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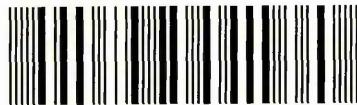
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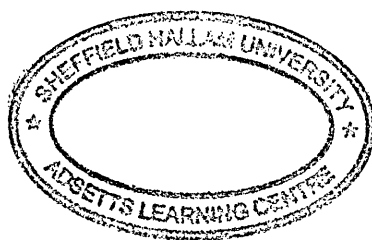
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Disparate Life Chances in Central Sheffield

Simon Walker

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield
Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the nature of the global/local nexus: how economic globalisation influences a particular locality and the lives within it. Consequently it addresses the relative neglect of the local and the specific in discussions on economic globalisation and its effects. The research asks two questions: how does economic globalisation influence urban inequality within a specific location? Secondly, how are the life chances of people living within the specific locality influenced by economic globalisation?

In order to capture the complexity of change the research draws upon multiple methods for the analysis of a single city case study of Sheffield and selected residents. Chapter one discusses economic globalisation and British social and urban inequality. Chapter three introduces the Sheffield city case study to contextualise the dialectical approach that is taken in this research. Descending further from the global to the local, chapter four (a community profile) contextualises the contemporary forms of urban inequality through an examination of contradictory urban forms: public degeneration and private regeneration. Two disparate forms of housing tenure are selected - a post war residualised council estate and a private adjoining gentrified district. Contemporary social inequality is examined through an analysis of life history interviews with males residing within one of the two respective housing developments. These males left secondary education during the 1980's when economic globalisation emerged.

Analysis of the life histories (chapter five) draws on thematic matrices as well as the material from the previous chapters. The research findings highlight the dynamic nature of urban and social inequality under the aegis of economic globalisation. The role of '*marginal gentrifiers*' is highlighted, but the very efficacy of the term gentrification is challenged when used to refer to those who reside within such developments. The notion of an inner city council estate '*underclass*' is also challenged.

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INTRODUCTION

The research that is presented in this thesis explores relationships between the global and the local levels of social science analysis in a specific location. The research is ambitious because it explores some of the relationships between economic changes occurring at the global level of analysis with those occurring at a more specific local level. In particular, this thesis explores the relationship between economic globalisation, urban and social inequality within the city (Sheffield) with the aim of understanding how changes associated with economic globalisation influence life chances. It is crucial to state that the thesis is by no means representative of all the people who reside within the community researched but attempts to highlight significant factors influencing their life chances and life worlds. The fieldwork element of the research into life chances and life worlds is based upon what are termed 'thematic transmission factors' that both express and determine life chances and life worlds: education, employment and residential mobility.

A theoretical gap exists between the global and the local and therefore novel methods of bridging the gap are utilised to illuminate the research. The research is conducted within a qualitative framework and is grounded in a classical Marxist dialectic methodology drawing upon interdisciplinary academic sources.¹ The research consists of what Burgess calls '*multiple strategies*' (1984: 2) and utilises a range of qualitative research methodologies: literature review, ethnographic-style fieldwork, city case study, community profile and life history interviews. This research adopts the life history methodology of Dex (1991) to explore the life chances and life worlds of the research cohort.

The research explores how economic restructuring at the global level influences urban inequality occurring at the local level and how these structural changes influence the life chances of young men residing within a particular locality. The overall aim of the research is to unite within a 'totality' the global and the local; the somewhat abstract

¹ The research can broadly be termed 'Urban Studies', an interdisciplinary field that brings together urban sociology, city and regional planning, urban geography and cultural studies. In addition, local historical documents from Sheffield complement and illustrate the arguments of the thesis.

tendencies of economic restructuring commonly known as globalisation with specific local urban inequalities and unequal life chances.

The existing literature on the relationship between globalisation and urban change has produced a wealth of case studies on cities e.g. Knox, 1995; Douglass & Friedman, 1998; Lo & Young, 1998 and Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000. However, while this body of work exemplifies the importance of local context it has concentrated almost exclusively upon the so-called '*global*' or '*world*' cities and analysed social and urban inequalities frequently on the flawed basis of a '*Dual city*' (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991). While the growth of social and urban inequality is frequently synonymous with economic globalisation there is still, as yet, a relative dearth of illustrative examples, or 'measurements', of the influence of globalisation upon people's lives and specific neighbourhoods. Noting this incongruity Short and Kim (1999: 8) refer to how '*there are lots of speculative comments about the globalizing world or about the global-urban connection but fewer examples of careful measurements of globalization*'. Short and Kim call this incongruity the '*dirty little secret of world cities research*' (p.8).²

The lack of empirical research linking globalisation and developments within a specific locality represents an opportunity to make a valuable contribution towards a neglected area. With this in mind this research heeds Short and Kim's call for more detailed empirical research into the influence of globalisation. In addition, Eade advocates locating '*globalisation as local process*' by grounding globalisation and global/local processes through engagement with the '*everyday lives of people in the global city*' (1997: 1). Consequently the originality of this thesis lies in illustrating changes brought about at the global level within a specific time and place through the prism of a particular locality and a group of male residents' life chances there. In short the thesis offers a 'measurement' (see chapter two, page 42) of the influence of economic globalisation upon places and people. The research also makes a further original contribution by studying what might be termed a 'non-Global City' (Sheffield) in the currently defined sense. In doing so the research explores how contemporary patterns of social and urban inequality are more complex than binary concepts like the '*Dual city*' suggest.

² With regard to this reference to '*World Cities*' research by Short and Kim the term '*Global Cities*' is frequently used interchangeably. The latter term seemed to supersede the earlier one with the emergence of economic globalisation.

III

On a more personal note this research was inspired by the protracted economic, social and urban developments manifest within Sheffield's city centre. Since the late 1970's the city's economy has undergone, and continues to undergo, a fundamental restructuring of its economy. These changes have subsequently had large social and urban repercussions within the city. These protracted developments are in a very real sense part of my own life history. The catalyst to my academic interest in urban studies was Mike Davis's seminal *City of Quartz* (1990). The combination of a native son's reportage, theory, history and photo-journalism is widely acknowledged as seminal. Consequently the prospect to conduct research into contemporary processes occurring across time and space in Sheffield was too good an opportunity to miss.

The research hypothesis (see chapter two, page 37-38) is framed around what appears to be a contradictory development: namely that between revolutionary advances in telecommunications and computer technology, manifested in the globalisation of commodity production, and a simultaneous regression in male life chances (a decreasing incidence of social mobility). Economic globalisation has utilised unprecedented advances in computer and telecommunication technology over the past three decades and brought about the greatest advances in labour productivity in human history (Wolf, 2005). However, over the same period the incidence of upward life chances for working class British males has regressed (Aldridge et al, 2001). Consequently this research asks two interrelated questions: how does the emergence of economic globalisation influence urban inequality within a specific locality? Secondly, we ask how the life chances of people living within that specific locality are influenced by these accumulative changes. The selection of the research questions is ultimately to offer a 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation upon urban inequality within a specific locality and upon the life chances of a small selection of males who live there, but within disparate residential communities. In keeping with a dialectic approach the measurement of both urban and social inequality is both quantitative and qualitative.

Outline of Chapters

The literature review chapter (chapter one) opens the thesis and focuses upon economic globalisation, urban and social inequality within the city. Initially chapter one discusses how Marx and Engels understood the city at the time of the industrial revolution in their classic work. The discussion in this chapter is brought up to date by exploring the emergence of a Marxist Human Geography and Urban Studies in the early 1970's. Once this basic approach has been established in the chapter we discuss the literature concerning the relationship between economic globalisation and the contemporary British city. However we discuss at this point the situation prior to the emergence of economic globalisation in a section entitled *The Keynesian City* because in keeping with a dialectic approach we can only understand the present if we understand the past from which the present emerges. The next section in the chapter is entitled *The Globalizing City* and explores the relationship between globalisation and the contemporary city and brings the discussion up to the present period. Once the nature of the relationship between globalisation and the city has been established the chapter elaborates on *Urban and social inequality within the 'Globalising city'*. We explore the literature on urban and social inequalities within the concept of the 'Dual City' and 'Global Cities' approaches. The literature review chapter is designed to become progressively more specific in time and space and so we explore two particular contemporary expressions of urban and social inequality within the British city: Gentrification and Residualisation. These disparate phenomena are introduced because they will be explored more specifically in time and space in the following chapters. A chapter conclusion seeks to draw the discussion together concerning the nature of the relationship between globalisation, urban and social inequality within the city.

Chapter two (The Research Approach chapter) explains and justifies the methodological approach adopted. This chapter establishes how the thesis is to be conducted and presented in a series of subsequent chapters which explore from the global level of spatial analysis down to the local level. The dialectic design has been selected in an attempt to bridge the large theoretical gap between the local and the global levels of analysis. The chapter explains how by utilising interdisciplinary academic sources, a range of qualitative research methodologies and local documentary research for the

different spatial levels of analysis the design draws together the local and the global within a *'totality'*.

Chapter three (The Sheffield City Case Study) and chapter four (Community Profile) draw upon a series of interviews and informal discussions conducted with what we term 'Sheffield stakeholders' from local public and private organisations. After the general discussion of chapter one we become more specific by exploring how economic globalisation has influenced a particular British city. The aim of the chapter three is twofold: first, it provides a specific illustration of how economic globalisation influences a particular British city and the urban and social inequalities within, and secondly it provides the necessary context for the community profile and life history analysis chapters (chapters four and five) that follow and which focus the discussion further in time and space. Chapter three opens the discussion with *Sheffield steel in historical perspective* exploring how the city became the foremost steel producing city of the Industrial Revolution and armourer to the British Empire. We discuss the city's cutlery industry as an example of a local manufacturing sector destroyed by emerging forms of internationalised production. We discuss Sheffield steel manufacturing *After World War II* during the Keynesian period of demand management. The chapter then explores how the new forms of production organised by transnational corporations effectively finished the Sheffield steel industry as a mass employer of local labour.

To understand how economic globalisation influences urban and social inequalities within Sheffield we discuss the response of the local authority to the collapse of the steel industry and their dramatic political about-turn in the same chapter. We establish an understanding of urban and social dynamics in Sheffield's city centre and we briefly discuss the Victorian city centre so we can more thoroughly understand contemporary city centre dynamics. Once more looking into the past to more completely understand the present we discuss the *Turn of Two Cities*, a sub-section which discusses how Sheffield developed historically into a city with marked socio-spatial segregation between the classes. Moving on to more recent dynamics the discussion moves onto the post war council estate construction on the city centre periphery as the high point of Keynesian intervention in the 1960's. Developing the discussion more specifically in time and space we discuss the decline of Sheffield's city centre after the collapse of the city's industrial base and explore the changes that occurred within and around the city centre

during the 1980's and first half of the 1990's. Bringing the discussion up to date the penultimate sub-section of the chapter is named after the 1999 Urban Task Force report *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, but the sub-section is subtitled *Gentrification and Residualisation* in order to indicate the disparate tendencies occurring within and on the periphery of Sheffield's contemporary city centre. A conclusion draws together this extensive discussion.

Moving once more from the general to the specific, from the global level of analysis down to the local level the fourth chapter presents a Community Profile of a district on the periphery of Sheffield's city centre. This district contains both a residualised inner city council estate called Woodside and a newly gentrified district renamed Kelham Riverside. We explore the industrial history of the now gentrified district in order to understand how economic globalisation has rendered the areas ready for gentrification. We discuss Sheffield's vanguard gentrification project Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works situated within Shalesmoor and the later Riverside Exchange which followed shortly in the wake of the vanguard project's success.

The other side of the community profile is located at Pye Bank on the city centre periphery where the Woodside council estate was built in the early 1960's. The chapter explores the circumstances of the rise of the estate and its subsequent fall into residualisation and ultimately into demolition. In conjunction with an exploration of the spatial fabric of the two disparate housing developments we attempt to compile a general understanding of the socio-economic circumstances of the people who live within their confines. A number of photographs and maps are included in the Appendix at the back of the thesis to illustrate the issues discussed in chapter four.

The fifth chapter concerns an analysis of the life history interview data from residents of each housing development featured in the previous chapter. In semi-structured interviews I discussed with individual residents' their patterns of thematic transmission factors namely education, employment and residential mobility. These factors were chosen as both expressions and determinants of an individual's life chances and life world. Initially the chapter discusses the ethnographic-style fieldwork that furnishes and contextualises the interview data from residents. The chapter presents a series of brief profiles of the respective residents from both Woodside and Kelham Riverside and in the

appendix for each resident is a thematic matrix that chronologically catalogues their individual patterns of education, employment and residential mobility. Once we have established residents' profiles and thematic matrices we discuss the emerging trends and tendencies from both cohorts concerning each thematic factor in turn and in the penultimate section of this chapter we discuss the emerging trends and tendencies in the light of the changes brought about by economic globalisation. A conclusion draws together this extensive discussion.

The concluding chapter (chapter six) to the thesis aims to draw some provisional insights and suggestions from the evidence presented. In doing so this chapter offers answers to the two research questions posed in the methodology chapter by offering a 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation upon urban inequality within Woodside and Kelham Riverside, and the life chances of those who reside within those two developments.

Thus the thesis aims to provide an insight into how economic globalisation influences urban inequality and life chances within Sheffield's city centre. After establishing the ontological standpoint of the research the thesis begins with a discussion of the relevant theoretical issues and subsequently works down through the different spatial levels of analysis exploring the global / urban connection by descending from the global to the local, from economic globalisation to the sub locality and the individual life chances within.

CHAPTER ONE: ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION, URBAN AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review chapter contributes towards an understanding of the relationships between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality within the city. This relationship goes to the heart of what has become known as the '*globalisation debate*'. The relevant academic literature is reviewed through the classical social theory of Marx and Engels. The discussion explores how economic changes occurring at a global level of spatial analysis influence urban and social inequality at the local level of the British city.

The term globalisation has experienced a meteoric rise since the early 1990's. Engaging in the relevant academic debate we go '*beyond the buzzword*' (Scholte, 1996: 43) and define economic globalisation. We then explore the '*global-urban connection*' (Short & Kim, 1999) and its influence upon the city and urban and social inequality.

The literature review informs subsequent chapters on the nature of the relationship between the global and local levels of spatial analysis by establishing the classical Marxist understanding of the capitalist city and the dialectical relationship between the global and the local. We then define 'economic globalisation' and survey its implications for urban and social inequality within the contemporary British city. Specific themes of urban and social inequality are introduced: gentrification and residualisation. They are elaborated upon in subsequent chapters but are introduced here to inform the discussion. The chapter concludes with pointers for future chapters.

1.2 THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL: A DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP

Marx and Engels believed that the capitalist city, in and of itself, cannot be understood outside of a theory that comprehends human society as a whole. Consequently they did not consider it necessary to develop a specifically urban theory of the city as a thing in itself. To them the urban question must be subsumed within a wider analysis of factors operating in society, whereby the city '*is analysed not as a cause, but as a significant condition*' (Saunders, 1995:15) Cities are the location for the productive forces and are therefore the home of social classes, their residences, places of work, etc. A dialectic method comprehends the 'totality' as a unity of contradictions, such that is impossible to understand any one aspect of reality without exploring the whole and also how each part contributes to the whole. Accordingly, a dialectical analysis of the city and its attendant social and urban inequalities requires a discussion of the development of the productive forces within the city.

1.2.1 CITIES AND THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES

The Victorian city, with its simultaneous and not infrequently closely juxtaposed wealth and want, palaces and pigsties, was for Marx and Engels '*the hothouse of capitalist contradictions*' (Saunders, 1995: 25). The city is not in itself responsible for social and urban inequality; responsibility lies with the mode of production. Engels (1973: 150) remarked that '*the great cities really only secure a more rapid and certain development for evils already in the germ*'. Regardless of individual histories and idiosyncrasies each city expresses, however unevenly, general trends determined by a universal process. Social and urban inequalities created by the capitalist mode of production find their starkest forms initially between the social classes and class fractions. The districts, residences and tenures of the disparate social classes reflect this inequality. While the Victorian industrial city was home to the greatest advances in the capitalist mode of production and consequently productive capacity it was also home to its worst regressive tendencies – want, squalor and ignorance. Marx explained that the development of the productive forces under capitalism seemed to turn everything on its head.¹ He explained how the contradiction between the forces

¹ '*On the one hand, there have started into life industrial and scientific forces, which no epoch of the former human history had ever suspected. On the other hand, there exist symptoms of decay, far surpassing the horrors recorded of the latter time of the Roman Empire. In our days, everything seems pregnant with its contrary: Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labour, we behold starving and overworking it; The*

and relations of production manifested themselves in the incongruence between uneven socio-urban conditions and technological productive advances (1969:500).

The city concentrates disparate social layers within its boundaries and thereby renders more visible the stark inequalities between their social and urban existence. What is essential about the early work of Engels is his ability to connect the development of urban form to the industrial revolution. He clearly demonstrates how changes in the organisation of city space affect social relations within and between social classes and he understands that the new urbanisation has its impetus within changes in manufacturing. Katznelson (1993:147) believes Engels's most important discovery was his connection between the social structure of capitalism and the spatial structure of the city. For the German émigré, the principal characteristic of British cities he visited were the new forms of socio-spatial segregation. Praising his morphology of Manchester, Katznelson writes how Engels pioneered an analysis of cities' spatial structure, including their zones and radial axes, their geography and the condition of their housing. However, *'unlike the way these issues have been treated subsequently in various academic studies, Engels consciously linked their origins to the large scale development of industrial capitalism'* (1993:151). Likewise during the course of this thesis we will explore changes in urban and social inequality within Sheffield through the development of economic globalisation.

Engels's focus upon commodity production and the logic of capitalist accumulation underpins his conception of urban space as a dynamic and changing terrain, constantly in flux. His urban formulations show how humanity and societal space are engaged in a constant dialectic. Katznelson describes the dialectic relationship thus; *'this space helps impel these activities, and these activities contain spatial elements within them'* 1993:154). Engels pioneered what Cannadine describes as *'links between the shapes on the ground – the physical form which the evolving city took – and the shapes in society – the nature of the social relationships between people who lived in the towns'* (1982:235).

newfangled sources of wealth, by some strange weird spell, are turned into sources of want...This antagonism between modern industry and science on the one hand, modern misery and dissolution on the other hand; this antagonism between the productive forces and the social relations of our epoch is a fact, palpable, overwhelming, and not to be controverted.' (Marx, 1969: 500)

1.2.2 THE EMERGENCE OF A MARXIST URBAN STUDIES: CITIES AS PRODUCTIVE FORCES

When Henri Lefebvre² published *La Revolution Urbaine* (1970) urban analysis in the social sciences was still largely descriptive. When it aspired to theory, most notably in the work of the Chicago School, it remained at the level of empirical generalizations rather than theory (Smith, 2003). But inspired by the political events of the late 1960's some geographers re-examined their discipline's ontology and concluded that geography had effectively become a means to preserve bourgeois political power. Lefebvre, however, rejected classical Marxism, believing that the effects of technology upon production and human relations had refashioned spatial relations and granted urban space an unprecedented autonomy (Katznelson, 1992). Lefebvre attempted to redesign the dialectic in terms of space, whereas dialecticians like Marx and Darwin '*prioritised time over space and both of these over any conception of place*' (Short, 2001:17). Instead Lefebvre believed that '*space holds the promise of liberation: liberation from the tyranny of time*' (Smith, 2003:xiii).³ Lefebvre (1970:15) asked rhetorically '*Can urban reality be defined as a "superstructure" on the surface of the economic structure...? The simple result of growth and productive forces? Simply a modest marginal reality compared with production? Not at all*'. Instead he argued that by the 1960's urbanism had supplanted industrialisation and consequently the city was entering a post-industrial stage.⁴ Urbanisation had become the progenitor of industrialism. According to Lefebvre '*industrialization might have bred systematic urbanization*' but '*urbanization now engendered industrialization*' (Smith, 2003:100). For Lefebvre, industrial capitalist society had been transcended by urban society and urban space had ceased to be a built environment and had instead become a force of production – '*Urban reality modifies the relations of production without being sufficient to transform them. It becomes a productive force, like science*' (Lefebvre, 1970:15).

² Lefebvre (1901-1991) was influential in philosophy, sociology, geography, political science and literary criticism throughout the twentieth century. He helped popularise Marx in France, translating some of his work into French in 1933, during which he developed his own humanist reading of Marxism.

³ Harvey points out that Lefebvre '*thought he had found the key in his celebrated comment that capitalism survives through the production of space, but he unfortunately failed to explain exactly how or why this might be the case*' (2005:87).

⁴ Smith explains his approach thus '*the problematic of industrialization, which had dominated capitalist societies for more than two centuries, is increasingly superseded by the urban*' (2003: xi).

Writing an introduction to Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution* (2003) Neil Smith points out that contrary to the writings of the Frenchman urbanisation does not globalise itself nor supersede production as the driving force of historical change. Smith clarifies how the inexorable development of the productive forces brings about the growth of industrial cities, not vice versa he writes '*In a global sense urbanization has not, of course, supplanted industrialization; all of the products that fuel urbanization are made somewhere in the global economy*' (p.100).

Lefebvre's urban sociology was essentially neo-Hegelian because it attempted to return the dialectic to one that might have existed prior to the development of the historical insights of Marx without which it was impossible to develop a consistent materialism – i.e. dialectical materialism.⁵ Marx corrected Hegel's idealism putting him on his feet, while Lefebvre wished to put him back on his head. By attempting to revive Hegel Lefebvre increasingly called into question the emphasis placed by classical Marxism on the determining role of the economic base and came to view superstructural arrangements as essentially autonomous.⁶ Encapsulating Lefebvre's turn away from classical Marxism Smith (2003:xv) laments '*Space in the end retains an optimistic Hegelian a priorism vis-a-vis nature*'.⁷

The first of Lefebvre's contemporaries to respond was one time protégé Manuel Castells, whose '*critique was triple-barrelled*' remarks Smith (2003: xvi). Castells's *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (1972) was, regardless of the title, actually influenced by the Structuralism of Louis Althusser⁸ rather than Lefebvre's neo-

⁵ Merrifield describes Lefebvre's urban sociology as an oxymoron – '*Hegelian Marxism*' (2000a:74).

⁶ In opposition to Althusser's (Castells's early mentor) Structuralism Lefebvre became the leading exponent of neo-Hegelianism within the French Communist Party. After the publication of Lenin's notebooks on philosophy in French in 1955 he saw neo-Hegelianism as a means to de-Stalinise the party.

⁷ Compare the attitude of Lefebvre to that of Lenin on the issue of space and time '*the theory of space and time is inseparably connected with the answer to the fundamental question of epistemology: are our sensations images of bodies and things, or are bodies complexes of our sensations*' (1949: 180). In other words space is objective not subjective '*matter in motion independently of our mind*'. Earlier he wrote '*There is nothing in the world but matter in motion, and matter in motion cannot move otherwise than in space and time. Human conceptions of space and time are relative, but these relative conceptions in their development, move towards absolute truth and approach nearer and nearer to it*' (p.177).

⁸ Althusser wished to purge Marxism of dialectics and re-read the major works, or to '*read the silences*'. Althusser rejected the idea that Marx developed his philosophy by inverting Hegel and consequently developed a new theory about the nature of contradiction. He called his new theory '*over determination*' a concept adopted from Freud's analysis of dream images. But '*over determination*' is not really a form of contradiction at all but rather a theory based instead upon multiple factors of determination which in an un-dialectical method views the world as divided up into separate departments with their own autonomous sphere of influence.

Hegelianism or indeed classical Marxism. Susser explains how *'Castells insisted that cities have to be understood as the historical manifestations of power and production'* (2002: 3). Castells complained that Lefebvre's vision of the urban verged upon a spatial fetishism, thus expunging Marxism from his analysis. He accused Lefebvre of reifying the city as *'it'*, a thing in its own right outside of capitalism (1977:87). He challenged Lefebvre's notion that the urban represented a coherent scientific object of study outside of capitalism in general, reminding him *'there is no theory of space that is not integral of a general social theory'* (p.115). In terms of the concerns of this thesis by rejecting capitalist accumulation Lefebvre rejected any notion of structure and agency (Katznelson, 1993:102).

Castells soon abandoned his Althusserian tendencies in favour of a Weberian influence. Susser mentions *'Castells's shift from Marxist analyses to a less economically based and more cultural approach'* (2002: 7). Marcuse perceptively notes *'Castells's evolution is indeed reflected in the evolution of his book titles'*, before elaborating; *'The movement from Marxist concepts, issues of class and oppositional political and social movements to a preoccupation with technological developments and their multiple manifestations is clear'* (2002:135).⁹

David Harvey's critique of Lefebvre was more orientated towards Marxist political economy. His *Social Justice and The City* (1973) dealt with Lefebvre and also critiqued the bourgeois complacency of geography as an academic subject. Harvey opposed Lefebvre's conceptions stating that the extraction of surplus value (profit) remained the driver of urban change. The manmade space of the urban built environment had not created its own interior logic of development. However, Harvey later departed from classical Marxism by rejecting historical materialism and instead adopting what he calls *'historical-geographical materialism'*. He believes that place should be given a stronger role in historical materialism *'I have long argued that historical materialism should be better thought of as historical-geographical materialism and that historical geography, particularly of capitalism, should be the primary subject of our theorising'*

⁹ Marcuse identifies Anthony Giddens as the *'best known representative of the ideological position that results from'* (2002:135) Castells's work, a point also noted by Callinicos (2001: 3). Whilst Abell (cf. Crabtree: 2002) derides Castells and Giddens shared tendency to make longwinded, abstract and effectively meaningless statements, reviewing Giddens's *The Third Way* (1997) the Economist described it as *'awesomely, magisterially and in some ways disturbingly vacuous'* (cf. Elliott and Atkinson, 1998). Marcuse (2002: 136) also highlights Castells inconsistency *'For any one particular quote, one can generally find another, apparently contradictory quote elsewhere. Everything that should be said is said somewhere or other in the three volumes – but so is its opposite. The evidence that is adduced to prove one point often contradicts a point made elsewhere'*.

(1987: 376). But for Marx and Engels historical materialism demonstrates that the great dynamic of human society is its economic development, i.e. changes in the mode of production and exchange and the consequent division of society into separate classes and inevitable class struggle. In short, production is paramount. Harvey on the other hand privileges space with equal emphasis and accordingly his concept of the 'spatial fix' asserts that capital goes from one 'fix' to another to avoid crisis. Space becomes a space of flows for capital, commodities and labour not a space determined by production, the extraction of surplus value and labour (DeFazio, 2003: 17).

Various urban researchers have described the global/local or global / urban theoretical conceptualisation in their own terms according to their theoretical standpoint 'global-local connection' (Beauregard, 1995), the 'global-local interplay' (Dunford & Kafkalas, 1992 and the 'global-local nexus' (Tickell & Peck, 1995).¹⁰ Harvey writes how:

'Globalization' is the most macro of all discourses that we have available to us while that of 'the body' is surely the most micro from the standpoint of understanding the workings of society...these two discursive regimes – globalization and the body – operate at opposite ends of the spectrum in the scalar we might use to understand social and political life. But little or no systemic attempt has been made to integrate 'body talk' with 'globalization talk.' (2000: 15).

Harvey argues we cannot choose between particularity and universality as have many in their contribution to the structure/agency debate. Instead he writes how *'Within a relational dialectics one is always internalised and implicated in the other'* (2000: 16). But Harvey's dialectical method represents an overly abstract argument. Peter-Smith argues that Harvey expunges human agency - *'As for the role of people in this grand narrative, we never know who lives, works, acts, and dies in Harvey's urban spaces since people are seldom represented as anything other than nostalgic romantics or cultural dupes'* (2002: 111).¹¹ In addition, Harvey's idea of a closed dialectic, in the form of *'spatio-temporal utopia's'* (2000: 31) is non-dynamic and non-dialectical. Marx's dialectics understands social processes and spatial forms as continuously and

¹⁰ The scalar terms global and local serve as shorthand through which economic globalization and local development are implicitly characterised: *Global* = general, universal, abstract, structural, disembedded. *Local* = unique, particular, concrete, agency, embedded, *'it provides an elegantly simple conceptual framework through which to organize an immensely complex, multifaceted historical analysis'* (Brenner, 2001: 133).

¹¹ In reference to both the work of David Harvey and Manuel Castells Michael Peter-Smith continues to critique their method *'they have reproduced a totalizing binary framework in which the global is equated with the abstract, universal and dynamic (i.e. "capital"), while the local is invested with concreteness, particularity, and threatened stability (i.e. "community")'. Such a discourse of capital versus community treats the global a priori as an oppressive social force while constructing localities in more positive, albeit more static if not anemic terms'* (2002:11).

simultaneously subjects and objects of change and therefore their closure is impossible. Because everything exists in time and space and existence itself is an uninterrupted process of transformation, time, which Harvey seeks to expunge through a closed dialectic, is therefore of paramount importance. As a consequence a closed dialectic, which implicates the abrogation of time, is utopian.

We require a synthesis between the global and the local, brought together in one analysis whereby the local retains its particular idiosyncrasy whilst simultaneously manifesting universal global tendencies. A dialectic approach seeks to balance a concern with both the local and the global within one theoretical totality without abandoning regional and local context, nor expunging the dialectic manner in which humanity simultaneously creates the world, whilst it creates us.

1.2.3 A DIALECTIC MATERIALIST APPROACH TO THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL

In contrast to Harvey's utopian closed dialectic Merrifield offers a more orthodox Marxist methodology.¹² Merrifield has initiated a more fruitful attempt, up to a point, to elucidate the global/local phenomena by initially utilising classical Marxism. He explains how the dialectic is a *'critical view of the world and a workable method of studying problems in our cities'* (2000:132). Merrifield (2000:132) adopts the dialectical approach that change is central because matter in motion exists in time and space and is therefore in a process of continual transformation: as Marx and Engels explain *'All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned'* (1987:19). Simultaneously the world is interconnected and interpenetrating at all levels. Accordingly Marx viewed all social phenomena holistically and Merrifield explains:

'Under such circumstances, the macro and the micro, capital and labour, use value and exchange value, cells and body, mutually constitute each other...It's impossible to figure out different interrelated parts without seeing how these relate to each other as part of the whole – or as part of the totality' (2002a: 26).

¹² Merrifield calls his method a *'negative or dystopian dialectic'* because *'A modern Marxist politics, particularly a Marxist politics of the city cannot be based upon a utopian politics'* (2002b: 14). Later he refers to his *'metropolitan dialectic'* (2002a).

Consequently for Marx and Engels only a '*concrete totality*' (Merrifield, 2002a: 26) can grasp the world in a comprehensive manner. Only such an understanding, they argued, can turn perceptions and images into concepts – ones that are abstracted from the world of people and place. This abstraction, explains Merrifield (2002a: 26), *'fleshes out parts in wholes, but equally spots wholes in parts, specificity in generality, universality in particularity, neighbourhoods in cities, cities in neighbourhoods, cities in global capitalism, global capitalism in cities'*. This interconnecting and interpenetrating vision is how we wish to unify the global and the local levels of analysis in this thesis.

Merrifield argues that '*the experience of urbanism*' (2002b:8), by which he means the everyday lives of urban dwellers, is a profoundly political experience. But, for Merrifield, the term urbanisation has a commonsensical usage, mostly describing an inexorable and natural process. However, his work seeks to establish '*a more complex, many sided, and inescapably political understanding of this process*' (p.9). He wishes to thoroughly contextualise '*urbanization*' as an all embracing theory of the city. Referring initially to what he calls '*urbanization*' and then '*urbanism*' Merrifield explains the relationship between the two in the following manner:

'It is the clash of this particular world-historical process – how it unfolds over space and time – with the reality and experience of peoples lives in those spaces and times, that forms the subject matter...Put differently, this...explores the dialectic of urbanism and urbanization...Thus the paradox: urbanization destroys individuality; and yet, out of this destruction, new forms of individuality emerge...With urbanization, the windows are smashed and the modern person can breathe in the open air. What unfolds in this open air is the metropolitan experience itself, the experience of urbanism' (2002b:9-10).

Merrifield simultaneously theorises and empirically explores the interrelationship between the abstract dimensions of space and time on the one hand and on the other the concrete reality of human life. In short he describes what we have previously termed the global and the local. Merrifield insists that '*scholars interested in cities are presented with a special dilemma in comprehending the dialectic of urbanization and urbanism*' and crucially '*in keeping hold of the contradiction*' (2002b:11).

Merrifield discusses the dialectic in terms of '*between urbanization and the city – between urbanization and urbanism*' (2002b: 14). He means by this a dialectic relationship between the city, or, as he puts it, the process of '*urbanization*', in its entirety – the city's political, social, spatial and economic relations together with the human experiences lived within these relations, understood as the experience of '*urbanism*'. He identifies a crucial contradiction '*we might say that cities are gigantic*

exchange value entities wherein the process of urbanization is inextricably wedded to the "general law of capitalist accumulation"... And yet, at the same time cities are also the places where people live, establish communities, raise kids and put down roots' (2002b: 155/156). Merrifield defines these two disparate processes as exchange and use values. The former characterises the city's encapsulation of the profit driven dynamic of the capitalist city and the latter the everyday experiences of those who reside within. Merrifield shows how conflicts '*in and over*' the city can be reduced to '*use versus exchange value dramas*' (p.156) that are still mediated by state institutions and social and cultural circumstances.

Merrifield's method is crucial to establishing the ontology of this thesis. He shows the essential unity, a totality, of the interrelationships between global structures breathing down the neck of the city and the local institutional filters which mediate those pressures, however unevenly, with their repercussions for life histories within those social and spatial relations.

Drawing upon Marx Merrifield understands capitalism dialectically, as simultaneously a thing and a process, with both an observable outcome and an unobservable law of motion. Marx believed that to understand the world of capitalism we must conceptualise the experience and production of the world not in the manner of either/or but rather as both simultaneously. There can be no separation of mind from matter, subject from object or cause from effect. Marx urges us to understand perceptible experience, the specific and imperceptible processes, the general, as one and the same – a '*concrete totality*' (Merrifield, 2002: 159).

This thesis considers residents' life chances as a living expression of the universal tendencies occurring at a higher level of spatiality, constituting both the social and urban, local and global, backcloth to real lives. Their lives should illuminate and illustrate those general tendencies. Each resident has a biography, a specific life story if you will, but while idiosyncratic, it remains one experienced and fundamentally shaped by structurally unequal social life chances and disparate urban life worlds. Biographies emphasise a story, how the individual copes with social and urban inequalities, socio-economic pressures, rather than how society systematically structures lives. Research requires a balance between the global/objective and local/subjective polarities. The individual is not a passive receptacle of their circumstances but neither are they at liberty to fashion their circumstances at will. As Marx himself wrote '*Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they*

please; they do not make it under self-elected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past' (1852:1).

The dialectic relationship between the local and the global is an uneven yet combined process and economic globalisation is integral to the nature of specific local social and urban circumstances even though it operates at a universal and somewhat abstract spatiality. The global and the local constitute a dialectic relationship rather than a dichotomy or binary opposition. The global / local or global / urban connection does not simply imply that outside forces enter places and change social relations and the built environment. This mechanical thought operates on a simple dichotomy between a general and a specific, the former being a space of economic change, the latter the place where its effects are felt. Lovering (1997: 68) calls such mistaken conceptions a '*Simple Story*' and accuses them of being '*severely oversimplified*' and operating upon a '*dualistic spatial conception*'. The local (over here) versus the global (over there) obscures the understanding that actors respond and plan, regulate and ameliorate, but must do so under the aegis of economic globalisation.

This research theorises, makes connections and expresses the interrelationship between economic globalisation and social and urban processes in a particular locality. The dialectic approach involves the theoretical critique of the development of existing ideas together with an empirical and ethnographic investigation of existing social and urban inequalities. MacBride summarises the dialectical method as '*A movement from broad generalisations to endless specifics to generalities qualified by facts*' (1977:56).

1.3 GLOBALISATION AND THE CITY

In the 1970's Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey wrote about what Smith terms '*The Keynesian city*' which ameliorated and regulated social and urban inequalities by underwriting '*wide swathes of social reproduction*' (2002:85). But the efficacy of Keynesian economics declined throughout that decade as the emerging globalisation of commodity production reduced the scope of national and local government economic autarky.¹³ Exploring this emerging relationship between world economy and

¹³ Economic autarky refers to semi-autonomous forms of national economic development. The classic British example occurred approximately between 1945 and 1975 and is commonly referred to as the social democratic or social reformist Keynesian planned economy.

the contemporary city Hall (1966), Cohen (1981) and Friedmann (1986) laid the context for Sassen's *The Global City* (1991). Globalisation was said to bring about the spatial dispersion of corporate distribution and exchange which was accompanied by the concentration of command and control functions in a handful of cities, integrated by financial services (White, 1998:452).

Smith welcomed Sassen's (1991, 1998, 2000) work on the global city as '*a welcome alternative to the blithe optimism of globalized utopias*' (2002: 84) but suggested a closer examination of the term. Dissatisfied with its onus upon finance capital he asks of the term '*presumably their definition is implicated in the process thereof*' (p.85). Asking '*What exactly is globalizing at the beginning of the 21st century?*' (2002:85) Smith rejects commodity capital because both Adam Smith and Karl Marx recognised a '*world market*' (p.85) in their own lifetimes; '*The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe*' wrote Marx and Engels '*It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere*' (1987:19/20). Not finance capital either because as Smith explains '*the global expansion of stock and currency markets and broad financial deregulation since the 1980's may be more a response to globalization than its cause*' (p.85). Culture is likewise rejected as defining a global city which '*leaves us with production capital*' and '*the extent that globalization heralds anything new, the new globalism can be traced back to the increasingly global – or at least international – scale of economic production*' (p.85). Smith explains how up until the 1970's most commodities were produced in '*one national economy*' (p.85), but by the 1990's that model was '*obsolete*'. He stresses the crucial role of transnational corporations who have harnessed computer and telecommunication technology to reorganise their productive facilities. Smith explains that definitive sites of production for specific commodities become increasingly difficult to identify because '*production is now organised across national borders...The idea of a "national capital" makes little sense today, because most global trade across national boundaries is now intrafirm: it takes place within the production networks of single corporations*' (p.86). Utilising classical Marxism Smith asks what is qualitatively new about economic globalisation and successfully challenges the existing global city orthodoxy that cities are defined according to their financial and service sector '*rather than by their participation in the global production of surplus value*' (p.99).

Rosenberg (2000) believes any serious theory of globalisation must stand upon the shoulders of social theory's founding fathers.¹⁴ Smith advocates a classical Marxist attempt to understand the genesis of economic globalisation from developments within capitalist commodity production. Capital, explained Marx (1887), exists in three forms: money capital, productive capital and commodity capital. The history of capitalism involves the internationalisation, then globalisation of these three forms of capital. The expansion of production in the 19th century witnessed the globalisation of capital in the commodity form, as the commodities produced by the factory system and farms were sold on the growing world market. By the end of the same century the rise of industrial capitalism brought in its wake the expansion of banking and finance capital, which increasingly became globalised through the development of international investments. However, while both commodity capital and money capital became increasingly globalised, productive capital remained confined, by and large, within the framework of the nation state. This is the point expressed by Smith concerning national forms of production during the 1970's. While the surplus value extracted from labour, and embodied in commodities, was increasingly realised on the world market, and the money capital, derived from this process, was reinvested by banks and finance houses on a global scale, the actual process of surplus value extraction continued to take place within the borders of a given nation state. The advent of globalised commodity production, understood in a classical Marxist sense, means this no longer hold true.

Understood through the writings of Marx and Engels the globalisation of production refers to the mobility of productive capital, engaged in the process of surplus value extraction, on a global scale. It signifies not simply a quantitative increase in the international activity of corporations, as argued by Hirst and Thompson (1996)¹⁵, but

¹⁴ Rosenberg describes the progress of the term globalisation within the social sciences as *'little short of spectacular'*, adding *'the claim that the world is becoming unified as never before seems to have established a powerful hold'* (2000: 1). But later he concludes *'The wild, speculative debut of this discourse cannot go on forever. At some point, the normal rules of intellectual coherence must re-assert themselves. And when they do, the message for globalisation theory will be the same for every other grand theory which has strutted and turned on the stage of social science: substance, soon, or silence'* (2000: 165).

¹⁵ These globalisation *Sceptics* deny the emergence of a globalised economy, calling it merely international rather than transnational, and contend that the world economy is more accurately characterised by increasing regionalisation. The arguments of the sceptics can be conflated into a series of claims; globalisation is a myth; there is nothing qualitatively different or new about the structure of world trade today; the world economy is international and was always thus. In order to prove this contention Hirst and Thompson take up the theme that the world economy was more internationalised under the gold standard regime and the free movement of international capital, which prevailed in the period preceding the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Steger (2003, 15) likens those who deny the existence of globalisation to the blind scholar in the Buddhist parable

instead marks a qualitative transformation in the mode of production. For the first time in the history of the world economy, productive capital, like money and commodity capital in the 19th century, is able to move around the world. It involves the disaggregation of previously unified production processes associated with the British Keynesian city, their dispersal to different parts of the world, and the integration of these disaggregated processes across national and indeed continental borders. What is distinctive regarding globalised production is that a given production process takes place simultaneously, in real time, on a world scale. Harnessing the revolutionary advances made in computer and telecommunication technology the transnational corporation has transformed commodity production (Dicken, 2003).¹⁶ The globalisation of productive capital has achieved what Marx referred to as the '*annihilation of space by time*' (1857:524). This is the significance of the globalisation of production which abrogated Keynesian economics and what Smith calls the '*Keynesian city*'. This understanding of economic globalisation is crucial to the thesis in understanding the evolution of Sheffield and its manufacturing industry over the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In contrast to this classical Marxist understanding of economic globalisation Harvey does not consider economic globalisation a qualitative shift in the organisation of the productive forces.¹⁷ Instead by focusing on space and '*spatial fixes*' rather than capitalist production Harvey (2000:54) understands globalisation as simply '*geographical reorganisation*'. Alluding to the Communist Manifesto, he writes '*Capitalism cannot do without its 'spatial fixes'...Capitalism thereby builds and rebuilds a geography in its own image*'. Highlighting Harvey's neglect of human agency '*The bourgeoisie*,' explain Marx and Engels, '*cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society*' (1984: 83). The classical Marxist emphasis is upon commodity production not space. Instead of globalisation Harvey wishes to substitute '*uneven geographical development*' (2000:68). But the intrinsic uneven development of capitalism is exacerbated by economic globalisation as ever more interconnecting and

who occupying the empty space between the elephants front and hind legs gropes in vein for the elephant. Finding nothing he accuses his equally blind colleagues, who are groping about with different parts of the animals anatomy, of making up a fantastic story about non existent things, asserting there is no such thing as an elephant!

¹⁶ Friedman quotes the label of a computer component sent to him by a friend as an example of global production: '*This part is made in Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, China, Mexico, Germany, the U.S., Thailand, Canada and Japan. It was made in so many different places that we cannot specify a country of origin*' (1999: 40).

¹⁷ 'I find myself thinking that it was the financial press that conned us all (me included) into believing in 'globalization' as something new when it was nothing more than a promotional gimmick to make the best of a necessary adjustment in the system of international finance' writes

interpenetrating. The concept of '*uneven development*' was utilised by Marx, Engels and Lenin, but Trotsky understood a more complex contemporary phenomenon, that of '*uneven yet combined development*'. Smith explains '*uneven development is the hallmark of the geography of capitalism*'. He continues '*uneven development is the systematic geographical expression of the contradictions inherent in the very constitution and structure of capital*' (1984:xi). Uneven development is exacerbated by the globalisation of commodity production and is not an alternative explanation for the new global economy.

1.4 THE KEYNESIAN CITY

Smith argues how '*the Keynesian city*' has fundamentally changed because '*two mutually reinforcing shifts*' have restructured the '*function and active roles of cities*' (p.86). The first shift described by Smith is informed by a classical Marxist understanding of economic globalisation:

'systems of production previously territorialized at the (subnational) regional scale were increasingly cut loose from their definitive national context, resulting not just in the waves of deindustrialisation in the 1970's and 1980's but in wholesale regional restructuring and destructuring as part of a reworking of established scale hierarchies' (2002: 86/87).

Smith explains how a fundamental shift has occurred from national/regional forms of organising commodity production to one where '*production increasingly centers on extended metropolitan centers, rather than on larger regions*' (p.86). He continues '*Whereas the traditional industrial regions were the backbone of national capitals...these new, huge urban economies are increasingly the platforms of global production*' (p.86). Smith argues that the global integration of production diminishes the significance of national markets in comparison to a global market to which production is increasingly orientated. The new global economic relations provide an objective impulse towards the disaggregation of national economies. Globally mobile capital has given smaller territories and cities within national states the ability to link themselves directly to the world market.

The socio-urban significance of these qualitative changes in commodity production lies in a second shift recognised by Smith which has implications for how we understand developments in local government and urban inequality within Sheffield. He writes *'This rescaling of production toward the metropolitan scale is an expression of global change; at the same time, it lies at the heart of a new urbanism'* (p.87). He explains how the *'liberal urban policies that dominated the central decades of the twentieth century in the advanced capitalist economies'* (p.87) are finished because Keynesian economics and social democratic interventions cannot be carried out under these new global conditions of production. He explains how *'national states are reframing themselves as purer, territorially rooted economic actors in and of the market, rather than external compliments to it'* (p.87). Consequently social and economic restructuring incorporates spatial power over who is empowered and who is not. The power of the local state, like the national, to intervene progressively is severely weakened by economic globalisation. Harvey describes how the advent of Keynesianism during the immediate post war period entailed a shifting of gears for capitalism, *'from a 'supply-side' towards 'demand-side' urbanization'* (1985:202). Economic globalisation would seem to bring about a sharp reversal towards a supply side urbanism.

Social reproduction refers to the provision, maintenance and reproduction of workers through education, health care, infrastructure, housing etc. But the contemporary new urbanism, concomitant upon economic globalisation, entails the sacrifice of these policies designed to ameliorate and regulate social and urban inequalities. Under new conditions the local state has eschewed any pretence of regulating capital, no longer modulating the wishes of private capital but instead fitting directly into the grooves established by the global free market system. According to Smith economic globalisation transforms the local state into a *'highly active partner to global capital'* (p.81) and the *'new urbanism'* replaces what he calls the *'liberal policy'* of the Keynesian period and *'increasingly expresses the impulses of capitalist production rather than social reproduction'* (p.81). This tendency towards local government shaping urban space for globally induced restructuring Swyngedouw (1997) terms the *'glocal state'*. These assertions concerning the contemporary role of local government will prove useful when we come to discuss the role of Sheffield's local authority and the exacerbation of urban and social inequality in chapters three and four.

The emergence of economic globalisation and the changed relationship between world economy and the city has been the subject of much academic attention. But the tendency to focus upon cities such as London and New York makes it difficult to

extrapolate from these cities to provincial cities like Sheffield lower down the conventional global city hierarchy (Short et al: 2000). Frustrated by the lack of research into provincial cities Clarke and Gaile write *'We do not yet grasp how globalization is experienced in Tacoma, Cedar Rapids or Huntsville'* (1998:36). The term has tended to obscure rather than illuminate an understanding of the global/urban nexus beyond financial capitals. In addition, the concept infers that other unranked cities are somehow uninfluenced by globalisation. This thesis explores how Sheffield is affected by economic globalisation.

1.5 THE GLOBALIZING CITY

Marcuse and van Kempen prefer the term *'Globalizing Cities'* (2000) because they *'view globalization as a process, not a state, and a process that affects all cities in the world, if to varying degrees and varying ways, not only those at the top of the "global hierarchy"'* (2000: xvii). A shift from *'global'* to *'globalizing'*, a shift from static to fluid in keeping with a dialectical analysis, encourages comprehension of *'how cities are affected by globalization'* (Short et al, 2000:319). Accordingly, Marcuse and van Kempen also prefer the change in emphasis from an end state to a process *'because we treat both cities that do and cities that do not make it into the "global cities" category'* (2000:xvii). For this thesis their point is pertinent, Sheffield does not qualify as a *'global city'*, but instead it should be understood dialectically as a *'globalizing city'* when we understand economic globalisation through classical Marxism.¹⁸

In their first foray into the possible existence of what they term *'a new spatial order'* Marcuse and van Kempen (1997) acknowledged the importance of the globalisation of production upon urban spatial form. They suggested that the primary reason to expect spatial changes within cities is the *'changing nature of economic activities and the concomitant shift in location of parts of the production process'* (p.287). They noted how the changing role of the public sector under the aegis of economic globalisation regressively influences public built environment, housing and infrastructure. Whether or not a new spatial order had emerged as a result of economic globalisation they declined to comment upon.

¹⁸ Castells (1996) raises objections to the hierarchical definition of the contemporary city but his opposition is based only upon his wish to enlarge the supposed top division of *'informational cities'* rather than the actual definition of the term *'Global City'*.

Writing again on the same subject three years later the same authors formulate the hypothesis: *'that there is a new spatial order within cities, as a result of the process of globalization'* (p.xvii). But they conclude that the hypothesis cannot be sustained because although *'there are some common trends ascertainable as a result of globalization, but that neither in uniformity nor in scale do they justify the description: a new spatial order'* (p.xvii). They recognise *'Of course cities are in a constant process of internal change...Spatial divisions of themselves are nothing new, but they are not stable in their causes, in their appearance, in their scale, or in their effects'* (2000:1/2). The authors emphasise constant change within the spatial order, the city breathes, districts rise and fall, industries wax and wane, immigrants arrive and emigrants depart. An urban theory adhering to a dialectical approach should explore and identify change within essential continuity. Understood through a dialectical approach the authors recognise a quantitative change has occurred within the spatial order. But they deny that this protracted quantitative change amounts to a revolutionary qualitative shift in urban spatial form.

However, after stressing the historical continuity of social and urban inequalities within the city and how they are intrinsically linked to changes in the mode of production, Marcuse writing alone, admits *'But much is new'* (1995: 245). We concur: social and urban inequalities within cities have existed since their emergence; they are not a recent phenomenon. However today, much within the mode of production is indeed new. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) note how significant urban changes started to become visible at the beginning of the 1970's. It is no coincidence that recognition of exacerbated social and urban inequalities should surface shortly after the emergence of the circumstances that gave rise to economic globalisation, i.e. the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreement and the re-assertion of the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. Any discussion of contemporary socio-spatial dynamics must, by dint of its purpose, articulate historical change within the city and carefully identify specific change within general historical continuity. Marcuse and van Kempen ask whether a *'new spatial order'* has been established within cities. Following a dialectic method we might ask whether the qualitatively new forms of commodity production have, through the impulse of gradual quantitative change, given rise to qualitatively novel spatial order within the city?

