "natural" parallels are obvious.
iii) Level of Committment of incoming members. If the LOC of new INDs was consistently average, or above, this had a destabilizing effect on the group. Either the preference set was disrupted, or old members were forced out. If, on the other hand, the LOC of new INDs was random the following assimilative processes could occur. a) Low LOC, mismatched preference INDs left. b) High LOC, mismatched preference INDs either "adapted" their preferences or left. c) Low LOC, matched preference individuals joined in if there was a "place" for them, if not, they left. d) High LOC, matched preference individuals joined in, and often replaced old members.

Since a random distribution of committment can be expected to occur in "natural" groups, this result was taken as a further validation of the GROUP-1 assumptions.

8.8.4 Change and Instability

The GROUP-1 assumptions were such that change and instability were regarded as essentially the same thing. Stable runs did not change; unstable runs did not stabilize. However, a broad distinction seems possible. Change is preceded by a division of the preference set; instability by its fragmentation. Either situation can be brought about by an influx of new members, or by a division amongst members caused by the "blocking" of an established activity. Change could be manifested as size restabilization around a new activity at the same activity level; or as size and activity restabilization at a higher or lower level. Although no instance of the latter was observed, it is strongly suggested by the simulation effect (para 8.7.10) and by experience.

8.9. Summary

The GROUP-1 simulations generated six characteristic profiles, two of which resembled IREV and the BRP.

The simulation identified the joining rate, ability to reject new members, and a resevoir of "old" members as the most important factors underlying stability, change, or instability.

The construct PREFERENCE SET, and allied operations, functioned well as an equivalent of "normative structure", both being influenced by, and influencing size and activity. The independence of size and activity (within limits), as a precondition of stability, was confirmed.

The effect of absenteeism on group life was insufficiently explored by the model.

Some doubt was cast on the idea of a strong connection between level of activity and joining rate.

CHAPTER 9

9.1. Introduction.
9.2. Interpretation of the model
9.2.1. Normative Structure
9.2.2. Determination of Size and Activity by Technique.
9.2.3. Size, Inactivity, Absenteeism, and the Leaving Rate.
9.2.4. Joining Rate
9.2.5. Joining Rate and Size
9.2.6. Size, Activity, and Normative Strength
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9.2.8. Instability and Change.
9.3 The Development of Groups.
9.3.1. The Initial Phase.
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9.3.4. Adaptation.
9.4. Directions for Future Research
9.5. Summary.

9.1. Introduction

The reserch commenced with the assumption that, if small groups were stable, there was a specifiable process underlying the stability. A methodology of successive refinements to the most useful model (combination of hypotheses) was adopted. The intial model was derived from observation of a "natural group" in South London (KDIL). This model was then simplified and tested in two large scale laboratory experiments. At this point the independence of size and activity emerged as an important factor. The new model was then tested against a futher "natural group" (the Brighton Rents Project). The data provided new information on both stability and instability. A further group (IREV) was examined, and the hypotheses concerning stability were confirmed and elaborated. Finally the hypotheses were tested by a simulation program (GROUP-1), and the activity patterns of observed groups (with plausible variants) were generated. The simulation program also confirmed and clarified earlier hypotheses concerning sources of instability.

The specific combination of hypotheses, or model, finally derived from the various tests and experiments is schematically presented in Fig. 9.1.

9.2. Interpretation of the Model

9.2.1. Normative Structure

This is the only single variable (if such it can be called) that will be redescribed in this final chapter. The definitions of other variables are either obvious, or fully elaborated in preceding chapters.

Normative structures, like "conventions" (See para.1.4.2), "must always be properties of a concerted group, and can never be completely vested in, or discharged by a lone individual in perpetual isolation". Normative structures

have properties that are different from the ideas and actions of the individuals who create them. This is not to assert that they can exist without the individuals who create them (See discussion in para. 8.4.3.). The clearest way of understanding this is by visualizing normative structures as n-person game payoff matrices, in which the outcome to each player is determined by the choices of all players. Although this is far from a complete characterisation, it catches the essence of the idea, and also works when used as a simulation operation.

Normative structures are composed of sets of general beliefs and sets of techniques. Techniques are defined as definite and integrated sets of procedures that must be carried out for the successful attainment of a specific goal (see para 6.6.8).

Normative structures are the realized subsets of all possible sets of general beliefs and techniques. In terms of the payoff matrix analogy, they consist of a repeated mapping of a set of choices onto a set of outcomes.

Normative strength is the continuity over time of the realized subset of techniques. If we could construct the payoff matrix for a stable group, the realized subset of techniques would be the saddlepoint.

Although we cannot specify general numerical values, we can say that a discontinuous change in the normative structure takes place when a change in a choice subset results in an entirely different outcome set. Normative strength thus has a critical threshold below which normative structure is unaffected, but above which normative structure is catastrophically changed.

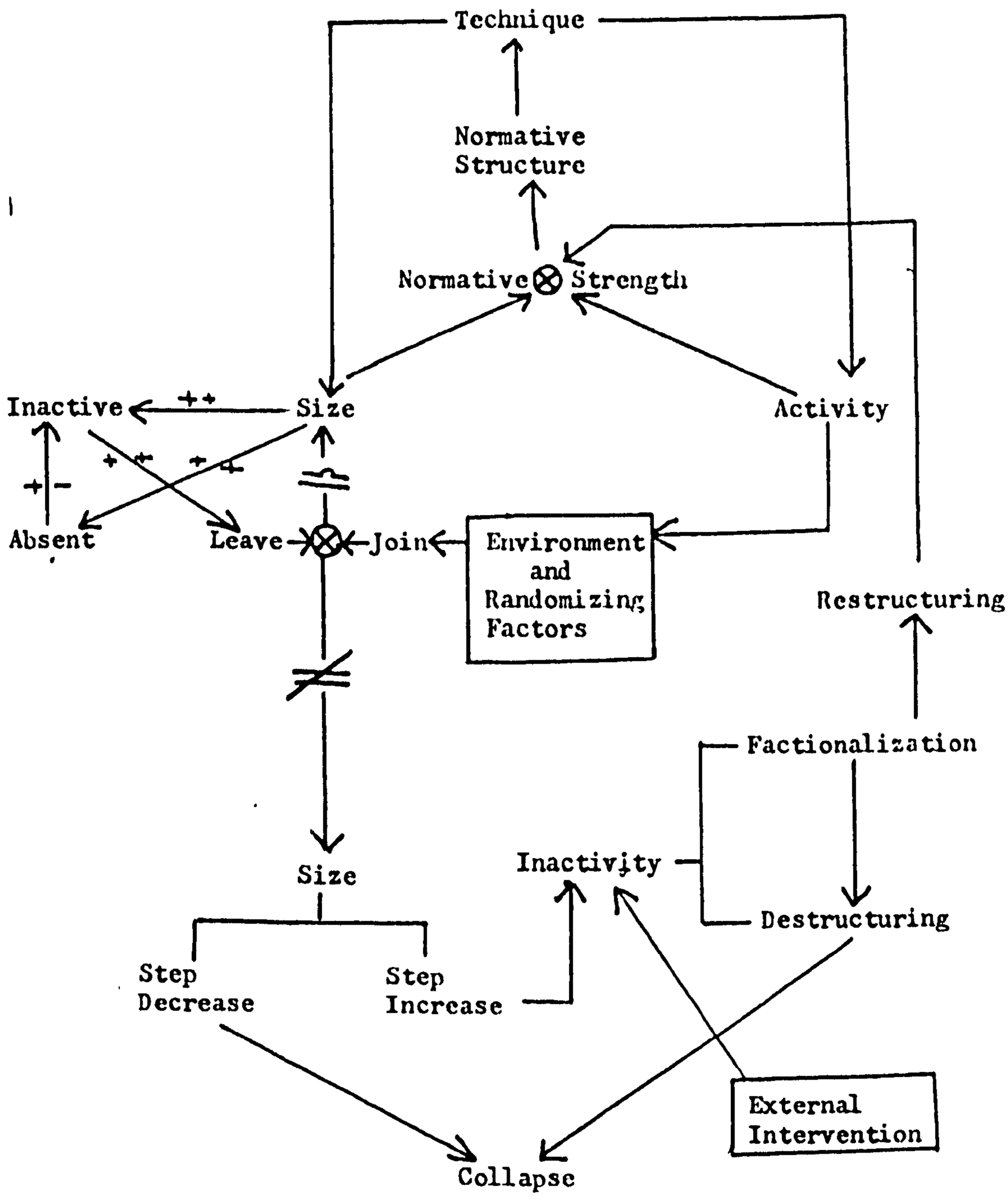
Technique
Normative Structure
Normative Strength
Inactive
Size
Activity
Absent
Leave
Join
Environment and Randomizing Factors
Restructuring
Factionalization
Size
Inactivity
Destructuring
Step Decrease
Step Increase
External Intervention
Collapse

Fig. 9.1

9.2.2. Determination of Size and Activity by Technique

"Determination" is not intended here in the causal sense. The relation is a combination of several distinct factors, whose conjoint effect is best described as a determination.

A choice of action by the members through the normative stucture is also a choice of technique and a specification of roles. The role specification, when filled, determines (approximately) the level of activity. The role specification inherent in the technque serves as a template which determines (together with other conventions, and possibly psychological limits on "committedness") the range of appropriate sizes. Deviations within and without this range are dealt with by other mechanisms to be described later.
The range of appropriate size is defined functionally as:

Lower limit: the minimum number of members capable of filling the maximum number of roles specified by any recurrent technque.

to

Upper limit: the maximum number of members capable of being absorbed by the maximum number of roles specified by any recurrent technique.

Further, reflecting the fact (para 3.9.) that the activities available to the group can be seen as an index of the material resources of the grouu, the role specification is seen by members as a fact of the world rather than a consequence of convention. The definition of appropriate size is thus felt as the determination of appropriate size.

9.2.3. Size, Inactivity, Absenteeism & the Leaving Rate

Empirically, the relations between these variables is as follows.
Increasing size is associated with increasing inactivity.
Increasing inactivity precipitates leaving behaviour.
Thus high levels of size are associated with leaving.
But this effect is partially masked by absenteeism.
Increasing size is associated with increasing absenteeism.

High absenteeism is associated with low levels of leaving behaviour.

We therefor postulate a dual size regulation mechanism concerned with leaving behaviour. Shortage of roles (the corollary of high size) leads to inactivity (probably associated with discontent) and leaving; or inactivity is reduced by absenteeism - which is effective size decrease when we are concerned with the distribution of roles among participating members.

In the system examined (IREV) it appeared that the inactivity/leaving regulator dominated the absenteeis/non-leaving regulator. However, from other informal observations, not reported here, it seems that, while most groups contain both mechanisms, the one which is dominant is largely a matter of accident and history. *

9.2.4. Joining Rate

It was initially predicted, and confirmed by experiment (discussion group and IREV) that high social visibility (a consequence of a high group activity level) would be associated with joining behaviour - and thus with increasing group size.

Simulation tests of this relation showed that, if it were the only relation, the group would become unstable through size explosion. Simulated groups stabilized when joining was consequent on high activity and a random factor.

However, since observation also showed (the terminal BRP and several of its subgroups) that the inability to produce significant levels of activity was associated with non-joining (at best!), the

*FOOTNOTE
It appears that groups with formal membership (esp. political parties and Trades Union branches) often utilize the absenteeism/non-leaving variant. In this situation, the writer advances the following formula as a good predictor of attendence at meetings. It may be that this will eventually clarify the relation between the two mechanisms. It is not included in the main text as the writer is not yet clear about its meaning or implications.

$A = R + \sqrt{M}$ where A is Attendence; R is number of formal roles; M is total (card) Membership.

following conclusion was reached. Joining behaviour is associated with high levels of activity, but the effect is randomly time lagged.

9.2.5. Joining Rate and Size

Empirically, it was established that high size was associated with a low probability of size increase; low size with a high probability of size increase.

However, size was independent of activity, and joining was increased by high levels of activity with a randomizing factor. Thus the joining rate could be seen as approximately constant (para. 7.7.4). The IREV Size-Transformation Matrix (Fig.7.2) also shows that members did join at high size levels.

It was postulated that the "entrance requirements" (level of agreement with general norms) became stricter as size increased. (para 7.7.4). This partially reduced the joining rate at high size levels, and is consistent with Barker's (1968) finding concerning "overmanned" behaviour settings.

The GROUP-1 simulation suggested a further mechanism concerned with controling the joining rate at high size levels. This is the same mechanism that produces the u-distribution for length of time members spend in the group (See Figs. 7.11; 8.7; & 8.13). In GROUP-1 this process was represented by new members having a probable low level of committment, (a function of preference mismatch and random initial level of committment), and thus a high probability of becoming inactive and leaving. Alternatively, this mechanism may be conceptualized in terms of "penetration zones" (See Barker (1968))*

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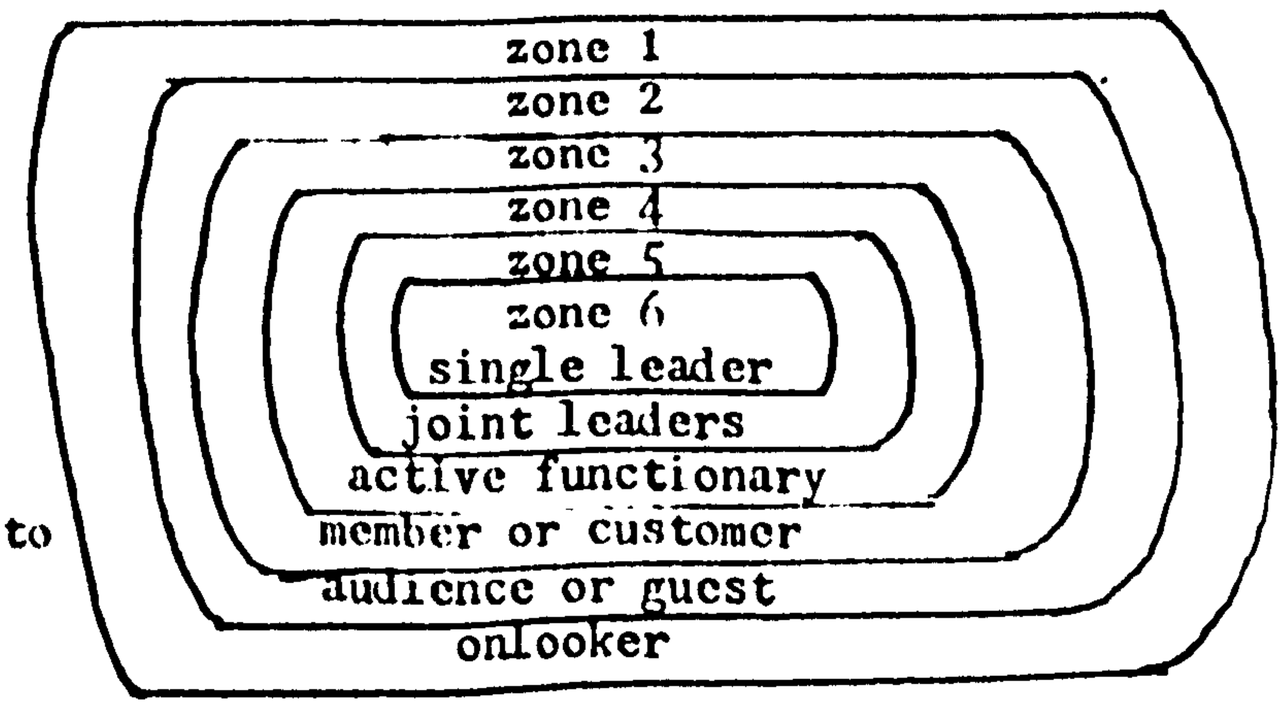
*FOOTNOTE
Barker 1968. P. 50
Increasing penetration is defined by increase in power over the setting, and increasing knowledge of the "program" of the setting.