Marcuse and van Kempen acknowledge cities do not exist within a vacuum, separate from the larger society and so decisions made on a higher spatial level have a direct influence upon the urban fabric. They describe fundamental changes that constitute a qualitative shift thus; *'an important reason to expect spatial changes within cities is the changing nature of economic activities and the concomitant shift in location of components of the production process'* (2000: 5). Inward investment may influence the spatial order of cities and *'Some areas profit, some others don't: uneven development is characteristic of capitalism. The possible spatial implications of these changes are manifold'* (p.6). Like Engels they believe we can distinguish spatial shifts in the production process and spatial changes in residential patterns that result from these shifts. This thesis will explore this relationship in chapters three and four.

1.6 URBAN AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY WITHIN THE 'GLOBALIZING CITY'

Bauman notes *'the widely noted, increasingly worrying polarization of the world and its population is not an external, alien, disturbing, 'spoke in the wheel' interference with the process of globalization; it is its effect'* (1998a: 93). Globalisation, social and urban inequality are recognised by Bauman not simply as synonymous but as integral to one another. Marcuse and van Kempen ask *'How can globalization influence social inequality?'* adding *'And, more specifically how can it influence the division within cities and life within neighbourhoods?'* (1997:286). In keeping with a dialectic vision of the social and the spatial we will not seek to arbitrarily separate the discussion of social and urban inequality within the city but instead discuss them together. Social inequality is intrinsically expressed spatially within a society divided by social classes, what we might call socio-spatial segregation.¹⁹

What White calls the *'Global city/Dual city'* (1998:451) hypothesis suggests that a new class structure emerges within the global city whereby the upper class grows and is served by a new service sector class.²⁰ The skilled and semi-skilled working class (especially industrial) shrinks while the poorest sections of the class (ethnic minority or immigrant) are subjected to increasing insecurity as an underclass grows. The image

¹⁹ Wessel believes *'social stratification and residential segregation must be theorized independently: rich people need not live in rich areas, and there is no one-to-one relationship between social and geographical mobility'* (2000: 1947). While Savage and Warde assert *'It is rare indeed to find millionaires living alongside unskilled labourers'* (1993: 64).

²⁰ Deriding the ubiquity of the *'Dual City'* concept Hamnett (1994:404) claims it *'has become almost the conventional wisdom'*.

conjured up by this social class dynamic is one of 'social polarisation' with growing polarities of rich and poor and a disappearing middle class: a dual city of the rich and poor. Initially the concept of social polarisation was popularised by Friedman and Wolff who wrote *'The primary fact about world city formation is the polarization of its social class divisions'* (1982: 322). They write how world cities enjoy a coalescence of financial and business services and therefore professional and managerial business elites, while at the other end of the social spectrum the world/global city witnesses a growing underclass.

The concept of the global city was adopted by Sassen (1984,1991), who argued that the decline of manufacturing and rise of financial services *'brought about changes in the organisation of work, reflected in a shift in the job supply and polarisation in the income and occupational distribution of workers'* (1991:9). This new job market comprises a disparate mix of highly skilled, highly paid jobs with low skilled, low paid jobs, what Sassen called a *'polarized occupational structure'* (1991:9). Focusing upon the new social and spatial division of labour, Sassen's model comprises polarisation between occupational and income distribution at the opposite polarities of the class schema and a decline of employment opportunities in the middle. While this picture might capture the orthodox *'Global city'* it is doubtful how much explanatory value the model has for *'globalising'* cities like Sheffield without a critical mass of high level business and financial services.

Concluding *The Informational City* (1989) Castells argues *'The global city is also the dual city'* (p.343). He suggests a new elite has usurped the bourgeoisie, the traditional owners of the means of production because *'informationalism'* creates a new elite of hi-tech knowledge workers (1996:379). These entrepreneurs' utilisation of *'networking'* apparently undermines traditional capital and corporations.²¹ Castells concludes that

²¹ Webster responds *'Rubbing my eyes in bewilderment'* then *'leaping from my chair'* at the *'crass technological determinism'* adding he awaits a day when a *'list of the world's leading corporations is composed of radically different names than those which predominate today, a list of leaders which, by the way, has been remarkably stable for the past fifty years and more'* (2000:111). Castells complains Webster *'has been influenced by too much exposure to Fortune, Business Week and publications of the Rand Corporation'* (p.112). Crabtree notes how Castells's *'arrival in California coincided with the beginnings of what would soon be called Silicon Valley'* and *'that something very important was going on'* (2002: 50). It seems this brought about, not to put too fine a point on it, Castells going native. The fabled network entrepreneurs, who Castells believes have usurped the bourgeoisie, resemble nobody so much as the Spaniard himself. Eminently flexible, jetting around the globe from one conference to another, between honorary posts at various world renowned institutions - Castells has effectively elevated his own social milieu to the pinnacle of contemporary class schema. He has managed to fashion a fetish out of his own form; the transformation of work and a veritable cult of the supposedly free worker.

the diffusion of advanced information technology makes *'greater the need for an autonomous, educated worker able and willing to program and decide entire sequences of work'* (1996:241). However, he offers little evidence that informational workers are actually a wholly new category of worker, or that they constitute anything more than approximately 10% of the world's workforce (Webster, 2000). Understood through classical Marxism Castells concept of *'informationalism'* is bereft of genuine novelty because it does not represent a qualitative progression from previous forms of employment and nor are these workers represented in sufficient quantity to bring forth qualitative changes in the field of employment. Consequently the concept lacks dialectic credibility. Rather than creating new employment opportunities, creating in its wake an expanded middle class, economic globalisation achieves the opposite by shrinking the middle strata (Gray, 1999). Flores and Gray (2000) have utilised the term *'portfolio working'* to denote the end of the traditional middle class career and highlight their descent into the insecurity, loss of status and declining incomes that denote their fall into the working class, a process understood in classical Marxism as proletarianisation.

Marcuse (2002a) and Webster (2001) have both remarked upon Castells protracted retreat from left radicalism and his newly found proximity to Anthony Giddens and the Blairite *'Third Way'*. Blair believes *'our task is to allow more people to become middle class'* (Adonis & Pollard, 1997: 16). Rather than Castells's egg timer shaped model of society, with burgeoning polarities of rich and poor and a shrinking middle class, the Blairite class model extrapolates from notions of *'social exclusion'* and is more akin to a squashed diamond with an expanding middle class, an underclass at the bottom and the super-rich at the apex. In this thesis chapter three, the Sheffield case study, explores the veracity of this social class model.

Over the last twenty-five years many professionals, especially those employed in the public sector have become known as *'knowledge'* workers i.e. teachers, lecturers, librarians and researchers. They have suffered a precipitous drop in income, prestige and status. Webster states *'Bluntly, the rise of 'informational labour' has done little if anything to limit the determining power of capital in the realm of work or anywhere else for that matter'* (2000:78). The notion of *'social polarisation'*²² suggests a more plausible explanation for the growth of social inequality than *'social exclusion'* and

²² *'The term 'polarisation' derives as metaphor from the language of electrolysis and magnetism where the tendency for materials to be attracted to poles set up an opposing force-field between these poles'* (Savage & Warde, 1993:86).

encapsulates a classical Marxist dialectic understanding of contemporary social class dynamics: The growth of social inequality in the form of social polarisation is a fluid bipolar phenomenon rather than uni-polar as implied by the notion of social exclusion with its emphasis upon the poor at the expense of an analysis of broader dynamics. The concept of social polarisation asserts that income and wealth dynamics at either social class polarity are intimately related.²³ Plainly the rich cannot become richer still without other members of society becoming yet poorer.²⁴ Marx wrote how the logic of the relations of capitalist production concerning owners and non-owners of the means of production inevitably brings about *'Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole'* (1887:604).²⁵

Castells's elevation of informational labour to the peak of the class hierarchy supports 'Third Way' thought by supporting the notion of a meritocracy, in the words of Webster *'that success hinges not on inherited advantage but on ability plus effort in the education system'* (2001:76). Castells (1996) intimates that everyone has the opportunity to access upward life chances and for the Third Way inequality cannot be challenged since it is deserved and meritocratic. Webster (2001) notes Castells repudiation of the classical Marxist class schema. We shall explore these issues in contemporary terms in subsequent chapters.

Blair has spoken of *'A middle class that will include millions of people who traditionally may see themselves as working class, but whose ambitions are far broader than those of their parents and grandparents'* (White, 1999: 3). His vision of society will be achieved by *'the ambitions of the upwardly mobile working class and the ever expanding progressive middle class'* (p.3). Meritocracy is held up as the answer to social exclusion. Blair says of a ten year program to tackle social exclusion *'At the end of it, I believe we will have an expanded middle class, with ladders of opportunity for*

²³ On this subject Ray Pahl perceptively writes *'Whilst it is relatively easy to measure, analyse and report on the form and pattern of the bruises in society, it is equally easy to ignore the fist that makes them. If we spend all our time on easily-funded bruise studies, we may be colluding with those concerned to keep the power of the fist unchanged'* (2001:883).

²⁴ This understanding is an inversion of that promoted by the political right, namely that *'you don't make poor people richer by making rich people poorer'*. Plainly you can, and as the Guardian's economics editor Larry Elliott once asserted this fallacy was promoted by the rich to defend their privileges. After twenty-five years of trickle-down economics a more truthful statement would read *'you make rich people richer by making poor people poorer'*.

²⁵ Discussing the unfortunate choice of book title *Globalization and its Discontents* (Sassen, 1998) Peter Marcuse (2002a: 133) laments how it *'can imply that globalization is a dominant process from which some unfortunately did not benefit, rather than a contested process in which winners gains were directly connected to losers' suffering. "Globalization and*

those of all backgrounds. No more ceilings that prevent people from achieving the success they merit' (p.3).²⁶ But contemporary social mobility patterns point in the opposite direction to that envisaged by the 'Third Way' approach. Research suggests that upward social mobility from the working class has almost ground to a stop since the late 1960's (Aldridge, 2001; Ermisch & Francesconi, 2002; Gray, 1999; Blanden et al, 2005). Rather than the working class experiencing upward social mobility into the middle class, it is a diminishing middle class experiencing a descent into the working class. As Gray points out:

'In an ironic inversion of the confident forecasts of countless sociology textbooks, the middle classes find themselves closer to the condition of working people a generation or more ago. They are being integrated into a working class that new-right policy has re-proletarianised' (1996:27).

But social polarisation is both a vague and undefined term claims Hamnett and as a concept fails to respond to *'the wider literature on changing occupational structure of advanced capitalist societies'* (Hamnett, 1994:405). In addition *'It has become an all-purpose general signifier of growing urban inequality and social division with the consequent disadvantages of ambiguity and lack of clarity'* (2001:167). Hamnett damns both 'social polarisation' and the 'dual city' concepts as insufficiently examined, imprecise and ill-defined terms (2001:168). He is equally dismissive of the term 'underclass' frequently utilised within the Dual City rhetoric. Instead he argues that the emergence of the global city signifies the shift from an industrial to post-industrial society with concomitant shifts in the occupational structure. According to this line of argument while the working class declines the middle class grows through an expansion of professional, managerial and technical groups creating a *'new middle*

its victors and vanquished" would give a quite different impression'.

²⁶ The overall tone of such a discussion is one whereby a desirable society consists of the dissolution of the working class through upward life chances into the middle class. The tenor of Blairite 'social exclusion' is essentially Dickensian, both literally and metaphorically. The language and practical policies of social exclusion are reminiscent of the free market Victorian attitudes of the mid 19th century. Third way policies share with novelist Charles Dickens a tendency to view upward social mobility as the sole answer to poverty/social exclusion. Dickens's anger at poor social conditions and indeed his contempt for bourgeois political and legal process were however accompanied by a complete resistance to suggestions that class structures should be ameliorated or that inequality should be reduced. Upward social mobility was always the source of salvation for Dickens's characters, as indeed, they were for the writer himself. Pip in *Great Expectations* is probably the best known proponent of salvation via this route (Abbott and Bell, 2001). The 'social exclusion' model offers a vision of society consisting of an enlarged middle class as the overwhelming majority, a fluid and meritocratic elite with only the residue of a former working class, in the form of an underclass, spurning opportunities offered by the meritocracy. But because the working class was created by the emergence of capitalist commodity production, as the non-owners of production, the class cannot be dissolved outside of the end of capitalism.

class' (Butler & Savage, 1995). The numbers in the workforce with higher educational qualifications has grown in conjunction with such developments and Hamnett calls the result a more '*professionalised*' class structure (2003). To deny that employment and education patterns have altered since the emergence of economic globalisation would be naive, but this does not necessarily mean the middle class grows while the working class shrinks. Arguing against such a vision of class Amin et al point to a contradiction whereby '*the new knowledge/service economy produces its own proletariat*' after listing proletarian service sector occupations they reaffirm '*there is something of a dualism built in to the high-tech knowledge economy itself* (2000:22). In other words most of the jobs created by the new economy are actually proletarian, many routine and conventional but also included are many jobs traditionally considered middle class. John Gray expresses a similar sentiment when he writes about the tendency of globalisation '*to re proletarianise sections of the working classes while debourgeoisifying parts of the middle classes*' (2000:33). Highlighting the folly of the Blairite 'Third Way' vision with its echoes of Castells, Amin et al continue '*it would be wrong to reduce the social structure to a simplistic dichotomy between the new professionals on the one hand and a stratum of low-paid service providers on the other*' (2000:22). This complex understanding of class dynamics and social mobility will be explored further in subsequent chapters utilising the classical Marxist understanding of social polarisation.

1.7 URBAN AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY WITHIN THE 'DUAL CITY'

Charting the emerging inequalities of New York City Mollenkopf and Castells (1991) believe the global city magnifies social and urban inequalities. The emergence of what they call '*informationalism*' brings about a '*Dual City*' through the polarisation of rich and poor, a condition exacerbated by severe cuts to social services and welfare provision.²⁷ They highlight '*emerging patterns of inequality in the postindustrial city*

²⁷ Castells recognises that America illustrates the contradiction between technological advance and the regression of social and urban conditions. America is the most advanced economy on the planet, yet '*it is also a society that has displayed, in the last two decades, a substantial increase in social inequality, polarization, poverty and misery*' (1998:128). Guarding against exceptionalism he argues that current American affairs '*may be a sign of the times to come in other areas of the world as well, and particularly in Europe*' (p.128). The old world, he argues, will be the first to experience such social and urban phenomena because it most closely follows the American free market model and the inexorable imperatives of economic globalisation. Britain in particular '*While sharp inequality between the upper and lower levels of society is a universal trend, it is particularly blatant in the United Kingdom*' (p.129).

and their causes and consequences' (p.4).²⁸ The economic changes driving New York's inequality is perceived as the wholesale shift from production to information services. Declining manufacturing and a rising service sector bring about drastic changes in the labour market and together with changes in the city's demographic and ethnic composition create further divisions and inequalities. *'These transformations'* referring to the explosive growth of wealth and income inequality, *'had a strong impact on space and place'* (1991:8). Inadvertently illustrating combined yet uneven development Mollenkopf and Castells describe how while Manhattan's opulence became increasingly stark public facilities and poor neighbourhoods simultaneously crumbled - *'a paradoxical mix of splendour and decay'* (p.8).²⁹ In the *Informational City* (1989) Castells argued that the *'Dual city'* image had long been a classic theme of urban sociology.³⁰

The editors admit that the *'Dual city'* concept is *'flawed as an analytic approach'* (1991:11) but that the *'two cities'* are not distinct and instead *'deeply intertwined products of the same underlying process'* (1991:11). The concept *'challenges us to explore the dimensions of growing inequality and explain the sources of the tendencies toward polarisation'* (p.11). Elsewhere the Dual city has been derided for its ambiguity and vagueness (Fainstein et al 1992; Hamnett 1994; Marcuse 1989), Mooney and Danson note *'of late the dual city metaphor has become a popular means in academic and media circles of describing urban spatial change and the growing divide between rich and poor, or affluent and "socially excluded"'* (1997:73). The term *'social exclusion'* is frequently utilised for regressive *'underclass'* like social sentiments. Mooney and Danson add *'The key organising concept which serves to link debates about urban poverty and polarisation is the "underclass"'* (p.75).³¹ By way

²⁸ Anticipating criticism regarding the term *'postindustrial'* to describe New York the authors claimed their approach could not be reduced to that of Daniel Bell's writings on a *'post-industrial society'* whereby knowledge/information replaces capital as the organising principle of the economy. But, as Frank Webster points out regardless of these protestations of innocence Castells *'technocratic viewpoint'* elevates the *'informational mode of development'* (2000:109) above the capitalist mode of production as the driving force of change.

²⁹ Writing about the demise of what he calls *'The Collectivist City'* Short invokes Galbraith's (1958) earlier denouncement of the growing disparity between public affluence and public squalor and he notes how today *'In many cities around the world the disparity seems to be growing'* (2000:25).

³⁰ Phil Cohen points to the now multifaceted nature of the term when he writes *'The theme of the Dual city, first popularized by the Victorian urban explorers, has not ceased to multiply its terms of reference in the twentieth century. To the cities of rich and poor, bourgeois and proletariat, indigenous and immigrant have been added cities of night and day, youth and age, established and outsiders'* (2000: 316).

³¹ David Byrne believes the opposite to be true *'The expression 'social exclusion'...has replaced that pejorative US import, 'the underclass', in discussions about the poor in 'post industrial' society'* (1999:1).

of illustration Castells refers to the socially excluded as '*drifting toward the outer regions of society, inhabited by the wreckage of failed humanity*' (p.74).

Castells's notion of 'social exclusion'³² is heavily influenced by 'underclass' theories.³³ He asserts that not only are the poor socially excluded but also uncivilised and increasingly doomed to an existence within a '*Fourth World*' inhabited by those cut off from informational society.³⁴ They are excluded, non productive and consequently do not constitute a Marxist reserve army of labour. Under the subtitle '*When the underclass goes to hell*', the implication is clear: the underclass is not of this earth.³⁵ Webster notes '*It is an account which draws unashamedly on rather right wing social scientists who assert that there is a link with the underclass and criminality*' (2001:74). In chapter four we go beyond simplistic underclass notions to a more nuanced classical Marxist presentation of social class in line with the dialectic advocated here.

Alcock (1997) argues persuasively against both '*underclass*' and '*social exclusion*' concepts. Social exclusion was initially concerned with the poor being excluded through a lack of financial access (Room, 1995). But focusing sole attention upon the poor social exclusion is frequently utilised to furnish underclass arguments whereby the poor are said to exclude themselves.³⁶ Alcock asks '*perhaps we should adopt a terminology that reflects this broader context. Social polarisation...suggests not just exclusion at the bottom, but accentuating divisions throughout the whole of society*' (1996:96).³⁷ A classical Marxist understanding of social inequality cannot satisfy itself

³² For Levitas the term social exclusion is '*fundamentally Durkheimian*' because '*treating social divisions which are endemic to capitalism as resulting from an abnormal breakdown in social cohesion which should be maintained by the division of labour*' (1996:7). Levitas notes how the discourse of the social exclusion, like that of underclass, is attractive because '*it allows the recognition of the continuing existence of poverty – which can hardly be disguised – to coexist with arguments or assumptions about the attrition of class and class divisions in the main body of society*' (p.6).

³³ Elucidating upon the existence of this so-called '*Fourth World*' Castells is not above using racist sentiments '*it would seem that the standards of work and pay that many poor blacks set from themselves, often resulting in complaints and dissatisfaction while performing a job, backfires in the perception of their prospective employers*' (1998:140).

³⁴ Concerning Castells 'excluded' Peter Marcuse asks '*one might raise the question of whether the excluded are really excluded from the system, or whether they are in fact quite useful for it but simply excluded from its benefits*' (2002a:139)

³⁵ It sounds like a belated follow up to Edward Banfield's *Unheavenly City* (1968) an early right wing denunciation of the post war settlement and a precursor to work by James Q Wilson and Charles Murray. Castells writes how '*The making of a sizeable proportion of the underclasses young men into a dangerous class could well be the most striking expression of the new American dilemma in the Information Age*' (1998: 149).

³⁶ In a sustained critique of New Labour social policy Colley and Hodgkinson deride this tendency as '*self-exclusion*' (2001:340).

³⁷ On this subject Peter Townsend opines '*The problem is one of social polarisation, or, as some described it, 'The Growing Divide' and not just growing poverty*' (1996: 46).

with only a vision of the polar extremities of rich and poor.³⁸ Therefore '*social polarisation*' seems a more accurate term to describe how the growth of wealth and income inequality which brings about a stretching of the traditional class schema: a shrinking middle class and growing polarities of rich upper class and an increasingly poor working class.

However, classical Marxism understands that urban form does not automatically correspond with the social tendencies determined by economic globalisation.³⁹ Marcuse and van Kempen realise '*Gloablization is not automatically translated into spatial patterns, even in the case of a growing social polarization*' (2000:7).⁴⁰ In their conclusion Castells and Mollenkopf try to capture the essence of social inequality in the '*Dual city*' (1991: 401) but settle essentially for the rich and poor. But both rich and poor are not members of homogenous social classes, the poor only actually constitute a class fraction within the working class and a minority fraction at that. The false dichotomy implied by the '*Dual city*' underlines the inadequacy of using the term to describe urban divisions and spatial segregation within the city. The term is not dialectical; it is static and avoids complexity, nuance and change in favour of binary opposites. The notion of two disparate sides to the built environment is overtly simplistic and does a disservice to the intricate patterns of contemporary urban inequality. The claim that there exist only two contrasting polarities of the built environment, even when sharply contrasting urban spaces exist in close proximity and invite dichotomous contrast, does not adequately summarise patterns of urban inequality. Used to express spatial inequalities the '*dual city*' simplifies intricate and continually changing urban form. Like the actual heterogeneous nature of social classes residential areas are a mix of many types of housing tenure, type, age and ownership. Mooney and Danson (1997:85) note how like social exclusion the '*Dual city*' supports '*poor versus the rest*' type of argument which serves to obscure the fundamental relations of power and profit in the modern city'.

³⁸ In a footnote Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) crucially raise the heterogeneous nature of social classes. They argue that while polarization and fragmentation might be between the super rich and the poorest in society it is less clear what will happen to what they term '*middle groups*' who they describe as those '*with incomes neither very high and nor very low*' (2000:21). They continue to explain that '*Cities generally have a majority in this middle range and it has still to be discovered how their social and spatial proximity to those above and below will develop. Disaggregating the "middle" into different subgroups...is a first step*' (2000:21).

³⁹ Pointing to its lack of clarity when applied to the spatial order and how the term is almost always used to refer to segregation, Walks complains '*it rarely distinguishes between differing forms of segregation or between differing typologies of social ecology*' (2001:410).

⁴⁰ The attractive yet essential incompatibility of '*Dual City*' type spatial conceptions derives from what Soja calls '*the lure of binarism*' (1996:61) a desire to organise complex phenomenon into simple categories.

Byrne praises Marcuse because he '*challenged the notion that there is a simple bipolar space with two separate kinds of social order within cities*' (1999:109). Marcuse criticised Castells's 'Dual City' metaphor as '*muddy*' (1989) and instead pursued an ideal type alternative of a '*Quartered City*'. Rather than social polarisation bringing about tendencies towards a dichotomous city it is instead divided into quarters: '*Cities today seem fragmented, portioned – at the extreme, almost drawn and quartered, painfully pulled apart*' (2000b:270).⁴¹ The contemporary city consists of a luxury city, the city of the gentry, a suburban city, a tenement city and finally the abandoned city. Together with van Kempen Marcuse explains how '*the locations of the new gentry*' (2000:13)⁴² i.e. gentrified neighbourhoods near downtowns are '*particularly affected by the changing productive structure of the economy*' (p.13). Like Sassen (1991) they attribute this to '*More high-level jobs in the service sector imply more households with high incomes*' (p.14). While this may be the case in an orthodox 'global city' it has much less resonance with cities like Sheffield existing outside that group. We shall explore issues of class and employment in the subsequent chapters.

1.8 GENTRIFICATION AND RESIDUALISATION

Marcuse highlights the class fractions amongst residents of the '*gentrified city*' (2000b:273) and partly nullifies Stouten's critique that '*One problem with Marcuse's division remains...the fact that considerable heterogeneity can develop within some 'quarters*' (2000:355). Residing within the gentrified quarter Marcuse lists '*professionals, managers, technicians, yuppies*' but crucially for the purposes of this thesis he points to a contradiction when he refers to them as '*those who have been doing well themselves yet work for and are ultimately at the mercy of others*' (p.355). Ostensibly they are middle class yet are exploited as proletarians and this issue raises questions concerning the term 'gentrification' with its overt middle class overtones. Indeed some now question the efficacy of the term such as Hackworth '*Contemporary gentrification is different from what it was before*' (2002:839) who points to changes in its use, so that today '*it is now very difficult to isolate*' (2002:838). The direct displacement of working class residents described by Glass (1963) no longer retains

⁴¹ Marcuse is alluding to the medieval form of punishment '*hung, drawn and quartered*' whereby the human body is systematically hung by the neck then carved from top to bottom and side to side.

⁴² When Ruth Glass (1963) introduced the term '*gentrification*' it was intended to point to the emergence of a new '*urban gentry*' paralleling the traditional rural gentry, the petit-bourgeois beneath the aristocracy.

as much salience in the contemporary context of corporate gentrification. However, the process of converting inner-city and city centre space for the more affluent can still be termed gentrification because the essential purpose remains to create a middle class community, only now by pre-emptive exclusion. Marcuse and van Kempen note how national and local governments enact policies *'with the aim of increasing the appeal of inner-city living for the new middle class'* (2000:14). Not only gentrified housing but also the axiomatic appendages - *'shopping malls in places in or adjacent to parts of the central business district, for example on disused tracts of land in harbour areas or former industrial sites'* (p.14). This contemporary understanding of gentrification⁴³ was pioneered by Sassen connecting *'processes of spatial, economic and social restructuring'* (1991:255) together.⁴⁴ She explains how Glass's traditional understanding was increasingly obsolete when residential developments became associated with wider changes in urban redevelopment (1991: 255).

By identifying areas of the city with the social milieu of their residents, Marcuse and van Kempen are bringing the social and the urban together: what kinds of people live in what kind of housing? This is a theme pioneered by Engels and pursued throughout this thesis. Marcuse and van Kempen acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of *'traditional working class areas'* (2000:16) where both white and blue collar workers reside side by side with the unemployed. Such districts they recognise are constantly in flux due to the relationship between social and residential mobility (2000:16).

But distinct from traditional working class districts are what the same authors call *'Ghettos of exclusion'* (2000:18) which, when *'viewed from the outside'*, have *'only a negative relationship to the social, political and economic life of the rest'* (p.19). Initially this approach can be delineated from Castells's *'Fourth World'*, which asserts their complete isolation from bourgeois society, because they add the caveat that some residents are *'connected to the economy and social and political life of the rest of the city'* but adding *'the majority are not'* (p.18). Similar accusations to those made against Castells (Webster, 2000) can be levelled at Marcuse and van Kempen. Their new ghetto is an *'excluded ghetto'* (p.19) not one of hope, expectation and protest but

⁴³ Regardless of re-defining gentrification for contemporary circumstances we should not lose sight of Savage and Warde's Weberian description *'Gentrification, like other forms of segregation, is an expression of inequality and social closure'* (1993: 85).

⁴⁴ There are two principle explanations for the emergence of gentrification. Neil Smith (1979b) views gentrification as a product of the urban land and property market, specifically in terms of the emergence of an expanding *'rent gap'* between the current value of property and the underlying value of the land. In contrast Hamnett (2003) forwards an explanation that emphasizes a shift to a post-industrial society, associated changes in the class structure

instead W J Wilson's vision (1987, 1996), i.e. one of '*despair, oppression and impairment*' (2000:18).⁴⁵ Alluding to Castells's vision they approvingly write of '*black holes of human misery in the global economy*' (1997:2). Any residual doubt regarding their conception of the relationship between residence and class is abrogated when they elucidate upon '*Older forms of the ghetto*' (2000:19) that remained integral to the economy while containing heterogeneous social layers including a reserve army of the unemployed. The new ghetto they believe does not conform to such benign description.

According to Marcuse and van Kempen the lower working class are excluded from society and the economy and do not constitute Marx's '*reserve army of labour*' i.e. a fluid section of the lower working class drawn into and out of the workforce as market conditions dictate and thereby essential to capitalism as a means to suppress wage demands. For Marcuse and van Kempen they exist outside of capitalist society and its economy and therefore outside the conventional class schema because they are no longer periodically pulled in and out of the economy according to market conditions, but are instead permanently excluded: an 'underclass'. Within this thesis we reject underclass type explanations and explore the heterogeneous nature of the working class, especially in chapter six (see page 205).

However Marcuse and van Kempen suggest '*residualised*' (2000:10) social housing is a component part of working class housing rather than separate. Residualisation refers to a process whereby council / social housing, especially high-rise, high-density inner city estates built during the 1960's and 70's, becomes physically dilapidated and home only to those who cannot afford to reside elsewhere, in short, poor housing stock for poor people (Harloe, 1997; Power, 1999; Forrest & Murie, 1988).⁴⁶ However, Marcuse and van Kempen also acknowledge the nuanced incongruities of inner city gentrification and residualisation which '*might result in new elite enclaves in redeveloped parts inside or next to deteriorating neighbourhoods and housing inhabited by the poor and elderly*' (2000:17). Jock Young (1999: 9) has described such socio-spatial incongruence as '*chic' by jowl*', and Hamnett suggests a similar picture (2003: 177). But regardless of such qualitatively new forms of socio-spatial

bringing about an expanded middle class with certain cultural tastes and consumption patterns.

⁴⁵ Linda Morris (1994) has explained how Wilson ultimately rejected the term underclass as ideologically biased and instead now uses the term '*urban poor*'.

⁴⁶ Chris Hamnett coined the term '*socio-tenurial polarisation*' (1984) to describe the tendency for people with limited resources to bringing about an expanded middle class with certain cultural tastes and consumption patterns.

segregation Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) reject '*a new spatial order*' (in dialectic terms a rejection of a qualitative shift in urban form). Instead they exaggerate urban continuity; the city has always been like this they claim, but in saying so they minimise the importance of the genuinely novel. Concluding, they assert '*The market segregates by price, as it always did*' (2000:252) but this free market type assumption fails to incorporate the role of urban planning which Smith (2002) was at pains to explain is changing under the aegis of economic globalisation, from an emphasis upon reproduction to one of production.

Inequality expressed through the built environment is as old as the city itself, but for a dialectical understanding continuation does not necessarily mean repetition, i.e. new urban inequalities are not a straightforward continuation or replication of older urban disparities. A continuation is never just more of the same. Over a protracted period it represents a development or intensification at the very least. The division of cities between unequal social classes is nothing new, Plato described such conditions, but the city expresses new disparities in novel ways and accordingly development proceeds in spirals rather than in a linear manner - with leaps, spasms and even breaks in continuity. Contemporary urban inequality like gentrification and residualisation, especially when they occur within incongruent proximity, reveal the transitory nature of such urban developments. They are not final or sacred urban forms but instead, in the fullness of time, will succumb to the uninterrupted dialectic process of becoming and passing away; the infinite ascendancy from the lower to the higher. In short, the aforementioned incongruity, not to mention frequent close proximity between what Byrne succinctly terms '*the contrary but intimately associated processes of gentrification and residualisation*' (1999:111) under the aegis of economic globalisation, is possibly a manifestation of an emerging new spatial order. According to classical Marxism urban form is not eternal; it is determined by shifts in the mode of production. With the advent of economic globalisation a qualitative shift has occurred within the world economy and the spatial order belatedly reflects these changing circumstances.

Marcuse and van Kempen (2000:257) introduce the concept of '*soft locations*' (see chapter two, page 41-42) described as a particular type of urban location where the process of globalisation has a particular impact. It is a subject the authors believe requires further research and we concur. The urban locations especially susceptible to change are: waterfronts, centrally located manufacturing areas, brownfield sites, central city office and residential locations, central city amusement locations and

tourist sites, concentrations of social housing, locations on the fringe of the central business districts, historic structures and public spaces. Chapter four in this thesis studies a district of Sheffield that contains all of these types of urban development. But the authors do not believe '*soft locations*' constitute '*a new structural spatial order*' because they represent only '*a continuation of pre-existing trends*' (p.258).

Smith, however, believes that a fundamental shift has occurred within the built environment because the '*New Globalism*' brings about a '*New Urbanism*' (2002:83). Usurping the '*Keynesian City*' this new state of affairs '*comes with a considerable emphasis on the nexus of production and finance capital at the expense of questions of social reproduction*' (p.88). Contemporary neo-liberal urban policy means the local state, like its national counterpart, has expunged attempts to mediate urban inequality from its political manifesto and has instead '*fitted into the grooves already established by market logics, becoming, in effect, a junior if highly active partner to global capital*' (p.81). Globalisation, argues Smith, has brought about a new '*special nexus...between global and urban change*' (2002:83) and he describes how this brings about a new form of gentrification as a manifestation of the universal process of global production - '*what might be called the generalization of gentrification as a global urban strategy*' (p. 90). Gentrification is now a widespread phenomenon as chapter three (see page 91) illustrates.

Smith contrasts Glass's (1963) definition of gentrification with the British governments *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999) where the discourse of renaissance and regeneration has become a euphemism for new build and refurbishment gentrification. Byrne (1999:110) also points out how gentrification is now public policy in the UK. The 1960's gentrification described by Glass now seems quite benign whereas the new gentrification is '*a central goal of British urban policy*' (p.92).

But this contemporary state led gentrification is one that dare not speak its name. Reminding the reader how the term gentrification refers to the displacement of working class residents Smith writes '*Indeed, the class nature of the process, transparent in Glass's version of gentrification, is assiduously hidden in the verbiage of the British Labour government*' (p.93). The class based strategy '*has become a dirty word*' (p.93); New Labour - new gentrification so to speak. For Smith the novel relationship between a globalising economy and the new gentrification finds its ultimate expression in the language of '*urban regeneration*' (p.98). Blair's New Labour government, he argues, is in the vanguard reinventing gentrification as '*urban*

renaissance', at the forefront of *'the most ambitious attempts to incorporate gentrification into the heart of transnational urban policies'* (p.97). What Smith calls *'third wave gentrification'* increasingly expresses *'the rescaling of the urban vis-à-vis national and global scales'* (p.97). The relative autonomy enjoyed by cities throughout the history of the world economy, an autonomy which during the post war period allowed the Keynesian state to ameliorate social and urban inequalities is past. The city now has unfettered relations with the global economy.⁴⁷

Smith's *'third wave gentrification'* is a general response by local governments, but crucially for the design of this thesis he argues that specific locations and practice cannot be ignored *'Insofar as it is an expression of larger social, economic and political relations, gentrification in any particular city will express the particularities of the place in the making of its urban space'* (2002:97). Smith's advice does not go unheeded; this relationship between the general and the specific is demonstrated in chapter four where we discuss a specific manifestation of gentrification and residualisation within Sheffield. Expressing the dialectic relationship between the global and the local Smith asserts *'The reach of global capital down to the local neighbourhood scale is equally a hallmark of the latest phase of globalisation'* (2002: 97).

Keil and Ronneberger suggest *'globalization should not be fetishized and reified as a steamroller that rolls over "local places"'* (2000:228). Economic globalisation does not create pastry cutter cities, a caricature of globalisation sometimes painted by some of its opponents. But it does create a very definite context that influences the city in predictable ways. All cities have their own idiosyncratic history of social and urban inequalities and these are not made anew but instead exacerbated by globalisation. Short and Kim explain how *'Contemporary urban dynamics are the spatial expression of globalization, while urban changes reshape and reform the processes of globalization'* (1999:9). Similarly Wilson writes of this dialectic relationship between

⁴⁷ This new relationship between world economy and the city invites a further debate concerning the re-emergence of city-states. According to a report by the Henley Centre's *Planning for Local Change* cities will soon replace countries as the basic units of international power in the 21st century. That report concludes *'The city has really got to deliver, although image is very important. They may have pockets of social exclusion, but they will need to solve their problems for business reasons - a high crime rate will deter investment'* (Anon:1998:9). Merrifield agrees with the emergence of city-states and notes how this rhetoric is one *'good business climate dictates'* (2002a:12). On the other hand, contravening Merrifield Smith argues that *'No one seriously argues that the twenty first century will see a return to a world of city-states - but it will see a recapture of urban political prerogative vis-à-vis regions and nation-states'* (2002:89).

the global and local *'cities are never passive in the face of globalization but always mediate it and negotiate it in complex ways. In this sense, cities are unpredictable landscapes that shape globalization's character as they also reflect it'* (1997:12).

Smith asserts how *'Third-wave gentrification has evolved into a vehicle for transforming whole areas into new landscape complexes that pioneer a comprehensive class inflected urban remake'* (2002:97). Combining his writings on the *'Revanchist city'* (1996), whereby the upper middle classes vengefully re-conquer the city centre, together with the current British government discourse of *'regeneration'* Smith notes how an appeal to white middle class self interest is made. In contrast to Smith Schoon believes there are essentially two methods to reduce urban poverty: one is the dispersal of the poor, but this he rejects as too costly. Instead *'Dilution is a better bet'* (2002: 29) and seemingly unaware of contemporary developments he continues, *'gentrification and a genuine urban renaissance would see it take place on a very large scale...state-sponsored gentrification should become a key weapon for urban regeneration'* (2002:29/30). Katz provides almost a caricature of such notions when he advocates encouraging the rich to move into deprived areas as a cure for poverty and thereby creating *'neighbourhoods of choice'* (Partridge, 2004:15). Katz never mentions that what he advocates is gentrification.⁴⁸

Gentrification as national government policy seems to be an attempt to produce a petty bourgeois socio-spatial landscape, in the words of Marx and Engels *'a world after its own image'* (1888: 84). Summarising a pamphlet sent to advertising agencies and companies by New Labour Maguire states *'Labour's membership is made up of rich young people living in trendy loft apartments'* (2003:11).⁴⁹ City centres are

⁴⁸ The notion that an infusion of the wealthy attracted by the desirable location of a deprived estate or district will end deprivation wrests upon free market nostrums – what the poor require is civilizing, rather than more money, poverty is self inflicted rather than structural, that the rich will utilize public services and thereby improve them and generally, and most damningly, that social and urban inequality is a somehow organic rather than based upon unequal social classes. Katz, a vice-president of the Brookings Institute and visiting professor at the LSE, also hides the fact that what he advocates is how the more traditional forms of gentrification began and the result is not an end to poverty but merely its dispersal as the rich converge and the poor retreat from an area they can no longer afford.

⁴⁹ Tony Blair, as Loretta Lees (2003: 573) points out, was an upper middle class gentrifier himself, in Barnsbury, Islington, one of the first London neighbourhoods to gentrify. Drawing attention to his residential mobility and gentrification in London the journalist Andy Beckett noted *'Blair has been part of this process for a quarter of a century, since its relatively early stages, and has benefited from it and been influenced by it politically. You could call New Labour the gentrifiers' party, the party of a new British middle class: expanding, work-driven, once modestly-off but now increasingly prosperous, once leftwing but now closer to Liberal, and which has moved into the inner districts of British cities while the working class has moved out.'* (2004: 2).

increasingly planned around the demands of the new economy *“so that they will attract workers in these industries – especially younger managers and professionals who will give the city the buzz”* write Amin et al (2000: 22/23).⁵⁰ But Byrne reminds us *‘Exclusive development is meant to exclude after all’* (1999:111).⁵¹ Particular manifestations of gentrification and residualisation are explored in chapter four.

1.9 CONCLUSION

What is the nature of the relationship between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality within the city and how does it affect cities like Sheffield? This literature review has evaluated explanations in the light of a classical Marxist perspective and argued that the world economy is undergoing structural changes as fundamental and panoramic as those associated with the industrial revolution at the end of the 18th century. The industrial revolution created the great British cities (Hunt, 2004) during this period and economic globalisation is today exacerbating their inequalities.

The technological developments in computer and telecommunications that have made possible the globalisation of commodity production over the last quarter of the twentieth century are historically comparable only to those of the industrial revolution. While the invention of the steam engine fuelled the industrial revolution, revolutionary advances in technology associated with the microchip have facilitated the globalisation of commodity production. Utilising the work of Marx Neil Smith has established an understanding of what exactly constitutes economic globalisation and in addition its influence upon social and urban inequalities within cities. Economic globalisation has brought about the greatest advances in labour productivity witnessed in human history. But by disaggregating national and regional production processes this qualitative development has pulled from under the ‘Keynesian city’ the high degree of economic autarky and emphasis upon social reproduction enjoyed between approximately 1950 and 1975. Transformed by the ‘Globalising city’ social reproduction increasingly takes a back seat as a concern for local and national

⁵⁰ In a letter to the Sheffield Telegraph asking *‘If the buzz in Sheffield depends on the redevelopment of the city centre’* John Haigh noted *‘Sheffield council taxpayers should recall the buzz is often the last thing we hear before being stung’* (2002, 14).

⁵¹ Deborah Orr questions the role of regeneration to reduce social exclusion. Writing about Islington where the Blair’s lived she writes *‘To a huge extent these areas are privatized, and the socially excluded, far from being “lifted out of poverty” are excluded all the more’* (2001: 5).

government whilst facilitating free market production becomes paramount. The emergence of a direct 'global-urban connection' brings economic developments at the global spatial level into direct influence upon the city's social and spatial order. Understood in a dialectic sense this represents a qualitatively new development.

Turning our attention to contemporary urban and social inequality within the city we find a startling incongruity in comparison to the advances in productive technology. Over the past quarter century, since the demise of the 'Keynesian city', the growth of social inequality has taken the distinct form of social polarisation: the accumulation of great wealth at one social pole and increasing deprivation at the other. This is accompanied by a diminishing of the lower middle classes and the increasing impoverishment of the poorest section of the working class. Together with this we find a contradictory mix of urban decay and splendour, redolent of disparate wealth distribution, has returned to the city. Simultaneous private gentrification and public residualisation is a concentrated expression of such developments within the built fabric of the city. A specific manifestation of the relationship between economic globalisation, social and urban inequality, between gentrification and residualisation will be explored in the following chapters with reference to Sheffield.

We suggest that the relationship between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality is indeed a contradictory one as suggested by the research hypothesis; revolutionary advances in the productive forces which have facilitated the greatest leaps in capitalist production have simultaneously greatly exacerbated both urban and social inequalities.

CHAPTER TWO: THE RESEARCH APPROACH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to explain and justify the research approach adopted in this thesis - a classical Marxist dialectic method. This approach has been adopted as the most suitable to explore the relationship between the global and the local levels of social science spatial analysis. In this chapter we explore how the different research strategies were conducted and how they fit together to bridge the theoretical gap between the local and the global.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to explore the dialectic relationship between the global and the local the research design illustrates how the two are internalised and implicated within one another and maintains the sense of change and contradiction within the research phenomena. The design synthesises the local and the global by the manner in which the chapters are constructed, whilst simultaneously, in Merrifield's words, *'keeping hold of the contradiction'* (2002b:11). Consequently the research design employs a series of levels of social scientific analysis in order to connect processes operating at different spatial levels and capture both the universal and the particular. These different spatial levels of analysis are designed to dialectically *'combine syllogisms in such a way as to bring our understanding closer to the eternally changing reality'* (Trotsky, 1971: 66).

The research hypothesis presents an apparent contradiction between the global and the local levels of analysis: technological advances shown in the globalisation of commodity production and the simultaneous regression in British male working class life chances. The global level of analysis and how it interacts with the local level was introduced in chapter one. In particular, the relationship between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality within the British city was explored. The intervening mezo-levels of analysis i.e. the community and city have one chapter each devoted to them in the form of chapter three (the Sheffield case study) and chapter four (the community profile). The local level of analysis is explored in chapter five through an analysis of life history

interviews with a selection of male residents who lived within two disparate housing developments.

The series of methodological stages are designed to synthesise the different layers of research and analysis so that each is both informed by and in turn informs the other chapters. Consequently they provide a series of intermediary layers of analysis between the global and local levels. Each chapter provides a necessary context and location for their interrelations - the global, the city, the community and the resident. The literature review provided the general contextual discussions, while the city case study, the community profile and life history analysis (chapter three, four and five) provide a specific location and particular patterns of and interrelations between the research phenomena. The chapters are designed to link the different spatial scales ranging from the global to the local in an analysis of economic globalisation, urban inequality and life chances. Descending from the somewhat abstract and general level of a global analysis the chapters become more specific and culminate in the analysis of life chances.

2.3 RESEARCH CONTEXT

We concur with Harvey (2000: 15) who describes globalisation as the most macro of all discourses. Therefore the first spatial level of analysis has been the literature review of economic globalisation's relationship with urban and social inequality within the British city. Chapter one explored the contradiction between the general development of globalised commodity production and the growth of urban and social inequality found at the spatial level of the British city. The emergence of economic globalisation allows cities to establish their own relations with the world economy, relations that were once dictated through the nation state (Short & Kim, 1999: 128). Neil Smith (2002: 82-83) explains how *'this transformation...is being expressed most vividly through an altered geography of social relations – more concretely, through a rescaling of social processes and relations that create new amalgams of scale'*. Cautioning against considering the older amalgams as less relevant Smith wishes *'to pick up on what seems to be a special nexus that is being forged between global and urban change'* (2002: 82/83). As the globalisation of commodity production disaggregates national forms of production the national becomes a less significant unit of analysis (Reich, 1991). Brenner (2001: 134) explains the

process thus: *'Since the global economic crisis of the early 1970's, this ongoing "relativization of scales" has systematically decentred the entrenched primacy of the national scale'*. We wish to explore the global/urban nexus and therefore Sassen's (1990) approach, whereby the global economy is comprised of a series of national state containers within which are a further set of city containers, that Brenner (1998: 11) calls *'statecentric'*. In this sense Sassen's model is similar to the now atavistic Westphalian International Relations model where power resides solely within the national state (Waters, 1995: 27).

Chapter one explored the global/urban nexus in a general manner of urban and social inequality. As the chapter developed it brought to the fore a discussion of more specific contradictions that arise later in the thesis when exploring chapter four, the Woodside/Kelham Riverside community profile: namely that between private regeneration and public degeneration and more specifically between private gentrification and public residualisation.

The research context provided by chapter one is necessary for a dialectical approach that explores social and urban inequality at multiple spatial levels of analysis. The chapter established the dialectical relationship between the global and the local levels of analysis and provides the global and national context to the following chapters. Chapters three and four are thoroughly contextualised by the literature review and subsequently able to develop the thesis more specifically in time and space.

2.4 SHEFFIELD CASE STUDY

Chapter three, the Sheffield city case study, focuses the research from the general to the more specific by contextualising the changes explored in chapter one within a particular British provincial 'non-global' but 'globalising city'. The literature on the relationship between globalisation and urban change has produced a wealth of case studies that exemplify the importance of local context and initiatives in economic development. Accordingly Merrifield approves of *'grounding'* a dialectic analysis within city case studies because their *'narrative endeavours to put thicker texture to these processes and urban experiences in order to better understand both'* (2002b: 15). The strength of a

case study is that it avoids a unidirectional determinism from the global to the local, pointing out local factors and initiatives in mediating the global/urban nexus. Case studies reveal that not all parts of the city or their inhabitants are equally affected by the impact of globalisation. Each city has its own idiosyncratic interplay of the global and the local as local economic, social, political and urban conditions mediate global economic forces. In such a spirit we agree with Short and Kim (1999: 129) who assert '*For a better understanding and theorisation of the global-local connection we need more detailed biographies of cities within a global context*'. Chapter three, the Sheffield case study, focuses and contextualises the general discussion from chapter one and subsequently provides the general context for chapter four, the community profile. As part of the case study we study the program of Sheffield's city centre regeneration which involved documentary research, following local developments in the local and national press and attendance at annual events such as *Sheffield Design Week*. The case study draws upon a variety of academic and local news sources.

2.4.1 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY RESEARCH

Primary research conducted through local documentary sources crucially informs chapter three, the Sheffield case study and chapter four, the community profile. The local studies section of Sheffield central library provided a host of pamphlets, articles, books, newspapers, press releases and other miscellaneous materials. Whilst some of this material, usually local history books, constituted secondary sources, most was of a primary nature. Some relevant material involved only perhaps a casual reference or incidental information but nevertheless each constituted a piece of the research jigsaw.

Primary research that also informs the Sheffield Case Study includes information gleaned from a series of eight semi-structured interviews conducted with Sheffield stakeholders from various local, economic, social and urban, public and private organisations. Conducted in their respective places of employment between June 2000 and December 2001 the interviews involved contemporary and historic dynamics in the particular interviewees' field of expertise and employment. Beyond their involvement in Sheffield's development more specifically these interviewees were selected to illuminate local education, employment and residential mobility issues. Consequently I interviewed

senior representatives from Sheffield Riverside Development Agency (formerly Kelham Riverside Development Agency), Sheffield First and from Sheffield's Chamber of Commerce. In addition, Senior Sheffield council employees from the Housing Department, Burngreave Housing (responsible for Woodside) and Sheffield Council Education Department with responsibilities in Burngreave were interviewed. Representatives able to speak with authority from the Yorkshire Metropolitan Housing Association (who rent properties at Woodside) and Gleasons the builders who converted Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works in Kelham Riverside agreed to be interviewed. Each interview had its own idiosyncratic themes and questions designed to utilise the expertise and experience of the individual interviewee. The insights, opinions and policies garnered from these interviews are analysed and incorporated into chapters three, four and five.

In addition, during the embryonic stages of the research in early 2000 informal discussions with various local stakeholders were arranged. The insights and opinions garnered from these interviews, including those with the stakeholders, have been utilised, usually implicitly, but occasionally explicitly, to furnish and contextualise chapters three and four. Informal discussions were arranged, to inform my initial ideas and also with an eye upon access into the research field, with a former New Labour Minister for Urban Regeneration, a couple of Sheffield councillors who represent inner city wards, a senior housing officer from Burngreave Housing as well as representatives from community bodies in the area.

2.5 COMMUNITY PROFILE

In addition to their call for more detailed city case studies Short and Kim complain of the existing case studies that *'Few, however, propose any specified framework to examine and measure urban changes influenced by globalization processes'* (1999:128-129). This thesis addresses their complaint by using a classical Marxist framework. Marcuse and van Kempen (2000:257) suggest a particular set of urban locations in which the processes of globalisation is most likely to have a particular impact – see chapter one, pages 31-32:

- ☐ Waterfronts
- ☐ Centrally located manufacturing areas
- ☐ Brownfields (formerly industrial sites)
- ☐ Central city office and residential locations
- ☐ Central city amusement locations and tourist sites
- ☐ Concentrations of social housing
- ☐ Locations on the fringe of central business districts
- ☐ Historic structures
- ☐ Public spaces

Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) have termed such places '*soft locations*' because of their vulnerability to change. They serve as markers for the direction and intensity of the influence of globalisation and offer a 'measurement' of its impact. Chapter four focuses upon a district within Sheffield's city centre periphery that includes all of these individual soft locations and represents an aggregate '*soft location*'. The focus upon such a sub-locale provides the '*specified framework to examine and measure urban changes influenced by globalization processes*' suggested by Short and Kim (1999: 129). Within the contours of the Sheffield '*soft location*' are two disparate forms of housing tenure – a post war residualised inner city council estate (Woodside) and an adjoining private gentrified area (Kelham Riverside). Chapter four, the community profile chapter contextualises contemporary forms of social and urban inequality through an examination of these contradictory developments. The chapter offers a 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation upon urban inequality through an examination of the disparate housing tenures and the '*soft location*' within which they are located.

This 'measurement' in keeping with the dialectic methodology will be one that makes a distinction between quantitative and qualitative change. In the transformation of quantity into quality gradual quantitative change inexorably give rise to novel qualitative change. Quantitative changes beyond certain limits become converted into qualitative but '*To determine at the right moment the critical point where quantity changes in to quality is one of the most important and difficult tasks in all the spheres of knowledge including sociology*' (Trotsky, 1971: 65). Therefore the measurement of urban inequality will carefully consider whether the protracted development of the contradiction between private regeneration and public degeneration represents a deepening of the

contradiction or whether a critical mass has been reached and has brought forth a fundamental and unprecedented change from previous affairs. Has gradual quantitative change brought about a qualitative new state of urban affairs, in the words of Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) '*a new spatial order?*' Towards gauging such a 'measurement' theoretical, empirical and ethnographic-style fieldwork research within the community was conducted.

In addition, documentary research was conducted amongst local documentary and press sources available at Sheffield Central and Burngreave Libraries. The material indicated in chapter four largely consists of primary documentary sources garnered from the local press and various other local sources. The primary material was synthesised into a coherent discussion but nevertheless this documentary research remains the key to the chapter. The documentary research provides the foundation for a dialectical approach to the sub-locale because it provides an understanding of the past out of which present circumstances emerge. It helps us to comprehend Sheffield's past and the relationship between lived experience and structural changes and therefore the documentary research facilitates a comparison with contemporary circumstances. In particular the primary research material provides the nuances and complexities required to illustrate change over a protracted period of time. However, without the secondary sources much of this material would lack the necessary context and indeed salience it acquires through their juxtaposition. The original juxtaposition of secondary and primary documentary research together with the ethnographic style fieldwork and insights from the stakeholder interview material constitute part of the research findings of this thesis.

2.6 LIFE HISTORY ANALYSIS AND THEMATIC TRANSMISSION FACTORS

The qualitative approach utilised for the local level research is life history analysis (Dex, 1991), a specific type of biographical approach. Biographies can be defined as '*personal accounts*' (Lancey, 1993) and encompass a wide range of interpretations and methods. But what delineates the life history approach is the importance of the interrelationships between the life of an individual and socio-economic structures. The life history approach emphasises the interrelationships between the life of the individual and social structures i.e. between agency and structure or between the global and the local.

Explaining the difference between life history and biography Dex (1991: 2) inadvertently describes the dialectical relationship between the global and local levels of spatial analysis *'Clearly individuals actions are reflected in their life histories and those of others, but equally, individuals actions reflect the structural facts which impinged upon them and moulded or constrained their experiences and actions'*. This approach is similar to that of Karl Marx who suggested that men make their own history but under circumstances transmitted from the past. The aim of the life history research is to explore the life chances and life worlds of residents through an analysis of thematic transmission factors: education, employment and residential mobility and thereby provide a 'measurement' at the local level of the influence of economic globalization.

In this sense Gramsci (1971: 324) wrote how individuals are a *'product of the historical process to date which has deposited in you an infinity of traces without leaving an inventory'*. The individual navigates their life history within society, but society is very much alive within their life history. Life history is a synthesis of the global and the local and thereby encapsulates a suitable measurement of the influence of economic globalisation.

The life history approach studies a protracted period and to reiterate a point made previously, one can only comprehend the present when one understands the past from which the present emerged. Dex (1991:1) explains *'that for many sociological processes, the past, or the lapse of time, is a crucial factor in understanding the present'*. She goes on to explain how in addition to informing the relationship between the individual and socio-economic structures the life history method offers the possibility to *'explore and research social change through life histories. It is also possible both to construct and test sociological, economic, psychological and historical theories using life histories'* (p.2). She makes a similar point to Marx concerning how individual lives embody social processes: *'It has been said that individual's lives are the stage on which societal changes are played out'* (p.2). The measurement of life chances will consider whether the research has revealed a qualitatively new state of affairs or whether the research explores a continuation, possibly even a deepening, but not a fundamental shift from that which went before.

For synthesising the global and local levels of spatial analysis the interviews specifically explore residents' life histories of employment, education and residential mobility. The three thematic transmission factors were selected because of their salience in transmitting social class inequalities and consequently their implications for life chances and life worlds. A contextualised discussion of the interrelationships between the three transmission factors aims to understand how those accumulative changes occurring at higher spatial levels of analysis influence residents' disparate life chances.

The life history approach utilises semi-structured interviews as the primary data collection tool because they are acknowledged to be the most appropriate means of eliciting lengthy and detailed narratives from participants. We acknowledge that the research methodology has limitations - life histories are reliant upon the interviewees' accounts and are an inevitably partial and one sided understanding of the life history. We must also accept that not everything imparted by residents may have been true. However, the substance of the interviews, a discussion of objective patterns and history reduces scope for embellishment, half-truths and lies. It is more likely that information they did not wish to give was obscured by partial accounts, strategic omissions and obliqueness. Ethically I was not compelled, nor comfortable, explicitly questioning the reliability of accounts because I did not wish to place the resident in a vulnerable or discomfiting position. But I cross referenced the different thematic transmission factors and correlated answers by repeating questions when summing up and asking for any further information they thought might be useful. This provided a series of chronological checks. Where appropriate probing was also utilised to establish the veracity of information granted. Once an adequate life history had been constructed I explicitly questioned the interviewee over areas they seemed to place the greater emphasis upon and utilised this to encourage them to expand upon issues they seemed more reticent about.

In terms of the veracity of information imparted during interviews the researcher must trust their fieldwork instincts. Oakley stresses how the most effective interviews are conducted when *'the relationship of the interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship'* (1983: 41). In an attempt to relieve pressure to live up, or even down to my expectations I briefly relayed details of my own life history to the prospective interviewee

prior to the interview. This sharing of knowledge and experience was also utilised at awkward moments or when perhaps the sharing of similar experiences or circumstances might increase trust and the lucidity of the interviewee.

The life history interviews were complemented by ethnographic-style fieldwork research within the two communities. The term 'ethnographic-style' has been utilised rather than plain ethnography because I did not live within either Woodside or Kelham Riverside. I could not live as a full participant. I therefore acted as an ethnographic fieldworker (Rosie, 1991). Instead the ethnographic-style fieldwork research consisted of immersion within the communities, observing and contemplating, making contacts, taking field notes and photographs. In addition I was employed as an adult learning education outreach worker in Burngreave during the course of the research which provided me with further experience of educational issues amongst Woodside tenants.

The ethnographic-style fieldwork unfortunately took on much less magnitude in the Kelham Riverside neighbourhood. It can be partially explained by the transient nature of a newly gentrifying neighbourhood in a buoyant housing market and the general lack of communal public spaces, amenities and activities in such an area.

2.6.1 INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT ANALYSIS

The life history interview data is initially explored through a thematic framework analysis which conflated the data to reveal the transmission factors chronologically. A series of thematic matrices were developed to enable the data to be conflated in a manner that revealed interrelationships between the three transmission factors. In addition each individual matrix includes other information relevant to the life chances of each resident including parent's occupation, class and ethnicity. Each interview transcript was thoroughly analysed prior to transferring the data to their matrix. After repeated reading of the transcripts significant changes and influences were coded. Once the transcripts were exhausted I transferred the data onto individual matrices. They aid the understanding of generalities and shared experiences, but equally they help identify incongruities and differences between people living in disparate circumstances or

between those with different experiences living within the same community. The matrices can be found in the Appendix.

2.6.2 ISSUES OF DIFFERENCE

By way of preparation for fieldwork and interviews the researcher should understand their own life history, its idiosyncratic yet structured life chances and circumscribed life world and their meanings and motivations concerning the research subject. In this way we better understand those we are researching. Self examination and contemplation whilst inherently subjective, can promote a higher degree of intellectual objectivity, they also help to establish an acknowledgement of our motivations and attitudes. Trying to understand our own life history within the totality of socio-economic relations prepares the researcher to comprehend the research subject. Fieldwork research with an ethnographic-style element requires a keen sense of reflection and self critique. This reflexivity is essential if one is to simultaneously maintain academic detachment whilst sharing intimate involvement with interviewees. Fieldwork requires the researcher maintain their personal and professional attributes whilst always establishing relations conducive to conducting research within the subject group through immersion and socialisation. The dialectical interplay between experience and interpretation strengthens the authenticity of fieldwork research and therefore my ethnographic-style research required the fulfilling of two roles simultaneously; *'being there'* whilst simultaneously *'being here'* (Hobbs and May, 1993). A brief examination of the life history of the researcher assists the comprehension of research motivations and the selection of fieldwork methodology. Jorgensen (1989: 53) explains how choices made regarding methodology should seek to utilise the class capital of the researcher and

'the social location of the researcher also is critically important. People are defined socially by where they are located in relationships to and in association with other people...where the researcher is located socially determines what is observable, the character and opportunities to observe'.

Whilst research within a familiar social milieu can provide useful opportunities it also poses a risk of over familiarity with the research subject and as a consequence a failure to notice significant phenomena. The risk of 'going native' amongst our own social layer

is reduced by virtue of biographical familiarity but a danger exists of 'staying native' i.e. being so overtly familiar and comfortable within a social setting as to accept the scenario as normal and spurning the researcher's desired balance of simultaneous insider/outsider status. This dialectic between insider and outsider status has additional complexity because of the fluid nature of this researcher's own life history.

My background is lower working class and this thesis was not motivated by any romantic or otherwise naive notions of Sheffield labour.¹ If a key part of the fieldwork remit is to blend in, behave naturally and not attract too much attention, then this was carried out with reasonable success at Woodside. I possessed what Bourdieu has called '*cultural competence*' (1984: 2) and on a similar note Jorgensen highlights the privileged nature of my insider status at Woodside '*The deeper meanings of most forms of human existence are not displayed for outsiders. They are primarily to people for whom their meanings constitute a way of life*' (1989:60). However, our life histories do not offer a shortcut to fieldwork authenticity. My cultural competence did not save me from having to utilise accommodation techniques, because I 'talk the talk' does not mean I 'walk the walk'. I remained an outsider on the estate because of my research status, my residence elsewhere in the inner city and my own ostensible upward life chances. I did not live on the estate nor shared the majority of residents' circumstances. After all, I was the one doing what became innocuously known as the "*college project*".

The choice of research topic is rooted within my own life history. Raised within the lower working class I was often both an insider and outsider within the milieu. But while lower working class, as defined by my parents' employment, we lived in private not corporation housing. Those who divide the working class arbitrarily along lines of respectability and non-respectability would, on surface appearances, place our family on the side of propriety. Consciousness is determined by being and as a child I was more conscious of my being than most. But while observing, examining and trying to understand, I was too

¹ Writing an introduction to Rook's *The Hooligan Nights* (1979) Benny Green makes this relevant point '*Artists as disparate as Gissing and Orwell have fled from respectability into the working class as if to the arms of a benign goddess, without grasping the simple proposition that the working class is neither more virtuous nor less than any other; it is poorer, that is all. The result has been the neglect of the largest single group in the community. Doomed to being either sentimentalised by the guilt wracked or stigmatised by the pietistic, the urban masses in English literature almost never appear as themselves, but only as something which might be turned into something else, either the saintly redeemers of Orwell's dreams or the avenging mob of Dickens's nightmares*' (p. vii/viii).

young to fend off intra working class prejudices and the stereotype of lower working class council estate residents infringed upon my consciousness.²

Ethnographic-style research involves more than the collection of data, it specifically aims at achieving a certain measure of objectivity. While axiomatic to note that biases remain, it remains crucial to comprehend those biases and understand how they might still, even after academic training, remain and cloud research objectivity. My own life history involves a degree of upward social mobility and tellingly while Woodside residents seemed to accept me they did not consider me one of them.³ I was not raised in Woodside, instead I grew up in what Pollard specifically called a '*working class suburb*' (1959:90). As an adult I live not far from where Woodside until recently stood, in another inner city council estate.⁴ But ultimately like my namesake Walker Street, which runs parallel to the Wicker Arches on the symbolic boundary between the city centre and Pitsmoor, I remained on the periphery, a simultaneous insider and outsider. My ostensible upward social mobility, if not residence, placed me closer to the circumstances of the Kelham Riverside residents. But again my relationship with the residents of the gentrified neighbourhood was not straightforward and once more I found myself a simultaneous insider and outsider within the community.

The choice of education, employment and residential mobility is from my own life chances and life world.⁵ While my family background is lower working class I have ostensibly moved into the lower middle classes yet remain alienated from elements of that existence, to much the same degree as I am alienated from parts of my lower

² When selected as substitute for my junior school to play football against Pye Bank Trinity at Woodside circa 1979 I distinctly remember watching their substitutes sing "*Pye Bank Trinity, Pye Bank Trinity, we'll support you ever more*". More importantly I recall thinking how carefree and how much rougher than my own genteel self, as I saw it, they seemed.

³ Writing as an outsider Finnegan expresses pertinent sentiments '*I really was a visitor from another class in most settings described here, and middle class prosperity and respectability are - among the poor, the downwardly mobile, and the hard pressed - life outcomes to be keenly desired*' (1998:344).

⁴ Likewise on the periphery of the city centre my district is experiencing simultaneous residualisation and gentrification.

⁵ Gans (1982: 55) cautions against research that is too close to home, too close to the life situation of the researcher because a lack of social distance can create an over familiarity that dulls research antennae. Fortunately my contradictory fieldwork relationship of concurrent insider and outsider status was replicated amongst both respective neighbourhoods and their residents.

working class background. Personal circumstances change, upward social mobility hovers tantalisingly close, yet I tend to remain the jigsaw piece that does not fit.⁶

2.6.3 RAPPORT

The establishment of rapport, i.e. easy verbal relations between interviewer and interviewee requires both to feel comfortable. A non-hierarchical relationship, or as equal as possible under the circumstances, assists the interview process. Oakley explains how the most effective interviews are conducted when *'the relationship of the interviewer and the interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship'* (1983:41). Oakley advocates the sharing of knowledge and experience during interview dialogues. Our own identity can be useful when developing rapport with respondents and attempting to gain mutual trust. If a good relationship can be established then the respondent is more likely to open up and relay a fuller and more detailed life history.

Investing one's own personal identity should strike a balance between providing enough information to engage the respondent whilst maintaining a crucial scholarly distance and therefore not influencing the respondent to the degree that they alter their life history significantly in light of your efforts. Too much empathy or affinity with the respondent can be counter productive if they believe it to be contrived. Whilst maintaining this balance I tried to 'warm up' the respective interviewees by sharing with them vignettes from my life history. This personal investment however was not a one size fits all approach, instead it was tailored to each individual interviewee, especially as the two cohorts frequently had different backgrounds. Sometimes the interviewees would be inquisitive and ask me questions about my employment, education or residential mobility and I tried to respond accordingly with good grace. After all, it was I who was asking them questions in order to

⁶ Familiar to fieldwork research, Herbert Gans notes *'My hunch is that fieldwork attracts a person who, in Everett Hughes's words 'is alienated from his background', who is not entirely comfortable in his new roles, or who is detached from his own society: the individual who is more comfortable as an observer than as a participant. This is the stuff of which intellectuals and novelists are made, but while literary observers may celebrate their marginality, sociologists must understand it, and see how it affects their work if they are to be social scientists'* (1982: 61).

further my academic career not vice versa.⁷ Whilst being careful not to encroach upon the direct subject matter I took time to engage the interviewee in a preamble to the interview. An exchange of salutations, pleasantries and carefully explaining the nature of the research helped put the interviewees' more at ease. Some of the issues broached before the interview related to its purpose, issues of anonymity and answering questions about myself.⁸

2.6.4 **ACCESS**

The issue of fieldwork access is crucial because the points of contact established influence the collection of data and subsequent perspectives adopted. Initial entry into the field influences the manner in which respondents define the research and the role of the researcher. Burgess believes that

'Gaining access is an essential phase in the research process. For access is a prerequisite: a precondition for research to be conducted. Secondly, access influences the reliability and validity of the data that the researcher subsequently obtains' (1984: 45)

Because of the disparate nature of the two communities the issue of gatekeepers is relevant to Woodside but not Kelham Riverside. Jorgensen (1989: 46) points out that respected figures within the community can open many doors and this was the case at Woodside. During my initial forays into the estate I was fortunate enough to strike up a good relationship with someone who proved to be an excellent gatekeeper. In the course of his fieldwork Whyte (1955: 301) acknowledged that in order to maintain his working relationship with Doc his key gatekeeper, he kept him informed about how the research

⁷ I take their life histories away as the subject of academic study and dissect them, place them under a microscope, sum them up and make pronouncements upon them they might well disagree with profoundly. Geoffrey Beattie (1998: 232) captures some of the feelings I experienced not only at Woodside but Kelham Riverside too when he writes, *'I had finished with others too. I felt guilty about this sometimes. I knew I was in the business of reducing their lives to a few thousand words after all'*. Nick Danziger (1997: 3) expresses a similar sentiment writing about communities like Woodside and summarises similar feelings to my own *'What right had I as an outsider, to pry into their lives which were so very different from my own, whose futures offered as little hope as mine offered possibilities'*.

⁸ Even after verbally assuring total anonymity to the interviewee they still deserve a little information about the person who is about to ask somewhat personal questions about their lives, its circumstances and family background.

was progressing. My key Woodside gatekeeper was both intelligent and educated and our conversation was stimulating and helped theoretical contemplation.⁹

My initial contact with gatekeepers was an informal meeting with an employee at Sheffield Housing at the Burngreave office on Spital Hill with responsibility for Woodside. This initial meeting facilitated contact with the Woodside Tenants Association. This trail was very informal and conducted through telephone calls and personal meetings. From here on, access to Woodside residents was facilitated by my key gatekeeper who was well known and popular with residents. Suitable interviewees were contacted and interviews arranged with the minimum of fuss. A number of further interviews snowballed from initial ones, which was encouraging because it suggests a decent working relationship was established with the initial interviewee.

In contrast to my relatively uncomplicated access into the Woodside community Kelham Riverside proved a different proposition. Lacking the community forums of a long established working class neighbourhood my access could not be negotiated through informal conduits. Instead I adopted a more prescribed form of accessing the residents for my primary research by designing a brief postal questionnaire (June 2000). The survey requested the assistance of those willing to be interviewed and achieved moderate success in accessing suitable residents. Fortunately, as with Woodside, other interviews snowballed from the initial contacts at Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works because of the positive nature of the interaction. However, the same questionnaire was repeated at Riverside Exchange (January 2001) in the autumn of the same year but with a less favourable response. Only a single interviewee was garnered from the second postal questionnaire.

2.6.5 ETHICAL ISSUES

I conducted the fieldwork within ethical parameters that placed the interviewees at the centre of my concerns. I was acutely aware that I was asking interviewees a series of intimate and searching questions about their life histories. I remained conscious that the

⁹ I was extremely fortunate to encounter a worker intellectual in my fieldwork and for his assistance I remain in his debt.

thematic transmission factors constitute the very snakes and ladders of contemporary society and indicate perceived success and failure in a market economy. Throughout the fieldwork, ethnographic-style research, interviews and informal chats with residents or stakeholders I conducted myself with good manners. Issues of confidentiality, anonymity and privacy were adhered to at all times regardless of the person involved, their status or the social context of the interaction. Whilst the stakeholders remain anonymous in this thesis the Kelham Riverside and Woodside residents are referred to by pseudonyms.

2.6.6 THE COHORT

The criteria for the research cohort were as follows

- Male
- Resident of either the Woodside estate or Kelham Riverside
- Aged between and including 25 - 35 in the year 2000.

The cohort criteria developed in the light of the research exploring how the emergence of economic globalisation influences social and urban inequalities. The intention is that the respective life histories provide a measurement of the influence of economic globalisation upon life chances. The selection of males aged between twenty five and thirty five in the year 2000 was made in order to access young men who left secondary education between 1980 and 1990.¹⁰ This time frame was selected because economic globalisation came into the ascendancy during this period. During the 1980's the Woodside estate fell into calamitous decline, both physically and regarding resident's socio-economic circumstances. During the same period the industry in Shalesmoor and Neepsend (future Kelham Riverside) was decimated. The initial aim was to interview ten males from each community but while I managed to fill the quota from Woodside, Cornish and Brooklyn produced seven and Riverside Exchange only one further interviewee, eight in total from Kelham Riverside.

An all male cohort was selected with both theoretical issues and fieldwork access in mind. The impact of economic globalisation upon industry and manufacturing was

¹⁰ I should point out that I left secondary school in 1985 after the decimation of local industry and the decade is very much part of my own life history.

particularly felt amongst Sheffield males due to the nature of employment in those sectors. Therefore to provide a succinct measurement of the impact of economic globalisation I considered it wise to interview a single gender cohort. In addition because of my gender and life history I was more readily predisposed to comprehend the issues facing other males. Concerning issues of access in to the research field I considered it easier to garner an all male cohort as opposed to a mixed gender or all female cohort. As a man interviewing other males my intentions were less likely to be questioned and issues concerning private interviews would be less fraught. An all male cohort facilitates direct comparison and contrast between and within the two disparate communities. With the entire cohort of one gender the analysis of material and subsequent research findings is more focused and succinct.

2.6.7 LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS

The interviews with residents were conducted in locations according to their wishes. All eight interviews with Kelham Riverside residents took place at their invitation in their homes and Woodside interviews were usually conducted in our place of first introduction. A couple of interviewees were contacted through the tenants association and subsequently interviewed in an office on the premises. Other introductions took place within the local public house and were conducted in the quiet side where the computer club met. But two interviews, when a resident acted as an informer to an acquaintance without a prior introduction between us, took place in their homes.¹¹ All venues domestic or otherwise had drawbacks, but nevertheless every interview was conducted without serious interruption. All the residents consented to the use of a Dictaphone to record the interview and I assured all participants that only I would access the tape recording and that both the transcripts and tapes would be used only for the purposes of this research.¹² Issues of confidentiality, anonymity and respect for resident's privacy were considered at length, addressed and adhered to at all time.

¹¹ A Woodside resident encouraged his mate to be interviewed '*Guwon, its ya chance to tell your story!*'

¹² Much mirth ensued when to assist rapport I replayed excerpts back to respondents.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SHEFFIELD CITY CASE STUDY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the chapter is twofold: first, it provides a specific illustration of how economic globalisation influences the urban and social inequalities within a British city through a case study of a specific city i.e. Sheffield.¹ Secondly, by discussing urban and social inequality within Sheffield city centre the chapter provides the context for both the community profile and life history analysis chapters that follow. The present chapter combines an economic, social, urban and political discussion on Sheffield, with empirical research concerning the growth of city centre urban and social inequality. In addition, this discussion is informed by primary original interview data with private and public sector stakeholders, less formal discussions and exchanges at public forums. The chapter involves a synthesis of both secondary data and original research and where the latter is used it is indicated.

The case study method is appropriate for this research because it is designed to investigate, analyse and describe the patterns of, and interrelations between the central dynamics of community life. The term '*sociography*' (Hakim, 2000:65) is sometimes used to describe the kind of endeavour that lays out a community's dynamic structure and interrelations. The case study method is the preferred strategy when 'how' and 'why' questions are posed, questions that require both exploration and explanation. As required by the nature of this research a case study method is suitable for discussing operational links that require tracing over a period of time. The method supports analysis of complex phenomena by drawing on multiple sources of information, i.e. local documents, interviews and existing research material (Yin, 1994).

This chapter explores the apparent contradiction identified in chapter two (see page 37) between the unprecedented productivity advances made under the aegis of economic globalisation and the simultaneous growth of urban and social inequality. In doing so the case study discusses Sheffield's economic, political, social and urban change through an historical narrative. As noted earlier, without an historical view we

¹ *'The first reason to expect spatial changes within cities is the changing nature of economic activities and the concomitant shift in location of parts of the production process'* (van Kempen & Marcuse, 1997:287).

cannot understand the process out of which the present emerges. The first section of this chapter concerns the rise and fall of the steel industry as a mass employer in Sheffield. This section describes the emergence of heavy industry in the city from the mid-19th century, when Sheffield earned its pre-eminence, until the collapse of the late 1970's and early 1980's which signalled the end of Sheffield as a '*Keynesian city*' (Smith, 2002). In doing so we maintain the focus whereby cities are understood by virtue of their relationship to commodity production (Smith, 2002).

This section is followed by a discussion of the influence of economic globalisation upon Sheffield's steel industry over the last quarter century. Section 3.3 explores the attempts of the local city council to come to terms with the new economic conditions created by globalisation, the emergence of the '*Globalising city*' (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000) and the end of conditions that gave rise to the '*Keynesian city*'. We discuss the political and policy responses of the local authority to globalisation and the implications for urban and social inequality within the city. The penultimate section of the chapter continues the discussion of developments within Sheffield city centre through an historical narrative. Beginning with the emergence of Sheffield's city centre this section specifically deals with the post war period when the '*Keynesian city*' emerged and the local council invested in the construction of a substantial volume of public housing around the city centre periphery.

The final section of the chapter explores recent urban developments within the city centre. This addresses a concomitant shift from the liberal policies of the former period to the '*new urbanism*' (Smith, 2002) of *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (Urban Task Force, 1999). In particular this section explores the contemporary and contradictory development of private regeneration and gentrification on the one hand, and public degeneration and residualisation, in and around Sheffield's city centre on the other. This section explores what Merrifield calls the '*use versus exchange value dramas*' (2002b: 156) regarding the city centre. In a dialectical sense the Sheffield case study illustrates, by drawing out contradiction and change, how '*these conflicts have their own specificity while they internalise structural generality*' (Merrifield, 2002b:156).

The present chapter offers a specific illustration of the general developments discussed in chapter one but also provides the general contextual discussion for chapter four, the community case study. In doing so the chapter provides a dialectic 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation by rendering concrete a

discussion that has until now (chapters one and two) been, by its very nature, both abstract and general in character. Does the emergence of economic globalisation bring about a qualitative development in urban inequality or merely quantitative change? By exploring the question the chapter contributes to answering the research question of how economic globalisation influences urban inequality.

Sheffield makes for an interesting city case study on the influence of economic globalisation. Lawless writes *'Although Sheffield is not an 'international city', and can only claim a sub-regional role in the shadow of adjoining cities such as Leeds and Manchester it is an interesting case study of how a once dominant manufacturing centre has attempted to readjust to macro-economic global changes'* (1998:2). We concur with Lawless who believes it *'revealing to draw out the interplay of global and local forces and how these ultimately impacted upon the city'* (p.22). In fact Lawless emphasises *'the overarching impact of socio-economic and political processes operating at the global level'* (p.22) and this method remains *'a powerful intellectual mechanism through which to explain what has happened to Sheffield'*.

3.1.1 ORIGINAL RESEARCH

Between June 2000 and December 2001 I conducted primary original research in the form of semi-structured interviews with Sheffield stakeholder figures. The interviews involved contemporary and historic dynamics in the particular interviewees' field of expertise and employment. Beyond their involvement in Sheffield's development these interviewees were selected to illuminate local education, employment and residential mobility issues. Consequently senior representatives from Sheffield Riverside Development Agency (formerly Kelham Riverside Development Agency), Sheffield First and from Sheffield's Chamber of Commerce (SCC) were interviewed. In addition, Senior Sheffield council employees from the Housing Department, Burngreave Housing (responsible for Woodside) and Sheffield Council Education Department with responsibilities in Burngreave were interviewed. Representatives able to speak with authority from the Yorkshire Metropolitan Housing Association (who rent properties at Woodside) and Gleesons the builders who converted Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works in Kelham Riverside agreed to be interviewed. Each interview had its own individual themes and questions designed to utilise the expertise and experience of the individual interviewee. The insights, opinions and policies garnered from these interviews are analysed and incorporated into this

chapter and subsequently into chapters four and five. A summary of the research findings from these interviews concludes this chapter. In addition, this chapter is also informed by further primary research in the form of field notes, taking photographs and interventions at public meetings.

3.2 SHEFFIELD STEEL IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

From the late 18th century until the early 1980's Sheffield was the most famous steel-making city in the world (Gregory, 1989). In the early 19th century a period of technological advances in steel production occurred resulting in the yearly tonnage of steel manufactured within the city rocketing from 3,000 to 100,000 in just thirty years. During this period the population of the city grew from just 45,000 to 135,000. Steel production, cutlery manufacture, light and heavy engineering were established as Sheffield's manufacturing base. An international reputation was gained as a result of competitive production costs and high quality specialised steels. Over the course of the 19th century the inscription 'Made in Sheffield' became an international by-word for high quality steel products. Throughout the 20th century the city's products retained international eminence but gradually lost their share of world production and keen competitiveness.

The city has been described as '*a traditional industrial city*' (Dabinett, 1999), a '*manufacturing city*' (Lawless & Ramsden, 1990) or what Cooke (1986) referred to as a '*heavy industry/branch plant labour market*'. But during the late 1970's and early 1980's the industry, both steel production and engineering, capitulated as the major employer of Sheffield labour. Yet today Sheffield is still, with ample justification, internationally synonymous with the production of high quality stainless steel and associated products. The contradiction between the contemporary development of the productive forces, manifest in economic globalisation, and the demise of working class male life chances is illustrated well by the example of Sheffield - as much steel is produced today within the city boundaries as was the case at the height of Sheffield's power in the late 19th century but with technologically advanced plant requiring but a tiny fraction of the former workforce.

3.2.2 THE RISE OF SHEFFIELD STEEL

The city of Sheffield lies approximately at the geographical centre of England and is South Yorkshire's largest city. Owing to hills, rivers, climate and geology the city remains within a borderland and is therefore far more isolated from other surrounding cities than a flat map projection is capable of indicating (Fine, 1992: 5). Sidney Pollard asserts '*South Yorkshire, let us face it, has always been land-locked, inward looking and provincial. It has therefore always been somewhere near the very heart of England*' (1976:3). The city lies at the confluence of the rivers Sheaf and Don. To the west of the rivers are hills and to their east are plains. Because of this topography the city was initially bypassed by major roads and railways, and consequently local tradition became somewhat scornful of change, insular and conservative with a small c. All in all '*the city often prided itself on its physical and social self-containment and its insularity*' (Lawless, 1998:3). But while geology isolated Sheffield and its population it also provided ample opportunities for industry. The manufacture of cutlery is well documented in Sheffield from the twelfth century onward and a reputation for quality products was quickly attained. Geographical isolation meant the export of finished goods was rendered somewhat difficult and instead of manufacturing large items specialisation developed in smaller but high quality goods like cutlery. As the city's transportation links improved over the course of the industrial revolution manufacturing expanded into heavier trades - bulk steel production, light and heavy engineering, in addition to the cutlery trade.

In 1751 Benjamin Huntsman perfected the crucible process of steelmaking and set up his steelworks in Attercliffe thereby transforming the city into a centre of industrial innovation (Wray et al, 2001). The growth of the steel industry was relatively slow until the early 19th century with the number of producers remaining quite small. During the industrial revolution the impulse of steam power provided the catalyst for the emergence of mechanical engineering and machine tool manufacture within the city. Amidst the 19th century of British colonial dominance Sheffield began to establish its industrial East-End (otherwise known as Attercliffe) coalescing around the railway lines in the Don Valley. Located in the bottom of the valley this district was the flattest amidst Sheffield's otherwise dramatic topography and the most suitable for industry. By the 1840's Sheffield had become '*one great workshop for the production of cutlery and edge tools – a huge factory which scatters its separate departments in different parts of the town, but still retains them, like so many links in a chain*' (Wray et al, 2001). In 1843 Sheffield produced 90% of U.K. crucible steel

output and almost half of the European total (Fine, 1996:64). By the end of the 19th century Sheffield was home to more than four hundred steel producers specialising in varieties of special steels. At the time Sheffield was acknowledged as a foremost location of scientific industrial research as well as special steel production. The city was at the very epicentre of the international special steel industry, an industry that helped transform society.

But just as Britain's empire and colonial domination of the world were superseded by the American century² (Keylor, 1996) so Sheffield's steel industry likewise encountered competition from steel making cities like Pittsburgh in the United States. As the 19th century progressed Sheffield manufacturers were challenged and eventually overtaken by both German and American competition. By 1890 both of these national competitors had overtaken British total output and Sheffield could no longer claim to be the world capital of steel making as far as tonnage was concerned. But Sheffield retained its leadership of the special steel market and as the industry entered the twentieth century the still considerable international prominence that remained related to Sheffield as a producer of such special steels. Ironically, both in the heavy trades of steel production and mechanical engineering but also the lighter trades like cutlery America had provided a major market for Sheffield's produce during the 19th century. Names like Brooklyn Works and Philadelphia Works are testament to the links between Sheffield manufacturers and the New World, in particular the east coast. But once the Civil War drew to a conclusion (1865) the enormous American internal market became unified. Quickly this market was largely lost to Sheffield as American industry started to compete with their former masters for a share of the world market.³

However, an enormous amount of steel was still required to maintain conditions where the sun never set on the British Empire. Steel is an irreplaceable component for construction and infrastructure projects like railways, harbours and oil derricks, not to mention navy vessels, swords and bayonets, guns, munitions and canons. Sheffield, as Fine points out '*was the imperial arsenal of the British Empire*' (2003: 73), while Hey highlights how the city's industry '*become one of the greatest producers of guns, projectiles and armour plate that the world had ever known*'

² It is worth noting that while Britain had an Empire and subjugated it to colonial administrations, the American equivalent was commonly referred to in a more benign discourse of century, not empire.

³ They even encouraged and recruited skilled Sheffield labour to emigrate across the Atlantic to help the fledgling industry (Hey, 1998).

(1998: 157). Concerning the First World War Dalton explains how the many uses of the city's produce assisted in the development of aviation technology, the introduction of the armoured tank, helmets and bayonets contributed *'to the massive armour plate and the heaviest naval shells that enabled Britain's warships to contest control of the sea's'* (2004:19).⁴ Detailing Cecil Rhodes's Imperialist ambitions Sweet notes the importance of Sheffield's produce *'It was a dream of mercantile lebensraum for the English: an empire of entrepreneurs, occupying African territory in order to fill them with Sheffield cutlery, Tate & Lyle's Golden Syrup and Uncle Joe's Mint Balls'* (2002: 3). The British Empire that Sheffield steel helped to build and fortify with weapons, tools and plant, in turn provided captured markets for Sheffield's products. Providing British viceroys with the steel to subjugate the colonies and facilitate exports, Sheffield was influential in the emergence of the globalisation of finance capital (see chapter one, page 12). In addition, as Fine points out, Sheffield was the first home to companies like Vickers and Cammels (later Cammel Laird) who during Victorian times diversified production lines and production locations out across the United Kingdom and subsequently developed into *'precursors of today's multinationals'* (Fine, 2003:75).

From this position of strength, however, Sheffield manufacturers fell into a commercial slumber. During the 20th century two World Wars and the subsequent rebuilding, retooling and rearmament industries guaranteed continued orders but fatally encouraged local complacency accompanied by management hubris that led to chronic under investment in plant, machinery and labour. The Sheffield apprenticeship system tended to provide specific training for a job rather than skills with the potential for retraining (Hey, 1998). Both management and labour became even more conservative, deeply suspicious of change and afraid of the very innovation that had brought about Sheffield's prominence. A lack of investment was especially noted after the Second World War when other European nations retooled and invested in modern plant and production facilities. Sheffield's response, and indeed that of much of British manufacturing, was to purchase the atavistic plant that other more farsighted countries discarded. Fine explains how the steel industry retained orders through war, empire and the like, but crucially *'as a business venture it had grown into a dinosaur'* (2003: 83).

⁴ Professor J.B.S. Haldane declared *'There is half a square mile of Sheffield which is more*

By the outbreak of European hostilities in 1914 Fine (2003) suggests Sheffield's Don Valley was already a disaster waiting to happen. The combination of wartime munitions production and increased investment after nationalisation during the second half of the 20th century only prolonged the capitulation of steel as a mass employer of local labour. As early as 1897 when Queen Victoria was opening the new Sheffield Town Hall, Fine believes the Sheffield steel industry had '*already passed its zenith*' (2003, 76). The technological advances made possible by Gilchrist Thomas's invention rendering phosphoric iron ore suitable for steel production led to more competition for Sheffield steel both in Britain and abroad. This meant that Sheffield's bulk steel production was increasingly living on borrowed time, or was, Fine damningly states, '*dead in the water*' (Fine, 2003: 76). With technological advances other localities would also increasingly compete for orders for Sheffield's pride and joy - special steels.

The complacency of Sheffield's business elite manifested itself in a persistently staid and conservative tendency to believe that the international reputation of Sheffield steel would sell itself. Commercial awareness was not a strong point. The inability to research, test and penetrate international markets rendered the industry vulnerable to competition especially after the Second World War. On top of Sheffield's mono-industrial reliance upon steel was piled a further critical reliance upon traditional customers such as the military and state institutions. Unlike those precursors to the multinational corporation who successfully diversified and eventually moved out of Sheffield's east end e.g. Vickers⁵, Browns and Cammells, those who remained stuck almost exclusively to manufacturing steel and its primary machining, ignoring assembly and modern marketing methods (Fine, 2003). For instance, car production in Sheffield was short lived and its demise brought few tears amongst local manufacturers. The growth of international competition, Sheffield's parochialism and the city's chronic shortage of a commercial and mercantile base would prove fatal.

vital for the production of munitions than any other part of Britain' (Cited in Dalton, 2004: 71).

⁵ During my primary research the representative from the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce (SCC) informed me that the founder of Vickers also established the Chamber.

3.2.3 THE EXAMPLE OF SHEFFIELD'S CUTLERY INDUSTRY

Sheffield's cutlery industry makes for an early and interesting example of a branch of local industry whose demise was exacerbated by the initial impulses towards globalised commodity production. The term 'Made in Sheffield' found world-wide fame as an indicator of excellent quality products (Allender, 2001: 66). The sad destiny that engulfed the cutlery industry, which had long scoffed at foreign competition and consequently failed to modernise from a position of world market dominance and strength during the 19th century, would be a premonition of what would happen to Sheffield's steel and engineering industries. Wray et al (2001:40) explain how Sheffield's insularity and arrogance meant that technological advancement was scorned and during the 19th century *'hand cutting of files continued despite the invention of file-cutting machines, since it was believed that handwork resulted in a superior product'*. The protracted decline of Sheffield based cutlery manufacture, from the late 19th century onwards, was exacerbated after the Second World War when countries like Japan outsourced production to poorer neighbouring south east Asian countries and crucially invested in modern production methods thereby greatly reducing their production costs for mass produced cutlery. By utilising the modern production methods that Sheffield manufacturers eschewed new foreign producers started to dominate the world market and quickly rendered Sheffield's cutlery industry redundant. Sheffield's famous 'little mesters'⁶ precipitously declined in number during the 1950's. Sheffield was still the mainstay of the British cutlery industry but as local historian David Hey points out:

'The ethos and structure of the industry remained Victorian. The trade was still characterised by small family firms, most of which had been in Sheffield for generations. Over 500 of the 700 firms in the UK had fewer than 11 workers; only 11 firms employed more than 200 workers, (1998: 235).

Mass produced cutlery from Asia, utilising labour costing approximately one third of Sheffield's, together with lower taxes and, most crucially, stainless steel produced at half of Sheffield costs, meant the 'new kids on the block' effectively pulled the carpet from under Sheffield cutlery. By the early 1960's Japanese capital had been invested further still in production facilities in Hong Kong and Taiwan. By the 1970's South Korea entered the market with labour costs only one seventh of those in the UK. As Hey remarks *'The Far Eastern countries could sell cutlery at a lower price than*

⁶ The 'little mesters' were unique to Sheffield. They were essentially petit-bourgeois – completing contract work for larger capital and frequently employing labour themselves.

Sheffielder's could buy their raw materials' (1998: 236). In a worrying precedent for the future of steel and engineering the cutlery industry had no genuine response to these developments. Viners, for example, started to import cheap cutlery blanks from a Hong Kong subsidiary but this proved too little too late to save the firm. Hey points out how *'The conservative family firms that had so long characterised the industry failed to invest in modern equipment and collapsed in the face of foreign competition'* (1998: 238). Unlike the Sheffield manufacturers Japanese capital had wisely invested in modern mass production techniques together with off shore cheaper labour and flexible labour regulations. By the late 1960's the Sheffield cutlery industry had ceased to employ a significant amount of Sheffield labour. Fortunately at the time much of the redundant labour was absorbed into the steel and engineering industry. The cutlery manufacturers that remain today within Sheffield employ small numbers and production is orientated towards a specialised international luxury export market.

3.2.4 THE STEEL INDUSTRY AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

Two World Wars protected Sheffield from an increasingly competitive world market as modern steel production emerged in countries like Argentina. Large orders fulfilled by large production facilities allowed overtly specialised production to take precedence over productivity costs in Sheffield. Wartime production led to a crucial lack of competition and a captive market with assured profit margins. Such conditions encouraged a myopic lack of investment in plant and training and an underlying culture of maintaining the old ways of doing things. After the Second World War opportunities to diversify were ignored and orders were lost because of the lack of investment in plant and Victorian management and marketing techniques (Hey, 1998). Instead after 1945 steel production was boosted by peace time reconstruction and the initial industrial torpor of ruined European competitors. But post war British governments wished to hold prices down to aid shipbuilding and the car industry, an agenda not conducive to investment or modernisation. Prices were also depressed by other means when in 1949 the largest Sheffield firms, Brown Bayleys, the English Steel Corporation, Firth Browns and Hadfields were nationalised. A few others like Arthur Lee's were left as private concerns. Fixed prices and desperate customers meant the initial post war period continued to be one of complacency and conservatism in the industry. However, the relative boom continued even when the nationalised firms were returned to the private sector by Tory administration in 1962 and five years later when the Labour government returned the industry to state

ownership. Clive Betts, previously leader of Sheffield council and now a Member of Parliament, told Allender about his experiences of working in the steel industry:

'plant and equipment in the late 1960's had been imported from Germany at the end of the First World War, second hand and it was still going...we weren't competing for the mass orders, we were picking up the bits and pieces in some sections of the industry' (2001: 74).

By the late 1960's the industry was starting to audibly creak and predominately unskilled and frequently immigrant labour was laid off throughout the industry.⁷ When in 1967 the biggest steel producers were re-nationalised this was accompanied by a serious period of restructuring. The private sector witnessed a period of takeovers and amalgamations with both processes leading to rationalisations and redundancies. Moving into the 1970's British domestic and international steel demand fell drastically due to a world crisis of over production in basic commodities. Together with the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreement and the OPEC crisis an economic recession rocked western economies, especially after experiencing a sustained period of increased growth rates and handsome profits since the end of the war. During this period the tendency of the rate of profit to decline caught up with manufacturers, especially those who had failed to adequately reinvest during better times. Under fierce competition the Sheffield steel industry found itself having to continually provide higher quality products and specialisation whilst both producing in sufficient bulk and reducing labour costs in order to justify investment from central government. Hey uses international comparison to illustrate the point of the city's declining significance *'By the late 1970's Sheffield no longer produced as much alloy steel as did countries as diverse as Brazil, Italy, Spain and Sweden'* (1998: 242).⁸ Remarking upon the inefficiency and technological backwardness of the English steel industry as part of the original research (June 2001) for this thesis the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce (SCC) representative informed me how during the 1970's *'Germany was making 220 tonnes a head, we're making 160'*. He went on to describe how Sheffield's industry was living *'in the dark ages'* during this period.

⁷ Many of those who occupied the less skilled positions in the steel industry and deemed more expendable came from the Commonwealth. Previously after the end of hostilities, during national reconstruction, demand for special steels had grown and the resulting labour shortage was filled by workers initially from the Yemen and later Pakistan, Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) and the various Caribbean islands (mainly Jamaica).

⁸ Sheffield's significance as a steel producer is highlighted by its comparison to production

3.2.5 THE EMERGENCE OF ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION AND THE DECLINE OF SHEFFIELD STEEL

As the 1970's progressed the British Steel Corporation was coerced into a series of joint ventures with the private sector and in doing so was exposed further to the rigours of the international free market. During the early years of the decade unskilled labour had felt the brunt of job losses but as the decade closed it brought mass job losses across the trades. Young and old, skilled and unskilled workers from Sheffield and the surrounding area were thrown out of work and into an uncertain jobs market. Semi-skilled manual employment declined by 26% while skilled manual jobs declined by 37% (PACEC, 1989).⁹ In addition the election of the Tory government under Thatcher in 1979, the first conscious British government of economic globalisation and therefore committed to increasing Britain's international competitiveness, hastened the demise of steel as a mass employer by refusing to continue industrial subsidies. As the government induced recession of the early 1980's bit deep Sheffield manufacturers began to close with ever increasing frequency, Liddament describes the effect thus, *'The city reeled from the staggering impact on its workforce. Like a stack of dominoes toppling over, factory closures followed one another in rapid succession, each adding to the human scale of the collapse'* (1997:99).

In response the city council published a series of analyses (Sheffield Trades Council, 1982; Sheffield City Council, 1984, 1987) which laid the blame for steel capitulation firmly at the door of central government. Macroeconomic policy by both Labour and Conservative administrations during the 1970's and 1980's had proved disastrous for employment in Sheffield by severely reducing investment and subsidies in the industry. Local academics Foley and Lawless (1985) ascribed the collapse to a number of factors, not least the aforementioned inadequate and misguided investment, but more crucial in their opinion was the international crisis of commodity overproduction and the collapse of domestic demand due to the monetarist induced economic recession. Summing up the city's fate Lawless writes, *'Steel and heavy engineering in Sheffield were subject to a range of international forces, over which the local community had no control'* (1990:138). Increasingly fierce international competition for steel orders had been engendered by the emerging globalisation of

levels by whole nation states.

⁹ These redundancies were especially hard felt in the inner city areas in close proximity to the industry, areas like Pitsmoor, Darnall, Tinsley, Wybourn, Arbourthorne and Manor.

commodity production, of which steel, being so basic a component, was now produced and machined into components on every continent where products could be manufactured equally as good as those from Sheffield (Greider, 1996). By the mid-1970's developing countries produced steel of a quality equal to that of the competition but more cheaply than was found in North America or Western Europe. Free market orientated analysis challenged the findings of Foley and Lawless. Ayles (1984) blamed Sheffield's industrial fate upon poor management, over-manning and restrictive industrial practices by organised labour. He also cites a series of ill-advised investments and mergers during the 1960's and 1970's. While we argue that all these factors played an influential role, it seems provident that the increasingly globalised forms of production in the steel industry played the decisive role.

Coinciding with the emergence and subsequent ascendancy of economic globalisation, between 1975 and 1988 Sheffield suffered a reduction in steel trades employment from 40,000 to a mere 13,000 jobs (Liddament, 1997). Between 1974 and 1986, a total of eighteen major steel firms closed in the Lower Don Valley taking with them 25,000 jobs. Sheffield unemployment rose from a relatively low 4% in 1978, against a national average of 6%, to a massive 18% by 1984, this time against a national average of 13%. In the ten years between 1981 and 1991 at least 40,000 jobs were lost in Sheffield manufacturing (Lawless, 1998). The Sheffield mono-economy of steel and engineering was always susceptible to recession and potential disaster and this overt reliance was recognised decades earlier, but local capital and organised labour failed to act. As late as 1981, amidst mass layoffs, Seyd wrote how Sheffield still possessed *'the third highest employment dependence of any urban area in Britain on mining, iron and steel and other metal sectors of the economy'* (1993: 152). But three quarters of the 45,000 jobs still in existence in the steel industry in 1981 had gone by 1987. Almost 70% of the 71,000 redundancies reported in Sheffield in the seven years from 1979 to 1986 were in *'metal manufacturing, metal goods and engineering'* (Pollard, 1993: 278). From 1981 till 1987 Sheffield's unemployment moved above the national average and in 1987 reached 16.2%. It has remained stubbornly above the national average ever since, a reversal of the post war tendency until the fateful year of 1979. Between 1979 and 1989 Sheffield's GDP declined from 95.7 (against a national average of 100) down to 79.1 ten years later.¹⁰ During the 1980's the industrial east end of the city, the city's source of profit and

¹⁰ These figures are courtesy of an OHP graph utilised by Alison Nimmo as part of the keynote presentation for *Sheffield Design Week* in Summer 2001.

jobs, once the pride of Sheffield and the workshop of the world, ceased to exist as an employer of real significance. While the city retained proportionately more employees in manufacturing compared to the country as a whole, it had ceased to be a major location of manufacturing employment (Dabinett, 1995).

Conducting research for his case study Allender¹¹ interviewed a number of significant Sheffield figures from the period. One of his interviewees Sequerra¹² explained the decline of Sheffield industry upon the Tory government's drive for international competitiveness:

'79 came - that was the rudest shock that the system just couldn't live with...factories just shut in a matter of twelve to twenty four months, big, big factories just closed...because of their [the Tory government's] industrial policy, ye - they went with the market. Sheffield had been cushioned from the market' (2001:75).

Interviewed by Allender Thorne's¹³ language was blunt *'Technology it's as simple as that ...Progress. Inevitable'*. Another branch secretary in the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) concurred:

'...its technology, cos you can't get round the end figure that there's more [steel] produced than there ever were. It with thousands of people less...during the First World War, or round that period, Hadfields employed 40,000...there's 40,000 in all our union across the country now...its technology really' (2001: 76).

What Sequerra calls a *'cushion'* refers to the post war period when Sheffield industries were sheltered from the rigours of the world market by the Keynesian demand management of central government. In a broader historical sense the cushion also refers to the period between and including the two World Wars when production was orientated towards the war effort. The cushion included protected national markets, preferential domestic orders and captured demand from the Empire, nationalisation and large industrial subsidies. Sheffield was abruptly introduced to the competitive world market from the mid 1970's as national

¹¹ Describing his research Allender writes of *'an empirical case study of the Sheffield labour movement from 1973 to 1998. It seeks to establish the responses of that labour movement to the decline of steel production and engineering as the predominate sources of employment in the city'* (2001:61).