Zones of Penetration into Behaviour Settings.

If we assume that there is a convention that restricts new members to zone 3 for a definite time period, than older members (in zones 4 and 5) are guaranteed "a better share" of available roles. Thus new members are again more likely to become inactive and leave.

In either case, joining at a high size level is likely to be followed by a swift exit. This process, while allowing for a continuous supply of new members in case of decreased size, also served to reinforce the normative structure.

9.2.6. Size, Activity & Normative Strength.

Under conditions of appropriate size and "successful" activity, normative strength is increased and the normative structure reinforced. In other words, there is no reason to change the choices that led to the outcomes that led to satisfaction.

9.2.7 The Independence of Size and Activity

The independence of size and activity is interpreted functionally rather than statistically. Activity is independent of size in that all levels of size are capable of realizing all levels of activity. The independence may be statistical as well as functional (C.S.G., Chap. 4; and IREV. Chap. 7).

It should be stressed that the independence only holds <u>within</u> the "normal" size range. Outside this range one may expect a step increase or decrease in activity levels- which brings us to the question of instability and change.

9.2.8 Instability and Change

The main objective of the research has been to elaborate the stabilizing processes operative in small groups. In society, destabilization and change are of equal importance. Having identified at least the skeletal stabilizing processes, we are now in a position to say something about their opposites. Step decreases in size are associated with step decreases in activity, the probable disruption of the normative structure, further decrease

in activity, loss of existing members, inability to gain new members, and final collapse.

Step increases in size may have any of several patterns of consequence.

i) a large increase in inactivity, disruption of the normative structure, paralysis of activity, large scale loss of members and collapse.

ii) a large increase in inactivity, the formation of factions, and attempts to restructure the norms. This may lead to collapse (as in i), or restabilization.

iii) a step increase in activity, and restabilization without normative restructuring. This seems the most unlikely of the four alternatives. The probability of any of these events is related to the history and stage of development of the group.

9.3. The Development of Groups

The following remarks are not intended to be a "theory" of group development. Instead, based on observations of the Rents Project and its subgroups, and the GROUP-1 simulations, they identify the probabilities of stability and instability at different stages of development.

9.3.1. The Initial Phase

This stage is the most "dangerous " of all. The writer suspects that the vast majority of informal groups that do form, do not survive for more than a few weeks.

The first problem is the creation of a normative structure. If the intentions of the founder members are disparate (and this may not be obvious), a single structure may not gell at all- and the group will disintegrate again. (See the BRP - Propaganda Group and GROUP-1 Unstable/Collapse.)

The second problem is the testing of techniques. If the techniques are not successful, then the normative structure (or large "chunks" of it) may have to be "rethought". The probability of collapse at this point is again very high. (See the BRP Co-ordinating Committee; Investigation & Pamphlet groups).

9.3.2. The Stable Phase

If a group survives its initial phase, the stabilizing systems of Fig.9.1. will begin to operate. The group may then go into a state of "perpetual oscillation" (BRP-Rent Registration Group; IREV). At this point change is almost certain to be initiated from outside the group. The main exception will be the Stable/ Rigid (GROUP-1) condition, when membership is fixed, and accidental loss of a member may precipitate the collapse of the group.

9.3.3. The Change Phase.

Unlike the honeybees (para 1.4.1.), groups do not maintain a precise homeostasis. There is sufficientuncertainty in the processes (eg. whether inactivity or absenteeism regulates leaving; whether there is a sudden influx of committed individuals) to guarantee a crisis at some point in the group's history. Major sources of disruption are

i) external forces (human or material) block a major technique; or the technique becomes "inappropriate" with the passage of time.

ii) the reservoir of new members may be cut off by competition from another group.

iii) an influx of new individuals may coincide with a low phase of activity, produce factionalization, and an attempt to restructure the norms.

At this point the probability of successful adaptation is again low, repeating many of the problems of the Initial Phase.

9.3.4. Adaptation

The problems and processes of adaptation and restructuring are beyond the scope of this research, being questions of evolution rather than stability. Two comments, however, seem in order. Firstly, the stimulus for innovation almost always has its origin outside the group. Groups that set themselves the project of

stepwise size increases (eg. IREV) without such a stimulus, are facing an almost impossibly difficult task.*

Secondly, the commonly accepted upper size limit of 20 for informal groups (See, for example, Shepherd. 1964) may be a consequence of human inability to manipulate preference combinations of this order of complexity in a meaningful normative structure. Successful transformation of large informal groups commonly involve a formalization of relations (eg. setting up an Executive). This would serve to reduce complexity, and might also be the point at which the absenteeism regulator takes over from the inactivity/leaving regulator to determine (effective) size.

9.4. Directions for Future Research

In Para. 1.2.3., the writer pointed out that groups not only influence our lives, but mediate our ability to influence the society in which we live. To this end, using the concepts of stability sketched here as a starting point, it would be useful to investigate the following questions.

1. How close an analogy of normative structure is the n-person-payoff-matrix? Can such matrices be constructed for real groups? (Normative structure was effectively a "black box" in the natural group observations reported here.) What is the logic of the relationship between "general beliefs" and "techniques" in such a matrix? How complex can such matrices become before complexity robs them of any practical power? Does this level of complexity coincide with the general size limits of "democratic" informal groups?

2. Can we construct a general model of the evolution (as opposed to stability) of human groups? Is "formalization" a condition of adaptation to higher size?

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*FOOTNOTE
The prescription for IREV's growth, which follows from the stability model, would be for it to split in two at its point of maximum size. This would create two groups, both of which should grow rapidly to the size of the first.

3. Can we construct a model of group evolution without a model of inter-group interaction in a defined environment?

4. Can we consciously construct groups for specific purposes, and have some idea of their probable trajectories?

9.5. Summary.

We have constructed a working model of small groups stability that is schematized in Fig. 9.1.

Both joining and leaving rates are governed by mechanisms fired by deviations from "normal size", and mediated by the collective set of beliefs, termed normative structure. The continued function of the normative structure as the regulator of size and activity, is itself dependent on the maintenance of normal size and activity. Thus stability feeds on itself. Groups are system individuals as well as systems of individuals. Collective properties mediate the relations between individuals, and the relations of individuals to themselves, while being no more than the sum of the relations they determin.

A remarkable, elegant, and eminently cybernetic arrangement!

THE END

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APPENDIX A

Page no	
A1 to A5	Coding Instructions
A4	Photocopy of Minutes of 21/8/74
A5	Activity Coding Sheet
A6 to A7	Example Coding Method
A8	Completed Coding Sheet for Week Commencing 21/8/74

IREV CODING INSTRUCTIONS

The aim of the coding is to transfer the minutes for each week to a standard form. Time and care are essential, especially when the minutes are long or difficult to read.

Activities and Names: These must always be coded as numbers. This is to protect anonymity and to make the final analysis easier. See Name and Activity Check sheets for full details.

Items to Ignore: Some of the items on the Code Sheet have already been filled in.

These are
1) the name of the group
2) number of the Code Sheet
3) date of meeting
4) no. of people in group
5) no of people absent (with or without apologies)
6) who left/joined, and total number left/joined since sheet 1.
7) the numbers of individuals in the group. (These appear in the first column of block 2).