¹² Dan Sequerra was a full time official with the ASTMS union 1975-1985 and then later Director of the Employment Department of Sheffield council 1985-1990.

¹³ Thorne was an ISTC Branch Secretary in Sheffield.

government rejected Keynesian demand management with the emergence of economic globalisation.

During the post war boom, approximately 1945-1975, Sheffield was the quintessential 'Keynesian city' (Smith, 2002). It was also effectively a mono-industrial city and therefore ill equipped to respond to sharp changes in world economic circumstances. Discussing Sheffield's manufacturing demise with a journalist Glyn Owen¹⁴ described the city's economy in Stalinist terms *'we had almost an East German economy – steel and heavy engineering were mainly in public ownership. It was a public-sector economy with the private sector tucked in a corner'* (Browne, 1998:6). Bob Kerslake blames the demise upon the city's mono-industrial reliance and concomitant cultural attitudes (see chapter five, page 193) *'It was a city where jobs used to be reasonably available without getting new skills, and education wasn't seen as necessary'* (Browne, 1998:6).¹⁵

Sheffield, and to a lesser degree the entire South Yorkshire region, had been an aggregated economy where goods were frequently made from start to finish in the city. Pointing to the demise of classic Fordist forms of production as part of the original research for this thesis the SCC representative I interviewed remarked *'there's no more of this four miles of something going in at that end and it does absolutely everything'*. Once, one hundred South Yorkshire coal pits fuelled an industry that made steel and engineered it into finished components, and those components, by and large, would end up in 'Made in Sheffield' or 'Made in Great Britain' products, components and plant. But as Raco notes of this fatal reliance, *'the area's great economic strength became its biggest weakness'* (1997:386). Sheffield steel was an entire industrial commodity production process situated virtually within one city or sub-region. The advent of globalised production methods, utilising modern technology and making possible the distribution of various parts of the production process to different parts of the world, ended such arrangements. During my original research the SCC representative remarked *'I think a big part of globalisation now is, you say, well, I buy my steel in Indonesia, it's shipped to me and it has its first thing in Germany, it's then sent to a finishing shop in France then it comes to me and I do the*

¹⁴ Glyn Owen was head of Sheffield Hallam University Business School in 1998.

¹⁵ Bob Kerslake, chief executive of Sheffield City Council in the late 1990's, goes on to echo points previously made by Sidney Pollard about the inherent insularity of the city, emphasising its negative aspects in times of economic recession *'It's been an inward looking city, dependent upon one industry. That means it's been less able to adjust to getting new jobs'* (Browne, 1998:6).

final drilling'. Plagued by historically abysmal levels of investment Sheffield steel and engineering collapsed once it was thoroughly exposed to the rigours of the world market.

A report (Universite de Louvain, 1989) commissioned to examine the economic position of South Yorkshire prior to joining the EU found the region suffered a high degree of technological marginalisation, a poor record in innovation and advanced technology, a lack of technological research as well as appropriate development to an international standard. In addition the report found the region lacked critical information technology or an advanced communications infrastructure. A combination of leaner foreign competition, a world recession, an end to subsidies and an international collapse of steel demand, together with what two of those interviewed by Allender (2001) simply calls '*technology*' spelled the end of steel as a mass employer of local labour. What Allender derides as '*technological determinism*' as an explanation for Sheffield's from the early 1970's onwards decline refers to the historical lack of investment in new plant especially where new computer technology was involved. Technology we might say as in 'economic globalisation', for it is the revolution in telecommunications and computer technology harnessed by the transnational corporations that constitutes much of economic globalisation.

Beginning in the early 1970's the world economy underwent structural changes as fundamental and panoramic as those associated with the industrial revolution. Just as the invention of the steam engine fuelled the industrial revolution, revolutionary advances in technology, associated with the microchip have facilitated the globalisation of production and led to a phenomenal development of computers and telecommunications (Dicken, 2003). On the basis of the scientific theory of Quantum Mechanics developed between the 1920's – 1940's, the transistor was developed in 1948, replacing the valve, the integrated circuit in 1961 and the microprocessor in 1971. The first computers were exceptionally large taking up whole rooms and were used predominately for storage or information processing (Cairncross, 1998). But with the falling rates of profit in the early 1970's there was a huge drive by corporations to develop microchips which could actually be used in real time production processes.

The major significance of the chip in the production process is the vast reduction in labour necessary. This has taken place with every major development in productive technology, machines have replaced living labour. But in previous technological developments the physical attributes of the labourer were replaced and enhanced by the machine as in Fordist assembly line production. But computer technology goes much further - it represents a qualitative development in commodity production. Conscious operations are broken down into algorithms that are coded into computer programs. These programs process the information stored in the computer and enable it to direct an enormous range of equipment from printers and modems to computer numerically controlled machines, to telescopes on satellites. Computers are capable of setting in motion whole production processes, and production techniques are now built around computers requiring little intervention by labour. This affects not only manufacturing processes like steel production but almost every part of the business – design and development, accounting, stock control etc.

Combined with a dramatic lowering of transportation costs since the 1960's, during my original research the SCC rep listed '*containerisation, deregulation of airlines, super tankers, huge container vessels, airfreight*', this new technology enabled corporations to organise commodity production across international, and even continental divides. Unlike the multinational corporation, whose foreign outposts produced almost entirely for the national markets in which they were located (Tugendhat, 1977), the far flung activities of the modern transnational corporation produce for a world market (Dicken, 2003).

These developments help us to understand the contradiction between technological advance and the growth of social inequality and regression of life chances. Far from opening up a new period of universal prosperity, these economic and technological developments have raised, to an unprecedented level, the basic contradictions between a globalised world economy and the nation state. During the post war boom and political consensus around Keynesianism a series of regulatory mechanisms, most notably the Bretton Woods agreement, contained this contradiction. But the enormous changes in production processes, communications and international finance emerging during 1970's have rendered the nation state increasingly obsolete as far as the organisation of production is concerned (Gray, 1998). The unprecedented mobility of capital has rendered national and sub-national based economic programs obsolete. From the end of the Second World War until the mid 1970's the British state pursued a social reformist domestic policy, based on

Keynesian deficit spending. Over a protracted period the objective preconditions that had facilitated such arrangements disappeared. Allender sums up the impact of economic globalisation upon Sheffield *'Faced by international competition, steel-producing and engineering companies either made huge redundancies, closed down or moved their operations to more profitable parts of the world. They simply no longer required the labour of the people of Sheffield'* (2001: 113). In my fieldwork the SCC rep explained to me how labour costs abroad were cheaper but also that *'technology is more frequently available. It means ya know you can buy plant, stick it in Malaysia, if ya want, and benefit from wage costs that might be a tenth because technology is transportable'*. Highlighting the role of the new world economy in the collapse of Sheffield industry Lawless writes how:

'The economic forces and policies which framed the evolution and development of steel and heavy engineering, and which in general levels operated at national and international levels, were clearly the driving impulse in catapulting the city into severe economic recession in the late 1970's and through to the mid 1980's' (1998:22/23).

Wainwright highlights the contradiction of modern production methods and corresponding manning levels, *'Sheffield is again doing very well, with annual productivity close to all-time record levels, It was the workers, not their output, that suffered permanently from the savage recession of the seventies and subsequent cost cutting and automation'* (1998: 13).¹⁶ Today Sheffield's restructured steel making facilities have belatedly invested in modern technology and consequently reduced the labour-intensive nature of the production process. During my fieldwork the SCC representative told me how companies within Sheffield forged 1.3 million tons of crude steel in 1995, the largest amount ever produced within the city. Corus, the Anglo-Dutch steel makers that partly emerged from the wreckage of British Steel, is now a transnational corporation made up from Dutch and British holdings with investment, partnerships and production facilities across the world. As an example of how Sheffield fits into the new organisation of globalised production the SCC representative mentioned how the steel producer Arvesta *'make stainless steel there which is then taken to a plant in Finland to be rolled so international economics means that is viable'*. He also discussed manning levels at Arvesta, where they produce highly specialised steels. Back in the 1970's the production process required

¹⁶ During my fieldwork (August 2001) the SRDA representative echoed these sentiments *'when I was in Liverpool they were always telling us how the docks used to employ 20,000 but now employs 700 and shifts more stuff. Sheffield comparison will tell you now that we're producing more steel now than we ever did but employ a tiny fraction of the previous regime.'*

hundreds of men, whereas today he told me *'I went down to the melting shop and it is a huge building, massive building, three people working there!'*

The protracted decline of Sheffield's share of the world steel market and the later collapse as a mass employer has a number of historical contributory factors but the emergence of economic globalisation during the 1970's not only exacerbated their effects but dealt the fatal death blow to the ailing industry. *'Sheffield to me is a manufacturing city'* replied the Sheffield Riverside Development Agency (SRDA) rep when asked during my original research (August 2001) about economic restructuring, before correcting himself *'or was a manufacturing city'*. The SRDA representative conflated many of the crucial issues involved - *'therefore the reduced competitiveness of UK manufacturing has hit it hard and that's because of globalisation and world economy and reduced IT technology process and other countries having cheap labour and the techniques'*. It was the belated harnessing of the productive advances afforded by technological progress, the very forces that brought about the rapid capitulation of acutely uncompetitive Sheffield industry, which now allows the few remaining producers to turn out massive tonnage with but a fraction of the former workforce. Historically, a series of other factors, both local and international, influenced the waxing and waning of Sheffield steel production and engineering. Since the industrial revolution Sheffield became synonymous with steel production and the city essentially ran on a mono-economy which fostered a fatal reliance upon steel manufacturing and engineering. Indeed Seyd remarks of the local authority on the brink of disaster in the mid-1970's, *'the city was a traditional, Labour controlled local authority, confident of its electoral base, proud of its service provision and a touch parochial and complacent about it too'* (1993:154). Concerning this period the SCC representative remarked during my original research:

'Sheffield is not a big place, I think it had convinced itself it was a big place. 'Made in Sheffield' a fantastic trademark you look at some of the literature from the fifties and sixties, products that were made and they were fantastic but they were products in their time, unfortunately in the seventies you're still trying to flog those same products'.

During the heyday and right up until the collapse the Sheffield elite and to a similar extent Sheffield labour came to believe that the world revolved around Sheffield's superior product, not vice-versa.

3.3 THE RESPONSE OF SHEFFIELD'S LOCAL AUTHORITY

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

After 1945 Sheffield's Labour council earned a reputation for mass council house construction, an expansion of public services, stewardship of a relatively successful steel and engineering industry, near full employment and the massed votes of the city's working class. Hey explains '*Since the 1950's...Sheffield became a prosperous industrial city*' however '*the optimism of the 1950's and 1960's died as world steel demand collapsed in the 1970's*' (1998: 242). After the capitulation of the steel industry as a mass employer of Sheffield labour the Labour controlled council embarked upon a short lived radical campaign of municipal intervention. When this failed to turn back the tide of the free market and economic globalisation the council turned to these very forces to rescue the city's economy. Such a qualitative shift has had serious implications for Sheffield's urban and social inequalities. Later in this chapter we explore such inequalities in their historical context and contemporary form within Sheffield's city centre. The remainder of the chapter explores Sheffield's contemporary social and urban disparity between private regeneration and gentrification in the city centre, while on its periphery we find public degeneration and residualisation. In chapter four we explore this phenomenon in a particular sub-locale.

3.3.2 AFTER THE STORM

During the early 1980's the local council briefly rallied under the stewardship of David Blunkett, attempting to find local solutions, like the formation of an Employment Department, to a crisis whose roots were fundamentally rooted in a restructured global economy. The council took out full page advertisements in the local press explaining why they did not wish to sell Sheffield's council housing stock when the 1980 Housing Act gave tenants the right to buy their homes (Eaton, 2000). Summing up the approach of the city council during the early 1980's Seyd (1993:159) explains how they planned to directly intervene within the local economy to minimise the impact of international market forces and provide services for the needy. In addition, they would challenge the traditional boundaries between central government and local, and those between local authority and local capital. The council itself initially took on more staff, only to make large scale redundancies just months later.

Regarding the record of the city's Department of Employment experiment in radical intervention Lawless remarks how it attracted '*remarkable*' academic and institutional interest but '*the beneficial effects for communities and individuals are harder to identify*' (1990:141). The SCC representative opined during my original research '*I think Sheffield lost its way and became more involved in fighting battles that it could never win and an economy that was saying "this is the way it is going to be"*'.

But Sheffield's radical municipal intervention soon petered out in the face of the new globalised economy and the Labour council swiftly transformed their political orientation towards advocating essentially free market policies. Clive Betts who succeeded Blunkett as leader of the council explained, '*Municipal socialism was not going to work, and there was no way to check the economy on the local level and we felt we needed to work with the private sector and not alone, as we had been trying to do, to create jobs*' (Raco, 1997:982). After less than five years of fruitless attempts to buck the market, the council turned about face and adopted a free market agenda placing them at the behest of local and international business. The shift facilitated the creation of a series of partnerships between public and private business (Blunkett, 2001). Seyd described the political transformation in the following terms: '*From 1985 onwards a policy reappraisal occurred in city government, perhaps best described as a shift from new socialism to new realism*' (1993: 168). One time radical council leader David Blunkett embodies this transition from intervention to partnership with big business. Reviewing a biography of Blunkett, Campbell asks of the author '*The puzzle Pollard has to explain is how the leader of the "Socialist Republic of South Yorkshire"...has transmogrified into the right-wing Home Secretary of today*' (2004:23). We may comprehend the transformation of individuals or indeed political parties not from subjective intentions, as the reviewer does,¹⁷ but by an analysis of objective shifts in the world economy. Lawless explains the imposed imperative of economic globalisation upon cities thus - '*a dominating ideology emanating from a prevailing global hegemony have imposed their own logic on the evolution of the governance of the city*' (1990:23).

'*The shift in council policy*' as detailed by Hey '*from an interventionist stance to a market-led approach was remarkable*' (1998:245). Lawless and Ramsden (1990:2002) phrase the transformation in similar terms: '*Within a few years Sheffield moved from governance rooted in radical, public sector driven ethos to one in which*

¹⁷ Campbell is satisfied to believe that one time radicals mature and that the Labour Party

many of the key leadership issues were being formulated within, and implemented by, the private sector'. By the mid 1980's what Seyd (1994) later called the council's 'new market realism' witnessed the doyens of the former self titled 'Socialist Republic'¹⁸ entering into a series of joint initiatives with business, making their peace with both local capital and essentially with the discipline of economic globalisation.¹⁹ Lawless and Ramsden described the new mood in terms of social class relations, 'confrontation was to be replaced by collaboration' (1990:205).²⁰ The contradiction of such a scenario is explained by Allender thus:

'In effect, therefore, the local Labour party, when faced by economic crisis, turned to the very forces that had 'wreaked havoc' in the first instance. It was, in essence, the forces of international capitalism that had destroyed the steel and engineering industries as sources of employment in Sheffield'. (2001: 114).

While not alone Sheffield remains a quintessential example of such shifts in local government because of the nature and swiftness of the transformation. Hubbard and Hall (1998) describe the metamorphosis into a 'new urban politics' whereby the traditional concerns of reproduction are replaced with those of free market 'entrepreneurialism'. This story of Sheffield's Labour council is a salient example of the phenomenon remarked upon by Smith whereby 'a new urbanism' replaces the 'liberal policy' of the 'Keynesian city' and 'increasingly expresses the impulses of capitalist production rather than social reproduction'. (2002:81). The specific nature and swiftness of the shift in Sheffield requires attention. Lawless points out how 'Sheffield mirrored wider changes in urban policy introduced at the time' (1998:10), but Sheffield events 'also had a number of distinctive features' (p.12).

simply lost touch with working class sentiment.

¹⁸ Interviewed for my fieldwork research the representative from SRDA voiced free market business sentiments when he called it the "Soviet Republic".

¹⁹ Concerning these partnerships with the private sector, things started to shift during the early 1980's, slowly at first, but as Seyd explains 'the formal institutionalisation of this public-private collaboration came with the establishment of the Sheffield Economic Regeneration Committee in December 1986' (1993: 170).

²⁰ Seyd also recounts the abrogation of the more radical symbolism within the Sheffield council politics: 'Gestures, such as the red flag flying from the Town Hall on May Day, the twinning of Sheffield with cities in Russia and China, the creation of a city nuclear-free zone and the establishment of an annual Marx memorial lecture, which had helped give the city its radical reputation of 'Socialism on the Don', were to become features of the past. Instead, a 'Partnership Promotion Campaign for Sheffield' reported in 1987 that both city council and Chamber of Commerce 'have come to the conclusion that one of the ways of achieving the economic regeneration of the city will be through the fostering of confidence and pride by local businesses in their city' (1993:171).

Exploring these distinctive features Allender (2001) suggests that the about face accomplished by the local Labour party when articulated by former council leaders Blunkett and Betts *'described the period as if there was a seam-less transition from the radical, socialist politics of the early 1980's through to the adoption of partnerships with the private sector'* (2001:88). The author quotes David Blunkett who when asked about the transformation said his *'only regret is that I didn't do what we did later which was to unite the whole of the city in presenting one common face'* (p.88). That phrase *'the whole of the city'* asks Allender:

'unites the employers (or capitalists) and the labour movement under one banner: that of Sheffield. Blunkett and many other interviewees present the idea, either directly or by inference, that Sheffield capitalists and the labour movement were, and still are, united in struggle against a common enemy. But what or who was that common enemy? It could not have been the Conservative government because many interviewees acknowledged that the people they were going into partnership with were Tories. In the very general sense, it was the forces of international capitalism which were destroying the economic and employment base in Sheffield. Thus, Blunkett et al were, in effect, making an emotional appeal to the people of Sheffield – capitalists, workers, unemployed and everyone – to come together to save Sheffield from the worst ravages of this destruction' (2001:88).

Concerning this fundamental transformation Allender asserts *'There is clearly a contradiction here'* (2001: 89). We concur. This free market ideology adopted in the mid 1980's is essentially the one adopted by the national Labour party a decade later. Blunkett himself claims to be one of the ideological fathers of New Labour/'Third Way' (2001:6), whereby the interests of labour are forsworn in favour of those of local and international capital to make the city/nation internationally competitive.²¹ The transformation from reformism to the free market, from a position of ameliorating the excesses of the market to placing oneself at its mercies, is symptomatic of a political orientation that in its former life relied on a certain, to use Dan Sequerra's term, *'cushion'* from the world market. The Sheffield Labour party formerly pressured local capitalists to grant concessions to Sheffield labour, but from the mid 1980's onwards the party began pressuring local labour to grant concessions to both local and international capital. Jessop explains how bringing the local population into line with the demands of a global economy, rather than vice versa, has been crucial to *'entrepreneurial governance'* (1996).

²¹ Contrary to this opinion the SCC representative expressed his view during the fieldwork: *'I think Labour at a local level is a very different beast to Labour at a national level I think the two are fifteen years apart in ethos'*.

What Lawless calls a '*paradigm shift*' (1998:4), from a '*Managerial*' to a '*Corporatist*' form of urban governance (DiGaetano & Lawless, 1999), occurred when Sheffield's Labour controlled council began to establish a series of what are now called public / private partnerships with business. Utilising Amin and Thrift's (1997) understanding of how globalisation increases the competition for inward investment between cities and their prescription for how cities should respond by increasing their '*institutional thickness*' Raco suggests this was the moment when Sheffield's '*institutional thickness began to be transformed*' (1997:982). By which he means the movement towards partnership between the public and private sectors encouraged central government to increase the number of institutions involved in urban governance established in Sheffield. One way of seeing this development is the re-conquering of Sheffield by international market forces after a period of resistance. Instead of focusing upon notions of '*institutional thickness*' Raco suggests attention ought to be focused '*on the politically constructed processes of institutional thickness, not simply the presence or absence of institutions per se*' (1997:992).

In 1986 the council effectively decided that private sector investment would be required to bail out a series of projects where a discrepancy existed between public resources and the funds required to complete agreed projects. Investment would be attracted by public/private partnerships dispelling old notions about the city's negative investment climate. Consequently the formation of the Sheffield Economic Regeneration Committee (SERC) contained substantial private interests and accordingly has been described as '*the most obvious manifestation of the privatisation of urban policy within the city*' (Lawless & Ramsden, 1990:205). But the emergence of a local '*growth coalition*' (Moltch and Logan, 1985) narrows democratic forms within the city because, as Lawless & Ramsden write, '*A relatively small number of key officials and politicians together with a small number of local businessmen are increasingly setting the agenda for economic development in Sheffield*' (p.205). Lawless (1990) argues the council's transformation was influenced by a lack of funds from central government and a wish to change the image of the city. However, while these factors were undoubtedly influential they hardly seem capable of bringing about such a sharp political about-face. In the light of the discussion in chapter one these factors can be understood as manifestations of a more fundamental process of global economic restructuring, one which strangled the national economic autonomy essential for Keynesianism, and required cities to raise their profile to capture international inward investment. Out of this political shift to the right a new approach to the regeneration of Sheffield's urban fabric started to

emerge, the first of which was SERC. The partnership advocated property-led regeneration policies largely in line with Conservative national policy of the time (Imrie and Thomas, 1993). Totterdill (1989) suggests such property based forms of intervention were rooted in free market ideology which ignored social regeneration in favour of vague claims to *'trickle-down'* economic benefits to the wider population. Accordingly SERC set out the *Sheffield 2000* plan which Lawless (1990) derides as mainly incoherent. Cochrane (1994) illustrates a shift along Merrifield's (2002b) use and exchange value axis when he describes how *Sheffield 2000* portrayed the city's educational resources not as public assets for local people to utilise and achieve their potential, but rather a resource where private capital acquires a trained and disciplined workforce.

Together, the council and private business, entered into a series of partnership enterprises, the first of which, the World Student Games (WSG) cemented the relationship between the council and the private sector. The partnerships were a symbolic departure from the publicly funded Keynesian council projects of yesteryear. The Sheffield Labour Party, in Allender's opinion, *'threw in its lot' with the capitalists of the city in the form of public-private partnerships. The phrase 'if you can't beat' em, join em' comes to mind'* (2001: 108). Unfortunately the WSG turned out to be what the Sheffield Regional Development Agency (SRDA) rep called in the course of my original primary research *'a complete fiasco'*. Shortly after the formation of SERC central government established 13 Urban Development Corporations (UDC) across the country. Decimated by the loss of the steel industry Sheffield's Lower Don Valley was allocated the Sheffield Development Corporation (SDC). The corporation advocated a series of developments to act as a vanguard for urban renewal, including the Meadowhall shopping development, a Sheffield airport and a mixed-use development at the Sheffield canal basin (SDC, 1997). Such market led regeneration seems to have been orientated around *'flagship projects'* which tend to stifle criticism by their sheer novel presence Lawless and Ramsden point out, *'Too often, however, longer term implications are initially played down. In the longer term they cannot be ignored'* (1990:208). The abject failure of the WSG, the short lived and subsequently defunct local airport together with Meadowhall's negative impact upon city centre retail takings are a moot point.

Considerable cynicism has followed recent attempts to improve Sheffield's image by expunging the negative iconography of dereliction, decline and labour militancy. In promotional material the city and its inhabitants are increasingly sanitised in

accordance with the perceived demand of international inward investment. Flagship projects and 'mega-events' are frequently seen as part of the competition between cities, part of their '*urban boosterism*' and '*civic peacockery*' (Hubbard and Hall, 1998:8). Harvey suggests the competition for inward international investment promotes flagship developments that cry out "*invest here, invest in me*". Indeed a senior council officer welcomed the WSG as the '*flagship investment for the regeneration of the city*' (Seyd, 1993:175). Another councillor resigned accusing the council of believing in '*the Thatcher myth that the future lies in tourism, leisure and recreation*' (p.177). The subsequent WSG financial debacle was described by Roche as occurring because city leadership '*became blinded by its commitment to the mega-event*' (1991:27). Roche believes the decision making mechanisms of both the 'growth coalition' and local authority were deeply flawed.

The public announcements of SERC were dominated by issues of image and how appealing the city appears to the market and inward investment.²² Sheffield Council's effective surrender to international capital was acknowledged in 1988 when Prime Minister Thatcher gave her formal blessings to the city's promotional material. Earlier that same year the council signed an agreement between themselves and the Urban Development Corporation. Lawless points out how only three or four years earlier such developments would have been deemed sacrilegious (1990:147). However, such gestures went financially unrewarded, notes Lawless, as governmental grants, despite inflation, failed to increase between 1988-1990 while '*demand for welfare and social services...is increasing sharply, and in the inner city area of 200,000, at least 20% of the economically active are unemployed*' (p.149). Recalling the political atmosphere in 1981 when the council refused to even apply for a government enterprise zone Seyd (1993:172) believes their subsequent decision not to oppose the UDC symbolised the council's new political approach.

After the failure of SERC to secure central government urban regeneration funding a new partnership group emerged, the Sheffield City Liaison Group (SCLG), which had an even more rigid membership than SERC. Membership of SCLG was drawn from just five constituencies: the local authority, higher education, the private sector (Chamber of Commerce and Cutlers Company), the Sheffield Health Authority and the local development agencies – the Sheffield UDC and Sheffield TEC (Training and

²² Amidst lobbying trips to London's financial institutions SERC secured the £200 million Meadowhall retail and leisure complex.

Education Council). Seyd reasons that *'by the 1990's the traditional party leadership which has run the town hall had become a civic elite. Sheffield was in the hands of a 'growth coalition' (1993, 153).* He lists the constituents as councillors, local business, property developers, construction companies, legal services, higher educational institutes and the media, all committed to free market led economic growth. Suggesting the coalition's inherently pro-business agenda and general unaccountability Field called them *'a kind of board of directors for the city' (1990:344).* Lawless and Ramsden (1990:205) broadly agree. Lawless (1990:144) suggests that Sheffield's growth coalition was different from others in three major ways: Sheffield local authority was the driving force behind its formation, the range of interests represented in Sheffield was especially narrow and parochial, and finally, missing from the Sheffield growth coalition were the transnational corporations, the media, central government and property interests, usually ubiquitous in such groups. However, Lawless also argues that Sheffield's *'growth coalition'*, in common with others avidly promote free market policies. Contrary to Lawless's conclusion Dabinett and Ramsden argue that the perspective of the SCLG was *'not the development dominated thinking of growth coalitions. Instead it reflects a much more imaginative and mature perspective on urban regeneration and its social, as well as its economic dimensions' (1999:179).*

Lawless (1996) criticises such rigid institutional relations as promoting a lack of openness in local governance which reduce democratic access and encourage relations and decisions conducted outside public forums. In their mission statement the SCLG (1994) decry democratic debate, seen as a hindrance to a positive image, and celebrate their narrow concerns claiming *'this gets things done'*.²³ Raco (1998:985) suggests this explicit pro-business local governance style is how local elites demand uncritical support for their free market policies, which they assert, as Allender (2001) pointed out, are for the good of the *'whole city'*. In keeping with such arguments Hubbard and Hall argue that the blurring of the distinction between public and private within the increasing prominence of partnerships has brought about *'heightened control of the polity by new bourgeoisie and property interests, consisting almost solely of businessmen' (1998:9).* Boyle (1993) points to the overriding imperative of free market interests within public/private partnerships. In Sheffield Raco (1997:983) explains how this takes the form of *'urban boosterism'* whereby

²³ The SCLG stated it did not represent all interests *'We have deliberately remained a small group, with a focus on action, in order to avoid the danger of becoming a talking shop...In short, the role of the City Liaison Group is to provide leadership' (SCLG, 1995:3).*

raising the city's international profile and attracting inward investment takes precedence over negative issues like public services, unemployment or urban blight. David Harvey describes *'the new entrepreneurialism'* as the centrepiece of public/private partnerships whereby *'a traditional local boosterism is integrated with the use of local governmental powers to try and attract external sources of funding, new direct investments or new employment sources'* (1989:7).

3.3.3 THE GROWTH COALITION AND URBAN REGNERATION

The local political transformation Lawless called a *'paradigm shift'* brought about what he later describes as a *'major shift'* (1998:9) in the manner by which urban regeneration was undertaken in Sheffield. This shift, Lawless reasons, reduced the emphasis upon local unemployment and the creation of alternative employment. Instead attracting inward investment and improving the city's business image took precedence. Property based projects and public/private partnership took the place of demand led economic management. Urban regeneration increasingly took the form of property development rather than social regeneration. But Dabinett and Ramsden favourably compare contemporary strategies to those of municipal reformism when they explain how the free market approach does not replicate *'the physical determinism of planning in the 1950's and 1960's'* (1999:179).

Assessing the record of the *'growth coalition'* Crocker writes how they *'illustrate the desire to re-position Sheffield within a new geographical context'* but *'as yet, there is no evidence to suggest...Sheffield's position in the national hierarchy of urban locations for major corporate investment has changed radically'* (1994:12). By the late 1990's Lawless noted how despite the large scale regeneration over the previous decade *'substantial dereliction remain, and some areas of the city have remained largely untouched by regeneration projects. These include some social housing schemes and areas on the fringe of the central business district'* (1998:13). In addition inequalities grew in health and education and there was little evidence according to Lawless that *'patterns of unemployment have become more spatially discrete in the 1990's'* (p.18). Assessing urban regeneration and the flagship developments at the beginning of the decade he questioned the efficacy of their long term land use planning, rapid decisions on land use at expense of longer term issues and the excessive use of public funds for private projects. Comparing the fortunes of smaller business interests to those of the *'growth coalition'*, *'Ultimately urban*

regeneration is not an apolitical, neutral, or technical activity. Decisions will affect different sectors in contrasting ways' (Lawless, 1990: 149). But in language similar to that utilised by David Blunkett and critiqued by Allender, outlining their social and community objectives, the SCLG declared *'we believe that the whole city could and should unite around the need to lessen divisions, social and geographic, in Sheffield'* (1995:8). Raco explains how terms like *'the whole city'* are *'deeply politically charged'* because they refer to policies whose impact upon local communities is justified through nothing more than *'trickle down economics'* (1998:985). Lawless (1996) argues there was little evidence to suggest deprivation levels were alleviated in inner city districts in the ten years since the transformation of the local council. With reference to the WSG Allender weighs up the cost to the welfare of the Sheffield public:

'Perhaps the most important aspect of the decision to go ahead with the games was that it was made within the context of a much reduced overall budget, due to rate capping, and that it necessitated cuts in basic services such as housing, social services and education to finance it' (2001: 93).

Other property development projects, what Seyd calls *'grand projects'* (1993), followed, most recently the *Heart of the City* regeneration project, whereby the growth coalition have embarked upon a now well trodden path of creating a business friendly city centre conducive to inward investment. Allender again highlights the cost of such a political program to the welfare of the Sheffield public *'while these huge, financially burdensome ventures are being undertaken in the name of economic regeneration, basic housing, social services and education budgets are being drastically cut.'* (2001: 115). The shift to the free market, the shrinking local tax base and reduced financial assistance from central government inevitably meant a reduction in the quality of public services for local people. Seyd (1993, 182) remarks how *'from 1986/7 onwards the annual average cut in city council expenditure on local services was £10 million'*. He continues:

'In education, cuts were made in school building and renovation and school building; teachers were not replaced and school sizes were increased...and cuts were made in further education. Council houses were not built and repairs and renovations to the housing stock were not carried out...Libraries were closed, their book-purchasing budgets were reduced, and opening hours were cut...the impact of which would be felt by all the local people but, in particular, by those whom city councillors had been so concerned to protect back in the heady, new left days of 1980'.

Lawless and Ramsden note how all too frequently free market led strategies have benefited only the wealthier layers of society '*notably land owners, developers and the better off, to the detriment of other interest*' (1990:208) and '*Urban entrepreneurialism as espoused by the city may in reality accentuate its divisions*' (p.208). Summing up, they explain how the shift to the free market inevitably creates inequalities, '*Private sector driven urban regeneration creates winners and losers; it marginalises some sectors, some people, some areas and some policies*' (p.208). In reference to the discussion in chapter one these new urban and social inequalities are expressions of how economic globalisation exacerbates the combined yet uneven development of capitalism (see chapter one, page 14-15). In dialectic terms we now explore how particularity in universality finds expression in social and urban inequality within Sheffield city centre.

3.4 SHEFFIELD CITY CENTRE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Sheffield's notoriously small city centre was home to disparate social layers almost from its modern conception during the reign of Queen Victoria. These divisions expressed in microcosm the profound socio-spatial divisions within the city as a whole that developed throughout the course of the 19th century. As the 20th century proceeded the middle classes left the city centre for the south-western suburbs. It was not until after the Second World War that sub-standard working class housing completely disappeared from the centre. During the 1960's around the city centre periphery the council built a series of high rise estates. The actual centre, except for pre war walk-up council tenements, remained residentially fallow. When the Keynesian post war consensus unravelled both the public infrastructure in the centre and housing on the periphery began to seriously deteriorate.

3.4.2 THE VICTORIAN CITY CENTRE

Just as topographical and geological conditions determined the location of Sheffield, its centre developed within likewise idiosyncratic patterns driven by the confluence of rivers and valleys. Sheffield's centre acquired much of the character that remains today during the reign of Queen Victoria. During this period the central district was

remodelled as a commercial centre and some of the more prosperous middle classes left the industrial East-End to move into fashionable streets like East Parade and Paradise Square, as well as other apartments purposely built above shops and arcades. However, being an industrial and predominantly working class city Sheffield lacked substantial wealthy professional and merchant middle classes. Plans for large middle class housing developments in the city centre never materialised (Harman & Minnis, 2004:13). Consequently, as Hey explains, Sheffield's Victorian centre lacked *'dignified public buildings, the wide streets and elegant squares, the fine houses and wealthy shops that were normally found in the centres of other large towns, even those which had recently risen to prominence because of their industries'* (1998: 177). As a result *'Sheffield never became a regional commercial centre on the scale of Manchester and Leeds'* (Hey, 1998:179). Dalton explains Sheffield's architectural deficit with regard to the city elite's lack of generosity (2004:58).

Sheffield failed to develop a commercial centre because it was essentially a mono-industrial city with a large working class majority. The city's elite had no need for fine central warehouses, offices and the like. Everything they needed to make money - labour and productive capital, was stationed in the East-End. In addition, the city did not develop a sizeable mercantile middle class because of its industrial nature and the increasing monopoly exercised by larger manufacturers which squeezed out smaller operations as industry grew. Sheffield's steel and cutlery industries did not require palatial warehouses to display their wares, like the products manufactured in Manchester and Bradford. In any case, until the late 19th century, the city's industry failed to create the enormous wealth required to support grand architectural feats. In addition, due to the region's topography Sheffield was initially cut off from major road and railway links. This encouraged a conservative insularity distasteful of excessive displays and slow to react to changing architectural styles (Harman and Minnis, 2004). Sheffield's unfavourable architectural comparison with other northern British industrial cities is one that still rings true today.²⁴

²⁴ During my original research (October 2001) the Sheffield First rep remarked *'I never really appreciated how good the architecture was in Liverpool until I came to Yorkshire, apart from York, Sheffield doesn't have those massive public statements apart from the Cathedral and*

3.4.3 'THE TURN OF TWO CITIES' (FINE, 2003)

As the 19th century progressed Sheffield's socio-spatial division between an industrial and working class eastside and an increasingly middle class west (especially south-west) became acutely pronounced. By 1895 it was said that there was '*no other manufacturing town where the contrast between the dwelling places of the rich and poor are so strongly marked, or the separation between them so complete*' (Reid, 1976: 275). Lawless reflects how Sheffield was and remains a '*notably spatially segregated city*' (1990:136). Sheffield developed into, and remains to this day, an acutely divided city with sharp social and urban inequalities between its working and middle class districts. The city's rapidly expanding population were housed mainly on the east side of the city in the Lower Don Valley. It was during the latter half of the 19th century that, according to Watts, '*Sheffield's distinct social structure was created*' (2004:14) as working class housing was developed to the north and east of the city while the wealthier middle classes developed private suburbs like Broomhill and Ranmoor. After the First World War the council started to build large council estates in the north and east of the city to rehouse residents from slum housing in the Don valley amidst heavy industry and likewise in and around the city centre. Watts notes how patterns of inequality between public and private, east and west '*was reinforced throughout the twentieth century by the concentration of council housing in the east where the City Council was able to buy land*' (2004:32). Pointing to Sheffield's contemporary socio-spatial inequalities Watts remarks:

'The predominance of poorer neighbourhoods to the east and richer neighbourhoods to the west creates a geographically and socially divided city...Sheffield is unusual in that these variations take on such a marked geographical expression. Indeed, in this sense, Sheffield is one of the most polarised large cities in England' (2004:30).

Today Sheffield's Hallam constituency in the south-west of the city has the highest concentration of professional qualifications of any constituency in the country and is '*effectively Britain's most middle-class area*' (McClarence, 1999:10). Barclays bank revealed Hallam to be the second wealthiest area in England and Wales (Heath, 2003:3). In Broomhill which is situated within Hallam a Victorian semi detached sold for half a million pounds in early 2003 (Firth, 2003:14). By way of contrast almost two thirds of Sheffield's then 60,000 council homes were in a state of disrepair (Ashton, 2002:12). Regardless of political transformations at the Town Hall the city still has

the Town Hall'.

one of the worst records in the country for unemployment and is recognised as one of the country's top ten poverty areas with 338 specific concentrations of deprivation (Alexander and Crabtree, 2004:15). The gap between Sheffield's areas of deprivation and affluence are growing. The survey lists four city suburbs among the most deprived in the country while two, both within Hallam, are at the opposite end of the scale. Burngreave, (where Woodside which features in chapter four is located) was listed as the 60th most poverty stricken area of the country. In Hallam male life expectancy is ten years longer than for those living in Burngreave and for women it is a further eleven.

In a city so sharply divided between social classes and their residential districts the city centre reflected these patterns in divisions of its own. The aforementioned desirable city centre residences in East Parade and Paradise Square were situated only a couple of streets away from the infamous Crofts district, where sections of the poorest working class, frequently of Irish, Scottish or Eastern European background resided. But by the turn of the 19th century steel and associated trades had further encroached across the city centre and subsequently brought about the retreat of the middle classes up Glossop Road to the south-west suburbs away from the smoke and grime. The south-west of the city benefits from close proximity to the Peak district and perhaps more importantly before the 1956 Clean Air Act the area is upwind, rather than downwind, from the industrial East-End. When the middle classes moved out to the suburbs developments like Paradise Square *'slipped down the social scale and eventually into a state of dereliction and decay'* (Harman and Minnis, 2004:114). But working class housing remained throughout the city centre, often cheek by jowl with small scale industry.

3.4.4 POST WAR COUNCIL HOME CONSTRUCTION ON THE CITY CENTRE PERIPHERY

During the Second World War Sheffield suffered extensive damage from bombing raids, to such an extent that after the cessation of hostilities Sheffield council decided to redesign the centre of the city. The city centre working class housing that survived the efforts of the Luftwaffe was demolished in the immediate post war years. By the late 1950's the only remaining housing in the actual centre consisted of a number of council walk-up tenements built between the two world wars to re-house slum dwellers from central districts like the Crofts. However, towards the end of the 1950's

and throughout the 1960's a series of council estates was built around the periphery of the city centre. The council invested in a series of high rise estates of which Park Hill and Hyde Park (streets-in-the-sky) are the most well known. However, a lesser known council estate ringing the city centre constitutes part of the focus of this thesis: the Woodside estate on Pye Bank at Pitsmoor (see chapter four, page 126). No two of the post war peripheral estates were alike; some like Park Hill were solely high-rise, whereas Woodside incorporated tower blocks with houses and maisonettes.²⁵

Failure to purchase land from other surrounding authorities after the Second World War meant the council was forced to build at relatively high densities on difficult and sloping sites on the centre periphery. The Pye Bank site where the Woodside estate was built is just such a site - approaches to the estate are as steep as 1:5. Like other sites ringing the city centre old slum housing first had to be demolished before the council could start building the new estate. After slum clearance, by the mid-1960's, 2,500 dwellings a year were being constructed by the council across the city, much of it system built with non-traditional materials speeding up construction, but more importantly, to reduce costs. Central government imposed strict cost limits on housing, so when building Woodside Sheffield council opted for a pre-cast Wimpey construction company 'no fines'²⁶ concrete building system (see chapter four, page 129). But by the end of the 1960's, in a little over a decade, the council had built 50,000 new housing units, many of which were in the new hi-rise peripheral estates. Poet Laureate John Betjeman praised the inner city tower blocks at Upperthorpe and Woodside as "*well proportioned and even noble*" wholly fitting "*the rugged hills of Sheffield and its people*" (cf: Harman & Minnis, 2004: 35). By the time the council stopped building housing in 1981 they owned 91,000 dwellings, 45% of Sheffield's housing stock. The city was peerless amongst provincial British cities in its social housing provision. At more than three times the national average Sheffield's provision reflected the overwhelmingly working class nature of the city.

²⁵ The only post war estate to push past the periphery and actually penetrate Sheffield city centre was the short-lived Broomhall flats complex situated between what is now known as Devonshire Green and the Hanover Way dual carriageway.

²⁵ Ironically the movie about the plight of redundant Sheffield steel workers was made almost twenty years after the large scale lay offs had occurred.

²⁶ The term refers to 'pervious concrete' which contains little or no sand, hence 'no fines'.

3.4.5 THE DECLINE OF SHEFFIELD CITY CENTRE

As the 1960's drew to a close Sheffield's steel economy began to experience a decline from its Keynesian heyday of the previous two decades. The promotional film *Sheffield: City on the Move* (1972) (made famous in 1997 by its ironic inclusion at the beginning of the internationally successful film *The Full Monty*),²⁷ was made when, at the beginning of the 1970's, the post war boom was coming to an end. As the 1970's progressed and the city's industrial fortunes dipped further, Sheffield's quaintly provincial centre began to show clear signs of disrepair. Simultaneously while unemployment and poverty grew, the public housing around the centre's periphery started to deteriorate with the spending restrictions and tight construction economies of the 1960's haunting both residents and the council. The city centre's decline accelerated during the 1980's as businesses closed and premises stayed vacant longer, while public facilities and infrastructure deteriorated and became underused. The city centre, especially the areas closer to the peripheral council housing, the Wicker, the Markets, Pond Street and surrounding areas began to look more and more neglected. Lawless notes how *'Hardly any retail, commercial, or industrial development took place in the city in the first half of the 1980's'* (1990:141). Regardless of the investment in and around the city centre after the war and the general raising of living standards Sheffield's city centre had retained in the words of Hoggart, *'a working class city centre as there is one for the middle classes. They are geographically united, they overlap, they have concurrent lives; but they also have distinctive atmospheres'* (1992:144). These divisions, which changed but never went away during the post war boom, grew in and around Sheffield's city centre during the 1980's.

Taylor et al's comparative study of Sheffield and Manchester discusses how the controversy over Castle Square in the 1980's, known locally as the *'hole in the road'*, took on a larger significance *'very quickly becoming a metaphor for a much larger concern about the future of the whole city centre'* (1996:70). As social, economic and urban conditions worsened they seemed to find a very public manifestation in the decrepit state of the symbolic dividing line of the city centre. Most facilities meant for the working classes, especially the poorer sections, were at the eastern side - public houses around the Wicker and Market areas, law courts, bus station and suitable shops. The rest of the centre remained more opulent the further one travelled in a

south-westerly direction towards the wealthier suburbs. On the other side of Castle Square was what Taylor et al (1996) call the '*Rackhams watershed*' in recognition of its symbolic importance for middle class shoppers who located the department store as the boundary between what they considered to be '*respectable and disrespectable parts of town*' (p.135). Especially, but not solely around the markets area close to the Wicker and Pitsmoor, many stores at this time were empty and boarded up.²⁸ Taylor et al believe that the twenty seven year history of Castle Square '*is a powerful case study for students of urban fear and local myth making in the second half of the twentieth century*' (p.70). This is most probably true but the rise and demise of Castle Square has a deeper and more profound significance beyond urban myth, namely the rise and decline of Sheffield's municipal reformism.

In 1994 Sheffield's status as a '*Keynesian City*' (Smith, 2002) was symbolically put to rest: Castle Square was filled in with rubble from Hyde Park flats, another Keynesian 1960's project, which before partial demolition had been the spectacular south-eastern backdrop to the distinctive roundabout. The same year as that burial a now sometimes forgotten project came to life - the regenerated Canal Basin on the south eastern city centre periphery. This regeneration project involved for the first time in Sheffield city centre the renovation and sale of loft living style apartments. The year 1994 signalled the beginning of what can now, some twelve years later, be identified as a fundamental restructuring of the city centre. The canal basin was the residential vanguard of what was to be the real *Heart of the City* project which was initiated that same year to regenerate the city centre.²⁹ Dabinett and Ramsden explain that despite the canal's dereliction since the early 1970's '*it provided an ideal water-front development opportunity, so popular amongst urban flagships of the period*' (1999:180).

By 1997 a further project to convert old industrial buildings into residential units was taking place at Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works (see chapter four, page 113) only a few minutes walk away from the Canal in the Neepsend district, and likewise on the periphery of the city centre. While the renovation of the Canal Basin was a minor

²⁸ The opening in 1991 of Meadowhall in Attercliffe, with the blessing of the growth coalition, exacerbated the crisis of the city centre draining businesses of customers and their spending. Shops lost up to 20% of their trade after the opening of the out of city centre shopping precinct. At the same time only remedial and emergency regeneration work was going on in the city centre.

²⁹ Funding for the Heart of the City has been provided by a £20.5 million grant from the Millennium Commission and at least £100 million from the private sector.

success, in hindsight, with relatively little media attention, the opening of Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works was a roaring success with fawning local and national media coverage. The local 'growth coalition' quickly drew the conclusion that the gentrification of Sheffield city centre was a viable proposition. The Canal Basin confirmed that people with the necessary income would live in Sheffield city centre while the runaway success of Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works seemed to verify that a larger project involving the entire city centre was viable. Referring to the success of Cornish Place, Simon Ogden, Principal Development Officer at Sheffield Council, remarked, *'When that happened, other developers woke up to the idea that, Sheffield too, was open to the loft conversion market and the redundant buildings at Kelham were ideal properties'* (Humphries, 2003:3).

3.5 TOWARDS AN URBAN RENAISSANCE: GENTRIFICATION AND RESIDUALISATION

3.5.1 INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 2002 the daily Sheffield newspaper *The Star* opened a discussion on the suitability of a hotel design for the *Heart of the City* regeneration project. Controversy arose over how the then as yet to be built hotel threatened to obscure views of the new and much admired Winter Gardens, especially when viewed from the Peace Gardens opposite. The council responded to complaints stating that the funding for popular *Heart of the City* projects such as the new Peace Gardens and Millennium Galleries would not have been received without the incorporation of a flagship four-star hotel with executive bedrooms, conference and banqueting facilities, a leisure club and business centre. When passing the buck failed to quell popular discontent the council embarked upon what, in light of this planning revelation, can only be described as a sham consultation.

In early 2005 an editorial in the local newspaper lamented, *'In the course of the debate over the future of the hotel, it quickly became clear that its construction was a foregone conclusion with more of an eye to a balance sheet than a drawing board'* (2005:6). To all intents and purposes the public were presented with a fait accompli. During September 2002 what the council called a public consultation was held at the top of the Fargate pedestrian precinct. The purpose of the *Retail Quarter Exhibition* seemed to be to more effectively sell Weintraub Associates proposed hotel to the

Sheffield public. The consultation failed to present any real alternatives and rejected out of hand alternative suggestions concerning the design of the hotel. By March 2003 a slightly modified version of the original plan for the hotel was approved by councillors, their argument being one of financial primacy in tune with big business. Councillors and developers insisted the price of shifting the hotel would be £12 million, and moreover that the private sector would revolt if such a key element of the project was upset at such late notice. The council's hard won free market credibility with private sector partners would have been discredited if the plans were rejected.

The *Sheffield Telegraph* (2002; 4) reported how Sheffield One chief executive Alison Nimmo said the view of local people had been taken into account in the redesign of the hotel but *'At the end of the day, though, there was no realistic option other than to build it in the spot that was always intended'*. Littlefield complains how *'the garden will be overshadowed by a new hotel that will obliterate the only clear view of the structure's long elevation'* (2003:26). The design was eventually approved on the casting vote of the planning board chairman councillor Timothy Rippon. Just six months later plans for the £10 million St. Paul's office block to be built next to the new hotel raised further public opposition over blocking views of the Winter Garden. This time the minor concession of a bevelled corner to reveal a slightly better view from the Peace Gardens was made. A similar set of arguments to those aired during the hotel consultation, chiefly concerning the ascendancy of business interests, were once more employed by the council and associated interests. The sacrosanct manner in which the council and growth coalition defended the location and design of the hotel and offices is a particular expression of a more general concern: namely, the ongoing gentrification of Sheffield city centre. The position of the hotel at least brought about heated discussion. By contrast what is occurring within Sheffield city centre is a gentrification that dare not speak its name.

While local councillors, property developers and predominately older sections of the Sheffield public were debating the merits and drawbacks of the new hotel a larger change was occurring without public consultation or mandate. Since the late 1990's the city centre has rapidly turned into a residential area for those able to purchase property priced approximately £100,000 or more for one bedroom apartments. The rather small Sheffield city centre is currently witnessing a construction boom unsurpassed in recent history. The last time so many construction cranes were witnessed above the streets of Sheffield was the 1960's when the city council remodelled substantial parts of the centre and erected a series of hi-rise estates

around its periphery. Here lies a contradiction. Whilst the council housing on the periphery, or what remains of it, is dilapidated, residualised and increasingly undergoing demolition, the city centre is filling up with new private apartments.

This illustration of the role of Sheffield council is indicative of the role of the public sector under the aegis of economic globalisation as described by Smith (2002) in chapter one. Smith explained that local government increasingly acts in direct support for the business interests of capital rather than mediating its influence as it did during its Keynesian period. This example appears to suggest that with regards to Merrifield's (2002b) distinction between exchange and use values within the city it is the former rather than the latter that wins out as the '*new urbanism*' abrogates the previous '*liberal*' urban policy (Smith, 2002:81).