All this can be ignored

Your job is to record who did what, how long it took them, and how many people were involved in each activity.
Only activities are to be recorded. Ignore discussions, reports, comments, etc.
You are only concerned with Blocks 1 and 2 on the coding sheet.

Coding Instructions (2)

1) Record who did what.
Do this by putting the number of the activity against the number of the individual - this entry goes in block 2, col. 3.

2) Record what was done by how many people.
Put the number of the activity in block 1, col. 1. Put the no. of people who participated in it in block 1, col. 7.
Note on multiple entries : If 2 people both attended two meetings, then the entry should look like this:

Act	No. Actors
2c	2
2c	2
NOT	
2c	4

The only exception to this is Administrative activities (7)
If one person makes 2 phone calls, writes a letter, and orders doucments, this simply appears as

7	1

(See next instruction for explanation)

3) Record how long each individual spent on group activities in the week.
Estimate this to the nearest hour, with a minimum of an hour, (if anything was done at all).
Do not count travelling time.
Most activities will take two hours, per individual. For instance, going to a demonstration, attending a meeting, visiting a contact, or flyposting, all take about two hours on average, if travelling time is not counted.
Only record more than 2 hours if the activity in itself took at least twice that time.
Again the main exception is Administrative activities. Here count

in units of one hour. In general 2 administrative acts will take 1 hour.

Thus if someone made a couple of phone calls (7 - - 1 hr) and sold papers (1 - - 2 hrs), enter the total (3) against that individual for that week, (in Block 2, col. 2 (LOC)).

4) *Make a note of foreward events. ie. if the date of the minutes is the 1st, and an activity is mentioned for the 12th, that activity belongs on the next code sheet, but might not be mentioned in the next Minutes.*

5) *Check to see if reports of past activities were recorded under the appropriate date, if not turn back and make appropriate entry.*

   Conversely if the current Minutes indicate that a past planned activity was not carried out, turn back and delete it.

6) *Check notes to see if any activities projected for this week are not currently minuted.*

7) *Make a separate list of ambiguities - eg. an activity that you can't remember the actors for.*

Minutes 21/8/74

Pres: RC, PC, JT, TP, Z, FHC, PH, DB, JA.
Apol.

Pete's candidate membership accepted unam.

Minutes & MAs
Membs.
Org Rep.
TU Rep
Others.
Scaman
Anti-Fascism.

Mass Anstng.
L of A of JT now 1/8 - 15/9
Z " 31/8 - 15/9 FHC to ring Red Books re conference bookstall.

Membs & Cents.
JT to see TP's contact 27/8. Cypriot contact probably coming to NF march 7/9. Contacts: Kurdistan & 2 from C's party. Decca contact to go to Leicester & Palmer to be approached re motorcade.

Org Rept
Chile demo 15/9. One of TC and/or PC cdes to go to Chile caucus 25/8 & report to next branch.
JI to order SWP doct on M1 expulsion.

Other Repts
AK at Guildford has unlimited printing facilities.
JT to order 10 copies of IMG constitution & statutes.

Finance.
RC to phone centre re 3A dues. JT to pay £10 for Leicester coach from branch funds - this will be recouped later.

L & A PH - three wks from now.

ACTIVITY CODING (IREV)

Code	Activity
1	Paper Sales
2	Call local meeting
2A	Production/Distribution of Leaflets/Posters
2C	Attend Meeting
3	Attend Demonstration
3A	Prepare for Demonstration
4	Internal Education
5	External Education
6	Trade Union Intervention
7	Administrative
8	Visit Contact
9	Other

Example

Only the underlined sections are relevant

i) "FMC to ring red books re. conference bookstall"
This is an administrative action (= 7) carried out by FMC (= 16)
In Block 2, enter 7 in col. 3 . (Fix), against 16
In Block 1, enter 7 in col. 1 . (Act), and 1 (the no. of individuals who did it) in col. 7 (no. Actors).

ii) "JT to see TP's contact 27/8."
This is visiting a contact (= 8) to be carried out by JT (= 4)
In Block 2, enter 8 in col. 3 . (Fix), against Ind. 4.
In Block 1, enter 8 in col. 1 . (Act), and 1 (the no. of individuals who did it) in col. 7 . (No. Actors)

iii) The next section (from "Cypriot contact... to.... to to Leicester") is not relevant to coding. It specifies no actions to be taken by Irev. members.

iv) " "Palmer" to be approahced re. motorcade".
This is more difficult. It is an administrative action (= 7) but the Actor is not specified. In cases such as this the activity should be attributed to the Branch Organiser, unless you remember clearly that it was someone else.
In Block 2, enter 7 in col. 3 . (Fix), against Ind. 4. (Branch Organiser).
In Block 1, enter 7 in col. 1 . (Act), and 1 (the no. of individuals who did it) in col. 7 . (No. of Actors).

v) "Chile Demo 15/9"/
The 15/9 does not fall within the week starting the 21/8, so make a note of this for foreward reference.

vi) "One of TC cde.s and/or PC to go to Chile Caucus 25/8 and report to next branch".
Again more difficult. The activity (attend meeting = 2c) is clear, but who did it is not. It could be ind. 12, 13, or 15. Therefore check the following weeks Minutes to see if the matter is clarified. In this case it is not. Now a little detective work/memory is called for. If 2 or 3 inds had gone thehre would almost certainly have been a Minuted report. On the other hand, as there is no report of the meeting not being attended, you should assume it was attended. The most likely reason for there being no report, is that the meeting was attended by 12, who was absent the following

example (cont/.)

2 weeks. So- unless you clearly remember otherwise- enter this on the code sheet.

In Block 2, enter 2c in col. 3 . (Fix) against Ind. 12

In Block 1, enter 2c in col. 1 . (Act) and 1 in col. 7 (no. Actors).

vii) "JT to order SWP doc on MT expulsion"

As it is already recorded that JT (= 4) is undertaking administrative action, and that administrativie action is being undertaken by one person (See Instruction, para. 3) make no immediate record of this.

viii) "JT to order 10 copies of constitution and statutes"

As in para vii.

ix) "RC to phone centre re. JA dues"

This is an administrative action (= 7) carried out by RC (= 3). Ind. 3 is not already credited with any administrative action, so:

In Block 2, enter 7 in col. 3 . (Fix) against Ind. 3.

In Block 1, enter 7 in col. 1 . (Act) and 1 in col. 7 . (no actors).

x) "JT to pay £10 for Leicester Coach... "

As in paras, vii and vii.

xi) <u>Estimating LOC (or Time Spent)</u>

a) Ind. 3 made a phone call. Minimum time recordable is 1 hr.,

In Block 2, col. 2 . (LOC) enter 1 against Ind. 3.

b) Ind. 4 visited a contact (= 2 hrs), and did 4 administrative things (= 2 hrs).

In Block 2, col. 2 . (LOC) enter 4 (ie. 2 + 2) against ind. 4.

c) Ind. 12 went to a meeting (= 2hrs)

In Block 2, col. 2 . (LOC) enter 2 against ind. 12.

d) Ind. 16 made a phone call. Minimum Time recordable is 1 hr.

In Block 2, col. 2 . (LOC) enter 1 against 16

Group ..IREV..... Cycle No. ....90..... Date ..21/8/74...

No. of people in group ....9.....

No. of people inactive ....9..... Proportion inactive .....

Who joined ....21..... Who left .....

No. joined since start ..... No. left since start .....

Total L.O.C. ....8..... Mean L.O.C. .....