3.5.2 PRIVATE REGENERATION AND GENTRIFICATION

The urban regeneration company Sheffield One is one of only four national pilot organisations established in line with the Urban Task Force Report *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999).³⁰ However, McClarence noted how '*Sheffield First Partnership*' became '*the rebranded name of the old Sheffield City Liaison Group. Its members must have felt a warm glow of familiarity when they saw so many old friends at meetings – the great, the good and the grey suits*' (1998:4). The company secured £50 million from Objective 1 funds and Round 6 of the Single Regeneration Budget with additional capital provided by Yorkshire Forward and English Partnerships. It is designed to bring councils, public agencies and business together within a single regeneration enterprise. In addition, Civic Regeneration, English Partnerships, the council, both universities and Yorkshire Forward the regional development agency, are members. It is a 'growth coalition' personified. Alison Nimmo was Chief Executive of Sheffield One with responsibility for Sheffield city centre's urban renaissance until her resignation after four years in the job in 2003. Her task was to implement a seven-year *City Centre Masterplan*³¹ to develop

³⁰ Towards an Urban Renaissance, the final report by the Urban Task Force chaired by Lord Rogers has become known as a '*Handbook for Gentrification*' amongst commentators notes Lees (2003).

³¹ Sheffield's *City Centre Masterplan* details how a mix of commerce, retail facilities and housing will regenerate the centre. The plan was drawn up by American based architectural and urban design practice Koetter, Kim and Associates (responsible for Canary Wharf) chosen by senior representatives of Sheffield One including the council, English Partnerships and Yorkshire Forward. Their plan separates the city centre into a series of *Quarters*, each of

'Sheffield city centre as a vibrant and attractive European city and a driver of regional economic growth and competitiveness'. (Sheffield One, 2002: 1). Nimmo acknowledged that part of her task was to convince private enterprise that Sheffield had a hospitable investment climate and sufficient investment opportunities. She suggested that Sheffield offered a *'huge amount of potential'* and how *'The centre had been left to look after itself. It had missed out on the service industries, no one was living there, and I thought to myself, 'This place is ripe for regeneration'* (Hetherington, 2002: 5).³² In other words Sheffield city centre was ripe, amongst other commercial and business opportunities, for gentrification. Due to a lack of investment the city centre was effectively a blank canvas for the growth coalition to project their vision of a desirable city centre, *'Sheffield has had little done in recent years, so a lot needed doing in a relatively short space of time'* remarks Nimmo. She continued *'Once all this is done, it will feel like a new city centre'* (p.5). This of course is true if it is filled by private residents.

In April and May of 2000 I conducted a number of informal discussions with different city figures as part of my primary original research. One of these discussions was with Sheffield born Richard Caborn in early 2000. By then Caborn was Minister for Sport but in 1997 he had held the portfolio for urban affairs. During our discussion on the future of Sheffield city centre he proudly showed me his copy of the Urban Task Force's *Towards An Urban Renaissance* (1999) in response to my question concerning New Labour's urban policies. He told me the idea was to attract the middle classes back into the city centre and this in turn would create employment for the working classes if not opportunities for residence (Sheffield One believe 2,000 new jobs will be created by the construction of the new Retail Quarter in the city centre). Caborn's assertion is tantamount to the discredited notion of 'trickle down' economics (see page 83). In addition such pronouncements seem to confirm the sharp critique made by Amin et al (2000) and others in chapter one about how the Urban Task Force *Urban Renaissance* (1999) exacerbates social and urban

which has its own role and purpose concerning the regeneration of the city centre. Respective Quarters have a designated *Action Plan* which provides detailed guidance on how development should proceed in that area. In conjunction a *City Centre Living Strategy* suggests measures to make such an approach sustainable.

³² Contrary to Nimmo's assertion people did live in the city centre prior to the contemporary gentrification, pre Second World War walk up tenement council flats built at the time to rehouse local slum dwellers remain very popular at Townhead Street and Croft Buildings on Campo Lane, Corporation Buildings on Snig Hill and the Edward Street Flats at Saint Georges. Together with Yorkshire Metropolitan and Northern Counties housing association flats on Division Street approximately one thousand residents did live within the city centre prior to Nimmo's arrival.

inequalities (see chapter one, page 35). When asked during the fieldwork research about how Kelham Riverside fitted into Sheffield First's remit, their representative responded in a fashion not dissimilar to the notions of Caborn and Nimmo. Initially referring to the city centre as a whole he remarked,

'its seemed very much as a sort of a poor persons shopping centre, certainly big parts of it like Castle Market area and the Moor, Wicker and all around that area and I suppose where that fits with Kelham is that by attracting more prosperous people to actually live in the city Kelham is one of the best opportunities to redevelop existing sites and to get some new build in there'.

Drawing upon Marx, like Merrifield (2002b) Moltch and Logan also equate 'two distinct urban interests' with 'exchange value and use value' one committed 'through the development, sale or rent of land and buildings' the other by 'daily life and production' (1985:144). The former represents the commercial interests of the local growth coalition under the aegis of economic globalisation, the latter those of local citizens 'orientated toward use values of urban space' (p.144). It seems the contemporary regeneration and gentrification of Sheffield city centre is orientated towards the exchange value placed upon it by the local 'growth coalition'. The shift in emphasis from public to private interests, from use to exchange values, is illustrated by other central Sheffield buildings and sites previously publicly owned. Most notably the former Glossop Road public baths have been converted into apartments in the course of recent gentrification. Other former publicly owned buildings are to become apartments, amongst them a recently demolished Art college where construction work began in summer 2005.

At the time of their writing Taylor et al (1996) do not seem to have appreciated just how strongly the exchange values placed upon the city centre by the growth coalition would predominate. At the time they suggested that compared to Manchester 'despite considerable publicity being given to waterside apartments at 'Victoria Quays', alongside the South Yorkshire canal, this process is less developed' (p.296). Taylor et al suggest that lacking an inherited stock of Victorian architecture Sheffield city centre will not prove attractive to corporate property developers. In addition, the authors suggest the city's vanguard heritage of corporation housing will fuel political opposition to a gentrified city centre and posit the alternative of reclaiming the centre for council tenants (1996: 296).

In the event the lack of venerable Victorian stock in Sheffield city centre has not depressed gentrification. If anything it has made it easier, bypassing time consuming and expensive renovations and the objections of conservationists. Taylor and his co-authors perhaps underestimated the changes brought about by economic globalisation. Such is the transformation of the local ruling Labour council that opposition to gentrification by proponents of an alternative central social housing building programme never materialised. No opposition was raised from within or outside the growth coalition. As yet just one housing association has invested in building apartments to buy within the new city centre (see chapter four, page 118). The only meagre public debate concerning city centre gentrification occurred within the letters page of *The Star* and amounted to an exchange of just two letters. 'A resident of Sheffield 1' (2003: 14) initially complained:

'20% of the population cannot afford to purchase a home in the city centre...with purchase prices requiring a minimum income of £30,000, considerably more than 20% of the population are simply not earning enough to take advantage of city centre living'.

The correspondent pointed out that the government has suggested that residential developments exceeding 25 homes should incorporate a proportion of properties for housing associations to rent to people on low incomes. The correspondent continued,

'Whereas the government recommended 25% as the basis for negotiations, Sheffield Council asked for just 5%. In addition, the council decided that all residential developments in the city centre would be exempt from the obligation of providing affordable housing for low paid workers, because according to their planning department "there is no demand for affordable housing in the city centre because of adequate supplies on the other side of the ring road"'

The Head of Planning at Sheffield city council, Les Sturch, replied by effectively ignoring the transformation of the city centre. The '*bigger issue*', he contested, was the surplus of council housing in areas other than the centre and therefore ipso facto there is no requirement for social housing in the centre. But low demand for some council housing, like the former Woodside estate, is on the most run down and poorly maintained council estates. Sturch's response does not offer a convincing argument against further social housing in the city centre, but is instead damning evidence of the council's inability to maintain existing stock. The issue raised in the complaint is the absence of new social housing in the city centre whilst large amounts of private

housing are being constructed thereby abrogating any social mix. The conclusion to Sturch's letter states how the council have recently sought to increase city centre living but that

'in the early days concentrated on affordable provision at Broomhall and Division Street. There is also substantial provision at Park Hill and elsewhere ideally located for the city centre. There is not a lack of affordable homes in the city centre, so we can't justify requiring private developers to build more' (2003:12).

To say that the council pursued city living through the construction of Broomhall and Division Street ignores the fact that Broomhall Flats were demolished in the early 1980's. In addition, the housing on Devonshire Street was built by the Yorkshire Metropolitan and Northern County housing associations years prior to any council notion of 'city living'. The Yorkshire Metropolitan flats have been up for over twenty-five years. Any attempt to palm this off as part of the current scheme is playing fast and loose with local history. More damningly Sturch's reply is somewhat disingenuous because the council is privatising and gentrifying Park Hill flats by expunging most of the existing council tenants. Contrary to the council's Head of Planning, the small amount of remaining social housing in and around Sheffield city centre is shrinking further because the council is currently demolishing estates (most recently Woodside, Saint Georges and Claywood) whilst privatising the Grade II listed Park Hill complex.

When asked by myself at a public forum organised for *Urban Design Week* in August 2002, about the simultaneous development of city centre gentrification and peripheral residualisation and demolition of council housing, Simon Ogden of Sheffield council, much like Sturch, replied there was no demand for social housing in the city's centre. To which one might reply: how is one to measure demand for housing that does not exist? After all, ostensibly there was no demand for city centre gentrification prior to Victoria Quays then Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works, but new housing was built to test the water. The attitude of the local authority towards private housing seems to be *'build it and they will come'*. When projects proved to be successful others followed. If the council, or, more likely, housing associations, built affordable housing in the city centre past experience suggests demand would considerably outstrip supply. The small number of city centre council flats are currently fully occupied with lengthy waiting lists prior to the introduction of a new bidding based system to replace traditional waiting lists. What Ogden and Sturch refuse publicly at least to admit

appears relatively straightforward: as acknowledged by Smith (2002), policy has been enacted at both national and local levels to transform city centres into living areas for those who can afford purchase prices of £100,000 or more for one bedroom apartments or pay monthly rents in excess of £650 for a similar property. As both Smith (2002) and Lees (2003) suggest this is tantamount to a process of gentrification.³³

Taylor et al wrote of Sheffield in the mid 1990's that the *'physical fabric of the city centre does not bear the imprint of recent changes to the national and international economy to anything like the extent it does in Manchester'* (1996: 304). The comparison with Manchester remains true but one is hardly comparing like with like. It now seems undeniable that the fabric of Sheffield city centre, as small as it is, in its own idiosyncratic way today genuinely reflects changes in world economy. Large scale gentrification is occurring in Sheffield and other provincial British city centres regardless of claims to the contrary by Hamnett (2000: 333).³⁴ These tendencies were emerging when Taylor et al (1996) carried out their research but have really only come to fruition since the late 1990's. Sheffield city centre as a residential area has changed enormously in the meantime and continues to do so. Already by January 2002 Kay exclaimed *'Was there ever a time in recent memory when so much of the centre of Sheffield was in such a condition of flux?'* (2002:10).³⁵

Because of the difference in size, history and class composition few meaningful comparisons can be made between the conurbation of Manchester and the city of

³³ The council's role in regeneration possesses a strong sense, like religious converts, that *those who come later come harder* and in doing so must doubly repent their previous municipal reformist sins. The McDonalds four star hotel is to be situated on the site of the Eggbox town hall built during the 1960's and 1970's under the avowedly modernist architecture department and then reformist Labour council. Plans have been accepted to build another ubiquitous set of shops, restaurants and apartments this time where the former National Union of Mineworkers HQ currently stands. The shift in local authority policies is most graphically symbolised by the calls for high rise Park Hill to be abrogated partly or wholly from the public sector and replaced with private tenants. One of the few parallels between the two periods of post Second World War Sheffield city centre building is a predilection for tower blocks. Sheffield was renowned for building large numbers of hi-rise flats built during the 1960's and today planning officers are again looking at how towers and indeed skyscrapers could be used. The use of more tall buildings is no doubt encouraged by the notoriously small dimensions of Sheffield's centre.

³⁴ Rotherham wishes to follow Sheffield's example, illustrating how *'Regeneration is turning some unlikely areas of Britain into private housing 'must haves'* (Norwood, 2003: 29).

³⁵ The light industry that comprised a significant element of peripheral city centre activity is being greatly reduced and that which remains is being actively encouraged to leave. A relatively small number (like Cornish Place, Brooklyn Works and Universe Works) have been converted into gentrified apartments, others into en-suite luxury student accommodation. Light industry, engineering and cutlery are further under pressure to leave the increasingly

Sheffield. But while Sheffield has conceded years on Manchester's process of gentrification Sheffield is learning fast. Because Sheffield city centre is small the changes over the last five years are all the more visible. While the process of gentrification started in peripheral and neglected former industrial areas - initially Victoria Quays then Cornish Place/Brooklyn Works (at the time of writing the Kelham Riverside area is undergoing a fresh bout of gentrification) their success started a process that subsequently switched its attention to more profitable projects on the south west of the city centre along the conduits feeding the wealthy south-western suburbs.³⁶ The approximately sixty existing developments within Sheffield city centre together with those currently in construction and further one's awaiting planning permission are changing the nature of the city centre drastically. The council have declared that they soon expect 5,000 people to be living in the city centre and bolder more recent talk is of anything up to 20,000 by 2010.³⁷

At an annual presentation of the Masterplan for *Urban Design Week* in 2003 I asked why at the previous events both Alison Nimmo, chief executive at regeneration company Sheffield One, and Simon Ogden, chief development officer for the council, had denied that what was occurring in Sheffield city centre was gentrification. Especially, I added, after Ogden had been quoted earlier that same year referring approvingly to the '*gentrification*' of the Kelham Riverside area, '*The area is architecturally distinguished and has a nice feel to it. The gentrification of a number of works that were empty will pay dividends*' (Humphries, 2003:3). Unconvincingly Ogden told the public forum he had been misquoted. Such an example would seem to support Smith's (2002) contention that contemporary '*third wave gentrification*' is a gentrification that, at least publicly, dare not speak its name.

In the exchange that followed between Ogden and myself he reminded me that Derwent Housing Association (DHA) was building in the Cultural Quarter (they have recently finished building 'affordable' apartments over the river Don from Cornish Place / Brooklyn Works called Kelham Mills and will shortly start on approximately

residential Scotland Street and Saint Georges district.

³⁶ Unfortunately most of the new build developments appear to have been assembled as the product of an off-the-peg urban regeneration kit. Most of the architecture and design of the new build apartments is unremittingly banal and their interiors, in the most part, are less spacious than the 1960's corporation built properties currently being demolished.

³⁷ Investors from as far a field as Japan and Belgium have reportedly purchased apartments in the Royal Plaza development in West Street (Anon, 2003; 17). Sheffield estate agent Stuart Goff claims approximately 70% of new build and converted apartments in the city centre have been purchased by property developers (Draper, 2003:5).

350 en-suite student units on Shoreham Street). Informed by the local press I replied that Derwent were not actually seeking to rent to traditional housing association tenants i.e. the working classes, the elderly or infirm and instead saw their function as filling a new role in the city centre; that of providing accommodation for young professionals. DHA are definitely responding to need. As mentioned in chapter one sections of the lower middle class are experiencing a higher degree of socio-economic insecurity and possible downward mobility into the working classes. DHA have recognised that exclusive city centre developments are currently out of the price range of many key workers and some young professionals (in that sense *exclusive* apartments exclude many ostensibly middle class people). While a small number of single bedroom and studio apartments began at approximately £80,000 back in the late 1990's, similar properties can now approach £200,000. Columbia Place is the £5 million scheme built by DHA. Their 67 apartments are for young professional aged 22-35 earning roughly £20,000 and unable to afford city centre properties. DHA believe many of the current city centre apartments are too expensive to rent for young professionals starting on the property ladder. Interviewed in the local paper Brian Humphrey the business development director of DHA (Ashton, 2003a:6) said, *'There are a lot of small start-up businesses in the area so the idea is to provide something people can afford in a place they want to live. A lot of people do want to live close to the city centre but it is getting expensive'*. DHA have been providing social housing for forty years but about seven years ago they started to diversify when they noticed a new market. Humphrey explained how:

'We identified the need for rented housing for young professionals, as they were not being well catered for by the private sector...We provide accommodation for students because of the same reason, and also for public sector workers such as junior doctors and nurses' (p.6).

DHA are not alone in diversifying their tenures. When I interviewed a representative of Yorkshire Metropolitan Housing Association (YMHA) (who have a small number of family sized houses for rent at Woodside), as part of my primary original research (November 2000), he told me that since 1989, when central government ended the mixed funding regime for housing associations, YHMA were forced to become more commercially minded. Housing associations started borrowing from the financial markets, raising rents closer to market levels and YMHA established a commercial services department. Consequently YMHA helped to build and own one of the Riverside Exchange apartment blocks in Kelham Riverside just down the road from

their properties on the peak of Pye Bank at Woodside. These apartments are rented at market rates, the idea being, he explained, that the commercial services department would operate at a profit and thereby assist the non-profit social housing side of business. The contemporary orientation of YMHA and DHA represents a partial reorientation of the traditional role of the housing association. Not quite perhaps the gentrification of housing associations but then again neither is it what Ogden implied when he extolled the sole example of DHA in answering my point about the city centre becoming increasingly mono-class. This single example is not social housing in the traditional sense, as the housing association point out the housing is for young professionals. Initially two-bedroom apartment were £550 to rent per month at Columbia whereas a similar proportioned existing housing association flat within the city centre would be at least two hundred pounds cheaper and a council flat on the periphery less than half the market rate during 2003. However, Derwent's rent is still £100-£150 less than the private city centre market is charging for similar properties, including YMHA who were charging closer to £700 per month at Riverside Exchange in 2003. While housing associations have had more socially mixed tenants when compared to council accommodation over the last thirty years their numbers of professionals have remained relatively low. In the summer of 2005 Derwent decided instead to sell the apartments at Columbia and Kelham Mills as part of central government's new 'affordable' housing scheme.

In addition, the desire for an inward investment friendly city centre with a suitable residential cliental is expanded by a large and growing number of en-suite student residences. Burgeoning across the city centre over the last five years these modern apartments frequently charge rents of £80/90 per week. This influx of wealthier students further exacerbates the increasingly one-sided influence of housing in the city centre. As a newspaper article commented:

'In the wake of huge numbers entering higher education, large swathes of many cities are rapidly converting to fit the student market and are groaning under the strain. Studentification is becoming an issue to match the gentrification of the 1960's when working classes were shoved out of affordable housing in formerly run down city areas by the middle classes' (Harris and McVeigh, 2002:12).

This process occurs in conjunction with gentrification in Sheffield city centre. Indeed it might be viewed as a primer for graduate residential patterns. A desire to attract wealthier students into the city centre is essentially one and the same process,

namely to create a city centre dominated by the residences, retail and leisure opportunities of this ostensibly middle class element.³⁸ Further large 'student villages' housing hundreds of students are under construction on the city centre periphery in the Shoreham Street/London Road area and the newly renamed Saint Vincent's area adjacent to Devonshire Green and Kelham Riverside.

3.6 PUBLIC DEGENERATION, RESIDUALISATION AND DEMOLITION OF INNER CITY COUNCIL ESTATES

3.6.1 INTRODUCTION

The story of the decline of Sheffield's inner city high rise estates is not brief and spectacular like that of the mushrooming city centre gentrification, despite Harloe's judgement that *'The residualisation of social housing has gone further and faster in Britain than in any other Western European countries'* (1997:18). Instead it is a more protracted affair. Over the past quarter century Sheffield's inner city council housing has suffered a calamitous degree of downward residential mobility whilst simultaneously its tenants have experienced a decline in their socio-economic position and living standards. Interviewed as part of the primary original research (May 2001) for this thesis, a senior representative of Sheffield Council Housing (SCH) Department described it as *'a process of increasing residualisation of the city's council housing'* confirming Harloe's point that *'residualisation is a social process, not a fixed state'* (1997:18). Once feted as having some of the most innovative and best quality corporation housing in Western Europe, Sheffield now possesses mainly sub-standard properties, especially in the remaining inner city high rise estates. These inner city estates consist of residual housing of last resort, in the words of Harloe, *'poor stock for poor people'* (1997:17). Before the collapse of steel employment in 1979 Sheffield's poorest citizens *'were small and concentrated in a number of well defined spatial areas'* (Dabinett and Ramsden, 1999:169). In the meantime Sheffield's rates of deprivation have grown enormously and those previously well

³⁸ By the end of the decade Sheffield Council has expressed a desire for five thousand people to live in the city centre. Already if you include the burgeoning student population and pre-existing social housing in the centre that target has already been met. Assuming that social housing residents in central walk-up-tenements amount to approximately 1,000 people the social mix of the new city centre is heavily weighted in favour of the new wealthier residents. It is estimated that half of all the jobs in Sheffield are located within the city centre and so only some layers of society will be able to live close to their paces of work.

defined areas of poverty have grown to encompass all of the city's inner city estates.

3.6.2 DEGENERATION

While the Keynesian post war settlement started to unravel during the late 1960's the class composition of British council housing started to alter and consequently become more vulnerable to economic downturns. In Britain between 1960-1976 four fifths of the increase in households below pension age and dependent for their main income on state welfare payments were council tenants. Between the years 1962-1978 there was an increase of 1.9 million in the number of council tenants with 1.25 million of this increase having no employment income. Just fewer than 5% of council tenants in 1961 were not employed; by 1981 this figure had increased to 28%. In 1963 the median income of council tenants was only slightly below the national median for all households, by 1983 it had fallen precipitously to just 58% of the overall median (Cole and Furbey, 1994). The urban concentration of an impoverished section of the lower working class has increased further since the early 1980's. By 1988 the proportion of unemployed council tenants nationally had climbed to an astonishing 60%. In 1979, 41% of council tenant households were not in employment or seeking work, compared to 32% of all households. By 1988 the respective figures were 60% and 38%. In 1979, 29% of council tenant households had less than 40% of the national median household income, compared to 20% of all households. By 1988 the figures were 50% and 23% respectively (Power, 1993). Harloe suggests it is little wonder that a popular perception has arisen that social, especially council, housing is '*residual*' or engulfed in a process of '*residualisation*' for '*those at the bottom of the social and economic system*' because perception '*clearly reflects an underlying reality*' (1997:16).

In line with national tendencies, an overall majority of Sheffield council households would be headed by semi and unskilled workers by the early 1970's. Initially however during the post war period council housing represented real upward residential mobility for Sheffield labour, especially for better off skilled workers who could afford the then relatively higher rents charged by the council. During the 1960's the properties were bright and new with modern conveniences. At the same time some poorer sections of the working class remained within private rented slum housing. But as living standards rose throughout the 1960's and the first half of the 1970's simultaneous processes set in train. The arrival on the city's housing market during

the 1950's and 1960's of 50,000 new council homes restrained private housing prices in working class inner suburbs like Hillsborough and Walkley. Many Sheffield families headed by the city's substantial labour aristocracy and other better off working class households began to move out of council housing and bought their own reasonably priced private housing. Taking up their tenancies in council properties as the 1960's progressed and throughout the 1970's were the poorer working class households displaced by later slum demolition in areas like Attercliffe. These households were more likely to be headed by a male in semi or unskilled employment. Previous slum areas like Woodside were cleared during the 1950's to make way for the council estate. But slum housing in areas where the council did not build, like Attercliffe in the east-end, was not demolished until the next decade and for other older terraces like those at Owlerton not until the early 1980's.

The new poorer working class council residents were joined by immigrants from the Commonwealth (largely from the Caribbean) and pensioners. Then when economic circumstances worsened and poverty exploded during the 1980's council tenants were increasingly represented by single parent households, the unemployed and generally the most deprived sections of the working class. Today council tenants remain the most economically vulnerable section of British society. The growth of poverty and unemployment amidst the council's chronic lack of investment to maintain the inner city estates had a calamitous effect on the social conditions of council tenants. As social circumstances declined the condition of council housing simultaneously deteriorated as spending cuts bit hard upon cheap mass produced housing that required more maintenance, not less. Hand in hand social and urban conditions declined across Sheffield's inner city areas during the 1980's and 1990's. Seyd positively contrasts the Keynesian era when *'Sheffield was a city in which the quality of life for its citizens improved considerably in post-war, social democratic Britain'* (1993, 184) with the contemporary conditions of the post Keynesian era. He explains how Sheffield's public fabric, public buildings, schools, roads, libraries, art galleries, parks, transport and community health have all deteriorated since the demise of social democracy. Changes in the city's skyline reflected political change as Seyd notes how the demolition of Hyde Parks largest block (see page 90) *'symbolised the collapse of traditional post-war social democracy on which Sheffield's politics had been based'* (1993:185).³⁹

³⁹ *'Sheffield was a city in which the quality of life for its citizens improved considerably in post-war, social democratic Britain. In 1973 it was a city with an impressive public fabric, with good public buildings, schools, community health, transport, roads, libraries, art galleries and parks.'*

The decline in the social fortunes of council tenants, particularly on inner city estates, whilst being a factor in the decline in the public perception of council housing, cannot in itself adequately explain the physical decline of that housing and its surrounding environment. Today, even after the demolition or selling off of close to half of its stock, a full two-thirds of Sheffield's remaining 60,000 housing units are in an officially recognised state of disrepair. The mass decline of the inner city high rise estates can only be fully understood in the light of the decline of national economic regulation and the concomitant drastic cuts in national and local public spending since the ascendancy of economic globalisation.

The Conservative government elected in 1979 sought to curtail public spending by putting an end to council house construction through the 1981 right to buy policy and also rate capping on local councils. Some of the problems affecting the inner city estates had been in-built at the time of construction due to cost cutting construction methods and an overt reliance upon high density, high rise housing. These problems were exacerbated from the mid 1970's onwards by large fiscal cuts at both national and local level to funds for renovation and maintenance. In addition from 1981 onwards the more desirable low rise suburban estates effectively ceased being council estates by virtue of the high rate of tenant uptake of right to buy. Severe and protracted fiscal retrenchment and an increasingly dilapidated housing stock together with the explosion of poverty within the working class meant that over the last twenty-five years council housing and especially the inner city estates have effectively become housing of last resort. Sheffield is no different from the rest of the country. Political hostility to public housing now covers the whole mainstream political spectrum. Sheffield Labour council, once proud world leaders in the field, have slashed stock over the last twenty years and threaten to trim it back further still. The council's plans for stock reduction are highlighted in a document that stated '*the number of council housing has fallen from a peak of 96,000 in 1982 to 63,000 today*

In 1993 the quality of life, when measured by such indicators as the availability of public transport, the extent of traffic congestion, the fabric of school buildings and extra-curricular school provision, the number of old people's homes and the opening hours and the number of local libraries services, had deteriorated. The impact of central government's restrictions on local authority expenditure and pressures to privatise services had been considerable. The city's public fabric had changed and so had its public face. In place of Hadfield's steel firm was Meadowhall shopping and leisure complex, a stark reminder of the move from steel to services. And a change to the city's sky-line occurred when the architectural-award-winning Hyde Park flats were partly demolished. Their destruction symbolised the collapse of traditional post-war social democracy on which Sheffield's politics had been based. The flats had been built at a time when government accepted a responsibility for housing its citizens and citizens expected good quality public services to be provided: in 1993 neither attitude prevailed' (Seyd, 1993:184-185).

and a further reduction is expected to around 50,000 by 2010' (Sheffield City Council, 2001:14).

Minimal investment in housing from central government together with the right to buy policy was fiscally disastrous for local councils. Instead of financing major repair programs on dilapidated housing, the local authority instead found it cheaper and easier to pull them down and in doing so abrogate their housing responsibilities. Much of the council housing that ringed the city centre has been demolished over the last twenty-five years. Broomhall Flats were the first to go in the mid 1980's, followed soon after by the Woodside tower-blocks in 1989 and the tallest Hyde Park block only a couple of years later. Around the same time the Bard Street walk up tenements, situated between Park Hill and Hyde Park flats, were renovated and privatised. What remains of Hyde Park (now know as Castle Court) is run by housing associations. Throughout the 1990's a number of estates were thinned out by partial demolition like the Netherthorpe and Upperthorpe estates, while the eighteen tower-blocks, various maisonettes and various low rise housing that comprised the Norfolk Park estate have virtually all been razed.

During my fieldwork research the SCH representative informed me that during the mid 1990's the council designed an exit survey to understand why council tenants left their tenancies. The survey found that of council tenants within the age band most likely to move house, i.e. 25-45 years old, more than 50% could afford to buy a modest property priced around £30-35,000 on the market. At that time terrace properties around this price were readily available in the east of the city. When the survey was repeated in 1999 she told me *'it showed a slightly smaller proportion but still big chunk and that's taking into account no savings they might have no other resources to use as equity...and also based on quite conservative leading policies'* (of course the situation appears quite different in 2005 after five years of rapid house price inflation). She added *'the biggest group leaving in 1997 were 25-45 year olds... biggest movers with 97% going into owning, occupation'*. She described this process of residential mobility as *'a movement of economically active households who are working away from areas of council housing'*. The city has witnessed a wholesale shift away from the council estate dominated east side of the city over the past fifteen years. Over a similar period, she informed me, the south-west of the city has experienced a 10% increase in population. In addition, she suggested

'Sheffield does have quite a lot of incomers, quite a lot of people are new to the city for various reasons – working, universities etc people staying on after studying, Indians in the Law area in Paradise Square so the incoming groups are highly qualified are not moving to the north and east of the city areas dominated by council housing, poor quality terrace housing too, they are coming into the west of the city and the south suburban areas'.

Such lopsided residential mobility is reflected in the south-west's overheating housing market. Meanwhile the SCH rep told me the east side of the city and especially the inner city has experienced *'a 10% loss of population just over a ten year period between 1981-91 in the north and east of the city'*. However, the SCH representative asserted, in contrast with popular perceptions, that,

'My impression is that it would be far too simplistic to say that council housing is the preserve of the poorest of the poor. We've got quite a few communities coming into the city and not just asylum seekers where there is a culture of renting but also younger people including students and people who rent for short periods. For example we're talking to hospital and education department on short term contracts some of the student teachers cos like elsewhere having to attract from outside of the country...filling places so there are emerging markets that we're attracting that were the preserve of private landlords before...'

While the fieldwork research conducted for this thesis suggests she is wrong concerning council housing not being the preserve of the poor (see chapters four and five) some of what she says about the inner city estates has an air of truth. But in the same year as this interview was conducted (2001) the council published a document that revealed *'60% of council housing is in the 12 wards that feature in the national 'most deprived' list. And council housing is usually a high proportion of the 'hot spots' of deprivation that exist in the more prosperous parts of the city...'* (2001:15). This should not come as any surprise if one considers the implications of stock reduction when the actual number of families existing under or just above the poverty line remains relatively high.

Private housing has since been built on the site of the former council estate at Norfolk Park. The Woodside estate was almost completely demolished during the summer of 2004, as were the Claywood tower blocks behind the Midland Station. The Saint George's estate met its fate in the summer of 2005, while the continued existence of maisonette blocks at Pitsmoor, just across Rock Street from the former Woodside estate is precarious. Avoiding any mention of their own culpability, and contravening what their senior representative stated during my primary original

research, a Sheffield Council statement reads *'In the 1960's, council housing was the modern tenure of choice for most people. For years it has been slipping steadily towards being a tenure of last resort'* (2001:18). Detailing the future of social housing in the same document the council make the case for further stock reduction and the benefits of private development:

'Although demolition can be difficult experience for communities, we have shown that it is better to face up to it than to struggle on trying to sustain housing that our customers simply do not want. The new development opportunities that come from demolition have helped transform many areas of the city' (p.14).

Some are impressed with Sheffield council's regeneration strategy. After waxing lyrical about the new city centre Hetherington writes,

'But, away from the city centre, in the surrounding neighbourhoods, the regeneration strategy is no less impressive. By aggressively addressing housing over-capacity – the scourge of the older industrial cities of the north – and demolishing 1,000 council properties annually, while breaking up big council estates and mixing tenures...' (2005:14).

3.6.2 CONCLUSION

The donut metaphor now seems to be challenging the Chicago school's ecological determinist dart-board as the most ill appropriated and misused symbol of contemporary urbanism. The Economist remarked:

'Planners call the "doughnut effect", which confusingly describes the opposite phenomenon to the "donut effect" that American planners talk of. The American donut, a sugary ring with an empty centre, is a fine metaphor for the rich suburbs around a collapsed inner city. The British doughnut, a lump of indifferent carbohydrate with jam in the middle, describes rich inner-city development surrounded by acres of gloom' (2002: 26).

The British doughnut metaphor suitably describes the incongruity between Sheffield's emerging city centre and surrounding inner city periphery. It is no exaggeration to describe contemporary central Sheffield in such terms. Robson notes how cheek by jowl with the new penthouses, restaurants and boutiques lie *'the land of the forgotten...the endless rows of impoverished terrace housing and half empty council housing where unemployment is horrendous'* (Hetherington, 2001:19). But however apt, such a description has only a limited shelf life as urban form exists in time and

space and therefore in perpetual flux. At the time of writing gentrification and residualisation continue apace removing from the gentrified doughnut filling its surrounding public housing. Most gentrification concerns new build and conversions, but the famous Park Hill development, which towers over the south-east periphery of the city centre, is set to be refurbished whilst removing most of its public tenants and replacing them with private ones. Woodside, the specific district explored in chapter four, the Community Profile, is now almost completely demolished save for a couple of maisonette blocks and a handful of houses. Meanwhile below in the valley within the Kelham Riverside area new private housing is currently being built and more housing is planned. A simultaneous process of public residualisation, degeneration and demolition on the one hand is occurring and on the other hand we find private regeneration and gentrification.

There is one particular irony in this simultaneous process of gentrification and residualisation. Council housing in general, but in particular inner city high-rise estates, was derided by opponents of social housing from their inception as the epitome of Keynesian publicly funded folly. Their subsequent failure was blamed upon the principles that today ironically characterise much of the new city centre apartments – high density and frequently high rise (Costello, 2005). Conveniently removed from their socio-economic circumstances and the protracted growth of social and urban inequality the inner city council estates with their Modernist⁴⁰ design influences, public funding and working class tenants became targets of vitriol for proponents of the free market. Today private city centre tower blocks offering grand vistas over British city centres are the very height of fashion.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Built in 1955 the Pruitt-Igoe social housing project in St. Louis, USA was demolished less than twenty years later. Two years after, this symbolic event inspired American architectural critic Charles Jencks to announce the death of Modernism. Modern architecture, also known as the International style, declared Jencks, died in St. Louis, Missouri on that 15th of July 1972 when the award winning housing project was dynamited. Today developers in Sheffield are now proudly presenting their prospective apartment projects as '*Le Corbusier inspired*'. Like the premature pronouncements of Mark Twain's demise, it seems the death of Modernism is greatly exaggerated. Similarities and ironies of urban architecture notwithstanding there is a more profound phenomena signified by the shift in city centre building programs from public to private. The two disparate periods of construction represent two very different historical periods. They are symptomatic of two separate periods in world economy: post war, pre globalisation drawing to a close over the duration of the 1970's and then the era of globalisation emerging during the 1970's and finding full expression during the 1980's and thereafter.

⁴¹ Perhaps the starkest illustration of this shift is Ernst Goldfinger's Trellick Towers in Ladbroke Grove, London. Soon after their completion in 1972 it quickly became known as in the London press as '*Colditz in the sky*'. Today the building is listed and flats sell for £350,000. This lesson has not been wasted on Sheffield authorities and growth coalition who desire a similar phoenix like resurrection for Park Hill.

The two contrasting historical periods rub up against one another amongst earlier historical urban layers between the Woodside estate at Pye Bank and the newly gentrified area of Kelham-Riverside. The Keynesian era of mass council house building waxed and waned and Woodside experienced first decline and degeneration, followed by residualisation and now finally demolition. The protracted decline since the 1970's of the inner city council estates is an expression of the prolonged decline of an entire historical and political period and its socio-economic circumstances. Meanwhile, the current phase of Sheffield city centre regeneration emerged during the late 1990's and shows little signs, as yet, of slowing.

It would seem on the evidence of this Sheffield city case study chapter that the qualitative development in the productive forces, manifested in economic globalisation, brought about a qualitative transformation in Sheffield's steel industry. The contemporary contradiction between steel productivity and manning levels expresses the profound changes brought about by the revolution in computer and telecommunication technology. By wrenching away the economic autarky of the Keynesian post war period economic globalisation prevented the local authority from enacting progressive forms of municipal intervention. It effectively coerced them into adopting free market policies. This shift from a reformist position of ameliorating the free market to one of outright cooperation has exacerbated the growth of urban and social inequality within Sheffield. This exacerbation takes a particularly sharp form between the newly regenerated city centre residences and the residualised council housing on the periphery. In the following chapter, a community profile, we explore this particular expression of urban inequality more closely and in addition begin to discuss the circumstances of the respective residents of these disparate housing phenomena.

Before exploring the communities in chapter four we summarise the stakeholder interviews.

3.7 SUMMARY OF STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS

The details of the eight Sheffield stakeholder interviews are contained in chapter two of this thesis. In this chapter and the next two chapters we utilise the transcripts from these interviews to illustrate and contextualise the research. Here we present a brief summary of the research findings from these interviews. Initially it should be noted that possibly the most prescient piece of information gleaned during my fieldwork was not gathered from one of the stakeholder interviews but from an informal discussion. As previously mentioned, during the embryonic stages of my research I met with MP Richard Caborn who informed me that the best way to understand what would occur over the coming years in Sheffield's city centre would be to read the final report of the Urban Task Force chaired by Lord Rodgers (1999). This advice was perhaps predictable from a government cabinet minister whose remit until shortly before our meeting was one for urban affairs. Nevertheless it has proved correct: in the intervening years since our discussion the 'regeneration' of Sheffield city centre has continued apace.

Caborn's advice proved to be only the most resonant confirmation communicated to me during my fieldwork research. What characterised the eight stakeholder interview transcripts was an almost universal lack of revelation contained within them. Almost every major theme communicated to me during the stakeholder interviews was already within the public domain. I had already come across them in material produced by local historians and academics, or I had unearthed them within secondary and original research sources. In short, the material garnered from these stakeholder interviews corroborated the documentary research carried out prior to the interview. Certain details, anecdotes and innuendo were of course news to me. But the central themes and opinions contained within the answers to my questions were, by and large, not novel. The reasons for such unity are complex but some of the main factors can be readily noted; much of the phenomena discussed during the interviews concerned objective historical developments that have evolved over protracted periods. Such gradual developments, i.e. the degeneration then residualisation of the Woodside estate began over twenty years prior to my fieldwork. In the meantime gradual quantitative developments have matured into qualitative ones. The time lapse between the evolution of such phenomena and my research allows opinions, histories and folk tale alike to find some common narrative, if not quite consensus. In addition to the unifying factors provided by the passing of time I had carried out a large amount of documentary and original research into the subject

areas and therefore I was not arriving at the subject for the first time when I conducted the interviews. Indeed, in order to ask the most penetrating questions of the stakeholders and delve into their expertise I frequently agonised over the necessary questions to ask.

The representatives interviewed from the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce (SCC), Sheffield First and Kelham Riverside Regeneration Agency (KRDA) (March 2001) all displayed a keen awareness of the impact of economic globalisation upon Sheffield. The representative from KRDA was especially prophetic when he voiced his concern that the clutch plate manufacturer Tyzacks, still located back then within Kelham, would relocate their operations abroad. Shortly he would be proved correct when they closed down the Sheffield operations and switched production to Slovenia. With first hand experience of what occurred at Liverpool docks after containerisation, he thoroughly understood the contradictory relationship between advances in production and distribution, and the amount of labour power required in such operations. By contrast Sheffield First's rep suggested that Tyzacks would shift to a greenbelt location on the outskirts of Sheffield.

During the interview the KRDA rep confirmed the hostility of such organisations to collectivist solutions to Sheffield's plight and consequently the role played by economic globalisation. With all three being in the business of economic regeneration and sharing membership of local umbrella economic and regeneration bodies it is perhaps unsurprising that they shared generally similar pro-business opinions. They all subscribed to what might be called a simplified story concerning economic globalisation, regeneration and Sheffield. But all three were capable of nuanced understanding within such context. The SCC rep offered confirmation of the role of modern globalised productive technology in the demise of Sheffield steel manufacturing and engineering as mass employers. Whilst the Sheffield First rep corroborated how his organisations vision and indeed that of Sheffield's 'growth coalition' centres around attracting foreign direct investment and headline grabbing retail names i.e. Harvey Nicholls.

The three stakeholder interviewees; from Yorkshire Metropolitan Housing Association (YMHA), Sheffield Housing and Pitsmoor Housing Office (April 2001) also largely garnered confirmation. The one occasion when new material was presented to myself during the interview - the information that YMHA owned apartments at

Riverside Exchange - exacerbated my existing acknowledgment of the continuing process of marketisation amongst housing associations. These three stakeholder interviews served to confirm my existing knowledge concerning council and housing association housing at Woodside. The rep from Sheffield Housing was quite blasé about the continuation of stock transfer and demolition of social housing. Even though no official decision had at that time been made I left this interview knowing the Woodside estate would be recommended for demolition. The representative from Pitsmoor Housing was most expressive and deflated about his experiences working in the local office and confirmed the essentially 'parochial' residential mobility patterns of Woodside tenants. While I already knew the general story he was able to flesh out certain aspects with individual yet anonymous vignettes of existing and former residents.

The stakeholder interview (April 2001) with the representative from the local education authority with experience within Pitsmoor and Woodside confirmed what research had already made me aware of the chronic education gap between Sheffield's inner city, especially Pitsmoor, and suburban south-west Sheffield. It is worth noting that in comparison to the three regeneration and employment stakeholders with their clear understanding of economic globalisation from a free market viewpoint and its impact upon Sheffield, it was the education stakeholder, a political leftist, who possessed probably the least informed version of events. When questioned about events in Sheffield rather than explain by recourse to economic restructuring, social polarisation etc he instead reified the complex circumstances into one person: Margaret Thatcher.

Finally, the last of my stakeholder interviews (October 2001) was held with a representative from the builders Gleeson who were responsible for the rebuilding of Cornish Place / Brooklyn Works. This proved to be the least informative part of my fieldwork because everything conveyed to me during the course of the interview had already been recently published in the pages of the local press. As already acknowledged this vanguard regeneration project was granted substantial local press coverage and therefore I was less likely to be presented with new material.

CHAPTER FOUR: WOODSIDE AND KELHAM RIVERSIDE COMMUNITY PROFILE

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter develops the urban and social focus of the thesis further by exploring part of Sheffield's city centre periphery and the specific disparate fortunes and backgrounds of two housing developments: one residualised, the other gentrified. In chapter three we explored themes first raised in chapter one concerning the increasing divergence between public degeneration and private regeneration in housing, namely gentrification and residualisation. In this chapter we explore these tendencies through a community profile of a specific residualised council estate on Sheffield's city centre periphery: the Woodside estate on Pye Bank at Pitsmoor. Beneath Woodside in the Don Valley Kelham Riverside is the specific gentrified area adjacent to the river Don. Their geographical and social juxtaposition: one at the top the other at the bottom of the hill, one booming the other breaking, one housing the predominately poor working class, the other the ostensibly comfortable middle classes, means this community profile offers a particularly acute illustration of an area in urban and social flux. The concept of '*soft locations*' (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000) (see chapter two, page 41) suggests that certain types of urban locations are more ripe and susceptible to the influence of globalisation than others. Both '*concentrations of social housing*' and '*Gentrification...an aspect of change in locations on the fringe of the central business districts*' (p.259) are considered locations where globalisation and economic change are '*likely to have a particular impact*' (p.257). An exploration of simultaneous residualisation and gentrification will assist the 'measurement' of economic globalisation's influence upon urban and social inequality.

The role of the community profile is twofold. The chapter serves to sharpen the focus of the thesis by providing a sub-locale and specific example of the socio-spatial dynamics occurring within Sheffield city centre. Secondly, the profile provides the urban context to chapter five, the life history analysis, which examines the interview transcripts of male residents' life histories. Put simply, this chapter explores the district where the interviewees reside, the physical surroundings of their life world and the nature of their community.

Initially it should be pointed out that while Woodside and Kelham Riverside are adjacent they are separated by Pye Bank, a steep hill that rises sharply out of the Don Valley and which a flat map projection is incapable of indicating (Appendix: map.1). The Woodside estate was built on the side and plateau of Pye Bank which has gradients of 1:5. Before its recent demolition Woodside was an inner city residualised council estate, while Kelham Riverside is a combination of renovated conversions and new build apartments (Appendix: map.2). The two disparate housing developments do not constitute a traditional community in the sense of being a distinct housing district.

4.2. TWO SIDES TO THE STORY: WOODSIDE AND KELHAM RIVERSIDE

4.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The gentrification of the Kelham Riverside area is a relatively recent phenomenon and consequently this part of the community profile focuses predominately on events over the last few years (1999-2005). The Kelham Riverside area, formerly known as Neepsend and Shalesmoor, has a history as old as Sheffield industry itself, covered in the previous chapter. While Woodside is synonymous with Pye Bank, Kelham Riverside is somewhat different. Here the wider area of gentrification is known as Kelham Riverside but the fieldwork focuses upon the vanguard Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works conversions with one further interviewee living at the newer Riverside Exchange apartment development which opened later.

4.2.2. CORNISH PLACE, BROOKLYN WORKS AND RIVERSIDE EXCHANGE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Close to the present day site of Cornish Place a goyt was constructed in the twelfth century diverting water to gristmills and then later to grindstones and workshops in the area (Price, 2002). The reliance upon water as the earliest source of power reminds us of the antiquity of Sheffield's industry. It also means that the district under consideration is as old as the industrial city itself. At the Riverside Exchange site the remains of an experimental steel furnace was recently discovered while over the river on Nursery Street building work exposed a kiln for making clay tobacco pipes. In its former life today's gentrified Cornish Place was Cornish Works, a factory built in

1829, attractively arranged around a central courtyard and now declared a listed building. Today it remains one of the city's oldest remaining industrial buildings having being built to produce cutlery and silverware. Cornish Works was Sheffield's grandest industrial building with 114 windows gracing its gently curving riverside frontage. James Dixon & Sons Cornish Place Works was the world's leading silverplate and electroplate factory in the nineteenth century. In 1893 Cornish Works employed about 800 workers producing silver and best Sheffield electroplate, Britannia metal, nickel-silver goods, table and pocket cutlery, sporting trophies and belts (Wray et al, 2001). By the middle of the 19th century Sheffield had established a series of trade links with the United States; many local works subsequently constructed during that period bear names such as Washington, Philadelphia and Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Works were founded by Alfred Becket in 1839 and manufactured steel saws and files under the 'Matchless' trademark (Price, 2002). The protracted decline of the Sheffield steel industry was discussed in chapter three but suffice to say that one hundred years after Sheffield steel's heyday in the late 19th century Cornish Works and Brooklyn Works were largely derelict. The Millsands site where Riverside Exchange is built was initially home to steel manufacturers during the 19th century and was later home to a large Whitbread's brewery until demolition in the mid 1990's.

4.2.3 REGENERATION AND GENTRIFICATION

After the quiet success of the Victoria Quays regeneration at the canal basin in 1994 other possibilities for gentrification were sought. In July 1998 the construction company Gleasons announced the conversion of Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works. Both buildings, especially the former, offered obvious conversion possibilities for gentrification in a city painfully short of suitable attractive buildings. The two former factories are situated in a run down deindustrialised area on the north-eastern city centre periphery and the riverside location of both buildings is attractive. At the time of their conversion the surrounding area was in a dilapidated state, yet authentically attractive to the liberal middle classes, rendering further improvement attractive to developers. Land and buildings in the area are relatively cheap, while the somewhat Dickensian feel of the area, especially at night with the attendant street prostitution, is currently popular with the more liberal middle classes seeking anti-suburban thrills. Kelly termed such incongruousness *"homes with downmarket urban locations but upmarket architect-designed interiors"* (1998:23) (Appendix: photo.1).

Just two days after Gleesons announced their plans for Cornish and Brooklyn the Kelham Riverside Development Agency (later to take on a larger remit as Sheffield Riverside Development Agency) was established in order to regenerate Kelham Riverside, from the Lady's Bridge to Hillfoot Bridge at Neepsend (Kay, 1998:11). Simultaneously what would become Riverside Exchange, the former Whitbread Exchange Brewery, was also suggested for regeneration by Wilson Bowden who had done similar work at Victoria Quays.

Gleesons acquired Cornish Place in 1997 with a grant from English Partnerships and proceeded to begin carefully converting the factory into apartments the following year.¹ Peter Kay reported that the development was costing Gleeson's £7.3 million but English Partnerships, the government financed regeneration agency, granted the builders a contribution of £2.6 million. Two years later prospective purchasers queued round the block days ahead of opening (Pollack, 1999c:12). The project was declared a resounding success by all those involved including Gleeson Homes, English Partnerships, Sheffield Single Regeneration Budget, Kelham Riverside Development Agency, Yorkshire Forward, Sheffield One and Sheffield Council. Greater media coverage was given to the development compared with that given to Victoria Quays which possibly helped make it a success, particularly with the relatively low prices paid by the initial purchasers. During my original research (October 2001) the Gleesons representative informed me that they consciously pitched the prices for Cornish and Brooklyn relatively low appreciating the essentially experimental and possibly vanguard nature of the development (for an assessment of the original stakeholder research see chapter three, page 110). The development was treated as a commercial loss leader, yet, as it turned out, ultimately without financial loss. It was designed to test the city centre gentrification market and in this sense the sale of the 68 apartments was a resounding success. Those who took the risk and bought direct from the plans got a bargain in relative terms with starter prices of £52,000 - £70,000. Since 1999 the market prices have more than doubled and in some cases almost tripled. Davison (2000:19) reported how a Cornish Place apartment whose first residents paid Gleeson's £52,000 in 1999 was on the market for £95,000 by the following summer.

¹ During my primary research the Gleesons Homes representative told me that the conversion of the site required expert technical assistance and cost more than they would probably spend again on a similar project.

In the official discourse of gentrification analysed by Smith (1996) the notion of an urban frontier being breached by new gentrification is discussed. The taking back of the urban wilds is used as a not too subtle inference of a middle class civilising mission. The publicity surrounding the gentrification of Cornish Place seems little different. Remarking how a child then living at Cornish Place, having not witnessed the 20th century would think *'there's nothing unusual about living in a former factory in Shalesmoor'* Bocking wrote:²

'Olivia's mum and dad are two of Sheffield's frontiersmen and women, who a few months ago left the old world behind, along with scores of other brave young pioneers, to stake their claim as settlers on the outposts of the 21st century housing market. Now they've unhitched their jeeps and space wagons and are beginning to learn what life is like in the new world' (2000: 17).