Detailed Data on Activities block 1

	Act	Select	In Prog	Complete	Success	Fail	No. Actors		
	8						1		
	2c						1		
	7						1		
	7						1		
	7						1		
Totals									

Detailed Data on Individuals block 2

Ind.	LOC	Fix	TIG							
3	1	7								
4	4	8,7,								
11										
12	2	2c								
13										
15										
16	1	7								
20										
21										

APPENDIX B

GROUP-1 Program Listing in FORTRAN

The program listing reproduced here is the one which approximated, in output, to the history of the Brighton Rents Project. Special features are the high level of committment (LOC) of newcomers (INEXT) and a high joining rate.
A sample printout (Cycle 2) is also included.

```
0000                 LIST(LP)
0001.               PROGRAM (GROUP  1)
0002                COMPRESS INTEGER AND LOGICAL
0003                INPUT 1 = CR0
0004                OUTPUT 2 = LP 0
0005                END


0006                MASTER GROUP
0007                INTEGER ACT(8,6),AZ,B,C
0008                COMMON // IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,ACT,AZ,MINLOC,MAXLOC,
0009               1LEFT,JOINED,ICOMP,INFXT,DIVLOC,ENTER,ICYCLE,NSTORE(50,5)
0010                READ(1,10) ((IND(J,K),K=1,11),J=1,99),IZ,ACT,AZ,MINLOC,MAXLOC,
0011               1MCYCLE,ICYCLE,NCYCLE,ENTER,DIVLOC
0012             10 FORMAT(11441O,2F0.0)
```

```
0013          DO 7 J=1,99
0014          IND(J,2) = 5
0015        7 CONTINUE
0016          NRUN = 0
0017          JOINED = 0
0018          LEFT = 0
0019        9 DO 1 J=1,IZ
0020          I(J) = IND(J,1)
0021        1 CONTINUE
0022          INEXT = IZ+1
0023          NRUN = NRUN + 1
0024    C RUN IS THE SET OF CYCLES FOR WHICH A COMPLETE DATA RECORD IS MADE
0025          WRITE(2,20)
0026       20 FORMAT (30H1 GROUP (1) INITIAL PARAMETERS)
0027          WRITE(2,30) NRUN,ICYCLE
0028       30 FORMAT (9H  RUN NO.,I3,17HSTARTING AT CYCLE,I3 )
```

```
0029    C PRINTS RUN AND CYCLE NUMBERS
0030          WRITE (2,40)
0031       40 FORMAT(90H0                                        TIME NEEDED TO
0032         1      MIN,NO. OF PEOPLE                )
0033          WRITE(2,50)
0034       50 FORMAT(90H NAME                                   COMPLETE ACT
0035         1     REQUIRED IF ACTIVITY              )
0036          WRITE (2,60)
0037       60 FORMAT(90H OF ACT                                 (SAME UNITS AS LOC)
0038         1     IS TO BE UNDERTAKEN               )
0039          DO 2 B=1,AZ
0040          WRITE(2,70) (ACT(B,C),C=1,3)
0041       70 FORMAT(7X,I3,27X,I3,27X,I3)
0042        2 CONTINUE
0043    C PRINTS LIST OF ACTIVITIES AND THEIR PRECONDITIONS
0044          WRITE(2,80) IZ
0045       80 FORMAT(35H0NO. OF INDIVIDUALS IN GROUP (IZ) =,I4)
0046          WRITE (2,90) MAXLOC
0047       90 FORMAT(57H MAXIMUM LEVEL OF COMMITTMENT (LOC) PER PERSON (MAXLOC)
0048         1=,I3)
```

```
0049          WRITE(2,100) MINLOC
0050      100 FORMAT(56H MINIMUM LOC BELOW WHICH INDS LEAVE THE GROUP (MINLOC) =
0051         1,I3)
0052          WRITE (2,110) DIVLOC
0053      110 FORMAT (85H IF AN IND. DOES NOT JOIN IN HIS MOST PREFERRED ACT, HI
0054         1S LOC IS REDUCED BY (DIVLOC) =,F2.2)
0055          WRITE(2,120)ENTER
0056      120 FORMAT(86H NEW INDS JOIN AS A PROPORTION OF THE NO. OF INDS INVOLV
0057         1ED IN SUCCESSFUL ACTS (ENTER)=,F2.2 )
0058    C PRINTS OTHER PARAMETERS
0059          GOTO 99
0060       99 DO 3 ICYCLE = MCYCLE,NCYCLE
0061    C SETS THE GROUP PROCESS A LIMIT OF 50 CYCLES
0062          CALL DISPLAY
0063          IF (INEXT-100)0,89,0
0064          IF(IZ-2)89,89,0
0065    C ENDS IF POOL OF PEOPLE IS EXHAUSTED
0066       79 CALL VOTE
0067          CALL DISILLUSION
0068          CALL LEAVE
0069          IF(IZ)0,89,0
0070    C ENDS IF EVERYONE HAS LEFT THE GROUP
0071          CALL ACTION
0072          CALL DISSONANCE
0073          CALL JOIN
0074          IF(IZ-30) 0,89,89
0075    C ENDS IF GROUP SIZE GOES OVER LIMIT
0076        3 CONTINUE
0077       89 CALL SUMMARY
0078          END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 212, NAME GROUP

```
0079          SUBROUTINE DISPLAY
0080          INTEGER ACT(8,6),AZ,AVLOC
0081          COMMON //IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,ACT,AZ,IDUM(2),LEFT,JOINED,ICOMP,
0082         1JDUM,DUM(2),ICYCLE,NSTORE(50,5)
0083          WRITE(2,1) ICYCLE
0084        1 FORMAT (34H1 STATE OF SIMULATION BEFORE CYCLE,I5)
0085          WRITE(2,2)IZ
0086        2 FORMAT (23HONO. OF PEOPLE IN GROUP,I5)
0087          WRITE(2,3) JOINED,LEFT
0088        3 FORMAT(30X,I3,2X,17HPEOPLE JOINED AND,I3,2X,4HLEFT)
0089          N=0
0090          DO 100 J=1,AZ
0091          IF (ACT(J,5)-1) 100,0,100
0092          N=N+1
0093      100 CONTINUE
0094    C ADDS NO. OF COMPLETED ACTIVITIES
0095          WRITE(2,5)N
0096        5 FORMAT(28H NO. OF COMPLETED ACTIVITIES,I4)
0097           WRITE(2,6) ICOMP
0098        6 FORMAT(29H NO OF INDS WHO COMPLETE ACTS,I4)
0099          K=0
0100          DO 101 J=1,IZ
0101          IF (IND(I(J),2)-880) 20,20,0
0102          K = K + IND(I(J),2)-880
0103    C DEAS WITH INACTIVE INDIVIDUA S
0104          GOTO 101
0105       20 K = K + IND (I(J),2)
0106      101 CONTINUE
0107    C 'K' GIVES TOTAL LOC OF THE GROUP
```