Shortly after the development opened Minister for Regions, Regeneration and Planning, Richard Caborn, was as good as his word in his support for the recommendations made by the Urban Task Force (1999) (see chapter three, page 94-95 and 111). He made a publicised visit to Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works where he praised the development and was reported in *The Star* saying he *'endorsed the vision behind the scheme and the courage to carry it through'* before adding:

'I'd gladly swap my London flat in the Barbican for this. I'm proud to be associated with it, and I'm pleased that a Sheffield company is responsible for it. Examples embodied by Cornish Place are creating much needed housing, reducing the pressure on Greenfield sites, while also breathing life into derelict areas of England's towns and cities' (Anon, 1999: 6).

Just two years after the triumphant opening of Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works (Appendix: photos. 2 and 3) the Riverside Exchange (Appendix: photo.4) development was built by Wilson Bowden on the site of a former Whitbread's brewery at Millsands in the Kelham Riverside area. The new build development opened with initial prices exceeding those at Cornish and Brooklyn at between £80,000 and £150,000. But when compared to Cornish and Brooklyn standards the housing was inferior. Not only were the apartments slightly pokey but the development per se was an uninspiring design with the now seemingly ubiquitous vertical blue stripe found on numerous new Sheffield buildings. After inspecting one of their properties the YMHA representative (see chapter three, page 100-101)

² The father in the family referred to in Bocking's article was the brother of one of the Kelham Riverside interviewees. Unfortunately the family had already moved prior to my fieldwork.

exclaimed during my fieldwork,

'but I mean I've been down there and looking out from the penthouse suite erm top floor when I thought "Penthouse!" ya know ya expect a plush well I suppose it wasn't a penthouse it was a top floor and which is the most expensive and with nice balconies which ya get blown off when ya get out'.

It is no exaggeration to unfavourably compare the dimensions of Riverside Exchange apartments to the now demolished council properties at Woodside built some forty years previous. Unlike Cornish and Brooklyn prospective residents did not queue two weeks prior to properties going on the market - quite the opposite. At Riverside Exchange vacancies were found many months after the opening and prices have not yet risen to the subsequent extent found in other city centre developments. Their architectural blandness, lack of amenities and construction delays in further developing the Millsands site all had a serious retarding effect on vacancies and the further development of the site. During my fieldwork the SCC representative was concerned that the development of the Millsands site *'connects with everything else around it'* but he exclaimed *'if you look at Riverside Exchange – what's there? I still can't get my head around it!'* Warming to the theme he continued:

'there's nowhere to go if ya live there and all these people do is go to their job, drive in and park in the multi-storey resident flat and in the morning come out of their flat get in the car and ya know and there is no connection ya see its on an island all of its own...the worry is for everybody that you helicopter people in and you create your own ghetto, and it might be a very nice ghetto but it's a ghetto nevertheless'.

After the murder of prostitute Michaela Hague just yards from the Riverside Exchange at the bottom of Pye Bank on Spitalfields the local press reported how some Riverside Exchange residents wished to move back to the suburbs because

'The apartments sell from £80,000 to £140,000 but are a stones throw from Burngreave where there has been a number of shootings lately and which is perceived to have a serious crime and drug problem... Over the river, directly opposite is another complex of flats –this time burnt out maisonettes in Pitsmoor' (Ashton, 2003: 6).

The journalist is referring to the Woodside estate. Back then in 2003 the Woodside estate and other boarded up maisonettes on Rock Street and Verdon Street were still clearly visible from Riverside Exchange (both Pitsmoor council developments have

since gone the way of the bulldozer). In the same article a Riverside resident expresses the concerns of the new wealthier residents when she implied how Pitsmoor threatened the gentrifiers' collective security *'If they opened up the complex to the other side of the city, the security will be lessened'* (p.5). Joe Ashton, longstanding Sheffield Labour MP, noted the striking juxtaposition and incongruity of Kelham Riverside and the Woodside estate when he wrote how:

'At Woodside in Burngreave, hundreds of properties renovated just a few years ago with rents of about £35 a week, are boarded up. Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away on the other side of the River Don, near Kelham Island, yuppie flats are shooting up next to ancient factories and costing over £80,000 each. With no shops, no schools, no grass, few neighbours and fewer pubs' (2001, 6).

4.2.4 LINKING SHAPES ON THE GROUND TO SHAPES IN SOCIETY³

Some twenty years ago Rose (1984) identified *'marginal gentrifiers'* who do not necessarily conform to the traditional profile of the gentrifier as a middle class professional with an established career and concomitant salary, practice or business. Some work in the lower ranks of the professional or technical occupations, Rose suggested, or might be employed in low paid creative work. However, much has changed for the middle classes in the two decades since Rose identified these middle class fractions attracted by the economies of traditional gentrification. Still restricted by costs and tending to be younger and willing to take a risk on marginal and unfashionable areas, most of those I interviewed during my fieldwork at Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works could be identified as today's *'marginal gentrifiers'*. However, the class and occupational circumstances of the lower middle classes have not stood still in the intervening two decades. For many ostensibly middle class elements their socio-economic circumstances are in decline. A significant minority of those who lived in Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works were characterised by difficult employment circumstances. Such circumstances made it problematic for them to replicate their parents' middle class status or substantially delayed these circumstances coming to fruition. Their generation is experiencing what Flores and Gray (2000) have called *'the end of the career'*, the circumstances of which, insecure

³ This subtitle paraphrases David Cannadine evocation of Engles who he praised for making *'links between the shapes on the ground – the physical form which the evolving city took – and the shapes in society – the nature of the social relationships between people who live in the towns'* (1982: 235).

and short term employment and downward social mobility, means they are possibly even more attuned to taking a risk than Rose's 1980's '*marginal gentrifiers*'. Spurred on by the relatively low prices for those who bought from drawings or famously queued, these 'urban pioneers' frequently told me they expected and frequently needed to make a killing when they decided to move on.

Cornish and Brooklyn residents seemed to fall into a sequence of gentrification whereby the pioneers, in the case of Cornish and Brooklyn - marginal gentrifiers, were often replaced when they moved out by a second wave of gentrifiers who tended to be older, wealthier and more risk averse. This situation is made more complex however by the relatively large number of properties to rent at the development. In addition, the rapidly rising price values after initial low prices meant the initial buyers were frequently able to sell up at a large profit and disembark to the treasured Sheffield middle class holy grail, in the words of my parents' generation "*the golden triangle*" - the suburban south-west. But this sequence, driven by a rising property market also meant that other prospective marginal gentrifiers are very rapidly priced out of the market. Pioneers are required much less once a trend has been successfully initiated. It is in response to the residential mobility plight of young professionals priced out of the city centre property market that Derwent Housing Association built the Columbia Place rented apartments at Suffolk Street in the Cultural Industries Quarter (see chapter three, pages 99-100). To remedy lower middle class restricted residential mobility Derwent have recently built apartments on the sight of the former Neepsend Rolling Mills across the river Don from Cornish Place, between the Rutland Road and Ball Street bridges. The development will comprise a mix of apartments, some for rent to students but most aimed at 'affordable' purchases by young professionals, together with live/work units and office space.

After the Riverside Exchange development was completed I conducted a postal survey of its residents (January 2001) repeating the same questions completed by Cornish and Brooklyn residents but this time receiving a poor response rate (see chapter two, page 52). Only one interviewee (Terry) was forthcoming and this might have been due to a number of factors. After discussions with site staff at Riverside Exchange and Terry I ascertained that a possible reason for the meagre response to my questionnaire was that residents tended to be older than their Cornish and Brooklyn counterparts and therefore further removed perhaps from their own studying days and possibly less keen to talk about their purchase and life histories to

a researcher. They did not seem to be the type of *'marginal gentrifier'* Rose (1984) wrote about on the periphery of the housing market. In addition, unlike their Cornish and Brooklyn neighbours, who grinned when asked what they paid for their property, Riverside Exchange residents clearly had not, at least at that point, made such a judicious investment. In the course of my fieldwork the YMHA rep spoke somewhat dismissively of his employers Riverside Exchange investment at Millsands, *'well I wouldn't want to spend £700 a month on this flat and have a view of Sheffield where ya just looking down on empty warehouses, run down mills whathaveyou'*. Even after the addition of a major office complex occupied by Irwin Mitchell the solicitors and the faintly Art Deco Riverside Exchange Coode building, the development still awaits the appendages of gentrification like bars, shops and gyms some five years after my original research.

In addition, there was a possible difference in aesthetic values between those who had invested in a converted factory and wealthier, older residents who bought ready made apartments. Cornish Place remains one of Sheffield's few actual factory conversions with authentic loft style apartments. Sheffield's gentrification is occurring in a notoriously small city centre with a historically dictated dearth of quality older buildings. The initial developments at Victoria Quays at the canal basin and Cornish Place were loft conversions. Brooklyn Works consisted of both conversion and new build apartments. The scarcity of similar city centre properties has meant that the overwhelming majority of those built in the meantime, for both the student and professional market, are new build. Cornish and Brooklyn residents were quite possibly more pleased with themselves and less cynical than their older peers at Riverside Exchange. They tended to see their loft conversion as *"authentic"*. During my fieldwork one resident told me living at Cornish Place was *"keeping it real"* as opposed to the fake suburbs. Field and Irving note how:

'In our age of digital technology and rapid change, lofts provide a focus for the idealisation of our industrial past, one in which its traces – winches, cogs, exposed plumbing, timber door – are fetishised by developers, style experts and loft dwellers alike for their quasi-heroic associations with a 'real' working life' (1999:43).

It would seem that different forms of gentrification attract different social layers and age groups at different stages during the process. None of the Kelham Riverside interviewees, for instance, could have afforded a quarter of a million pounds for one of the former Glossop Road swimming bath penthouse conversions. In 2003 the

Channel Four property program *Location, Location, Location* featured a couple both in their forties ultimately buying one of these exclusive properties who, predictably enough, were not only older but also wealthier and therefore more firmly established within the property market.

4.2.5 KELHAM RIVERSIDE TODAY (2005)

At the end of May 2004 a further large complex of apartments was approved for construction in the Kelham Riverside district. Next door to Brooklyn Works, occupying a site that runs adjacent to the river Don, the Green Lane Works, a pleasant building with obvious gentrification possibilities, is to be transformed into 310 private apartments. With an attractively restored Venetian style arched entrance the Green Lane Works (Appendix: photo.5) will preserve the ornate gateway and more traditional parts of the factory but demolish the newer Horseman section (Appendix: photo. 6) and rebuild the site. As is their prerogative under the conditions of economic globalisation current owners Miba Tyzack have relocated production to Slovenia in the Balkans. During my original fieldwork research the Sheffield First representative told me that prior to such developments *'Tyzacks...that site recognise is not ideal for them, they're a good example of a firm looking for an out of town site on the motorway, a greenfield perhaps, that would be perfect'*. But with real prescience the SRDA representative predicted during my fieldwork almost exactly the actual outcome (see chapter three, page 112). After describing the contemporary discrepancy between Sheffield's and Liverpool's productivity and manning levels he remarked:

'the other thing is with globalisation...companies have become global...a kind of example I can think of is the erm within Kelham is Tyzack's who make clutch plates, they've been bought by an Austrian firm and somebody else before that and the Austrian's, the Austrian owner is going to look at that business in a different way to a Sheffield business looking at it so there's no kinda management roots there's no kind financial loyalty to the nation'.

A process that began in 1994 with the conversion of Victoria Quays in the canal basin but whose genuine catalyst was the conversion of Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works is reaching fruition. After the success of Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works Sheffield city centre was deemed ready for the gentrification that has subsequently come to dominate. Developers' attentions subsequently turned more to the west of

the city centre especially as the Riverside Exchange development seemed to stutter and retard Kelham Riverside's initial development. But the recent demolition of the Woodside estate together with a general dearth of more convenient centrally located building space has pushed developers back into the city centre periphery.

The Raven Group, responsible for the future regeneration of the Green Lane Works, also have permission to develop an adjoining section of Kelham Riverside situated on the other side of the Kelham Island museum - the former Greenup's factory next to the Corporation Street Bridge. The 1.6 acre Greenup's site also covers the Alma Works on Alma Street and the adjacent Smithfield Works, at the time the developers described the prospective development as the '*missing link*' (Kay, 2003:1) between Cornish, Brooklyn and Riverside Exchange. The museum aside this will mean continuous housing along one side of the river Don, from the Lady's Bridge to Rutland Road Bridge, when current and planned building is complete. Property developers wish to take advantage of the reputation of the Kelham Island museum and the renowned real ale Fat Cat public house by building a public square fringed by cafes and shops around the waterside entrance to the pub and museum.⁴

A Sanderson Carter conversion at Mowbray Street just across the river from Raven's planned apartments on the site of the now demolished Greenups factory was put on the market in the summer of 2005. In Shalesmoor across the road from Cornish and Brooklyn another 125 apartments are being planned where the Daisy Spring Works are currently situated sandwiched between Green Lane, Dun Street and Cornish Street. Developers also await planning permission to build on the site of a former filling station close to Cornish and Brooklyn. Derwent Housing opened their Kelham Mill development for sale in the summer of 2005. Amberstone Developments opened their City Wharf development at the end of Nursery Street on the junction with the Wicker in 2004. Currently at the intersection of a busy road the forthcoming inner relief road when completed will take away much of the congestion. The City Wharf apartments are as close as the Kelham Riverside regeneration area comes, as yet, to meeting up with the groundbreaking Victoria Quays at the canal basin. The area separating the two is home to four chain hotels including the Hilton. Unfortunately it is

⁴ A scaled down version of the Brooklyn Bridge is planned as a new pedestrian crossing linking the Five Weirs walk past Brooklyn Works. The bridge is a joint venture between the Upper Don Trust and the council who have promised half the building cost estimated at £500,000. Together the two are currently developing an Upper Don walk that will take walkers past the whole of the Kelham Riverside area.

also right next door to the dilapidated Castle Market area but the council hopes to shift the markets to the Moor in the near future and redevelop the whole area.

An irony of the regeneration of the Kelham Riverside area, and possibly an indication of the changing profile of residents, is the emergence of nimbyism. More than 50 residents object to the redevelopment of the site of the former petrol station saying it represented "*gross overdevelopment*" (Anon, 2004:13). Only months later further objections were raised concerning plans to build an eight storey tower with 132 apartments on the Daisy Spring Works at Green Lane, across the road from Brooklyn Works. With plans afoot to develop Wharnccliffe Works (Appendix: photo. 7) between Cornish Place and the Globe Works, amongst other sites, further objections might be raised.

Another reason for the recent revival of interest by developers in Kelham Riverside is the construction of a section of the ring road due to open in 2007. The new ring road will separate Kelham Riverside off further still from the peripheral council housing at Pitsmoor and simultaneously open up further land for redevelopment in the Wicker and former Shalesmoor area. The development of the Sheffield Inner Ring Road Northern Section between the Wicker and Penistone Road integrates this part of the city centre periphery into the city centre proper. In doing so it threatens to separate Pitsmoor off from the Wicker, its traditional conduit to the city centre.⁵ At the time of approval Sheffield council cabinet member Gill Furniss was quoted thus:

'The city needs this road – not just to tackle congestion but also for the regeneration of the area. Not only will the road divert traffic away from the city centre allowing Victoria Quays, Riverside, the Wicker and the law courts to integrate better with the city centre, but it will also open up sites for development' (Kay, 2000:10).

⁵ Unfortunately the new road will also obliterate a series of historically important sites including the Wicker ironworks beneath the Wicker arches on Spital Hill. The Crucible Works behind the Wicker chemists on Wicker Lane dates back to the 1890's and will also be lost. In addition, the gates of the former Wicker station on Saville Street and the Nags Head public house on Shalesmoor will also make way for the Inner Ring Road.

4.3 WOODSIDE

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Back in 1999 when I started the fieldwork research for this thesis the Wicker Arches, the symbolic entrance to Pitsmoor, was looking the worse for wear. English Heritage described the 19th century viaduct as being in 'poor' condition (Pollack, 1999a: 5). The continuing theft of flagstones and wall stones around the old railway station has exacerbated long term structural neglect. The Wicker Arches have been referred to as Sheffield's Brandenburg Gate because of their symbolic location on the edge of the city centre as entrance to the east side inner city. The Wicker Arches took on the status of semiotic primer for the district that lay beyond and especially for its most run down estate: the Woodside at Pye Bank (Appendix: map. 1). Structural renovation work on the Woodside estate in the early 1990's proved too little too late and incapable of restoring stability or sufficient numbers of residents to the estate while acute socio-economic deprivation meant the area retained a reputation for crime and vandalism.

To all intents and purposes the Woodside council estate no longer exists. All that now remains of the original estate is two blocks of maisonettes, one at Nottingham Cliff, another at the bottom of Rock Street, and a row of five bedroom houses on Pye Bank Road saved by their relative scarcity amongst council stock. Thirty five years after its construction the Woodside estate is no more, but Pye Bank has a longer residential history.

4.3.2 PYE BANK

The following quotation is taken from recollections of a childhood during the 1830's. Perhaps surprisingly in contrast to today the memories are of a relatively wealthy area:

'When I was ten we removed to Woodside Pitsmoor, it was a pretty neighbourhood. Then when you got to the top of Pye Bank there were very few houses, on the right was a public house The Fox and Duck and a market garden, then fields right up to Pitsmoor village. On the other side there was a row of gentleman's houses called Woodside...Pitsmoor Road was part of the North Road from York to London, so there was many carriages etc on it, Mail coaches with four horses passed several times a day.' (Anon, unknown: 35)

These gentleman's houses still exist near the top of the present day Pitsmoor Road. Until recently one was a YWCA, another a workingmen's club; they probably once housed families that owned iron ore pits in the surrounding area. Residence on the main thoroughfare would also have witnessed chained prisoners on their way to Wakefield jail. The area was largely moorland until at least the turn of the 19th century and hence, together with iron-ore pits, the industrial and geological amalgam Pitsmoor.⁶

In conjunction with the rapid development of Sheffield industry from the middle of the nineteenth century until about 1910 housing was built quickly and cheaply on Pye Bank amongst the existing buildings, smithies and small workshops. Large numbers of back-to-back terraces were built right across the side of the hill to house poorly paid labour working in steel and engineering. However, in addition to the grand houses on Pitsmoor Road, during the Victorian era transport infrastructure improvements led to the dispersal of Sheffield's middle classes from the East End out along some of the main city thoroughfares such as Burngreave Road.

Keith Farnsworth, a local journalist, lived for four years during the 1940's at Woodside, in 78 Macro Street. He explains how his former residence:

'disappeared in the huge Woodside redevelopment which started in 1960, was situated at the lower end of the Pye Bank hillside... It ran parallel with the Sheffield to Manchester railway line which, since the mid-19th century, has passed along the full length of the streets bottom side behind a stone wall that climbed higher as the street increasingly inclined downwards from Pye Bank' (1999, 68).

Ironically the author later recounts the tremendous panoramic views afforded from Macro Street *'Somewhere in the middle distance you could pick out...the famous soot blackened Cornish Works of James Dixon's, the silversmith's'* (p.69). Farnsworth alludes to his family's own downward residential mobility and describes the social circumstances of the families who lived in the area:

⁶ Even earlier than this the area was home to the Tower House the home of Pitsmoor's first private school built by the Mounteney's of Shirecliffe in 1629. Standing between today's Gray Street and Fox Street the school eventually fell into disrepair, as the surrounding area itself became a slum, the school was demolished in the 1930's.

'Life at 78 Macro Street was, to say the least, a culture shock - so much so that although I was to remain there for three or four years, my initial stay lasted barely two weeks because the surroundings were so unlike anything I had experienced before, and at first I found it difficult to adapt...If we had never boasted much of anything, and if our circumstances had often been less than ideal, at least we had previously had our own hearth and some privacy as a family. Here at 78 we were thrown among an odd assortment of strangers with whom we would not have willingly lived given the choice. It was almost impossible to avoid their company. Even at bedtime you could not enjoy your own space...As there was no bathroom in the place and everybody was constantly trooping in and out to either wash under the cold tap in the sink, or to refill the kettle' (1999: 69-71).

4.3.3 THE WOODSIDE ESTATE: LIKE A TUSCAN HILL VILLAGE

Pye Bank's proximity to the Don Valley and numerous steel works meant the area received considerable bomb damage during the Second World War. Eventually Farnsworth had enough and joined the army in 1954 such was his desire to leave Macro Street behind. It cannot have been long after the departure of the local autodidact⁷ that virtually the whole area was demolished under slum clearance. In the Sheffield Library archives during my fieldwork I discovered *Miscellaneous Paper 1073*, a primary resource, most probably a Sheffield Council press release from 1957.⁸ The document is quoted at length and provides evidence of the optimism of the post war Keynesian arrangements and especially the Womersley era of council homes construction (see chapter three, page 88),

'Work on a modern skyscraper village on a hilltop 200 feet above Sheffield, yet only a mile from the city centre and even less from the main industrial area in the Don Valley...Four hundred and ninety-eight Sheffield families are to have labour saving gas or electricity heated flats, maisonettes and houses in this £1,300,000 smoke-free hill-top town which will have two shopping centres as well as its own community centre. Many more families will be accommodated in subsequent stages of the development. The Sheffield Housing Committee under their Chairman, Councillor H. Lambert, formulated their plans to re-develop the Woodside Lane area in June 1957. Since that date, the City Architects department under the City Architect, Mr. J. L. Womersley, F.R.I.B.A, Dist.T.P, M.T.P.I., have been preparing and finalising their drawings for the time when the scheme would be approved by the ministry of Housing and Local Government. The estate, which is roughly triangular in shape, will be attractively terraced and is to have maisonettes in both 4 and 5 storeys, two medium height blocks containing maisonettes and flats, as well as houses. On the crest of the hill will be 4 multi-storey blocks - two of 15 storeys and two of 13 storeys, containing one and two bedroom

⁷ The term autodidact refers to someone who is self taught.

⁸ The document is strangely entitled '*Sheffield's New Garden Village*', a mangling of Ebenezer Howard's legacy.

flats...

Later, after mentioning a glazed roof between the shops along the basements of the tower blocks that did not subsequently materialise the press release acknowledges the high density of the planned estate. In addition this section highlights the degree of upward residential mobility council inner city estates represented for their initial tenants in their relatively generous dimensions:

'it has been decided to forestall any move the Government may make towards raising the minimum sizes at present laid down for accommodation by having rooms larger than standard in all the homes on the estate. Although 150 people per acre are to be accommodated on the site, - a figure higher than anywhere except in a few cases in the South of England - only a third of the space is to be occupied by buildings. The rest will be attractively landscaped with flowering trees and sloping lawns surrounding the terraces and buildings.'

Attention then turns to the construction programme and the document bears out the time constraints and geographical difficulties of the post war mass housing plan on steep sites like Pye Bank. It also nonchalantly notes the use of the subsequently damned 'No fines' system building method (see chapter three, page 88, and footnote 26):

'George Wimpey and Company Limited, whose heavy mechanical plant is now being used to regrade 40,000 yards of material on the 10.3 acre site...have undertaken to complete the 498 homes together with all subsidiary work within 24 months. In order to build this new village in so exceptionally short a time, the builders have divided the area into four zones of operations and will be using their Wimpey 'No Fines' concrete method of construction...Owing to the steepness of the site it will be necessary to build more than 2 miles of reinforced concrete retaining wall. This steep slope has also lead to the development of a special type of 'Hillside House'. There will be 54 of these large 3 bedroom houses which are unusual in that they are built into the hillside. The living rooms are upstairs and the bedrooms down. They are sited in long terraces and will have attractive curved roofs to provide contrast with the flat roofs of the maisonettes and high flats.'

Toward the end the document turns to Sheffield's 'Rehousing problem' which seems to confirm Farnsworth's memories of the area:

'The Woodside Lane area has not previously been the subject of planned development. It was once the centre for various smithies which produced light tools such as gardening implements and although there were houses associated with these works, much of the area around the summit of the hill was uninhabited. Most of the now demolished housing property was built a hundred years ago for the workers in these smithies and was in bad condition...especially as more than one family was often living in one house...'

Keith Farnsworth would undoubtedly concur with the final assertion. By the mid 1950's Pye Banks slums were demolished leaving the area with just a few scattered sundry properties. Ironically this is similar to the situation today some fifty years later with the former council estate now largely razed to the ground. The council release concluded by noting the immense pressure exerted upon the local authority by the housing shortage, *'The latest figures of the Sheffield Housing Department shows that there is a waiting list for housing of over 42,000. Of these 17,800 are married couples, and 9,000 are old people'*.

Woodside like Park Hill, Hyde Park and other estates on the edge of the city centre was designed by Sheffield council's in-house architects during the late 1950's. The estate occupied a steeply sloping site to the north-east of the city centre whose own rejuvenation with new markets and road layout was also being planned and executed by the council's in-house team at the same time as Woodside was built. Woodside was largely designed by two young architects, Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith, who without previous experience in practice, applied to work for Sheffield Corporation under the tutelage of City Architect Lewis Womersley. The head of the team was himself new to the job in 1953, but Womersley was far from being a novice. On the contrary, he was a rising star of British public architecture (Saint, 1996:10). The press statement from 1957 is the same year that the council started to build Park Hill with its hallowed 'streets in the sky'. Woodside, however, was not to be built on the basis of deck access but rather was designed to resemble a Tuscan hill village.⁹

⁹ This does not sound as fanciful as it may seem. While novelist Andrew O'Hagan complained *'I hate the multiple delusion of thinking the blocks in Sheffield looked, as one architect put it, "like a Tuscan hill-village in the half light"....'* (1999: 20). At least in silhouette the Woodside, with its mix of towers, maisonettes and houses did bring to mind the famous Tuscan hill villages like San Gimignano where multi-storey residential buildings contrast on the hillside with smaller storey buildings. The towers at San Gimignano were constructed as symbols of prestige and undoubtedly Wormsley's team imagined the Woodside estate, perched magnificently on the city centre periphery, as prestigious symbols of municipal reformism.

The redevelopment of Woodside proceeded in two stages. Phase one (1959-62) consisted of 500 dwellings, the second phase (1962-65) added a further 180 dwellings. The new estate was constructed on the peak of the Pye Bank hillside with lower remaining land left as an open space buffer between the estate and the railway and industry below in the valley. The estate was part of the master-plan to provide large amounts of housing on small pieces of land and the mass slum clearance created a ready made mass of working class people who required re-housing. Geographical and financial pressures meant that the council built high density, multi story housing with industrialised building systems promoted and subsidised by central government. Woodside contained a mix of houses, maisonettes and tower blocks. While the tower blocks remained the density of the estate was 49 dwellings per acre on a 7 ½ acre site. The estate was built by Wimpey using the 'no fines' concrete method which subsequently yielded numerous design and detailing faults leading to long term structural problems on the estate.

Sheffield's general infrastructure after the Second World War was in a state of advanced disrepair, the city's housing, was, if anything, worse still. Prior to the construction of Park Hill Flats Sheffield council had built only walk-up tenements in and around the city centre between the wars. All of these survive today under council ownership except the Bard Street flats. But the city's boundaries were drawn tightly and subsequently the council would have to stop fighting shy of council built properties. In the end they did so in a grand fashion embarking upon a massive program of public works during the late 1950's, continuing throughout the 1960's and into the early 1970's. Any attempt to renew Sheffield's working class housing stock would by dint of geographical necessity have to build upwards, with high densities on central sites. The city subsequently became an international beacon of high rise public housing. In 1962 the council's housing department produced a volume entitled *Ten Years of Housing in Sheffield* printed simultaneously in three languages, English, French and Russian. Between pages 63-7 one can examine various angle shots of a scale model of Woodside and read brief details of the estate's design and history. The section concerning Woodside explains how because of the extremely steep gradients of Pye Bank the estate is in the form of a '*series of stepped terraces of "reversed" two-storey houses together with maisonettes sited along or down the slopes and the whole crowned with four multi-storey blocks*' (Housing Development Committee, 1962:65).¹⁰ Difficult as it is to believe now, at the time, Sheffield also

¹⁰ Capturing the historical layers of industrial Sheffield the book contains a picture of

supported its own architecture magazine *Design in Sheffield* (Mellor, 1996:59). Not without good reason does Andrew Saint believe *'there is a larger acreage of thoughtful and stimulating public housing of the 1952-62 period in and around Sheffield than anywhere else in England except London'* (1996:21). Architect Ivor Smith, who under the tutelage of Wormsley and in conjunction with Lyne designed the Woodside estate, writes how:

'To look back to the early 1950's is to recall a distant world. Britain was a different place then...there was a real concern to build, if not a brave new world, at least a better Britain...Sheffield was a different place then. It was a thriving industrial city as well as a city of soot and grime. The valley between Sheffield and Rotherham was filled with the country's major steelworks.' (1996: 65).

Different indeed. The country and Sheffield was experiencing the post war boom with full employment and real increases in working class living standards. Council housing, high rise, multi occupancy and high density estates like Woodside were an intrinsic part of those increases in standards of living and represented very real upward residential mobility for their tenants. But that distant world conjured up by Smith was one of Keynesian demand-led economics with large-scale state intervention bringing about improvement in social conditions. By contrast today's scenario is characterised by the dominance and penetration of the free market into every element of life histories and a concomitant exacerbation of social and urban inequalities. Rowe and Sarkis point towards the bifurcated nature of the period immediately after the Second World War, and then from the early 1970's until today:

'The first coincides with the Welfare State, roughly from the late 1950's until the late 1960's, and the second with the contemporary period...These two periods were chosen for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the useful comparative perspective which can be gained about modes and styles of planning, urban design, and architecture. Ironically perhaps, many of the buildings constructed during the Welfare State are now being reconstructed or replaced during the present...' (1997:9).

For Smith, Lynn, Womersley and the like there was a very real desire to improve the conditions of Sheffield's working classes and a strong commitment to house them conveniently close to the city centre. While the council's motivations were somewhat baser the conscience of the architects is unsullied. Smith is still energised by those

Woodside as viewed through Paradise Square in the city centre.

ideals today 'I continue to argue the case for living in the centre of the city, not just to save land, but to maintain the life of the city at all times' (1996: 66-67). One gets the impression that even if they did perhaps over-sentimentalise Sheffield's working classes it was done with their hearts in the right place; the architects understood that the city's wealth was created by Sheffield labour. They built public homes and facilities for those people to live and enjoy Sheffield's centre. You sense they understood that the city centre required a social mix and access should be determined neither by social class nor wealth. Public works and council housing were not dirty words to these people, as they are to today's Sheffield growth coalition, but instead, for all the subsequent faults, a badge of honour. What a contrast with the situation today and the attitude of the present administration! Gone is any commitment to housing working class people close to the city centre, gone too the benevolent vision of that class, replaced instead by one that views their presence, let alone residence, within the city centre as a nuisance. Today's desirable city centre is one that consciously seeks to exclude the city's working class from taking up residence within its quarters.

The council's talented and idealistic in-house team were motivated by noble sentiments of wishing to give to the working classes something vastly better than what they had experienced before. Smith, Lynn and Womersley cannot be blamed for what Reyner Banham would later term '*brutalism*'.¹¹ But the disciplines of economy would bite deep into their idealism and ultimately doom Woodside, Kelvin, Broomhall and the rest to demolition. Prefabrication and 'no fines' methods offered designers low costs and quick construction not held back by shortages of skilled tradesmen and materials. It was a kind of crude Fordist housing construction requiring a less skilled workforce and consisting of repetitive tasks. In the event 50,000 new homes were built across Sheffield during the 1960's but at a cost of constructing a concrete fabric that has been ravaged by exposure to the elements, the passing of time, wholly inadequate maintenance and long-term neglect.

With Sheffield's public housing reputation rising The Conference of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) was held in Sheffield in 1963. It was widely held that while the failure to extend the city's boundaries had to a degree forced Sheffield's hand, the stunning additions to Sheffield's skyline added considerably to

¹¹ Architectural '*Brutalism*' originates from the French term '*beton brut*' meaning *raw concrete*. The style derives from the *Modernist* or *International* style but with more severe and austere repetitive angular geometries.

its famously dramatic topography. To commemorate the event a special edition of *The Architects Journal* was published. Professor John Needham summed up the feelings of the gathered architects about estates like the Woodside when he wrote how:

'Approaching by road, on many routes they will find a city fortunate in being surrounded by green belt of inestimable value; by rail, they will see immediately at Woodside and Park Hill large-scale housing development right in the heart of the city, affording to the occupants all the amenities of urban living...Following quickly upon this first impression will be the realisation of the important part tower blocks are beginning to play in the visual picture of the city. With its steep-sided hills running down into the valley's, Sheffield has a most exciting topography, and some of the qualities given by tower buildings to the Italian hill towns like San Gimignano, are being introduced into the townscape' (1963: 59).

Woodside was part of a council house building scheme that changed the very topography of Sheffield with large investment in tower block and deck access housing. But writing in the same publication chief architect Lewis Womersley remarked upon Sheffield's particularly difficult terrain where these estates were built:

'The problem of difficult sites may not be peculiar to Sheffield, but the extent of them is probably greater here than elsewhere. With an ever increasing shortage of good building land, sites which were previously rejected because they were too steep or expensive, are now brought into use' (1963: 62).

Those attending the RIBA conference were given a twelve mile flight, cruising at just 1000 feet and 80 miles per hour over Sheffield. Conference delegates were flown in a figure eight pattern to give passengers on both sides of the plane a good view over the city centre and surrounding housing. The aerial council estate sight-seeing itinerary specifically included Park Hill, Norfolk Park, Gleadless Valley, Netherthorpe and finally the Woodside estate. To reiterate the pressures on Sheffield city council the journal published statistics concerning the plight of house building and the Sheffield population in 1963. The authors noted how annual expenditure on housing in Sheffield that year was £4 million with £15 million of total value contracts let, with an additional £30 million of work still at the drawing board stage. Densities in the developed areas are recorded as 150ppa in the city's inner areas with a waiting list for council housing totalling 18,031.

Initially after construction during the 1960's and 1970's the Woodside estate enjoyed a period of relative stability and *'In its heyday this was a popular and thriving community served by a number of local shop units, a school, a community centre owned by Housing and two public houses'* (Sheffield City Council Housing and Direct Services, 2000:1). Another document explains how *'Originally, Woodside was seen as a clean, exciting development and was a popular place to live'* (City of Sheffield Housing, 1988:2).¹² Many of the first residents would have spent years waiting on council lists for their first home and others in addition may well have been slum dwellers, local or otherwise. Woodside properties were brand new, equipped for modern conveniences and complete with the then novel central heating and hot water systems. Employment at the time was relatively plentiful and the received wisdom was that workers were able to leave a job one day and find another the next. However, the estate was built during a decade when private property was relatively cheap especially for Sheffield's then extensive labour aristocracy. The building of mass council housing took some weight off the private housing market and thereby helped depress prices. While estates like Woodside will have initially contained a mix of working class fractions as the decade turned into the 1970's some of these better off workers moved to suburban low rise council estates and the private market as Sheffield completed some 50,000 housing units. In addition during the 1950's and 1960's Commonwealth migrants moved into the Pitsmoor area and into the council housing at Woodside. At approximately the same time opportunities to live elsewhere in Sheffield opened up for the lower middle classes who perhaps initially kept their business interests in Pitsmoor whilst deciding to reside in greener pastures. In addition to the housing market boom of the late 1960's another in the early 1970's featured a further exodus of better off workers from estates like Woodside and the lower middle classes from the larger private residences in Pitsmoor. In tandem local retail and commerce started to decline as improved retail facilities nearby on the Wicker and the Castle and Sheaf markets depleted local sales and consequently local facilities.

¹² During my fieldwork research a local authority adult education rep told me about his experiences working on the estate as part of his Social Work qualification in the early 1970's. He described the estate as *'a bustling place'*, fully occupied with most adult men gainfully employed. In addition, he told me that adult learning classes were well attended on the estate at the time and how there was no shortage of community activity.

4.3.5 THE DECLINE OF THE WOODSIDE: "THIS IS WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE STEEL GOES"¹³

During at least the first fifteen years of its life the estate enjoyed a certain popularity and more or less full occupancy, if still retaining the district's 'rough' notoriety. But by the late 1970's a survey of Sheffield's deprived areas noted of Woodside *'There is a high proportion of handicapped and elderly people, single parent families, large families and socially inadequate ("problem") families'* (Department of Planning and Design, 1979:1). It is reasonable to assume, and anecdotal evidence confirms, that the estate enjoyed an initial honeymoon period until the late 1970's. However, at the same time as Sheffield industry began to exhibit real signs of systemic crisis a number of factors started bedevilling Woodside residents. With hindsight Sheffield City Council Housing and Direct Services was moved to write *'In the early 1980's a decline had already set in on the estate'* (2000:1). Some of these decline features were in-built like the very steep gradients found both approaching and within the estate and the consequent large numbers of steps that residents had to navigate on a daily basis. In addition, perched as the estate was on the top of a steep hillside, the appearance of the estate could be somewhat stark to outsiders and an older more traditional generation alienated by Modernist architecture.¹⁴ Some prospective tenants would be put off by certain unorthodox features, for instance access to the gardens in what were known as the upside-down houses (or wavy roof houses), was through the downstairs bedrooms. By conscious design local roads tended to circumnavigate the estate. Consequently travel through the estate's sometimes labyrinth like confines was rarely done accidentally or en route to other destinations. Neither were the elements kind to such an exposed site whose problems were exacerbated by the wind-tunnel created between the tower blocks on the peak of Pye Bank.

Another factor involved in Woodside's eventual decline, which undoubtedly made the design so attractive initially, was its very high density. This tended to aggravate and concentrate the social effects of unemployment and poverty that would engulf tenants during the 1980's and 1990's. The social effects of poverty meant that the estate's small internal open spaces, long balconies and uncontrolled entrances became dominated by anti-social behaviour. When asked during my original research

¹³ These exact words were used to describe Woodside by a long time resident and tenant's association member during my first fieldwork encounter at Woodside.

¹⁴ Personally, as a child I thought Woodside and especially the four tower blocks were simply

why Woodside had such a high turnover of tenancies the Burngreave Housing representative informed me, *'The big factor was always problems with nuisance - vandalism that's always been a big factor increasingly that problem has got worse. I think and as the number of vacancies has increased the incidence of vandalism has increased as well'*.

Wimpey's 'no fines' system building and general shoddy construction methods meant acute water penetration occurred in many dwelling types causing condensation and mould exacerbated by inefficient heating systems. A document detailing Woodside's priority estate status seems to absolve both the council and Wimpey of any responsibility towards tenants *'The housing was built by Wimpey with many of the buildings constructed using the Wimpey "no-fines" concrete method. This is basically a sound form of construction but contains numerous design and detailing features which have led to a large number of problems'* (City of Sheffield Housing, 1988:1). Serious structural defects left concrete falling from buildings leaving exposed steel reinforcement to be damaged by corrosion. The very low quality external environment around the dwellings with large areas of frequently sloping tarmac and concrete together with a serious lack of trees and children's play areas was alienating to residents and prospective residents alike.

Sheffield labour relied heavily upon the mono-industrial steel and engineering for employment. But Pitsmoor and Woodside workers were overtly reliant upon the mono-industry. By the early 1980's Woodside residents, like all the inner city estates, were over represented in semi-skilled and unskilled industrial occupations. This reliance meant that as the industry suffered, as documented in chapter three, Pitsmoor and Woodside residents suffered too. According to a representative of the local education authority, who I interviewed during my original research, until the collapse of steel in the early 1980's Woodside had been predominately white British, with a sizeable Caribbean and mixed ethnicity minority. But afterwards other Commonwealth migrants who had not until then accessed social housing like Pakistanis and Yemenis, preferring instead to invest in cheap terrace housing, began to seek council properties as the redundancies mounted and economic recession bit deep. Towards the end of the 1980's at the end of the economic boom the high number of repossessions added to this movement.

stunning, set so dramatically atop a hill, standing defiantly against Sheffield's skyline.

A public report summed up the result of the explosion of unemployment and poverty on the local community *'This impact spread throughout the community, shattering local trade and retail centres, and catapulted the district toward the top of many poverty and deprivation leagues in the city'* (Community and City Agencies, 1998: 2). In a short history of the Pitsmoor area this report describes the negative effect of the protracted departure of the middle classes upon the area's social mix, retail facilities and private housing, as the 1980's wore on without serious economic respite. *'However'*, the report notes, locating the source of the district's problems in the collapse of industry, *'it was the major recession of the early 1980's which raised the spectre of mass unemployment and devastated both the local community and economy, resulting in spiralling deprivation and inequity'* (p. 2).

Woodside would have been negatively affected by the loss of unskilled and semi-skilled labour from the steel industry throughout the 1970's, but the capitulation of steel during the early 1980's was nothing short of a disaster for such areas. By 1983 amidst mass local and national unemployment the city council designated the Woodside estate as *'an area of acute poverty'*. Woodside was officially the poorest estate within Burngreave, itself the poorest electoral ward in Sheffield. From an estimated population of 1,774 living in 589 households, census data from 1981 revealed that 24.3% of Woodside males were unemployed and 17% of women. This was double the city average of the time and residents under 25 years old had a rate of unemployment totalling almost 35%. Semi-skilled heads of households totalled 23.7% of Woodside tenants with a further 7% unskilled. Other indicators highlight the estates deprivation: one parent families totalled 7%; households with six or more persons 8.8%; those living in moderate overcrowding amounted to 8%; 12.9% of families were headed by someone of New Commonwealth or Pakistani origin; 88.6% of the estate was council owned.¹⁵ A document designating and detailing Woodside by the Department of Planning and Design (1983) also notes how there was a very high take up of free school dinners and applications for second-hand clothing on the estate. It is crucial not to underestimate the impact of the collapse of steel upon Woodside. Census results reveal the socio-economic impact of the city's recession between 1981 and 1991 - Burngreave ward unemployment doubled:

¹⁵ As an indication of the state of some of the housing that existed prior to construction of the estate the survey also revealed four private rented houses at Pye Bank without a bath or an indoor toilet!

'The restructuring of the traditional steel and engineering industries in the early 1980's fundamentally changed the City's fortunes and seriously reduced life chances for people living in large areas of Sheffield. Almost overnight a quarter of the total jobs disappeared. Sheffield's unemployment, which had previously been below the national average, has since stubbornly remained some 2% above the average. The communities most affected by these changes are now suffering from high levels of multiple deprivation.' (Sheffield Single Regeneration Budget, 1998: 2).

During the early 1980's the estate received a disproportionate amount of council expenditure because in addition to being declared an 'acute area of poverty' Woodside was also declared a 'Priority Estate'. This project involved locating a Housing Office on the estate, a local repair team and care-taking service. Regardless of council initiatives the estate started to become residualised, it is no exaggeration to describe Woodside as becoming during that tumultuous decade *'poor stock for poor people'* (Harloe, 1996), or in the words of the Pitsmoor Housing representative *'housing of last resort'*. At the end of the 1980's a document detailing Woodside as a *'Priority Estate'* described one of Woodside's main problems as *'Concentration of low income families – there are a number of problems further aggravated by the classification of the estate as 'low demand' which makes it one of the few estates available for people who are homeless. There is a short waiting period for the estate'*. (City of Sheffield Housing, 1988:3). As estate residents bore the brunt of the economic crisis Woodside slipped to the bottom of the council's waiting list at a time when many inner city estates started to compete fiercely for this dubious honour. During my fieldwork the Pitsmoor housing rep told me *'I started in the early eighties, there was probably eighteen months, two years waiting for the houses but even that was possibly the lowest sort of waiting in the city'*. He added *'I'd say for the maisonettes it was probably six months wait which was the lowest waiting list in the city so to speak'*.¹⁶

Many of those Woodside tenants who could afford to buy left via the private market. In the course of my fieldwork the SCH representative referred to a protracted *'movement of economically active households people who are working away from areas of council housing'*. Likewise others with possibly less financial access to residential mobility angled for transfers to alternative social housing. Both the

¹⁶ From personal experience I know that by the late 1980's the waiting time for Woodside's council maisonettes was effectively zero. If you registered as requiring immediate housing a single person would be offered a maisonette immediately. I was offered a very generously proportioned two bedroom maisonette but was unable to furnish the large property and instead took up a furnished offer from a housing association.

representative of the Burngreave housing office and YMHA informed me during my field research that the overwhelming majority of those who came to live on Woodside during the 1990's, in both council and housing association properties, were either coming from the homelessness list or had some family connection in the area. The YMHA representative told me that 80-90% of their tenants on Woodside were in receipt of housing benefits. Sheffield's housing allocation policy meant that families in acute housing need were given tenancies on the estates with the lowest waiting list. The Burngreave Housing representative explained during my fieldwork *'when I first started in the eighties homeless households were only offered low demand properties classed as low demand a large proportion would be offered Woodside'*. This became a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. In addition to the inherent hazard of such a social mix many of these families came from other cities not knowing the nature of the estate. Having once moved in without prior knowledge of the estate some quickly moved back out again leaving failed tenancies. Many of those who stayed because of their socio-economic circumstances, including newcomers to Sheffield and the estate, tended to compound the estates numbers of the poorest, the most deprived and vulnerable sections of the working class. Woodside was becoming a residualised estate, with only those with no other option arriving to take up tenancies. Owner occupation was not an issue on Woodside as only one tenant bought her house. The collapse of steel as a mass employer at the same time as the right to buy legislation was introduced meant amongst other things *'those estates which relied upon steel have markedly less owner occupation'* remarked the SCH representative.

The four tower blocks at Woodside containing some 208 flats were vacated in 1985 following a council decision to re-house the tenants. Back in those days, almost ten years before mass stock reduction of Sheffield's council housing got under way, tenants whose homes were to be demolished received what the Burngreave Housing representative called *'the keys to the city'*. This meant they could move into a similar property on any council estate in the city provided there was a vacancy. But he added *'I was surprised that a lot of people chose wherever they wanted to go and a lot of people chose to move into flats around Burngreave or the houses on Ellesmere'*. Perhaps this doesn't seem so strange if one considers the nature of working class Sheffield with its topographically divided and, even today, quite insular communities. After interviewing a senior representative at Sheffield council housing as part of my fieldwork I spoke with one of her senior colleagues who derogatively mentioned the *"parochialism"* of Woodside's residents. While this is true to a certain

degree, it is also absurd when considering Commonwealth migration, and is probably little different from other similar areas elsewhere in the UK. Up to one third of the residents were from ethnic minority backgrounds and would therefore, in a city residentially separated along class and correspondingly ethnic lines, stick close to home.¹⁷ Two further things stand out about residential mobility (see chapter five, page 181) – one is the lack of desire for upward residential mobility via inter council estate mobility that would, I feel comfortable to assume in the light of my fieldwork, be more likely occur if the same favourable policy existed today. The other is that while local identity is strong and reflected by intra-Pitsmoor residential mobility the Burngreave Housing representative pointedly did not mention anybody who actually moved from the tower blocks onto the remaining Woodside estate. Sheffield City Council's Housing and Direct Services placed the decline of demand on Woodside in the context of their stock as a whole:

'In common with much of the North of the City, Woodside has suffered from a significant reduction in demand for social housing. With houses now freely available throughout the same estate and nearby estates such as Shirecliffe, Parson Cross, Longley and Shiregreen the maisonettes in particular are largely unlettable' (2000:2).

External damage to the tower blocks caused by the problematic 'no fines' method and a lack of maintenance had rendered the tower blocks unsafe for habitation and unsafe to passing pedestrians. The council demolished all four at the end of the 1980's but in the intervening period they just stood impotent, forlorn, wrapped in green mesh to catch falling concrete. At approximately the same time other estates built after Woodside including Broomhall Flats and the largest Hyde Park block, Kelvin and Norfolk Park were either totally or at least partially demolished.

In the early 1990's the council spent £11 million improving the physical condition of the remaining Woodside estate now minus the tower blocks, instead gaining the YMHA houses on their former site. The council tackled disrepair on the worst properties, remodelled the bedsits converting them into two bedroom flats. Other plans designed to reduce the estate's density such as turning the maisonettes into family houses never materialised through lack of funds. External works were designed to increase privacy and improve the desirability of the stock. Access control

¹⁷ The representative from Burngreave Housing remarked on the big low rise council estates amongst black families *'there's a perception that they wunt be welcome on those estates but white families would often gravitate towards those estates and often black families would choose sort of the Ellesmere estate rather than anything else'*.

was also implemented to the maisonettes. But unfortunately this was to no avail. Some tenants, who the council temporarily moved to alternative accommodation while the work was carried out, stayed away after completion, preferring their new homes instead. Regardless of the refurbishment the demand for housing on Woodside remained low with flats unoccupied for long periods and tenancies were frequently taken by people previously homeless. During this period many properties were frequently stripped of their central heating systems and extensively vandalised. During my fieldwork the stakeholder from Burngreave Housing mentioned how demand was lowered further and negative perceptions were exacerbated when the council attempted to rent out properties initially without central heating, only fitting the system once the tenant had actually moved in. The relatively small investment of £11 million failed to stem the haemorrhaging of residents and demand on the estate slumped further.

Over the course of the 1980's and 1990's the various shops, pubs and facilities closed one by one. YMHA built traditional family homes on the site of the former tower blocks and these properties have been relatively more popular¹⁸ than the older council estate but insufficient to turn the estates fortunes around. During almost the entire two decades Woodside was either at or close to the bottom of the council waiting list. This meant that a Woodside property would be the first to be offered if you registered with Sheffield council for rehousing. As time went on estate residents tended to increasingly comprise older families who had lived on the estate for years, often with other family members on the estate or close by, and as well as a somewhat transient population arriving from council waiting lists. Those arriving from the waiting list tended to be vulnerable and from the most disadvantaged social layers. Nonetheless many used the estate as a stepping stone to somewhere more stable.

A report by Sheffield Council's Directorate of Planning and Economic Development (1993) on the city's poorest districts showed that socio-urban circumstances for tenants in the ten years since Woodside was declared an '*acute area of poverty*' had fallen even deeper. Woodside's malaise was captured in one eye-catching statement '*Pye Bank contains the most deprived communities in Sheffield*' (1993:37). Woodside was the poorest estate, located in the poorest district of the city of Sheffield, its

¹⁸ Relative is the key word. The representative of YMHA informed me that while enjoying higher occupancy than the council housing at Woodside, their houses still had a relatively high turnover and failed tenancies.

residualised status confirmed. Asked about the socio-economic profile of Woodside residents the representative from Burngreave Housing replied with a litany of poverty indicators,

'there are higher levels of unemployment on there and higher levels of benefit practically all the households that would sign up to Woodside we would automatically claim housing benefit for practically everyone would be on housing benefit usually on income support'

The report by Sheffield Council (1993: 37) listed the following social maladies affecting Woodside tenants:

- 61% in receipt of income support
- 41% unemployed
- 46% single parent families
- 82% of all families with children have no wage earners
- 84% of households with no access to a car

A report prepared by *The Safe Neighbourhood's Unit* (1992) concerning the renovation of Woodside listed some of the main structural faults of the estates properties: some dwellings have external walls built into the hillside and beneath the water table, the flat roofs favoured by the International Style are unsuited to a rainy British climate, the disintegration of metal window frames and blocks constructed by 'no fines' system building. After listing these structural weaknesses they list some of the design issues that create problems especially the construction of the estate on a series of steps linked by long stairways: the elderly and parents with very young children find them inconvenient. Some stairways are not overlooked by dwellings making them akin to poorly lit alleyways and some of them provided access to areas where added privacy would be beneficial. With understatement the report suggests *'It seems probable that the physical conditions of the estate have contributed to its considerable social problems'* (1992: 2) (Appendix, photos. 8, 9 and 10). The YMHA representative summed up during my fieldwork why he believed the estate was failing: *'its high density for one, lack of facilities, ya know the actual geography of the place, its on hills and generally for social housing not only high density but its all social housing and there's masses of it'*. The Safe Neighbourhood's Unit report noted how almost one third of those living on the estate were under seventeen years old and the estate had an escalating crime rate, indeed *'Until recently they were the*

highest in Sheffield' (1992: 2). The same report noted with alarm how almost two-thirds of tenants were registered for housing transfer and the extremely low demand for vacancies on the estate. The £11 million programme of works for the estate was evaluated by the report:

'The response by the council seems a realistic one. The council appears to accept that many of the physical and social problems of Woodside will not be resolved in the foreseeable future. The aim, therefore, is to make living conditions as tolerable as possible given the existing social, physical and financial constraints' (1992:9).

Towards the end of 1999 the *The Star* reported how an overwhelming majority of Woodside properties were empty *'Many empty homes on the forgotten estate – half a mile from West Bar on the way to Pitsmoor – have been vandalised and stripped of thousands of pounds of heating equipment'* (Pollack, 1999b: 1) (Appendix: photo. 11). Tenants' representatives with good reason blamed long term neglect and bad management for this state of affairs. The demolition of the estate was already in the air. One time resident Brenda Gale told the paper *'A lot of people who have lived here since the estate was built are going because of the anti-social behaviour, vandalism and the state the place is in'*. A consultation document by the council admits that regarding the £11 million spent improving the physical appearance of the estate *'There was an assumption, which is now easy to criticise with hindsight, that with capital investment alone the estate could be revitalised'* (Sheffield City Council Housing & Direct Services, 2000: 1). The representative from Burngreave Housing shared similar views. He described the investment as *'fairly cosmetic refurbishment targeted just on the properties as such and just on the properties rather than people who lived in the area'*. But after listing many of the new security features installed, including secure entry systems on the maisonettes, he damningly remarked how *'but at the end of the day from the point of view of showing people around the properties it looked better from the outside but we didn't really modernise the insides particularly'*. In the manner of environmental determinism superficial improvements would suffice to improve the life worlds of residents. Unsurprisingly the consultation document revealed how only 247 out of a remaining total of 483 Woodside properties were occupied. Less than half the stock of maisonette flats was occupied. However, when considering the demise of Woodside the Burngreave Housing representative pointed out, *'I think to some extent you have to put it into a city wide context to some extent. I think demand for council housing in the city has reduced over the last twenty years'*. Continuing to place Woodside within more general trends the representative

from Burngreave Housing representative explained,

'I think somewhere in the eighties something like 93,000 properties, now there's sixty odd thousand council properties and its predicted that well its gonna have to keep reducing again and that comes down to social changes I think now the preferred sort of tenure is sort of owner occupation amongst a lot of people erm and within the city wide context the fact that demand has fallen city wide has effected Woodside as well and the property types on Woodside'.

In 2000 while most of the houses and bungalows were occupied many of the maisonettes flats remained unoccupied. Asylum seekers and immigrants were the sole growing contingency on the estate. During an informal discussion (April 2000), whilst the research was at an embryonic stage, I spoke about the fate of the estate to a senior member of the staff at the Burngreave Housing office. I was told that because the estate has vacancies and the council received rent from central government for asylum seekers then the answer was to house such people on the estate.

Woodside's decline into abandonment and eventual demolition was a particularly acute expression of the increasing residualisation of the city centre periphery council housing in Sheffield and the general degeneration of public facilities in the city per se. With council housing on low rise estates more easily available nearby the maisonettes at Woodside had few attractions for families. Single people could access flats easily on other less demonised estates as demand for council tenancies fell in all the post war estates whether inner city or suburban. The protracted decline in the physical condition of council housing has further pushed prospective tenants into alternative residence. In 2002 Sheffield was named as having some of the worst council housing in England. The city was ranked amongst the bottom ten local authorities with chronic housing disrepair issues. This meant Sheffield was predicted to have 15,000 properties below the Government's standard of decency by 2004. The report also forecast that Sheffield would struggle to meet the challenge of bringing all their stock up to standard by 2010 (Ashton, 2002).

The free market policy decisions and spending priorities made since the transformation of the local authority in the mid 1980's was felt most especially by council tenants. They relied upon the council for their housing, were more likely to require public services, welfare services, send their children to the schools least able

to cope with cuts in funding, and were the least likely to utilise the new facilities built as part of the property led policies of the previous two decades. At the same time, on top of all that, they also had to deal with the calamitous loss of steel industry employment and the disciplines of a restructured world economy that stripped Sheffield labour of its relatively high standard of living.

Despite the council holding a desultory consultation exercise in 2002 the writing was realistically already on the wall for a dilapidated, unpopular and poorly maintained Woodside.¹⁹ In a survey carried out at the time amongst the remaining 206 Woodside residents to gauge support for demolition, 133 responded: 75 wanted partial clearance; 35 people wanted total clearance; and 23 rejected both options. The negative response of tenants towards the estate should come as no surprise considering the protracted decline of the estate. By that time less than half the estate was occupied with the rest boarded up and deserted. No shops or any other public facility of any description, except the Highway public house, was left open on the estate.

Part of the decline of the Woodside estate can reasonably be apportioned to the very high density at which the estate was built and the essentially experimental Wimpey 'no fines' construction methods utilised. In addition the inability, and later unwillingness, of the council to carry out fundamental repairs from the early 1980's onwards meant other council services were effectively fighting a rearguard battle concerning the physical state of the housing. However, the decline, residualisation and eventual demolition cannot be comprehensively understood outside of the precipitous decline in the social conditions of Sheffield labour during the 1980's and 1990's. This precipitous fall in living standards was compounded by the local Labour authority transforming itself effectively into an appendage of international capital (see chapter three, page 74). The estate held numerous structural follies but possibly the worst was the manner in which the high density layout amplified the effects of deprivation and poverty which exploded from the late 1970's onwards.

¹⁹ During my fieldwork the Burngreave Housing representative told me how the decision had effectively already been made to demolish the estate and regardless of the findings of the survey the fate of the estate was sealed.

4.3.6 BETWEEN ROCK STREET AND A LOFT LIVING SPACE: "LIKE BEIRUT"

Early in 2002 the City Council confirmed what had been on the cards for a couple of years: the Woodside was to be demolished. Over the other side of Rock Street, opposite the Woodside estate, the Neville Drive flats were demolished at the end of 2002. The future of the rest of Pye Bank housing around Verdon Street, Brunswick Street and Andover Street must be somewhat tenuous in the light of council plans to reduce council stock further still. Reporting how only three families remained in the buildings that were to be razed Richard Heath (2002:14) described the Woodside estate in the following terms *'The rusted climbing frame in the abandoned children's playground is one of the few reminders of a forgotten era. The gardens which surround the playground have become overgrown and ugly and the walls looking down on it are stained with graffiti'*. Gangs of youths were reportedly setting cars alight and generally harassing members of the public and remaining tenants.²⁰ In the summer of 2002 South Yorkshire Police opened *Operation Impact*, a campaign against drug dealers, with a raid on adjoining houses on Fox Street, Woodside (Whitehouse, 2002:1). During 2003 Pye Bank Nursery and Infants was closed and the remaining children from Woodside and surrounding areas incorporated into the former Pye Bank Trinity which was expanded to carry the extra teaching load.

By late 2003, while awaiting the final demolition of the estate, residents like Denise Mannion, a community campaigner, delivered four dead rats to Sheffield housing offices on Spital Hill to highlight the conditions remaining tenants face (see photos. 12 and 13). Mannion was reported asserting *'Its like Beirut everywhere you look'* (Lowndes, 2003:12). In the same newspaper article the council responded that they wished to begin pulling down the estate by April 2004 but proceedings were delayed when asbestos was found in some of the properties. In keeping with the council's by now rigid emphasis upon private housing a spokesperson told residents that despite their travails that they would benefit from rising land values in the area after the estate was razed to the ground. Problems facing remaining tenants deepened when on the first of February 2003 police discovered the dead bodies of a man and a woman in car parked in the garages under the Pye Bank Road maisonettes (Crabtree, 2003:1). By the summer of 2004 almost all the Woodside estate had been

²⁰ Long term resident Joe Hill commented with typical Woodside resolve *'Sometimes it can be a bit rough – this morning for instance I had to phone the police after a car was set on fire. But we like it here – we have lived through a lot at this place'* (Heath, 2002:14). On my first visit to the Woodside Tenants Association I was greatly saddened by the experiences of a fleeing Woodside tenant whose family was being mercilessly victimized by a gang of local youths.

demolished (see photo. 14). With their fronts and backs torn off revealing the wallpapered and decorated interiors semi demolished buildings reminded me of the numerous life histories' experienced within the estate and the changes that had occurred over the intervening forty years since its construction.

4.3.7 PYE BANK TODAY

Burngreave New Deal for Communities (BNDC) was allocated £50 million to regenerate the district and initial plans in 2001 were to provide funding for social housing on Woodside to replace the demolished properties. Like other mooted plans, schemes and investments this, as yet, has come to nothing as BNDC later agreed that demolition was the best route to regeneration. By August 2003 BNDC backed a joint strategy with the city council to speed up the demolition process. The board granted the council £1.5 million which they claim will guarantee community members a greater say in the future redevelopment of the site. The money was granted as a loan and can be repaid in full or as land where the estate used to stand. Sheffield council is not blind to the potential of Pye Bank with its outstanding vistas over the city centre and proximity to Kelham Riverside. In the consultation document they write how:

'Overarching the consideration has been the fact that were Woodside undeveloped, and were it next to parts of Sheffield where there was demand for owner occupied housing, it would have been prime site for build for sale. Woodside is very close to the city centre, has good access to the centre and link routes to the North of Sheffield. It offers reasonable access to Meadowhall and several major supermarkets. It also enjoys some of the most thrilling panoramic views in the city, not only to the centre, but also to the North of Sheffield and to the South across Norfolk Park. Woodside is also not that far from sites where there has been successful redevelopment and new build schemes for sale' (Sheffield City Council, 2000:3)

'However' the document hastens to add, before continuing:

'advice strongly suggests that the reputation of the general area, current house prices in the area, combined with the difficult nature of the terrain would currently rule out the possibility of any build for sale scheme being self financing'.

As previously noted YMHA built eighteen family size homes on the site of the former tower blocks during the early 1990's but the document notes how:

'It is of course possible for Housing Associations to consider new build there, but this is not recommended as a suitable option, due to the problems of demand mentioned earlier. In particular it is considered that extensive Housing Association activity could lead to the decline of much of the rest of Burngreave should existing Council Housing tenants simply change tenure. This is not to say that some Housing Association activity should be ruled out.' (2000: 4).

This last excerpt could be considered damning of the council and derogatory of council tenants. The council suggest any new housing association properties would simply end up being filled by existing Burngreave tenants living in council rented property therefore eroding further the low demand for their existing properties in the area. This says much about the state of existing council property in the area that tenants would jump at the chance to live in housing association properties nearby. The council have other plans for Pye Bank in keeping with the trend in the city centre and the free market policies followed over the previous two decades, they believe *'There are some clear potential benefits for the whole community accruing from successful new build for sale schemes on Woodside'* (2000: 5), sending another strong signal that traditional social housing is unrequited on the site of the former Woodside estate. The document elaborates further upon factors preventing building on the site:

'The most significant of these relates to house prices in Burngreave generally. At the present time these are perhaps only 25% of the value of many more sought after parts of the City. This not only impacts on the nature of the population, leading to more owners living at or near the poverty line, it also means that many owners are unable to maintain their properties, or are willing to invest in their improvement as the cost is not reflected in increased value. Furthermore it means that equity release which could benefit elder home owners is not feasible in Burngreave. It is considered that the establishment of a vibrant housing market at Woodside would uplift property values generally across Burngreave, with all the advantages which would ensue. We cannot overstate the value to the whole Burngreave community that this opportunity presents of revitalising the whole of the local housing market, and the immense benefits this would bring' (2000: 6).

After virtually dismissing further housing association development the document asserts how Burngreave residents live in or near the poverty line because of the low value of their properties. This is a strange logic since the very reason most owner occupiers live in Woodside and Burngreave is precisely because of the low prices. It is their low incomes that determine whereabouts they live. The uncomfortable truth today, some twenty-five years after 'right to buy', is that home owners now make up just over half of British citizens living in poverty. In addition many of the properties are

below standard because owners are unable to afford the necessary repairs. The document tells Woodside residents that the best way to regenerate the area is to demolish their homes. It seems clear that the council saw Woodside and its immediate vicinity as holding back the regeneration of the wider area.

4.4 CONCLUSION

In terms of viewing Woodside and Kelham Riverside as a '*Soft Location*' (Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000), since I began this research there has been enormous change. The contrasting fortunes of the Woodside council estate at Pye Bank and the neighbouring Kelham Riverside diverged until the Woodside estate finally reached the end of its protracted demise when it was almost completely demolished during the summer of 2004. In sharp contrast the Kelham Riverside district has mushroomed since its genesis from the derelict factories of Cornish and Brooklyn. The district initially renamed Kelham after the nearby Industrial Museum has flourished and later received the full name: Kelham Riverside. Loft conversions and new build apartments are now the norm in an area as recently as the late 1990's considered possibly the most unlikely residential area of the city: rundown and predominately industrial Neepsend and Shalesmoor.

During the 1960's and 1970's the Woodside estate housed Sheffield workers of whom a fair number it seems reasonable to assume would have worked just down the hill from the estate in Shalesmoor and Neepsend workshops and foundries.²¹ As one indicator of the influence of economic globalisation their former workplaces are now transformed into trendy apartments and the area has been renamed Kelham Riverside. It was the capitulation of the Sheffield steel and engineering industry to the vagaries of economic globalisation, some twenty years previous, that effectively rendered the area suitable for gentrification. As another 'measurement' of what is qualitatively new; the council homes the residents used to rent, redolent of an earlier historical period and political vision, have now been demolished. Marcuse and van Kempen make the reasonable point that '*spatial change in the already built environment lags behind broader social and economic changes*' (2000:258/9). But

²¹ In an informal discussion with a senior representative of Sheffield Council Housing we discussed the footbridge that extended from steps off Pye Bank Road over Pitsmoor Road built as an integral part of the estate (see photos. 15 and 16). He told me the bridge was undoubtedly built because some of the initial council tenants were formerly housed on Pye Bank prior to slum clearance and worked locally.

when such changes momentarily almost catches up it certainly seems like something new. While changes in urban inequality lag behind social and economic change the semiotics of the final razing of the Woodside seems to have acted as a catalyst and spurred a further wave of Kelham Riverside developments seeking planning permission and construction.

Woodside and Kelham Riverside are juxtaposed on the North-East of Sheffield's city centre periphery. The periphery and city centre are experiencing a major period of flux. For Kelham Riverside the immediate future appears rosy with plans for more housing and offices. Woodside however now lies fallow with no immediate plans as yet to return the area for housing or any other use. The council certainly has no plans to build dramatic municipal statements such as the former Woodside estate. In early 2004 Stanley Tools closed down their operations on Rutland Road at Woodside as they shifted production to lower cost countries like China and shortly afterwards the Woodside council estate was demolished. There is a certain synchronicity in their shared protracted demise of both industry and housing. One might suggest that it was small wonder that a city so dependent upon one industry invested so heavily in one type of housing. With hindsight the fate of the estate was always precarious because of the in-built time bomb of Wimpey's 'no fines' system building but residualisation was not inevitable. It could have been arrested under progressive circumstances. In the event however it was instead exacerbated by the calamitous decline of Keynesianism and the consequent decline in the social condition of Sheffield labour under the aegis of globalisation. While Woodside has declined precipitously over the last twenty five years Stanley Tools maintained their international renown and competitiveness by harnessing the new international division of labour and carrying out production in other countries. Both Stanley's attachment to British located production facilities and the Woodside council housing now seem to be part of a bygone age.

With an eye on the concerns of chapter five we should note that probably most of the interviewees from the Kelham Riverside area have almost certainly by now, some years after the interviews, moved residence. A buoyant housing market means that the first owners, or those who bought quite early, at least at Cornish and Brooklyn, have probably since moved on. The same likelihood of residential mobility applies equally to Woodside interviewees, one major difference being that most of the homes where the fieldwork interviews were conducted no longer stand. Nevertheless this community profile of Woodside and Kelham Riverside has explored a specific

example of what Byrne calls *'the contrary but intimately associated processes of gentrification and residualization'* (1999:111). Accordingly both tendencies stem from changes brought about by the globalisation of production. The shake out of industry that occurred throughout the 1980's, and continues today, leaves large parts of formerly industrial areas derelict and ripe for redevelopment. The transformation of the local authority disciplined by the changes to the world economy exacerbated the decline in Woodside's urban and social decline. The local authority's devotion to city centre gentrification is equalled only by that for the demolition of council housing around the periphery. In the tussle between *'exchange versus use value dramas'* explored by Merrifield (2002b) the former dominates the latter. This community profile suggests like Smith (2002), but denied by Marcuse and van Kempen (2000), that a qualitative urban development is occurring in spatial form as the shift from the *'Keynesian City'* (Smith, 2002) towards a *'Globalizing City'* (Marcuse and van Kempen, 2000) expresses itself. As a 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation upon urban inequality the community profile seems to indicate a qualitative shift in the city centre urban order.

In the words of Cannadine (1982) making *'links between the shapes on the ground and...shapes in society'* we also explored the social types who reside within the two disparate housing developments. Changes in world economy were not kind to the residents of Woodside with deprivation levels consistently amongst the highest in Sheffield during the 1980's and 1990's. The influence upon life chances and life worlds will have been strong. Meanwhile the vanguard nature of Cornish and Brooklyn attracted an ostensibly lower middle class audience who somewhat contradict the residential implications of the term gentrification through their tenuous relations with the established middle classes.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a snapshot of each resident and the details of their individual thematic transmission factors (see chapter two, page 43). The aim of the life history research is to explore the life chances and life worlds of residents through an analysis of three thematic transmission factors: education, employment and residential mobility. By analyzing three factors which both influence and express social and urban inequality we provide a 'measurement' at the local level of the influence of economic globalization upon the life histories of the research cohort. The thematic transmission factors were selected because of their salience in transmitting class based social and urban inequalities and consequently their implications for the life chances and life worlds of the interviewee. The thematic transmission factors are both a contemporary expression of social class based inequalities and simultaneously the means through which this inequality is transmitted from one generation to the next.

We move from the vignettes of the fieldwork cohort to a contextualised discussion of the interrelationships between the three thematic transmission factors. This provides an understanding of how those accumulative changes influence residents' disparate life chances. For each resident in the cohort there is a matrix in the Appendix which chronologically catalogues their pattern of thematic transmission factors.

5.2 WOODSIDE RESIDENTS

5.2.1 ALAN

In 2000 Alan was twenty-eight years old having left secondary education in 1988. Alan is white English with Irish grandparents on his mother's side.¹ At the time of the interview he lived in two households: spending evenings and sleeping at his partner's maisonette on the estate, while eating his evening meal and getting his washing done at his parents who lived on the same road. He has lived almost his entire life on the Woodside estate and left secondary education without any qualifications. Alan was

¹ Approximately 10% of Pitsmoor's European ethnic population have Irish heritage.

expelled from his comprehensive school only weeks before his official leaving date. He told me the school was prepared to allow him to return to take his final examinations but he could not see any point in doing so. Fortunately he has a relative employed by local surgical blade manufacturers who frequently recruit from family contacts. Alan had felt confident in his aunt's assurances that he could start at the factory regardless of qualifications and subsequently examinations and educational attainment lost any residual important for him.

Alan's preferred residential mobility was to relocate into a council house with his girlfriend on one of the estates close to Woodside. However the desirability of moving to other council housing did not fill him with enthusiasm. He thought all the areas he might be relocated to after demolition would be similar to Woodside and he expected to encounter similar problems wherever they might move. His attitude might seem cynical but it's worth keeping in mind that the demolition of the Woodside will not expunge deprivation and poor services, it simply shifts them elsewhere. In addition residents' attitudes to the council were strained after a series of unfulfilled council assurances over the state of the estate and the general decline of social conditions. In addition to holding a cynical attitude towards alternative council accommodation it might also be suggested that Alan's vision of residential mobility was limited but it struck me that Alan was being above all realistic. He enjoyed his social life and though his employment at the factory was relatively secure the pay was low. He and his girlfriend would both qualify for a council house than for a flat or maisonette. Particularly in the housing market of the early twenty first century a council house would provide a relatively cheap home in familiar social and urban circumstances. In addition, a council house tenancy offers a relatively poor couple their easiest entry into the private housing market should they choose to take up their right to buy. Residential mobility patterns that might be derided as unsophisticated by outsiders are often entirely logical and financially realistic. My key gatekeeper informed me in the summer of 2004 that Alan and his girlfriend had indeed moved into a council house on a surrounding estate prior to the demolition of the Woodside and Alan was still employed in the same supervisory post.

5.2.2 DOUGIE

At the time of the interview Dougie was a twenty-seven year old Afro-Caribbean living on the Woodside estate. The interview was arranged through his friend Des and was conducted at Dougie's flat. He left secondary education at Herries comprehensive in 1988 with an O' level in Art. At the time of the interview Dougie was officially out of work and was attending a government scheme designed to encourage self employment. Unofficially Dougie was supplementing his jobseeker's allowance as a budding entrepreneur running nightclub events amongst other enterprises of dubious legality within the local informal economy. Dougie never knew his father who had left the family home before his birth but he himself now had a young daughter from a failed relationship and was making a determined effort not to emulate his dad's lack of responsibility. The former girlfriend's father had provided informal employment for Dougie through his business prior to their separation. Dougie deeply regretted what he considered were his wasted school years. His O' level in Art, the only subject he excelled in, was partly due to the subject teacher who Dougie told me was alone amongst the staff in encouraging him. Though he gained confidence from his positive experiences in Art class, overall Dougie's school experiences were negative and unrewarding. But far from blaming either the education system, or an invisible pedagogy, or bigoted teachers he blamed himself for falling in with the ubiquitous "*bad crowd*". He placed responsibility for his educational failure upon his own perceived inadequacies rather than those of the education system, his social class background or ethnicity.

Dougie's notion of a desirable residential mobility would be to own a property in the Walkley or Crookes areas of the city. This is a quite a modest desire because the adjoining areas are on the north-west of the city with mixed lower middle and working class populations. Dougie gave the impression that he was just passing through his present abode on Woodside. Though he thought the estate was improving at the time of the interview he made it clear that a decent standard of life for his daughter and himself could only be attained away from the Pitsmoor area where he had lived most of his life. Apart from a relatively brief tenure in housing association high rise flats elsewhere in Sheffield's inner city Dougie's residential mobility fitted the limited patterns shared by some other long term Woodside residents. He had previously lived with his mother and half siblings in a couple of flats in the Pitsmoor area. Dougie was driven by the success of his London based half sister who was attending university at the time of the interview. He felt slightly ashamed when he told me it was she who

should be looking up to his senior example, not vice versa.

5.2.3. CHARLIE

I was introduced to Charlie through the tenants association where he assisted with IT issues. The interview was conducted in one of their offices. Aged 26 in 2000 Charlie was one of the youngest members of the cohort, having left secondary education in 1990. Born in 1974 he was raised in and around London's East End and retained a regional accent. He was a serious yet quiet and unassuming young white resident of the estate. At the time of the interview Charlie lived with his mum and other siblings in one of the estate's 'upside-down' houses. Like his mother he suffered mental illness and depression and in conducting the interview I got the impression that he had experienced a very difficult and possibly traumatic childhood. Not long time Woodside residents, Charlie's family had only arrived in the late 1990's in an attempt to escape the implications of his brother's nefarious activities.² The family required immediate re-housing and arrived on the estate from outside of the region with no prior knowledge of the city or estate (see chapter four, page 140).

Charlie is a computer wizard, but failed to complete his degree in two attempts at two different universities. Though he did not apportion blame his own state of mind could not have helped. At the time of the interview he was out of work and receiving sickness benefit due to his mental illness. His family seemed to have experienced a quite high degree of residential mobility during Charlie's childhood. His formal education was patchy due to his turbulent home life and intermittent school attendance. Charlie gave the impression that his father was an austere man who most certainly did not appreciate the fine art of dismantling and reassembling a PC as his precocious son was wont. A computer to Charlie's father was meant to stay plugged in and operational Charlie told me. Ironically his father was a motor mechanic. His mother had been a nurse but no longer worked.

² Charlie's brother was of a similar age and fitted into the profile of my research cohort but unfortunately refused to be interviewed. Though the two of us were in the same company in the local pub on a couple of occasions during the fieldwork he always gave me a wide berth. This was possibly due to the nature of their relocation in Sheffield and mistrust of my motives.

Charlie gave the impression that he thought Woodside, at the time one of the most notoriously rough estates in Sheffield, was a piece of cake compared to some of the other London areas where he had lived. He was a cagey interviewee who did not give too much away about himself without my patient yet persistent probing. However during my frequent visits to the tenants association it was obvious that he was a gifted computer engineer. Plainly Charlie's depression was a major obstacle to him completing his studies. His subsequent residential mobility into a maisonette in one of the surrounding estates was just the type of place he told me where he felt comfortable. At the time of Woodside's demolition in summer 2004 Charlie was still suffering mental illness and receiving benefit according to my key gatekeeper.

5.2.4 COLIN

Aged just twenty-six in 2000 and leaving secondary education in 1990 Colin was the youngest Woodside resident interviewed and coincidentally holds the dubious honour of being Sheffield's youngest landlord after stepping into his fathers shoes some eight years previously. As the landlord and owner, at least on paper, of the last remaining public house on the Woodside estate Colin was the only middle class Woodside resident. The small holder who employs others, yet who must still work themselves is the classic *petit bourgeoisie*. However this was not a profitable enterprise by any stretch of the imagination. I was not a party to the details of Colin's family ownership of the premises but he told me with great sadness how they were "*slowly going bankrupt*". The council did not have to reimburse or rehouse the owners of the pub during the demolition of the estate because the family rather than the brewery owned the building. It was not difficult to see why Colin's family was having difficulty remaining financially solvent. The pub was built along with the estate and was equally decrepit, yet with investment it could be rescued. However, fundamentally the business was unsustainable because the estate was less than half full at the time of the interview, most residents had low incomes, newer Muslim and asylum seeker residents either do not drink alcohol or frequent local public houses. In addition, there were just not enough established residents working, or with enough money to spend in the pub. The other public house, shops and community facilities on the estate had all been abandoned by the time of the fieldwork.

The disastrous state of their family business represented a decline in fortunes for Colin's family who lived upstairs on the premises - his father, sister and her young son. Before the 1980's Colin's parents ran a pub in Sheffield's industrial East-End. It was here they made enough money to buy a minicab business in a southern British holiday resort. Because of family details I was not a party to the family move back north in the late 1980's and purchase of 'The Highway' public house on Woodside. As the details of the previous chapter made clear the decline of both social and urban conditions on the estate was well under way by this time (see chapter four, page 136). Colin saw no solution to the problem other than rebuilding on the site after the estate had been demolished. In the summer of 2004 the pub continued to do sporadic business but was burnt down in a fire in December 2005. Both Colin and his family were experiencing a slow yet steady process of declining life chances. Bankruptcy would inevitably at some time in the future throw family members into the ranks of the working class. A desirable residential mobility for Colin would be another tenancy in what he described as a '*decent area*' i.e. not one like Woodside. In addition to holding no educational qualifications Colin has no experience of any other type of employment other than bar work.

Colin was born in Sheffield but was still only young when the family moved to the south coast. His education mainly took place in the south but his final couple of years at school were spent at a Sheffield comprehensive across town in the city's north western suburbs. His parents had not wanted Colin to attend one of the local comprehensive schools but when he left he still did so without qualifications. However, his comprehensive education was disrupted by the move back north and no doubt the transition from a comfortable suburban life to one living in the poorest inner city area of Sheffield experiencing a precipitous social and urban decline did not assist his schooling.

5.2.5 GLEN

At the time of the interview Glen was thirty years old having left secondary education in 1986. He is of mixed ethnicity with an Afro-Caribbean father and a white English mother who raised their children on the Woodside estate. At the time of the interview Glen was still living in a maisonette on the estate but was also renovating a property he had bought a couple of years previously nearby within Burngreave. He subsequently moved into his private property and allowed his younger tearaway

brother to carry on the council tenancy until the maisonettes were demolished. Glen was employed as a fireman and his steady employment allowed him to purchase the modest house and leave the estate where he had grown up. However fond of the estate, at the time of the interview, Glen believed that that general social and housing conditions had declined to such an extent there was little hope for the estate and its residents. He was more worried about the fate of his parents who would remain on the estate. Glen suggested that he might wish to start a family with his partner and that his new house in a less impoverished area would provide a more conducive environment for children.

Glen's father had worked in the engineering industry as a machinist until a workplace accident finished his working days prematurely. His mother worked in a sweet factory as a picker. Like all families living on Woodside Glen's family are working class. He was obviously intelligent but, much like Dougie, Glen left school with only one O' level in Art. Again a sympathetic teacher was able to inspire his talent in the subject and rescue something from his schooling. Glen's years at Hinde House comprehensive were not his happiest. In an attempt to keep him on the straight and narrow his parents sent him to a senior school that other Woodside residents rarely sent their children to, so he was separated from local friends during school attendance. He was suspended at one time after a violent confrontation with a teacher. Glen was bitterly disappointed in the attitude of his parents towards his education.³

Glen had worked casually as a doorman during periods of unemployment and sometimes in conjunction with other casual employment. But it had taken Glen over ten years to establish himself in relatively secure employment and a job he liked. Before joining the fire service he experienced extended periods of insecure employment in the construction and printing industries, not to mention extended periods out of work. He was not initially accepted by the fire service but persevered and was finally admitted and trained up. However, while Glen is an undoubted Woodside success story, especially considering his mixed ethnicity and Irish surname, he has not experienced any tangible upward social mobility out of the working class. While fire-fighting is a skilled job it is not particularly well remunerated and remains a working class occupation. Glen's residential mobility was a definite upward movement, shifting from the very poorest area of the city (one would be hard

³ Glen was especially bitter about an event at Sheffield College after leaving school where he believed he would have been accepted for a higher art examination had they come to the end of year exhibition and fraternised, like the other pupils' parents, with the lecturers.

pressed to imagine downward residential mobility from Woodside within Sheffield's boundaries) into a better off neighbouring district mainly composed of privately owned housing. Again it might be easy to deride such narrow residential mobility but for a local boy of mixed ethnicity as Taylor et al (1996) point out cognitive mapping and the biographical construction of mental maps plays a large part in everyday activities and most certainly in the choice of whereabouts they enter the housing market.

5.2.6 SCOTT

Scott is Alan's cousin but is a year younger having left secondary education in 1989. He was aged twenty-seven in 2000. He lived with his parents in the house next door to Alan's parents. Like his cousin and other long term Woodside residents I interviewed he had no educational qualifications. Fortunately for him his employment was secure at the time of leaving school with a job waiting at a local surgical blade manufacturer. While he stated a deep regret for such wasted opportunities he saw it as having little consequence as his employment was in his words "*safe as houses*".⁴ While Scott voiced an appreciation for education and knowledge in general it seemed of relatively little importance compared with income. His opinion was that if you could secure an income to adequately suit your tastes then education mattered little. He also knew his limitations and in a relative sense he had fairly secure employment for someone of his age without anything to show from his school years.

Like his cousin Scott's desirable residential mobility was quite modest. He wished to get a one preferably two bedroom flat in the surrounding Pitsmoor area. His choices however were limited by his bigotry towards Arabs, Somalis, Pakistanis and Muslims in general.⁵ When I last spoke to him he had been offered a maisonette in a block close to his parents on Verdon Street but was hesitant because his racist mindset would not allow him to move onto a block with immigrants and asylum seekers. It did not seem to occur to him that he was moving from an estate where many remaining tenants were members of ethnic minorities.

Scott's chances of upward social mobility are hampered by his general lack of education and ironically the structured nature of the factory hierarchy. While Alan's promotion to inspector involves a relatively small pay raise it is still a position to be

⁴ At Woodside such a term was not a particularly reassuring sentiment.

⁵ Les Back (1996) notes the irrationality of young white males like Scott who have long standing and close friendships with West Indian males but who still believe that '*Pakis stink*'.

desired because, while it does not entail upward social mobility into the middle classes, it does mean he leaves the furnaces behind. But the nature of the nepotistic workplace can work against the employee once within the establishment. While someone with the limited intellectual capability of Scott might in the future accomplish the post of inspector, others with more intelligence, experience and perhaps better family connections will also wish to occupy such a post. In addition, the company competes within a free market system, regardless of its radical history, and is not, contrary to the steadfast beliefs of both cousins, some benevolent quasi-charity run for the benefit of Sheffield labour. Occupying employment vulnerable to further mechanisation and advances in productive technology Scott runs the risk of over-estimating the security of his employment in such a competitive industry, especially under the aegis of economic globalisation.

5.2.7 TARIQ

I met Tariq through his involvement with the Woodside Tenants' Association and the interview was conducted in their offices. In 2000 he was twenty eight years old. He was born in Pakistan in 1972 and arrived in Sheffield at the end of the decade to join his father who worked in the steel industry.⁶ As a child Tariq was raised in a poor rural Punjab household dependent upon remittances from their father in England. As a young boy Tariq contracted polio and still walks with a severe limp requiring a stick in winter. Because of his disability Tariq cannot work and receives social security for himself and his family. Tariq's ideal residential mobility would be for him and his family to move to a property around Ecclesall Road (a main conduit into the Hallam constituency). Such a move, he believed, would bring his family a superior standard of life and better schools for his children. He lives in one of the upside down houses just a few doors from his parents who still live in the house where Tariq spent his later childhood. They were one of the Muslim families who arrived on the estate during the 1980's (see chapter four, page 137).⁷ A poor family they had previously resided in adjoining districts. Nevertheless both Tariq and his younger brother attained degrees and his brother is now a school teacher. But Tariq's disability prevents him from securing the upward life chances experienced by his brother, whose subsequent residential mobility has taken him away to live within one of the city's more desirable

⁶ Tariq said his father still proudly recalls working in the city's steel industry and to this day believes there is *"no finer steel in the whole wide world"*.

⁷ Although it was not spelled out to me the impression I got was that a privately owned home

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districts. Tariq left what was then called Earl Marshall Comprehensive in 1988. After completing his A' levels he studied for a civil engineering degree in the Midlands under severe physical duress. His disability meant his attendance was sporadic and he frequently relied upon friends and lecturers to furnish him with lecture notes.⁸ In the summer of 2004 Tariq and his family still lived in one of the houses that remain after the estate's demolition.⁹

5.2.8 LOL

Lol and Sol are brothers with Lol the eldest at twenty-eight when the interview was conducted in late 2000. At the time of the interview Lol was the only Woodside resident I interviewed who matched the inner city stereotype of never having had a job. However, this situation was remedied shortly after the interview was conducted when I was informed by his mother that Sol had found Lol work at his place of employment. Lol was unassuming with a pleasant manner and was undoubtedly a loving father to the children who lived with his partner over the road from his mother's house on the estate. But the son still sometimes resided at his mothers in the event of a fall out with his partner or a '*visit from the social*'. While Lol had no educational qualifications and was not particularly bright it was difficult to adequately explain his long term exclusion from the job market. At the time of the interview Lol had been unemployed for over ten years without paid employment yet had attended a series of governmental training schemes without ever receiving a meaningful vocational qualification. Other Sheffield residents without qualifications or particularly high intelligence were employed at the time of the interview and the only reason I could guess for Lol's exclusion from the job market was his mixed ethnicity. Lol had a different father to Sol and while Sol's father was white British like their mother, Lol's father was black British.

Both Lol and his brother had lived almost all of their lives on the Woodside estate. Only once had Lol moved away when he and his partner and children moved to one

the family lived in prior to Woodside was either demolished or repossessed.

⁸ Even though Tariq stayed with extended family while he was studying, who lived within their local Pakistani community, Tariq remained fond of Sheffield and exclaimed about his family in the Midlands "*the only Yorkshireman they know is Geoffrey Boycott!*"

⁹ Simultaneously confirming and denying what a senior representative of Sheffield Council Housing mentioned about the parochialism of Woodside residents Tariq observed that local immigrants from the Commonwealth, like himself and his parents, travel more than half way round the world only to then live in the same Sheffield postal district for the rest of their lives.

of the large low-rise council estates on Sheffield's east side. However, they quickly returned because the two of them could not settle away from Pitsmoor and so it struck me as somewhat odd when Lol described his desirable residential mobility as involving a move to Rotherham. Lol had no educational qualifications and seemed ill equipped intellectually to attain any in the near future. In short, Lol's life chances were poor and there were few chances of significant improvement. Lol's eventual employment seemed a good example of what Marx called *'the reserve army of labour'*, after being drawn into the labour market in a period of economic expansion following an extended period of unemployment. He left school in 1987 and remained unemployed throughout the 1990's until his brother found him menial employment.

5.2.9. DES

Des is of mixed ethnicity with a father from the Caribbean and a white English mother. At the time of the interview in 2000 Des was twenty-seven year old having left secondary education in 1988. My key gatekeeper knew Des well and the interview flowed from our introduction in the local pub where it was subsequently conducted. Des was friendly and introduced me to his friend Dougie. Like other long term Woodside residents I interviewed, Des's school attendance record was poor due to extended truancy and he left school without any qualifications. Des's notion of desirable residential mobility would be a move to Walkley, a pleasant socially mixed suburb in the north-west of the city where his mum grew up.

Des's actual pattern of residential mobility would best be described as parochial. This is not meant in a pejorative sense but refers to the fact that like many people on the Woodside estate he had never lived far away from his childhood home in the area. Rather than a lack of broader horizons or ambition as much as anything this lack of residential mobility speaks volumes about the socio-economic circumstances of many residents. Des had experienced brief stints living with girlfriends at their abodes, but Cupid does not shoot its arrow at random; his girlfriends had always been from similar working class backgrounds and lived on estates on the east side of Sheffield.

Des's now estranged father had worked as a machinist in the local engineering industry when he lived at the family home but was made unemployed during the mass

layoffs of the early 1980's. His mother still worked as a nurse. Des expressed deep regret concerning his lack of education and wished he could relive his school years again, only differently. He felt the divorce of his parents during his years at Herries Comprehensive was detrimental to his educational development and sent him in his own words '*off the rails*' because prior to this traumatic event he described himself as a '*reyt goody, goody*'.

Des had recently been employed in the city's remaining cutlery industry and wore the wounds on his forearm in the shape of a large skin graft. Instructed to operate a machine of which he had no previous experience he suffered a very nasty accident that initially threatened the future use of his forearm and hand. The wages in the cutlery industry are poor and overtime is required to take home a living wage (see chapter three, page 64). Because of his injury Des has no intention of ever working in industry again and instead desired secure employment as a sound engineer in the music industry. After leaving school Des trained on a YTS construction scheme and over the subsequent years had a series of employment episodes in construction, both informal and formal. He also worked as a security guard amongst other short lived spells in work. Though unemployed at the time of the interview I subsequently heard from my key gatekeeper that Des had found intermittent employment. Des's mother's house where he lived was one of those properties that existed prior to the construction of the Woodside council estate and still exists today after its demolition. Des still lived there in the summer of 2004.

5.2.10 SOL

Lol's brother Sol was twenty-seven when the interview was conducted. Like his brother he too left school without qualifications and especially in later years hardly attended senior school. At the time of the interview he was hoping to move to Scandinavia where his girlfriend grew up. Sol and his brother probably had the most disadvantaged and deprived backgrounds amongst some stiff competition from the other Woodside residents interviewed. Sol's mother was a single parent with three children by different fathers. He grew up not knowing or receiving financial assistance from his absent father. He grew up with his mother and other siblings in a number of different properties on the Woodside estate including at one time the tower blocks (See chapter four, page 141). At the time of the interview he rented a maisonette on the estate where he lived with his partner. Without examination qualifications Sol had

held a series of dead end jobs since leaving but he wished to train up as a painter and decorator and move back to Scandinavia. He and his partner had only returned to the UK months before the interview took place. Sol was very keen to go back with a trade so that the pair of them could more thoroughly enjoy the higher standard of living they had experienced. During the interview Sol told me about the "*superb, never seen owt like it*" standard of living over there and just how much cleaner, quieter, more civilised and generally better life was for the two of them. Working as a carer for the handicapped had afforded him a better standard of living than working in Sheffield and living at Woodside. Sol was employed in a number of roles at an entertainment centre when the interview was conducted in late 2000.

It became clear that Sol was constantly comparing his brief former life in his adopted country to life in Sheffield and Woodside. While all residents interviewed despaired at the state of Woodside's social and urban circumstances Sol was probably the most distraught. He could not wait to get away; he could almost sense his life chances subsiding within its confines. He was sick and tired of the place even though he had only been back a few months and now had his own residence. Unlike others I interviewed Sol was not particularly well connected on the estate and seemed an outsider even though he had lived there almost all of his life. He seemed alienated from his immediate surroundings and could only envision his life taking off elsewhere. With the higher living standards enjoyed in his partner's country this is not an unreasonable assumption.

Migrating and establishing a home in a country with a strong social democratic tradition would entail upward social and residential mobility for Sol. Simply by virtue of the superior standard of living and housing his life chances would improve and those too of any offspring. While welfare retrenchment has occurred in his partners country living standards and social and urban circumstances for the working class are still appreciably better. Learning a trade would lift Sol out of the unskilled working class into the skilled ranks but if he remained in Sheffield it would hardly furnish him with the income to access substantial upward residential mobility.¹⁰

¹⁰ Painter and decorator is one of the poorest paid trades by virtue of the exceptionally short training period (the trade does not require an apprenticeship nor a City and Guilds qualification like a Plumber or Electrician). Of course the lack of an apprenticeship and the short training time was one of the attractions to someone without an education.

As a child Sol's residential mobility took him at his mum's behest across Woodside and Pitsmoor in various rented accommodation. He attended the local infant and junior school but never established himself at any of the numerous comprehensives he so rarely attended. His mum told me that she simply could not get him to attend school and neither physical coercion nor bribery worked. Sol never fully revealed to me the reason for his non-attendance at school but hinted at trouble with other pupils. Undoubtedly Sols' childhood was particularly disadvantaged, with all that this entails for his subsequent life chances. Only later did I find out in passing that Sol had suffered a couple of serious physical injuries during his youth. His last couple of years at senior school were severely hampered by a serious leg injury. None of these details had Sol found necessary to tell me during the interview. Sol's interview like that of his half brother Lol was initially a cagey affair with often only the bare bones initially offered and neither brother was particularly articulate, nor open with the details of their life history. A likely contributory factor was that the first time I met them was the occasion of the interview and neither brother knew my key gatekeeper well. We made contact through the tenants association where I met their mum who arranged the interviews at her house (see chapter two, page 51).

We now move to the Kelham Riverside residents.

5.3 KELHAM RIVERSIDE RESIDENTS

5.3.1 ASHLEY

Ashley was twenty-six years old when the interview was conducted having left secondary education in 1990 with four O'levels. Like all the residents interviewed from Kelham Riverside he was from a white British background. He lived with his partner at the Cornish Place / Brooklyn Works development. He had only recently, at the time of interview, replicated his parent's middle class status. His belated upward social mobility back into the echelons of the middle classes was facilitated by his return to the family fold and telecommunication business. His upward residential mobility into the gentrified housing at Kelham was facilitated by the concomitant improvement in income. Ashley's brother, who also worked for the family company, had previously lived at the same apartments but had since parlayed the apartment for a house in Sheffield's south-western suburbs (see chapter four, page 118). Ashley expressed a similar desire for residential mobility to the Hallam constituency.

As a child Ashley's family pursued a well trodden pattern of upward residential mobility within Sheffield. Following the success of his father's business venture the family moved residence out of the working class suburb of Hillsborough, situated in the bottom of the valley running through Sheffield, and up the hill into the wealthier and socially mixed inner suburbs and then subsequently further out into the more privileged and exclusive outer suburbs. Ashley's mum was and had always been a housewife since marriage but, starting as a manual worker Ashley's father benefited from the policies designed to benefit entrepreneurial activity during the 1980's when he started a successful Sheffield based company. He subsequently utilised his business contacts to start his own telecommunication business for which both Ashley and his elder brother became directors.

After leaving school at sixteen and moving out of the family home for a couple of years Ashley lived at a number of short term residences. Prior to their move to Kelham Ashley and his partner rented a house in Hillsborough where he had lived with the family when he was a child. The Hillsborough residence was in keeping with Ashley's temporary downward life chances. After leaving school he trained for the first two years of an electrician's apprenticeship before deciding that his future lay elsewhere. In this initial choice he was possibly influenced by his father who originally worked as a pipe fitter. Neither of the two brothers, their father or mother had studied for a degree. Afterwards Ashley tried his hand at being a DJ both in England and abroad before returning back to Britain to work as a van driver. During these years Ashley lived in a series of flats and rented houses only returning to the family home in times of unemployment. Prior to living at Hillsborough Ashley had preferred living in rented accommodation in the Ecclesall Road area, one of the entrances to Sheffield's south-western suburbs, seemingly unable to move downmarket even though his personal circumstances and finances were more in keeping with residence in a more modest district.

Ashley's belated entrance into the family business however helped his return back into the middle classes. Through the rise in income associated with his newly secured middle class occupation Ashley and his partner, who at the time worked as a deputy restaurant manager, could now afford a stepping stone towards Sheffield's hallowed south west. While his parents still lived within the socially mixed Sheffield 6 postcode, Ashley and his partner on the other hand are of a different generation and could not resist the seemingly gravitational pull of the Hallam constituency.

Ashley was the only Kelham Riverside resident who did not possess a higher education qualification. He told me that while education was held in high esteem within the family and both his parents encouraged him at school there was never any pressure to attend university. Possibly the example of his father who attained upward social mobility out of the working class through contacts and a favourable business climate encouraged Ashley to make his way in the world without higher education. However, any efforts are rendered somewhat easier confident in the knowledge that family connections will in the end assist if all else fails. Ashley has replicated his parents' social class after a period of downward social mobility but only after the intervention of his parents, without which, it is probable that Ashley would not have achieved middle class status.¹¹

5.3.2 IRWIN

Irwin was thirty two years old when we conducted the interview in 2000 having left secondary school in 1984. He was from a mixed British and Irish catholic household and was one of two Kelham Riverside residents in my cohort from an upper working class background. Irwin's father was a shop floor supervisor and autodidact and his mother was a housewife. Had his father been born a couple of generations later he would possibly have attended university. Irwin was marked for upward social mobility from an early age when his parents secured him a place at Liverpool's prestigious Bluecoats Secondary School. The school is a veritable incubation unit for precocious Merseyside kids with a roster of famous former pupils. Such schools have charitable status and children from working class backgrounds can attend the school if they show enough promise and academic excellence in their early years. Irwin's parents qualified for assistance with their son's school fees and paid a nominal sum each term. Previously he had attended the local junior school in the working class inner city district where the family lived. Later, when Irwin was in the sixth form the family experienced upward residential mobility from their terrace house close to the city's football grounds and into a comfortable semi-detached home in a more socially mixed

¹¹ Direct parallels exist between Ashley's life history and that of the Woodside resident Des. Both were employed casually as DJ's, Ashley in Ibiza, Des in Sheffield and both went to college to train to be sound engineers. Neither of them, at the time of the interview, had been successful in establishing themselves within the music industry. This is not shameful as both fields are notoriously competitive and cliquey. But the important difference was that when Ashley's aspirations failed to materialise he was able to find a family escape from unemployment. By contrast Des, whose parents had not experienced upward social mobility, could not offer him salvation within a family run business.

suburb.

Irwin's life history was relatively uncomplicated; leaving school after successfully completing his A' levels he studied Law at Sheffield University. After working as a solicitor for a number of years in a couple of cities in the Midlands and London he returned to Sheffield after being offered the position of senior solicitor with Sheffield's foremost law firm. Highlighting the transient nature of Cornish and Brooklyn in its initial years at the time of the interview Irwin was soon to move house to another town. He was engaged to be married and soon to take up a promotion within the firm but to be based in Leeds. His partner on the other hand, worked in Stoke-on-Trent so they were compromising by moving to Chesterfield to split the difference between their travelling times. Irwin had never bought a property before always previously renting but with his workplace promotion and looming marriage he felt he had the necessary security to invest in the housing market.

5.3.3 NIGEL

Nigel was thirty three years old in 2000 and left secondary education in 1984. He was raised within Sheffield's 'Golden Triangle' (the Hallam constituency) in an established middle class family. His father had been a chief engineer with an international construction company but was killed in a workplace accident whilst abroad when Nigel was in his late teens. Remarried and a housewife Nigel's mum had previously worked as a secretary prior to Nigel's birth. Her son's life history was relatively straightforward. The family moved from Merseyside before he was old enough to attend school so that his father could be closer to the head offices of the company who employed him. Nigel attended the local junior and senior schools in Sheffield and left with four A' levels. He enrolled on a four year Business Studies degree at a northern ex-poly with a one year placement at a construction and civil engineering company. Fortunately for Nigel his mum bought a property for him to live in while studying. This has now become a more common strategy amongst middle class parents with money to invest but when Nigel's parent did it in the 1980's it was much less widespread. The rent charged to other students occupying the house effectively paid the mortgage.