```
0108          WRITE(2,14) K
0109       14 FORMAT(13H TOTAL LOC IS,I4)
0110          NSTORE(ICYCLE,5) = K
0111          AVLOC = K/IZ
0112    C THEN THE AVERAGE LOC
0113          WRITE (2,7) AVLOC
0114        7 FORMAT(15H AVERAGE LOC IS,I4)
0115          WRITE(2,8)
0116        8 FORMAT(28H0DETAILED DATA ON ACTIVITIES)
0117          WRITE(2,9)
0118        9 FORMAT(4H0ACT,3X,8HSELECTED,3X,9HCOMPLETED)
0119          DO 102 K=1,AZ
0120          WRITE (2,10) ACT(K,1),ACT(K,4),ACT(K,5)
0121       10 FORMAT(I4,4X,I4,7X,I4)
0122      102 CONTINUE
0123          WRITE(2,11)
0124       11 FORMAT(31H0  DETAILED DATA ON INDIVIDUALS)
0125          WRITE(2,12)
0126       12 FORMAT(73H0IND.  LOC.  FIX.  ACT.1  ACT.2  ACT.3  ACT.4  ACT.5  AC
0127         1T.6  ACT.7  ACT.8)
0128          DO 103 J = 1,IZ
0129          WRITE(2,13)(IND(I(J),K),K=1,11)
0130       13 FORMAT (I4,3I6,7I7)
0131      103 CONTINUE
0132          J=ICYCLE
0133          NSTORE(J,1)=IZ
0134          NSTORE(J,2)=ITURN
0135          NSTORE(J,3)=N
0136          NSTORE(J,4)=ICOMP
0137    C UPDATES OVERALL DATA RECORD
0138          RETURN
0139          END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 205, NAME DISPLAY

```
      SUBROUTINE VOTE
      INTEGER ACT(8,6),AZ,B,U,UA,X,Y
      DIMENSION II(30)
      COMMON IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,ACT,AZ
      DO 4 B=1,AZ
      ACT(B,4)=0
      ACT(B,5)=0
    4 CONTINUE
C SETS ACTIVITY SELECTION AND COMPLETION COUNTERS TO ZERO
      DO 5 J=1,IZ
      IND(I(J),3)=0
C CANCELS EVERY INDS PREVIOUS ACTIVITY SELECTIONS
      II(J) = I(J)
C SETS UP VECTOR II OF ALL INDS WHO HAVE NOT DECIDED ON THEIR NEXT ACTIVITY
    5 CONTINUE
      IIZ = IZ
C IIZ IS NO. OF PEOPLE IN VECTOR II
      DO 50 U=1,AZ
C 'U' IS THE LEVEL OF PREFERENCE UNDER CONSIDERATION
      IF(IIZ) 51,51,0
C IF ALL INDS HAVE DECIDED ON THEIR ACTIVITY, THEN VOTE IS COMPLETED
   33 Y=0
C 'Y' IS A COUNTER FOR POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES AT THE CURRENT PREFERENCE LEVEL
      DO 7 K=4,AZ+3
      X=0
C 'X' COUNTS THE NO. OF PREFS. FOR EACH ACTIVITY
      DO 6 J=1,IIZ
      IF(IND(II(J),K)-U)0,0,6
      X=X+1
    6 CONTINUE
      IF(X-ACT(K-3,3)) 7,0,0
C IF AT LEAST AS MANY PEOPLE U-PREFER AN ACTIVITY AS ARE NEEDED TO CARRY IT OUT,
C THEN THAT ACTIVITY IS ......
      ACT(K-3,4) = 2
C MARKED AS POSSIBLY SELECTED AND ......
      Y=Y+1
C THE POSSIBLE ACTIVITIES COUNTER RAISED BY ONE
    7 CONTINUE
```

```
0178          IF(Y-1)40,20,10
0179    C THE NEXT STEP DEPENDS ON THE NUMBER OF POSSIBLE ACTIBITIES,
0180    C IF SEVERAL ACTS ARE POBBIBLE, ONE IS SELECTED AS THE MOST PREFERRED BY
0181    C THE FOLLOWING PROCESS.....
0182    C WHICH ACT HAS THE HIGHEST NO. OF FIRST CHOICES?  IF NONE, OR MORE THAN ONE,
0183    C WHICH ACT HAS THE HIGHEST NO. OF FIRST AND SECOND CHOICES.....ETC....
0184       10 DO 16 UA = 1,U
0185    C 'UA' SHADOWS 'U' AS PREFERENCE LEVEL INDICATOR
0186          X=0
0187          MAXSUM = 0
0188          DO 14 B=1,AZ
0189          ACT(B,6) = 0
0190    C CLEARS COL,6 IN ACTIVITY MATRIX FOR PREFERENCE COUNTING
0191          IF (ACT(B,4)-2) 14,0,14
0192    C IF AN ACT IS POSSIBLE...........
0193          DO 12 J=1,IIZ
0194          IF (UA - IND(II(J),B+3))12,0,0
0195          ACT(B,6) = ACT(B,6) + 1
0196       12 CONTINUE
0197    C SUM T8E INDS CHOOSING IT TO 'UA' PREF. LEVEL AND .........
0198          IF(ACT(B,6)-MAXSUM) 14,14,0
0199          MAXSUM = ACT(B,6)
0200    C RESETS MAXSUM IF IT IS PREFERRED TO PREVIOUS ACTS
0201       14 CONTINUE
0202          DO 15 B=1,AZ
0203          IF (ACT(B,4)-2) 15,0,15
0204    C IF AN ACT IS POSSIBLE

0205          IF(ACT(B,6)-MAXSUM) 0,145,15
0206          ACT(B,4)=0
0207    C BUT GETS FEWER PREFS. , IT IS ELIMINATED
0208      145 X=X+1
0209    C 'X' COUNTS NO. OF ACTS RECEIVING MAXIMUM PREFERENCE
0210       15 CONTINUE
0211          IF(X-1)16,20,16
0212    C THIS PART IS TERMINATED IF ONE ACT IS UNIQUELY PREFFERRED
0213       16 CONTINUE
```

```
0214              GOTO 20
0215        C IF SEVERAL ACTS ARE EQUAL AT EVERY PREFERENCE LEVEL, THE NEXT SECTION (20)
0216        C WILL ARBITARILY SELECT THE FIRST OF THEM
0217           20 DO 21 B=1,AZ
0218              IF (ACT(B,4).EQ.2) GOTO 22
0219           21 CONTINUE
0220        C THE MOST PREFFERED POSSIBLE ACT IS ......
0221           22 ACT(B,4)=1
0222        C MARKED"1" AS SELECTED ......
0223              DO 23 J=1,IIZ
0224              IF(IND(II(J),B+3)-U) 0,0,23
0225        C AND THE UNDECIDED INDS WHO PREFER IT ......
0226              IND(II(J),3) = B
0227        C FIX THEIR CHOICES ......
0228              II(J)=0
0229        C AND COME OFF THE UNDECIDED LIST
0230           23 CONTINUE
0231              CALL ISQUASH (II,IIZ)
0232           30 IF(Y-1) 0,50,33
0233           40 DO 44 J=1,IIZ
0234              DO 41 K=4,AZ+3
0235              IF (IND(II(J),K)-U) 0,42,0
0236        C IF AN INDS U-PREFERENCE.....
0237           41 CONTINUE
0238           42 IF(ACT(K-3,4)-1) 44,0,44
0239        C IS FOR A SELECTED ACT ......
0240              IND(II(J),3)=K-3
0241        C THEN HE FIXES HIS CHOICE ......
0242              II(J) = 0
0243        C AND COMES OFF THE UNDECIDED LIST
0244           44 CONTINUE
0245              CALL ISQUASH (II,IIZ)
0246        C FINALLY THE II VECTOR IS CONDENSED BY ISQUASH
0247           50 CONTINUE
0248           51 RETURN
0249              . END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 280, NAME VOTE

```
0250          SUBROUTINE ISQUASH (II,IIZ)
0251          DIMENSION II(IIZ)
0252          J=0
0253        1 J=J+1
0254        2 IF (J-IIZ) 0,5,7
0255    C IF J INDICATES A PLACE IN VECROR II......
0256          IF (II(J)) 1,0,1
0257    C BUT THE PLACE IS VACANT......
0258          DO 3 K=J,IIZ-1
0259          II(K)=II(K+1)
0260        3 CONTINUE
0261    C THE VECTOR IS CONDENSED TO ELIMINATE THE SPACE.......
0262        4 IIZ = IIZ-1
0263    C AND THE NO, OF INDS REDUCED ACCORDINGLY
0264          GOTO 2
0265        5 IF(II(J))1,4,1
0266    C DEALS WITH LAST PLACE IN II
0267        7 RETURN
0268          END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 53, NAME ISQUASH

```
0269          SUBROUTINE DISILLUSION
0270          INTEGER AZ
0271          COMMON IND(09,11),I(30),IZ,IDUM(48),AZ,JDUM(6),DIVLOC,ENTER,ICYCLE
0272          DO 5 J=1,IZ
0273          IF(IND(I(J),IND(I(J),3)+3)-1) 0,5,0
0274    C IF AN IND. DOES NOT ACHIEVE HIS FIRST PREFERENCE......
0275          IF (IND(I(J),2)-880)    0,5,5
0276    C AND IS NOT INACTIVE
0277          IND(I(J),2) = NINT(IND(I(J),2)*DIVLOC)
0278    C HIS LEVEL OF COMMITTMENT DECREASES BY   (DIVLOC)
0279        5 CONTINUE
0280    C THE NEXT SECTION CAUSES CONTINUOUS DECAY OF
0281    C COMMITTMENT UNLESS COMPENSATED BY ACTION
0282          IF (MOD(ICYCLE,2))6,0,6
0283          DO 6 J=1,IZ
0284          IND(I(J),2) = IND(I(J),2)-1
0285          IF(IND(I(J),2)-380)6,0,0
0286    C IF AN INACTIVE INDIVIDUAL......
0287          IF(IND(I(J),2)-381)0,0,6
0288    C...HAS A VERY LOW LOC.....
0289          IND(I(J),2) = IND(I(J),2)-880
0290    C ... HE IS REACTIVATED FOR LEAVE
0291        6 CONTINUE
0292          RETURN
0293          END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 94, NAME DISILLUSION

```
0294                SUBROUTINE LEAVE
0295                COMMON  IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,IDUM(49),MINLOC,JDUM,LEFT
0296                LEFT = 0
0297                DO 5 J=1,IZ
0298                IF(MINLOC - IND(I(J),2))5,5,0
0299          C IF AN IND'S LOC DROPS BELOW MINLOC......
0300                I(J) = 0
0301                LEFT=LEFT+1
0302          C THAT INDIVIDUAL LEAVES THE GROUP.......
0303              5 CONTINUE
0304                IF(LEFT) 7,7,0
0305                CALL ISQUASH(I,IZ)
0306          C AND VECTOR I IS REDUCED ACCORDINGLY
0307              7 RETURN
0308                END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 41, NAME LEAVE

```
      SUBROUTINE ACTION
      INTEGER ACT(8,6),AZ,B,X
      DIMENSION II(30)
      COMMON IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,ACT,AZ,MINLOC,MAXLOC
      B=0
    1 B=B+1
C 'B' IS THE NAME OF THE ACR UNDER CONSIDERARION
      IF (B-AZ)0,0,50
C END IF 'B' IS NOT AN ACTIBITY
      IF(ACT(B,4)-1) 1,0,1
C IF THE ACT HAS NOT BEEN CHOSEN, LOOK AT THE NEXT ACT
      IIZ=0
      X=0
      DO 2 J=1,IZ
      IF(IND(I(J),3)-B)2,0,2
C ONLY INDS CHOOSING ACT B ARE CONSIDERED HERE
      IF(IND(I(J),2)-880)0,2,2
C ONLY ACTIVE INDIVIDUALS ARE CONSIDERED
      IIZ = IIZ + 1
C COUNTS INDS CHOOSING ACR B
      II(IIZ) = I(J) + IND(I(J),2)*100
C PUTS THE NAME AND LOC OF INDS CHOOSING B INTO VECTOR II
      X=X+IND(I(J),2)
C SUMS LOCS OF INDS CHOOSING ACT B
    2 CONTINUE
      IF(IIZ) 0,1,0
C DEALS WITH THE CASE WHERE ALL INDS WHO CHOSE ACT B HAVE LEFT
   31 IF(X-(ACT(B,2)-2)) 24,20,0
      IF(X-(ACT(B,2)+2))20,20,27
C TESTS FOR TOO LITTLE,THEN TOO MUCH COMMITTMENT
C IF THE SUM OF LOCS IS WITHIN 2 POINTS OF THE ACTIVITY REQUIRED,NO ADJUSTMENT
   24 IF(X/IIZ-5)4,0,0
C IF MEAN-LOC IS HIGH, INACTIVE INDS ARE CALLED IN
      DO 25 J=1,IZ
      IF (IND(I(J),2)-880)25,25,0
C ONLY LOOKS AT INACTIVE INDS
```

```
0345          IND(I(J),2) = IND(I(J),2)-880
0346    C ACTIVATES THEM
0347          IND(I(J),3)= B
0348    C RESETS THEIR ALLOCATED ACTIVITY
0349          IIZ = IIZ + 1
0350    C ADDS REACTIVATED INDIVIDUAL TO TOTAL
0351          II(IIZ) = I(J) + IND(I(J),2)*100
0352    C PUTS REACTIVATED IND INTO VECTOR II
0353          X=X+IND(I(J),2)
0354    C RESETS LOC TOTAL
0355          GOTO 31
0356       25 CONTINUE
0357          GOTO 4
0358    C IN A CASE THERE ARE NO INACTIVE INDS
0359       27 IF(X/IIZ-5) 0,4,4
0360    C IF MEAN-LOC IS LOW, INDS ARE DE-ACTIVATED
0361          IRA = MINO(IND(I(1),AZ+3),IIZ)
0362    C IRA (RANDOM INTEGER) SELECTS AN IND TO DEACTIVATE
0363          LA = MOD(II(IRA),100)
0364    C NAME INACTIVATED INDIVIDUAL
0365          DO 28 J=1,IZ
0366          IF(I(J) - LA)28,0,28
0367          IND(I(J),2) = IND(I(J),2) + 880
0368    C AND MARKS HIM INACTIVE
0369          GOTO 30
0370       28 CONTINUE
```

```
0371       30 X = X - II(IRA)/100
0372    C REDUCES LOCSUM ACCORDINGLY
0373          IF (IRA - IIZ) 0,26,0
0374          DO 29 J=IRA,IIZ-1
0375          II(J) = II(J+1)
0376    C REDUCES VECTOR II AFTER LOSS OF INACTIVE INDIVIDUAL
0377       29 CONTINUE
0378       26 IIZ = IIZ - 1
0379    C REDUCES NO. OF INDS. IN II
```

```
      GOTO 31
    4 DO 7 J=1,IIZ
C THIS LOOP PUTS INDS IN VECTOR II IN INCREASING ORDER OF LOC
      K=IIZ-J
      MARK=0
      DO 6 L=1,K
      NEXT=L+1
      IF(II(NEXT)-II(L)) 0,6,6
C NO CHANGE IF L IS SMALLER THAN ITS SUCCESSOR
      M=II(L)
      II(L) = II(NEXT)
      II(NEXT) = M
C IF L IS LARGER THAN IPS SUCCESSOR, THEY CHANGE PLACES
      MARK=1
C AND THE CHANGE IS RECORDED
    6 CONTINUE
      IF(MARK) 0,8,0
C IF THERE WERE NO CHANGES , THE ORDERING IS FINISHED
    7 CONTINUE
    8 IF(X-(ACT(B,2)*2))0,0,12
C THE NEXT PART DEALS WITH THE CASE OF INSUFFICIENT COMMITTMENT
      DO 10 J=1,IIZ
      K=IIZ+1-J
      IF((II(K)/100)-10)0,10,0
C IGNORE INDS WHO HAVE MAXIMUM LOC ALREADY
C THEN INCREASES COMMITTMENT OF MOST COMMITTED INDS.
      N=MOD(II(K),100)
C MOD EXTRACTS NAME (NUMBER) OF INDIVIDUAL
      M=MIN0((II(K)/100)*2,10)
      II(K)= N+M*100
C DOUBLES THAT INDS LOC TO A MAX OF 10 IN II
      X = X + (M - IND(N,2))
C SETS NEW LOC TOTAL
      IF(X-(ACT(B,2)-2))10,16,16
C TESTS TO SEE IF NEW LOC TOTAL IS SUFFIVIENT
   10 CONTINUE
      GOTO 1
C IN CASE LOC TOTAL IS NEVER SUFFICIENT
```

```
0418          12 DO 14 J=1,IIZ
0419     C DEALS WITH THE CASE OF TOO MUCH COMMITTMENT
0420           N=MOD(II(J),100)
0421     C EXTRACTS NAME OF LEASE COMMITTED INDIVIDUALS FIRST
0422           M= MAXU((II(J)/100)/2,2)
0423           II(J) = N+M*100
0424     C HALVES WITH A MIN OF 2, THE LOC OF LEAST COMMITTED INDS.
0425           X=X-IND(N,2)+M
0426     C SETS NEW LOC TOTAL
0427           IF(X-(ACT(B,2)+2)) 16,16,14
0428     C TESTS TO SEE IF NEW LOC TOTAL IS SUFFICIENTLY REDUCED
0429          14 CONTINUE
0430          16 DO 17 J = 1,IIZ
0431           IND((MOD(II(J),100)),2) = II(J)/100
0432     C PUTS NEW LOC LEVELS INTO IND MATRIX
0433          17 CONTINUE
0434          20 ACT(B,5)=1
0435     C MARKS ACT AS COMPLETED
0436           GOTO 1
0437          50 RETURN
0438           END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 430, NAME ACTION

```
0439          SUBROUTINE DISSONANCE
0440          INTEGER ACT(8,6),AZ
0441          COMMON IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,ACT,AZ
0442          DO 10 J=1,IZ
0443          IF (IND(I(J),2)-880)   0,10,10
0444    C IGNORES INACTIVE INDIVIDUALS
0445          IPREF = IND(I(J),IND(I(J),3)+3)
0446    C IPREF GIVES PREF. LEVEL OF I'S SELECTED ACT
0447          IF(ACT(IND(I(J),3),5)-1)0,5,0
0448    C IF THE ACT CHOSEN BY AN IND HAS BEEN COMPLETED,GOTO 5, IF NOT, CONTINUE....
0449          IF(IPREF - AZ) 0,10,0
0450    C IF AN INDS LAST PREF. ACTIVITY HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED , MAKE NO CHANGES
0451          DO 2 K=4,AZ+3
0452          IF(IND(I(J),K) - (IPREF+1)) 2,0,2
0453    C SELECT THE LESS PREFERRED ACTIVITY.......
0454           IND(I(J),K) = IND(I(J),K) - 1
0455    C AND INCREASE THAT INDS. PREF. FOR IT ....
0456          IND(I(J),IND(I(J),3)+3) = IPREF + 1
0457    C WHILE DECREASING HIS PREFERENCE FOR THE UNCOMLETED ACT
0458          GOTO 10
0459    C THEN LOOK AT THE NEXT INDIBIDUAL
0460        2 CONTINUE
0461        5 IF (IPREF - 1) 0,10,0
0462    C IF AN INDS FIRST PREF. ACTIVITY HAS BEEN COMPLETED, MAKE NO CHANGES
0463          DO 7 K=4,AZ+3
0464    C OTHERWISE .....
0465          IF(IND(I(J),K) - (IPREF-1)) 7,0,7
0466    C FIND THE MORE PREFERRED ACTIVITY ....
0467          IND(I(J),K) = IND(I(J),K) + 1
0468    C AND DECREASE THAT INDS PREF. FOR IT
0469          IND(I(J),IND(I(J),3)+3) = IPREF -1
0470    C WHILE INCREASING HIS PREFERENCE FOR THE COMPLETED ACT
0471          GOTO 10
0472    C THEN LOOK AT TBE NEXT INDIVIDUAL
0473        7 CONTINUE
0474       10 CONTINUE
0475          RETURN
0476          END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 136, NAME DISSONANCE

```
      SUBROUTINE JOIN
      INTEGER ACT(8,6),AZ
      COMMON IND(99,11),I(30),IZ,ACT,AZ,IDUM(3),JOINED,ICOMP,INEXT,
     1DUM,ENTER
      ICOMP= 0
      ITOT = 0
      JOINED = 0
      DO 1 J=1,IZ
      IF (IND(I(J),2)-880)  0,1,1
C IGNORES INACTIVE INDIVIDUALS
      IF(ACT(IND(I(J),3),5) - 1) 1,0,1
C IF AN INDS. CHOSEN ACT IS COMPLETED......
      ICOMP = ICOMP +1
C ONE POINT IS ADDED TO ICOMP.
      ITOT = ITOT + IND(I(J),2)
    1 CONTINUE
      IF (ICOMP - 1) 5,5,0
      ENTER = (ITOT/ICOMP-1)/10.0
      JOE = ICOMP*ENTER
C JOE IS NO. OF I'S WHO MIGHT JOIN
    2 IF(JOE-1)5,0,0
      DO 4 K=1,JOE
      IZ = IZ+1
      IF(IZ-30)0,0,5
      I(IZ) = INEXT
C INEXT JOINS
      JOINED = JOINED+1
      INEXT = INEXT + 1
      IF (INEXT-100)0,5,5
C ENDS IF POOL OF INDS EXHAUSTED
    4 CONTINUE
    5 RETURN
      END
```

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH 111, NAME JOIN

```
0510                SUBROUTINE SUMMARY
0511                COMMON IDUM(1175),DUM(2),ICYCLE,NSTORE(50,5)
0512                WRITE(2,1)
0513              1 FORMAT(6H1CYCLE,3X,2HIZ,6X,4HTURN,4X,4HNACT,4X,5HICOMP,3X,6HTOTLOC
0514               1,2X,5HAVLOC)
0515                DO 10 J=1,ICYCLE
0516                M = (NSTORE(J,5)/NSTORE(J,1))
0517                WRITE(2,2)J,(NSTORE(J,K),K=1,5),M
0518              2 FORMAT (3X,7(I2,6X))
0519             10 CONTINUE
0520                RETURN
0521                END

END OF SEGMENT, LENGTH     47, NAME  SUMMARY

0522                FINISH
```

STATE OF SIMULATION BEFORE CYCLE 2

NO. OF PEOPLE IN GROUP 10

2 PEOPLE JOINED AND 0 LEFT

NO. OF COMPLETED ACTIVITIES 2
NO OF INDS WHO COMPLETE ACTS 7
TOTAL LOC IS 44 34
AVERAGE LOC IS 4

DETAILED DATA ON ACTIVITIES

ACT	SELECTED	COMPLETED
1	0	0
2	1	1
3	0	0
4	0	0
5	1	1
6	0	0
7	0	0
8	0	0

DETAILED DATA ON INDIVIDUALS

INDY.	LOC.	FIX.	ACT.1	ACT.2	ACT.3	ACT.4	ACT.5	ACT.6	ACT.7	ACT.8
1	3	2	6	1	4	8	5	2	3	7
2	3	5	6	4	8	5	2	7	3	1
3	5	5	5	2	3	8	1	7	4	6
4	3	2	8	3	2	1	6	4	5	7
5	5	2	4	1	6	7	3	5	8	2
6	5	2	5	1	6	7	4	8	3	2
7	5	5	2	7	6	3	1	2	8	5
8	885	5	7	5	3	8	1	2	4	6
9	5	0	3	8	6	2	5	1	4	7
10	5	0	7	2	6	1	8	5	3	4