After completing his degree Nigel was employed by the construction company with whom he did his academic placement, but unfortunately they laid him off within

months of him taken on the payroll. However, a generous redundancy package softened the blow and with this money he set off to the Americas for an extended holiday. Whilst on a brief sojourn to the U.S. he began selling jewellery he had purchased in Central America. Upon returning to Sheffield he started a company importing artefacts, jewellery and ornaments from Central and South America. By now living in the Nether Edge area of Sheffield in a property bought with the proceeds from the sale of the house in Nottingham Nigel opened a shop on Ecclesall Road. Later he opened a further shop in a trendy city centre emporium. As a consequence Nigel resides within the lower middle classes, he is classic petit bourgeoisie; he employs others but must still work himself.

Nigel was alerted to the possibilities of Cornish and Brooklyn by a friend in the construction industry who had bought an apartment from the drawings and successfully encouraged Nigel to do likewise. In doing so Nigel made a calculated risk on the success of the development and is a good example of a '*marginal gentrifier*' (Rose, 1984) (see chapter four, page 120). It is important to remember that Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works was a vanguard project. At the time when the conversion was completed in 1999 apart from Victoria Quays at the canal side there were no other private apartment projects in Sheffield city centre. Residents like Nigel took the risk that their purchase would return a larger amount than they invested. Nigel expressed no wish to move from his impressive apartment which occupied the apex of the building. Staying in the city centre living in a former factory was for Nigel '*keeping it real*'; an allusion to a sense of downtown authenticity in what estate agents market as '*city living*' as opposed to the safe and supposedly inauthentic middle class life in the suburbs.¹²

5.3.4 PAUL

Paul is white British with Irish grandparents and was twenty-eight years old when the interview was conducted in 2000. He left secondary education in 1988 after failing his A' levels. Living with his partner at the time of the interview the couple indicated they would soon be moving to Manchester. This inter British city residential mobility was a distinct phenomenon amongst the residents of Kelham. By comparison Woodside

residents residential mobility rarely pushed beyond Pitsmoor's boundaries or that of their postcode. There is possibly a connection between moving to attend university and subsequent inter-city residential mobility. This initial mobility is subsequently exacerbated by the relative scarcity of certain types of graduate employment and the frequent geographical isolation of employment opportunities. Paul's family moved from one large northern city to another when he was young to enable his father to take up a senior position in the civil service. Paul moved again to study in Sheffield and then together with his partner was set to move again to another major northern city. Before he was thirty Paul has lived in four of the country's largest cities.

However, Paul was the only resident of Kelham working in working class employment as a telecom engineer, having previously worked at a car mechanics workshop. His partner was studying for a PhD and Paul had a postgraduate qualification in Heritage Management with a strong commitment to work in the field. Unfortunately he was struggling to find employment in his specialised area because employment opportunities are relatively rare and volunteering is commonly accepted as a conduit to paid employment.

Paul's father had worked as a senior civil servant but died when his son was young. His mother did not remarry until after her son left school and in addition to a generous pension from the civil service she worked at the local supermarket in a supervisory role. A wise property investment on her behalf has paid off handsomely for both her two sons when she bought the two of them a three bedroom property in Sheffield on Ecclesall Road during the 1980's. When they subsequently sold the property both sons had substantial deposits for their own individual purchases. The investment had acted as a springboard for Paul's residential mobility to Kelham. He had completed a dissertation on the Cornish Place and Brooklyn Works for his Msc qualification and was alerted to the conversion because of his involvement with the site. He subsequently bought the apartment like Nigel off the plans. However, Paul and his partner expressed doubts over their ability to purchase a similar property in a comparable central district of Manchester. Manchester's process of city centre regeneration, in contrast to Sheffield, had been going on throughout the 1990's and property prices, unlike those at Cornish and Brooklyn, would not be so relatively low. Even with the profit generated from their Kelham apartment a like for like move was

¹² Concerning this faux authenticity Williamson writes '*As manufacturing declines, warehouses and power stations become trendy; industrial chic takes over from industrial production. Old machines become urban sculptures, old tools part of pub décor. The means for making,*

out of the question. Instead they envisioned buying a house close to the university where Paul's partner soon hoped to be employed.

The predicament which threatened their desirable residential mobility can be explained by a number of factors. Paul's inability to break into his preferred profession and protracted stint in manual employment reduced his earning potential. Nevertheless he was employed in a skilled profession while his partner would probably earn something similar at the start of her academic career. It is indicative of the current city centre property boom that such a couple could not afford a similar property in Manchester's centre.

Educationally Paul was late in flowering and failed his A' levels. Shortly afterwards he moved to Sheffield to live with his brother and study for a surveyor qualification at Sheffield College.¹³ Via this route he qualified to enter an Estate Management degree before later studying for his postgraduate qualification. Paul's replication of his parents' middle class status awaits confirmation but in the meantime he was experiencing downward social mobility into the working class. However, with his qualifications and enthusiasm his class replication was perhaps pending and his residential mobility remained middle class through his mum's judicious investment.

5.3.5. TERRY

Terry was twenty-seven at the time of the interview having left secondary education in 1989. Terry's background was middle class with his mum a GP and a father in middle management. He was the only positive respondent to my postal survey of the Riverside Exchange (see chapter two, page 52). Terry grew up in a comfortable East Midlands suburb and attended the local junior and infant schools. His parents are devout Christians who successfully applied for him to attend a prestigious Church of England secondary school in the city. Although more socially mixed than the local junior and infant school Terry's secondary school was very much geared up to equip pupils like him for university. Terry himself in reference to his parents wishes and the school he attended mentioned that his attendance at university seemed "*predestined*

mending and fixing are more resonant in disuse than in use' (2002: 6).

¹³ Paul's brother inspired him to come to Sheffield telling him Ecclesall Road was "*like Sunset Boulevard...only better*". This historical conduit to the south western suburbs was known locally as '*the Golden Mile*' until the 1980's.

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or *preordained*". Terry left me with the indelible impression that his parents expected nothing less.

Studying for his A' levels Terry attended a jobs fair and subsequently decided to become an engineer. He was accepted on a four year sandwich degree with Brunel University studying electronic engineering and enjoyed a placement with the GEC. As an undergraduate Terry initially lived in halls of residence for his first year, then later in a shared house. Towards the end of his degree he began a relationship and moved in with his partner in an ex-council house in the Midlands. After creating a good impression on his placement Terry was taken on in full employment by GEC as a design engineer. After a while he moved onto a similar yet better remunerated position with Fujitsu. After marrying Terry moved on his own to take up a position with ARM, another electronics company in Sheffield. Whilst waiting for his wife to sell their Birmingham property he moved into a former council flat at Bard Street in Sheffield's inner city. Months later when established and happy with his employment his wife moved to Sheffield and together they bought an apartment at Riverside Exchange. By now a senior design engineer with ARM Terry has replicated the middle class status of his parents. At the time of the interview further residential mobility seemed to be looming for the couple. Dissatisfied with the existing paucity of facilities at Riverside Exchange and the slow rate of further development (see chapter four, page 119) Terry was moved to remark that "*unless somebody takes the bull by the horns it could well fall apart round here*". They were seriously considering selling their recent purchase and making a move into the suburbs earlier than they had initially expected.

5.3.6. ROBBIE

At the time of the interview Robbie was thirty-four having left secondary education in 1983. Born into a working class family Robbie's father is a pipe fitter and his mother worked for a dry cleaning firm. He was raised in North London in a socially mixed district and attended the local schools. During the interview he expressed an acute frustration with this schooling. Eventually leaving with a couple of O' levels he worked in a series of low paid manual and service sector jobs. But five years after leaving school, following a great deal of saving and greatly assisted by living at his parents, he travelled around the world for the next two years. When he returned to Britain he embarked upon a bewildering pattern of employment and residential mobility both in Britain and internationally. He worked as a ski instructor in Italy, then briefly started a

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fashion business with his brother while he lived at his parents in London. Then he bought a small apartment in London and worked as a fitness instructor. This was followed by renting out the flat while he worked as a tour guide in France.

By the time he was twenty-five Robbie realised this erratic employment and residential mobility could not sustain him as an adult. Struggling to pay the mortgage on his London property and getting no satisfaction from his work he sold the one bedroom flat in a desirable district of the capital and bought a terraced house in Walkley, Sheffield. As a keen skier he was initially attracted to the city by the dry ski slope at Shirecliffe. After settling in Sheffield he enrolled on an Access course in Social Science at Sheffield College. Because of the buoyant London property market even though his apartment was not fully paid for with the proceeds from the sale he was able to buy a modest property in Sheffield. With a roof over his head Robbie was able to devote himself to his studies and work part time at the ski slope as an instructor. Accepted on a History degree at Sheffield Hallam, he passed three years later.

After finishing his degree Robbie proceeded to establish a design agency utilising his past experience in the fashion industry. At the time of the interview Robbie was the managing director of the company he established and rented a work space within the Brooklyn Works. It should be noted however that such a title while representing upward social mobility from his upper working class background hides a multitude of tasks. Robbie mentioned this frequently meant van driving, one of the jobs he did briefly after leaving school.¹⁴

Robbie had a stable home life living with his partner, a manageress of a city centre shop, and their baby daughter. Remarking upon the relative proximity of the Woodside estate overlooking Kelham Riverside, Robbie observed that historically it was the rich who lived on the top of the hill surveying the poor in residence beneath them. Robbie was the only Kelham resident interviewed who had actually walked through the surrounding neighbourhood. Robbie's idea of a desirable future residential mobility was to move into one of the city's inner suburbs when the daughter was older and required schooling.¹⁵

¹⁴ However as he pointed out to me in the interview *"better a van driver for yourself than for some bugger else"*. In a scenario similar to that of his neighbour Ashley Robbie's day to day activities as a managing director could be rather mundane.

¹⁵ When I suggested that they might stop at Kelham Riverside and she could attend one of the local inner city schools I distinctly remember Robbie shooting me back a look that seemed to

5.3.7 VERN

Vern's is white British and at the time of the interview was thirty two years old. He left secondary education in 1984 without the qualifications his undoubted intelligence merited. Vern lived at the Cornish Place / Brooklyn Works development with his partner. It took him until his early thirties to become a radiographer and replicate his parent's lower middle class status. His mum is a primary school teacher and his dad an estimator with a local construction company. At least for the first ten years after leaving senior school Vern's life history is one of downward social mobility into the working class. More recently he had established himself within his profession.

Vern grew up in the north-west of Sheffield in a suburb with a working class majority, but with considerable private housing and lower middle class residents like his own family. During their own earlier life histories his parents experienced upward mobility out of the working class into the lower echelons of the middle class. This background did not however save Vern from a troubled childhood and he frequently got into trouble at school. While never expelled Vern was seen as a problem pupil by many teachers because of, as he saw it, his sharp wit and verve. It seemed this perceived injustice drove Vern on in his personal life to achieve the goals certain teachers and adults had told him were beyond his ken.

Leaving his local comprehensive with only a couple of O' levels Vern first trained on a YTS scheme with the gas board. However, even though he did well on the scheme Vern was not taken on afterwards to complete an apprenticeship. After a brief period of unemployment Vern worked at a car body repair shop. Until his mid twenties he laboured on through a series of intellectually undemanding jobs and periods of unemployment. His residential mobility ran parallel to that of his downward social mobility. After leaving his parents home he lived at the homes of friends, in private rented flats and before purchasing the Kelham apartment he rented an inner city council flat. The turning point in Vern's life history was his decision, after being laid off once more, to attend Sheffield College during the early 1990's to attain an Access qualification in the natural sciences. Successfully finishing the course he then enrolled at Sheffield Hallam for a radiography degree and once completed he successfully applied to work as a radiographer with the local health authority. Vern's belated yet nonetheless upward social mobility back into the lower middle class afforded him

ask me in no uncertain terms whether I had lost my marbles.

similar residential mobility and a move into the newly gentrified neighbourhood. At the time of the interview Vern and his partner were nevertheless '*marginal gentrifiers*' (Rose, 1984) who realistically could not have afforded a similar property possibly just two years later because of the rising property market. They could possibly, should they choose, trade their gentrified neighbourhood for the leafy suburbs. This seemed unlikely from what Vern told me about his suburban childhood. He had felt the village like nature of some of Sheffield's districts was not suited to his character. Vern had also felt persecuted at school and punished beyond reasonable sanction.

5.3.8. TED

Ted was the eldest interviewee in the whole fieldwork cohort. At the time of the interview in 2000 he was thirty five having left secondary education in 1980. Ted was born into a lower middle class family and was raised just outside a large town in South Yorkshire. He attended his local junior and infant school but as the eldest interviewee there was one particular element within his life history that other younger members of the cohort did not experience. Towards the end of junior school Ted passed the 11+ examination which enabled him to attend his local Grammar school. Ted recognised that his chances of replicating his parent's middle class status were boosted by this success.¹⁶ Ted did not have a degree and back then it was not so unusual for middle class school leavers to not attend university. Neither of his parents had gone to university and not until the late 1980's did national graduate numbers start to increase rapidly. Initially his parents wished for him to become something quite staid but instead after studying for his A' levels at the local college he started to make friends within the Art faculty and subsequently studied for his National Diploma in Graphic Design. Ted was allowed this freedom because his rebellious older sister had studied art and become a successful designer. Once she had made a resounding success of her career the way was open for Ted to shape his own academic path. After successfully completing his Diploma he decided to move to Sheffield and study for his Higher National Diploma in Graphic Design. While he was studying in Sheffield Ted lived in a shared student house in Walkley.

¹⁶ Those who did not pass the 11+ attended the local comprehensive that Ted derisively referred to as "*trying to school the toughs*".

After gaining his higher qualification Ted started work as a graphic designer. By this time he was in a steady relationship and moved with his partner into a shared house in the Hunters Bar district within the south-western suburbs of Sheffield. Later the two of them, once financially established, rented their own home in Walkley and then when Ted shifted professions and worked as a computer salesman the two of them bought their first house in Walkley. During the mid 1990's Ted increased his income significantly by working as a digital reprographic designer and together with his partner moved away from the inner suburb and bought a semi-detached house in one of Sheffield's wealthier outer suburbs. But by the late 1990's the two went their separate ways and Ted invested in one of the apartments at Brooklyn. He established his own digital reprographic company appointing himself as company director. Unlike his contemporaries Ashley and Robbie Ted did not have to fulfil the mundane tasks they found laborious, he employed others to do those jobs.¹⁷

Ted had no wish for immediate residential mobility because he enjoyed living close to work and the city centre. Ted had replicated the middle class status of his parents who had both worked in sales. Indeed he had gone one better by establishing his own company yet remained lower middle class by virtue of the necessity that he still work within the company.

5.4 ANALYSIS OF THEMATIC TRANSMISSION FACTORS

5.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Writing about socio-spatial segregation in the contemporary city Marcuse and van Kempen remark upon the limitations of a purely spatial focus that fails to '*adequately capture the life-world experience of the residents and users of these separate quarters*' (2000:263). Here we explore the three thematic transmission factors because they are profoundly implicated within one another in determining and expressing life chances and in doing so we complement the spatial focus of previous chapters.

¹⁷ In his own inimitable words Ted told me "*you don't have a dog and bark yourself*".

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The three thematic factors transmit inequalities from the previous generation and are simultaneously an expression of current circumstances and determinants for subsequent generations. Each is internalised within the other at every turn and their intimacies are legion. In the following section we discuss these factors and their influence upon the life chances of residents. Each life history with its patterns of thematic transmission factors is idiosyncratic, or in the words of Byrne, *'Each case is unique'*, before adding *'The point is that there is actually a pattern when all the unique cases are examined together'* (1997:36). Byrne continues by expressing the essential unity of the local/agency and global/structure dialectic *'That pattern describes both the nature of the social structure as people experience it, and the ways in which they can move around it'* (p.36). Alluding to the relationship between the general and the specific Byrne writes how *'events may appear random at the individual/household level, but they are non-random systematically. That is to say they are the product of specific aspects of the form of the system in general'* (p.39). While each individual life history is important we seek shared experiences, general tendencies and trends that encapsulate more objective developments.

5.5. RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

5.5.1. INTRODUCTION

Byrne points out in the course of lamenting the lack of research into households' movement through social space the importance of residential mobility as *'the actual expression of social mobility in terms of consumption is most marked precisely by change in area of residence'* (1999:110). This thematic transmission factor explores whereabouts residents lived, their tenure, type of housing and what they tell us about the resident. But the factors are so intrinsic to one another that a certain blurring of their distinctions is unavoidable and in terms of their interconnected nature Byrne writes:

'in order to understand how people and households are located in terms of both relative income position and labour market/social re-production connections, which are the generative mechanisms for relative labour market position, we need to think about their dynamic movement over time and space' (1997:33).

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In addition, Byrne writes how housing facilitates or restricts access to education '*spatial location determines access to crucial social goods, and in particular to different kinds of state education, which have enormous significance for future life trajectory*' (1999:110). While intrinsically interconnected the individual thematic transmission factors have real importance in and of themselves concerning their relationship to life chances and life worlds. Accordingly '*The nature of one's housing is a primary determinant of class membership...where you are born determines to a large extent where you die, both geographically and as a member of society*' (Adonis and Pollard, 1997:187).

5.5.2 KELHAM RIVERSIDE RESIDENTS

Kelham residents' patterns of residential mobility are as idiosyncratic as one might imagine. However, it is possible to establish certain trends and tendencies. In the main, Kelham Riverside residents spent their early formative school days living in suburban areas and '*where you are born largely determines where you end up*' (Adonis and Pollard, 1997:200).¹⁸ The exceptions are Irwin and Ashley whose families moved into the suburbs later having lived in private working class districts. A feature of Kelham childhoods is the almost non existence of residential mobility during their school days. Ashley's family followed the classical and established Sheffield pattern of upward residential mobility out of the valley, first through the inner suburbs, then out into the outer suburbs of the city. Irwin's family did not move out of their inner city home until their son attended sixth form. All the other six Kelham residents lived all or almost all of their formative years in just one family home. This speaks of some degree of stability and security afforded these families over their children's school years, not to mention the beneficial effects upon their education. As adults Vern had lived in a Sheffield inner city council flat and Terry lived with his partner in a former council house in the Midlands. But nobody was raised in social housing, which is hardly surprising when six Kelham residents grew up in middle class families. The two residents from working class backgrounds came from its upper echelons and nobody amongst the Kelham Riverside interviewees experienced poverty during their childhood.

¹⁸ Accordingly most Kelham residents wished to move to the suburbs after '*city living*'.

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However, the relatively comfortable middle class lifestyle of most Kelham childhoods was not a constant companion during their life histories. Vern and Ashley had experienced residential mobility patterns determined by their downward social mobility, and, without his mother's intervention Paul would likewise have experienced such patterns. This is not to say that hardship did not express itself in other life histories i.e. the untimely death of Paul's and Nigel's fathers. But for both Paul and Nigel the advantage of growing up in a middle class family assisted their introduction into the housing market. I was not a party to the exact details of the property purchased by their mothers but suffice to say even if it was only to act as guarantors then this would have been an enormous assistance. The subsequent financial leg up afforded to Paul was less than that of Nigel because the former shared with his brother the Sheffield property, but it all helped. This financial assistance notwithstanding, Nigel like Paul took a calculated risk in buying their apartments from the plans. Except for Irwin who was renting, but who was planning to buy at the time of the interview, all the Kelham residents were owner occupiers.¹⁹

While their childhoods were characterised by a high degree of stability some Kelham residents' adult experiences were more turbulent featuring inter-city residential mobility. Three residents in the cohort were born and raised in Sheffield but other residents moved to Sheffield either to study or work. Irwin studied in Sheffield for his law degree then moved away to work but returned later motivated by fond memories. He was not alone in knowing the Kelham Riverside area from his days as a student drinking in the Fat Cat real ale pub. Robbie was the only resident from London or the south of England but he was familiar with the area because of its location en route to the famous dry ski slope at Shirecliffe. It was similar for native Sheffielder Ashley. At the time of the interviews both Paul and Irwin were about to leave Sheffield to live in other northern British towns and cities and Paul had lived in four of Britain's largest provincial cities.

Terry and Nigel experienced not only studying away from their home towns but also working away from home during the sandwich year of their degrees. Vern also lived and worked outside Sheffield where his studies were based as part of his higher education vocational experience. While Vern, Ashley and Nigel were Sheffield born and bred and all subsequently worked outside the country, they all returned to the city of their childhood. This gives some indication of the enduring attraction of Sheffield as

¹⁹*Very few people really own their property. The majority have simply exchanged one form of*

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a city and home. It would seem that Kelham residents experienced the vagaries of the labour and education market relatively early in adulthood and this prepared them for the uncertainty of their later adult residential mobility patterns.

However, residents' enthusiasm for their gentrified apartments did not extend to them as homes for raising children. Most of the cohort residing within the gentrified housing either desired or accepted that they would move to the suburbs after their stint at Kelham Riverside. Ashley's brother had already moved from Kelham to Sheffield's south west suburbs and while not looking to move at the time of the interview Ashley acknowledged that it was only a matter of time before he and his wife would do something similar. Both Paul and Irwin who were actually in the process of planning to move out of their Kelham Riverside residences were not moving into properties similar to their apartments in Sheffield. Instead they were moving into suburban houses. Dissent from the desirability of future residential mobility to the suburbs was shared by Vern and Nigel. Because of a lingering sense of small mindedness and persecution from his childhood Vern was not well disposed to the suburbs, while Nigel loved the location and convenience of his apartment.

5.5.3 WOODSIDE RESIDENTS

Where you live is symbolic of your social class status and therefore as Adonis and Pollard (1997) argue whereabouts you are born, to a large extent, determines whereabouts you end up, both residentially and socially. Giles's conclusion assists our understanding of the Woodside residents:

'Being a council or Housing Association tenant is now one of the best available indicators of being poor: tenants in the social sector are overwhelmingly to be found at the bottom of the income distribution in a way that was just not the case prior to the 1980's' (1996:2).

The patterns of residential mobility shared to varying degrees by Kelham Riverside residents were somewhat different from those shared by their Woodside counterparts. It was quite striking that not only were most of the Woodside cohort raised in council housing, amidst a period when Harlow described the tenure as *'an ambulance service'* (1978), but many had been raised on the Woodside estate or in the Pitsmoor

landlord for another: the building society' (Adonis and Pollard, 1997:192).

area. The tenure differences are clear: Kelham residents were raised in private housing while Woodside residents were raised in council rented property. However, Woodside was not Castells's hellish *'Fourth World'* (1998) occupied by an idle, thieving and illegitimate *'underclass'* (Murray, 1990), by any stretch of the imagination (see chapter one, page 26). Byrne points out *'the benefit-dependent and the irregularly and poorly employed live together in the same social areas'* (1995:110) and this rings true of Woodside. However, Townsend is also correct when arguing that regardless of employment status *'the divergence of income groups according to tenure has resulted in a greater concentration of people with low incomes in particular neighbourhoods'* (1996:53). Lupton and Power make clear *'The majority of the poorest areas are dominated by social housing'* (2002:120).²⁰

No doubt Woodside tenants' attachment to the estate would be described by free market economists as a barrier to labour market flexibility. A senior employee with Sheffield council housing and responsible for the demolition of Woodside spoke pejoratively of the *"parochialism"* of Woodside residents (see chapter four, pages 140-141). In terms of residential mobility such an assessment comes as no surprise to those familiar with the dramatic topography of Sheffield which by restricting movement heightens the close knit nature of council estates and districts. What some might refer to as parochial patterns of residential mobility are shaped by social class inequalities and Collins suggests that such patterns and attitudes arise from *'the insularity and attachment to place that defines the white working class'* crucially adding *'which is born of a lack of opportunity'* (2004: 237). Taylor et al (1996) suggest that Pitsmoor's ethnic minorities' circumscribed patterns of residential mobility are reinforced by mental maps primarily constructed with issues of safety in mind. Cole and Furbey recognise how the static nature of council tenure discourages residential mobility (1994: 191).

Woodside residents' childhoods, like their Kelham counterparts, were also in the main characterised by a lack of residential mobility. However, residence within middle class suburbia and its concomitant infrastructure offers better prospects for life chances than residence within an increasingly residualised council estate. The parents of long term residents Des, Glen, Tariq, Alan and Scott together with Sol and Lol's mother moved to the estate when accepting a council tenancy was not embarrassing

²⁰ Adonis and Pollard assert *'The healthiest members of society are those who own both a home and at least two cars; the unhealthiest are those who rent from the council and have no car – which indicates not just low socio-economic status but also the lack of ready access to health care'*. (1997:198).

amongst the working class. When they started their tenancies on the estate, or in the surrounding areas, socio-economic circumstances were more favourable than today and a more heterogeneous representation of the working class lived within the public sector (see chapter four, page 135). For Des, Glen, Scott and Alan the houses their parents lived in at the time of the interview were the homes they were raised in. Glen's parents' house on the estate was literally just over the fence from the maisonette he rented. Alan still lived part of his life at his parents' house, albeit split between his girlfriend's residence on the same road. Brothers Sol and Lol were both brought up by their mother in a couple of properties on the Woodside estate. Alan's cousin Scott had lived in a couple of properties in Pitsmoor as a child before taking up residence next door. Dougie's mum survived as a single parent moving the family between a couple of properties in the Pitsmoor area during her son's childhood.

Tariq's family did not move onto the estate until he was in senior school when the estate had entered the 1980's decline, but previously they lived close by. Only when the family ran upon difficult times did Tariq's father take the family to live in social housing. Traditionally with bigger families Sheffield's Muslims from the Indian sub-continent and Yemen tended to live in private terrace housing in the poorest areas. Taking council tenancies has become more common over the intervening period as poorer Asian and Arab families struggle to access private housing.

Charlie and Colin were both brought up in the south, Charlie in and around the east-end of London while Colin grew up amidst the relative tranquillity of Torquay. Their respective paths to Sheffield were also quite different - Colin's family came back to Sheffield voluntarily because his now deceased mother wished to spend her last years in the city of her birth. Colin lived the first part of his life until senior school in a comfortable large detached house in the seaside town before moving to Woodside. I got the sense that this proved a culture shock and one he would rather have avoided. Charlie on the other hand had experienced a chaotic childhood where the family flitted through a procession of rented homes both across the east-end of London and out into Dagenham. Due to the dilapidated state of the pub and their finances Colin could not access residential mobility.

At the time of the interviews only Glen from the Woodside cohort would be leaving the estate to take up residence within a privately owned property. He could only afford the house because it required restoration, much of which he did himself while still living at his Woodside maisonette. Other more specialist tasks were completed off the books

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by friends working in the appropriate trades. Des and Dougie wished to own a property and move to the modest inner suburbs of Crookes or Walkley in the north-west of the city. Only Tariq, a father of three young children, expressed a desire to live in Sheffield's Hallam constituency. A certain inverted snobbery on behalf of Woodside tenants, possibly born of an acute yet implicit recognition of their restricting socio-economic circumstances, might influence such wishes. However, my overwhelmingly sense was of a general realism concerning future residential mobility.

But many people have accessed residential mobility away from Pitsmoor since the collapse of industry and have not been replaced by newcomers. The area's population shrank from 17,600 in 1981 to 15,400 in 1996, a 12.5% loss, while Sheffield's as a whole dropped by only 3.2% (Joint Indicators Working Group, 1997). The population of Pitsmoor today will in all likelihood have fallen beneath 15,000 with the demolition of Woodside and Neville Drive council properties. Large numbers of boarded up and vacant properties in the district's remaining stock testify to the long term neglect and decline of the area.

According to a report by Community and City Agencies (1998), house prices in the area have tended to lag well behind Sheffield's average. In 1995 the average property prices were some of the lowest in the city and this situation remains true today some ten years later. Indeed between 1995 and 1998 the market price for Burngreave terrace properties fell 10% from £24,631 to just £22,175. In comparison the Sheffield average rose 7% over the same period from £37,436 to £40,239. In the meantime the local and national housing market has grown considerably. Prices for properties in Burngreave and Woodside have risen accordingly in the intervening period. However, they have not risen to the extent of local or national increases nor have they closed the gap on average prices. According to CJ Business Services, who catalogue house prices, Pitsmoor terraced prices ranged from top prices of £21,000 down as low as £7,950 at auction (1999). In addition the Community and City Agencies reveal that in 1997 Pitsmoor had by far the largest percentage of empty, yet habitable, council stock at 12% (1998:5). Of this it seems reasonable to assume that the Woodside estate made up a sizeable proportion as it slid into residualisation and became a '*last choice location*' (Lupton and Power, 2002:132).

Low prices for private property and a lack of demand for council property restricts avenues out of the area for those wishing to leave. Because property is cheaper in Pitsmoor than other Sheffield districts only larger properties provide the financial

weight to trade up and out of the area. Cheap house prices are a double edged sword for residents, while some still struggle to pay their modest mortgage repayments their investment appreciates in value only slowly (or perhaps depreciates) and intermittently, and therefore restricts their future patterns of residential mobility. In addition locals frequently struggle to afford major repairs to their properties. These are some of the ways in which *'residential sorting takes place'* write Lupton and Power, *'concentrating the most disadvantaged people in the least advantaged neighbourhoods'* (2002: 119). Further, they add, *'evidence does suggest that the poor are becoming increasingly concentrated in certain areas, even within the worst affected cities and regions'* (2002:121). Chapter four highlighted how Woodside was the poorest area within Sheffield's poorest district. Byrne suggests that during the Keynesian period residential mobility between council housing and the lower end of the owner occupier sector was an *'incremental matter'* (1997:35). But today however *'movement from council housing into another socio-spatial area is difficult. It requires a large boost in income'* (p.35). The original research illustrated in this chapter suggests that inflated property prices and the impoverishment of Woodside tenants restrict residential mobility.

5.6 EMPLOYMENT

5.6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section we explore how life chances are shaped and expressed by the transmission factor of employment or indeed unemployment. Morris illustrates the advantages of understanding the dynamic nature of employment through time and space when she writes *'although it is true that we can only fully capture the nature of social stratification by incorporating a life-course view, the very structures in which an individual's employment experience is located will be subject to change over time'* (1995:73). In terms of the interconnected nature of the thematic transmission factors again there exist intimate interrelations between employment and the other two. For example, *'we find that employment status correlates strongly with housing tenure'* (Morris, 1995: 24).

5.6.2 KELHAM RIVERSIDE RESIDENTS

Amongst the residents of Kelham there was a split between those who could reliably be said to belong to the traditional middle class; those who actually owned capital, or who, like Irwin, occupied a senior supervisory professional position, and those who appear middle class but whose status raises questions. The relationship to the means of production for Ted, Nigel, Robbie and Ashley is one of ownership even if they must work within the business themselves; they are traditional petit bourgeois. Of the five members of the Kelham Riverside traditional middle class three had established themselves within the class they were born into with Robbie and Irwin experiencing upward life chances from the upper working class status of their families. Of the other three Ashley experienced downward mobility before replicating his parents' status, while the route of Nigel and Ted, equipped with educational qualifications, was relatively straightforward.

On the other hand there are three others who were employees and therefore potentially upper working class rather than lower middle class. Vern was employed as a radiographer with the NHS and later I was informed took up an opportunity selling radiography equipment, Terry was a technician with an electronics company, while Paul is a skilled engineer who might subsequently later work in heritage management. Zweig (2000) includes within his contemporary working class schema all those who must work to live and must do as they are told when at work. This definition derived from a Marxist understanding of social class based upon ownership and non-ownership of capital includes people doing professional and white collar jobs. Drawing upon Marx's Capital Volume I Merrifield explains *'the working class are people "who produce and valorize 'capital', and are thrown onto the street as soon as they become superfluous to the need for valorization possessed by 'Monsieur capital' (1999:33).* Paul is clearly working class by virtue of his manual employment and Vern is a salesman. Terry is an engineer and even Irwin is an employee. *'The Bourgeoisie'*, wrote Marx and Engels, *'has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers'* (1984:36). Except for Irwin who was soon to gain promotion the aforementioned residents did not occupy supervisory positions within their place of employment. All of them whether professional, blue collar or white collar had mortgages or rent to pay, all owned cars, they may have even owned shares, bonds or the like, but they did not have enough wealth to live on without working. If they did not work, and Vern's life history is

testament to such circumstances, they must claim welfare or rely on family and friends.

Paul was one of a fifth of graduates who find themselves in non professional employment some five years after graduation. He held a postgraduate certificate too but found himself amongst the 42% of graduates working in jobs for which they are overqualified according to a report by the Association of Graduate Careers Advisory Service (2001). But while Paul is a skilled tradesman the jobs done by Vern, Robbie and Ashley when experiencing downward social mobility were mainly semi and unskilled. However, there are also certain continuities; Vern also worked as a traveling rep for a machine tool company before starting his Access course - at the time of writing I was reliably informed he now works as a rep selling radiography equipment for a transnational corporation.

We have tried to understand social class as something fluid, in perpetual flux, not set in stone but changing with attendant shifts in the organization of the productive forces i.e. economic globalisation. So however one defines social class the Kelham Riverside cohort subvert any notion of a homogenous middle class. Their status as '*marginal gentrifiers*' (Rose, 1984) is an indication not only of the stage they have reached in their life histories but also of their social class status. However, all three members of the cohort had partners of a similar social status Terry's partner was studying for a second degree, while Vern's was a radiographer and Paul's partner was studying for her PhD. If we consider them working class they are clearly within its upper echelons and only Glen from Woodside shared such a position within that class.

5.6.3 WOODSIDE RESIDENTS

If the upper working class residents of Kelham illustrate the heterogeneous nature of the middle class then equally the Woodside residents point to the heterogeneous profile of the proletariat. However, the major divergence between the two sets of residents was between employment and unemployment. Everyone at Kelham was in work, while half of the Woodside cohort was out of work or were receiving other welfare benefits. While both Charlie and Tariq were the most educated and amongst the brightest, neither worked and both received welfare benefits. Des and Dougie were both officially out of work but were both infrequently involved in the local

informal economy and music scene from which they earned extra income. Byrne confirms how *'Households are likely to move between statuses of benefit dependence and poor work (and legal and illegal combinations of both)'* adding *'although only work history collection... and cohort studies can tell us how'* (1995:111). Lol was the only physically and mentally fit member of the cohort who had never worked at the time of the interview. Fortunately he started his first job shortly afterwards. A locally compiled report reveals that Lol's predicament was not rare in the Pitsmoor area (emphasis in original):

'It is clear when nearly 22% of the unemployed in Burngreave have NO PREVIOUS or unknown previous occupations, in excess of ¼ of the available workforce have only Elementary Occupational (unskilled) work experience, and a further 8.2% have 'clerical' backgrounds that the current Sheffield job market is skills-driven. Taking the highlighted groupings as a "skills base-line", 78.2% (in excess of ¾ the total unemployed) have no / limited skills, or skills which are little required within shrinking industrial sectors' (Community and City Agencies, 1998: 9).

Writing about another Sheffield inner city district but equally applicable to Pitsmoor, Lawless and Smith concur with the previous summation over a skills gap *'Unemployment...is largely the result of an over-concentration of individuals employed and unemployed, in sectors which offer only limited, generally declining, job opportunities'* (1998:209). Bigotry, discrimination and general employer stigma *'associated with local authority housing estates'* (p.211) affects Pitsmoor residents. Likewise negative portrayals of the area in the local press do not help (Community and City Agencies, 1998:4). Morris could almost be writing about Lol's own family circumstances when she writes how *'the long term unemployed tend to live on public-sector housing estates with high levels of unemployment; to have partners who are unemployed; to show concentrations of unemployment in their extended kin networks'* (1994:27).

The other residents were gainfully employed. Glen worked as a firefighter, Alan and Scott in manufacturing, while Lol and Sol worked in the low status service sector. Only Colin could be said to be of middle class status and it seemed only a matter of time before he became working class. Most Woodside residents, whether in or out of work at the time of the interview, had experienced an insecure life history of employment. It took Glen years of insecure work and frequent bouts of unemployment before he passed the test to enter the fire service. Lol only found work for the first

time with the assistance of his brother Sol who had himself held a series of poor paying jobs in both industry and the service sector, at home and abroad, as well as periods out of work. Only through nepotism had Scott and Alan managed to avoid insecurity. Both Des and Dougie had experienced employment in the formal economy but never for very long and never particularly well paid. Charlie had worked before his illness interfered with his mental faculties and ability to work.

Only the cousins Alan and Scott had enjoyed the job security enjoyed by their parent's generation at a similar stage in their life history, if not the wages. It is probable that their employment with a relatively good employer of local renown with a radical history makes them somewhat unrepresentative of inner city council tenants. All residents, except for Tariq, Charlie and Colin, had been subject to the severe labour market insecurity inherent since the late 1970's in Sheffield. In addition Alan and Scott were the only two who had worked for any length of time in the industry that had once employed the majority of Woodside fathers: Glen's, Dougie's, Des's, Tariq's, as well as Alan and Scott's fathers had worked within some capacity for the majority of their working lives within Sheffield industry. Charlie's father was a car mechanic. Des and Sol had both worked within the cutlery industry but found the low wages and long hours unbearable. Des was seriously injured during his employment in industry. Neither had required any previous training or experience to enter the industry, quite the reverse: their inexperience was the very reason for their recruitment. The remaining Sheffield cutlery industry still consists of small factories employing small numbers and requires a ready supply of cheap labour in order to compete with overseas competition. The rapid turnover of staff they experience is the price to pay for staying economically competitive. Nobody within the Woodside cohort had ever worked within steel production, operated a centre lathe or a Capstan lathe, jobs that offered their fathers generation regular if mundane employment.

Construction had at various times given employment to some Woodside residents. Because of his shift patterns Glen still occasionally worked as a concreter, a trade that had given him infrequent employment before he joined the fire service. Shortly after leaving school Des had completed a YTS in construction and subsequently infrequently laboured on building sites. Dougie had also carried out labouring work and fitted kitchens. But by its very nature the construction industry, fluctuating with the business cycle and susceptible to booms and slumps, could not fill the gap left by the departure of industrial employment. No Woodside resident had been offered an apprenticeship in industry or construction after leaving school, instead they received

the much maligned Youth Training Scheme. Being from a working class background and leaving school into the maelstrom that was the Sheffield youth labour market of the 1980's was difficult, a life history experience only Glen, Adrian and Scott managed to surmount in terms of employment. Everyone else was languishing in insecurity, long bouts out of work, reliance upon informal forms of employment and entrepreneurship, poor wages, poor conditions and long hours. Residents' involvement in the local informal economy was by its very nature staccato, fraught and liable to unwelcome attention from the law or worse still rougher and tougher rivals.

By virtue of their unemployment or illness Dougie, Des, Tariq and Charlie were in the lower echelons of the working class. So also were Sol and Lol whose wages and conditions of work destined the brothers to the growing ranks of the working poor (Ehrenreich, 2001). Alan and Scott were both semi-skilled operatives with Alan elevated into an inspection role yet making no discernable shift upwards in terms of life chances. Glen can be said to have climbed into the upper working class but Colin was likely to arrive amongst its lower ranks sometime in the not too distant future. Holding the same traditional petit bourgeois status as four Kelham residents Colin was the only middle class resident of Woodside. However, the comparison ends there. The prospects for a landlord of a declining public house, physically going to rack and ruin and rapidly going out of business is not the same as the owner of a newly formed e-commerce company. In addition Colin had neither educational qualifications nor an aptitude to gain any in the future.

5.7 EDUCATION

5.7.1 INTRODUCTION

Again interrelations between the thematic transmission factors are numerous and ever changing under the influence of economic globalisation. In relation to how education interrelates with employment in time and space Byrne and Rogers explain how:

'The changes in the social order which are most generally described by the use of the term 'postfordist', and in particular changes in industrial and occupational structure, have profoundly altered the relationship between secondary educational achievement, occupational access and life chances' (1996:2).

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Byrne (1995) has examined socio-spatial divisions arising as a consequence of deindustrialisation²¹ and noted a high correspondence between the social character of urban areas and the attainment of pupils drawn from those areas. We already know that Kelham residents grew up in suburbia and Woodside tenants in the inner city and Byrne and Rogers explain how *'The divided city is not reproduced exactly in schooling, but the poles of division in residential space and schooling do essentially correspond'* (1996:11).²² The Higher Education Funding Council for England (2005) revealed that whether school leavers go to university can be predicted by their postcode with those from wealthier areas six times more likely to attend than pupils from deprived areas. The likelihood of going to university can also be predicted by household income, how often the family has holidays and whether their family own a dish washer. All these indicators can be gathered under the most salient indicator of inequality: social class. Toynbee sums up these stark educational inequalities *'A few schools buck the trend, but overwhelmingly research shows that schools largely perform according to class intake'* (2002:23).

5.7.2 KELHAM RIVERSIDE RESIDENTS

Only one Kelham Riverside resident was without higher education qualifications, most had degrees. Recent research highlights the relationship between class and higher education, *'Like attainment at school, participation in further or higher education is strongly influenced by people's social and economic background'* (National Statistics, 2004). Paul and Irwin had vocational postgraduate qualifications but none of the other residents had a postgraduate qualification. Instead of a degree Ted studied for a vocational HND. But it was Ashley who was the odd one out with no higher education qualifications whatsoever. This educational attainment tended to give the Kelham residents much better labour market opportunities than Woodside residents because *'The likelihood of being employed is also higher for those with higher qualifications'*

²¹ While not perfect, the term deindustrialisation is preferable to the term 'post-Fordist' because it is debatable whether economic globalization has actually abrogated Fordist forms of production. Traditional national forms of Fordist production (the Ford plant at Dearborn, Michigan had its own glass factory!) like Sheffield's were broken by economic globalization but this reorganization of the productive forces extended Fordist methods across national borders.

²² As I was beginning this research then Education Secretary David Blunkett told the Sheffield Star *'Sheffield's schools are the most educationally divided in Britain'* (Lawrence, 1999:2).

³⁷ Promoting student loans the government has pushed a figure of £400,000 as the benefits over a working life for those with degrees. But research by the University of Wales (Cited by Ashley, 2005:26) estimates the benefit is closer to £150,000.

(National Statistics, 2004). In addition, *'There is a clear relationship between higher qualifications and higher earnings, and the earnings premium for possessing a degree is particularly high'* (2004).²³ But Paul with a Higher Diploma in Heritage Management was still working as a telecom engineer while Ashley without a qualification since school was a company director. Their near universal status as graduates²⁴ was however only the most open expression of their superior education records when compared to those of Woodside residents. Distinct from their Woodside contemporaries they had actually finished secondary education and by and large left with sufficient qualifications to take out into either the world of work or higher education.

It was not however plain sailing for the Kelham residents. While Ashley was alone in his lack of qualifications Vern and Robbie did not attend sixth form. All three left school at sixteen into the world of working class employment. Both Robbie and Vern were accepted on their degrees with Access qualifications gained later. In addition Paul failed his A' levels and joined an Estate Management degree part way through after taking his ISVA surveyor qualification from the Sheffield College. But for Terry, Ted, Nigel and Irwin the path from school to university or in Ted's case local college was relatively seamless. Success in their A' levels led them straight into their degrees and for Irwin subsequently a postgraduate qualification in his profession. Terry mentioned in the interview that his journey through schooling into university was almost *'preordained'* within his middle class family nothing less was expected.

Those residents with a parent who attended university were more likely to expect their offspring to attend university. Failure for Nigel and Terry was not an option. On the other hand especially those whose parents had experienced upward social mobility themselves during their life history without the aid of a university education the issue of a degree was somewhat more ambivalent. Ted's parents had worked their way up the ladder during an earlier historical period and actually put Ted off achieving a higher education after their older wayward daughter rejected what her parents saw as a conventional degree. Vern's parents did not exert pressure upon their son to attend university (whether this was because they saw which way the wind was blowing during his school years is open to question). Only ten years within the labour market without a degree persuaded Vern of its desirability. Likewise Ashley's parents who

experienced steep upward social mobility during his early childhood while valuing education did not feel the need to push their son into university nor even a commonly accepted middle class profession. Instead Ashley trained initially in a manual trade after leaving school at sixteen with insufficient O'levels to attend sixth form. This experience was possibly influenced by his father's experience of upward social mobility after beginning in manual labour. Incidentally Robbie's father worked in the same trade as Ashley's but had not started his own company and remained working class. Robbie, like Vern, realised the benefit of a degree only after years in working class employment, periods of intermittent unemployment and informal employment.

While Ted was successfully establishing a company specialising in graphic design Robbie was doing essentially the same thing armed with a history degree. Nigel was a small retailer with a seemingly incongruous degree in civil engineering while others like Vern, Terry and Irwin like Ted had pursued employment within the subject they had graduated in. What is important to remember is that a degree gives the graduate confidence to tackle other areas of employment. It tells employers that while the vacancy is not immediately relatable to their degree subject through successful completion they have displayed their aptitude and ability.

So while the educational experiences of Kelham Riverside residents are many and varied there are certain trends and tendencies. All of them were schooled within stable households, mainly within the middle class, but for Irwin and Robbie it was within the upper echelons of the working class. Education is a link between childhood and adulthood, between our families, our background and whereabouts we live and independent life after school when we must rely upon employment to arbitrate how much we earn and whereabouts we live. It is the passport to social mobility, it determines our life chances. Yet educational attainment while not inherent within our DNA nor directly predictable from a crude reading off from social class is however profoundly affected by social class transmitted life chances and life worlds. But it is also determined, when the circumstances are favourable, by choices made, often frequently painful and difficult decisions, but ones nonetheless made by residents. There was nothing automatic about Vern's belated replication of his parent's middle class status. Nor was it easy for one as talented as Robbie to quit his entertaining if unpredictable life history patterns of early adulthood and attend an Access course

²⁴ *'Having a degree matters more than the type of degree you have. Qualifications are still primarily a way for employers to see who the brightest people are, rather than evidence of specific skills'* (Burkitt, 2000:17)

and then university. On the other hand there was an element of compunction in that both realised their talents were going to waste and after years of insecurity and downward mobility a further few more years without financial security would eventually be worth it.

What is important to understand is how while the residents made decisions about the future course of their life histories they did so within a context they did not create and which existed prior to their birth and changed forthwith outside of their will. While for some the journey of replicating their parents middle class status through university education seemed in the words of Terry '*preordained*' for others it was much less ordained. Without their decision to attend local college and get an Access qualification Robbie would not have achieved upward social mobility nor would Vern have belatedly replicated the lower middle class status of his parents. But equally for Vern's generation from the lower middle class by the mid-1980's in Sheffield, unlike his parents generation, there was much less scope to achieve middle class employment without a degree. Equally it was difficult for Robbie to achieve his father's skilled working class status because leaving school in the early 1980's London saw the shrinking of the region's manufacturing base before the construction boom at the end of the decade. While Irwin was born into an upper working class family and now displayed all the mannerisms of his achieved middle class status and profession his upward social mobility was to a large extent, and he was the first to acknowledge, made possible by his father's self education and the positive atmosphere this fostered in the family home. Without the intellectual domestic fervour of his autodidact father Irwin would not have been as likely to attend selective school and follow in its established tradition of creating professionals out of precocious children. Davies asserts '*The banal reality is that the single factor which more than any other determines a school's performance is its intake – the children who go there*' (2000:7).

5.7.3 WOODSIDE RESIDENTS

While Tariq had a degree in engineering and Charlie has completed almost half a computer studies degree the other Woodside residents collectively could hardly muster up a handful of O' levels between them.²⁵ By way of comparison, Ashley from Kelham Riverside achieved four. As a transmission factor in the replication of social class inequalities education plays a crucial role. Put most simply, Woodside residents were just too disadvantaged to have a realistic chance of academically succeeding. Amidst the urban turbulence of the late 1970's and right throughout the 1980's when the cohort was growing up life was not conducive towards achieving educational success. Even if for some their earlier childhood during the more protracted decline of the 1970's was gentler their life chances nevertheless suffered an early blow and their subsequent patterns of social mobility bear this out. When unemployment subsequently fell during the 1990's poorly educated Woodside residents missed out on better job opportunities because of their low level of accumulated educational and vocational skills. As a direct consequence their financial access to residential mobility was severely hampered.

Most of the Woodside residents' childhoods were characterised by poverty and disadvantage at some point during growing up. For Dougie and brothers Sol and Lol who grew up in one parent households it was a permanent fixture. Poverty can seriously damage childhood mental development and severely retard educational achievement. Some fathers of the Woodside cohort formerly employed in Sheffield industry did not work again after the large scale layoffs. Unfortunately for some residents the poverty stricken circumstances that handicapped their life chances in childhood remained dominant feature of their lives at the time of my original research.

One of the advantages of studying the Woodside residents is that generalisations can more readily be made about them as a group because of their lack of residential mobility in adulthood and therefore their shared life chances and life worlds. This is not the case with the life worlds of Kelham Riverside residents because their patterns of residential mobility are more varied. Everyone except for Charlie had lived on the estate from at least the mid 1980's and indeed for five of the cohort, at the time of the interview, had lived there for their entire lives. As a consequence the comprehension

²⁵ The educational failure of Woodside residents frequently raised a laugh amongst them. Taylor and Jamieson (1997) detailed the masculine attitudes of Sheffield men from poor areas who use similar exaggerated coping strategies.

of their shared life worlds is rendered somewhat easier and a detailed study has been made of the wider socio-urban circumstances that helped shape those life chances and life worlds. We established in chapter three how the emergence of economic globalisation was especially difficult for the centres of mono-industrial production of which Sheffield was an excellent example. A succession of closures in the steel and engineering industries with large scale redundancies had disastrous results in inner city areas like Woodside – skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour was laid off. Corresponding poverty levels increased enormously. In the meantime the council was retrenching social services and in particular education and housing. Leaving school without qualifications had not been an obstacle to employment until the 1970's but by the 1980's facing the Sheffield labour market even with a handful of qualifications could not guarantee gainful employment.

Long time Woodside residents Des, Glen, Sol, Lol and Alan who spent their entire childhood living on the Woodside estate attended the same schools. They all attended the same junior and infant schools: Pye Bank Nursery and Infant and Pye Bank Trinity Junior. After this they attended one of the three senior schools in the area but none were actually located within Pitsmoor. Scott who lived in the immediate vicinity and moved onto the estate while at school and Dougie who grew up in the surrounding district and moved onto the estate later after a separation also shared very similar patterns. The educational triangle of the two Pye Bank establishments followed by Herries senior school ²⁶ proved an unmitigated failure. Tariq attended Earl Marshall (now renamed Fir Vale) while Glen, at his parents insistence, attended Hinde House at Shiregreen. Davies reports how *'Three secondary schools in Sheffield have been condemned by Ofsted and put into 'special measures': Earl Marshall, Hinde house and Myrtle Springs. All three are in the north-east of the city'* (2000: 10).²⁷

During the 1980's these schools quite simply could not cope with the influx of children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds. After extensive research in Sheffield Davies makes clear *'you cannot make sense of why some schools fail and some succeed without taking account of the corrosive impact of child poverty, which has*

²⁶ Lawrence reports how only 4% of pupils received A to C grades in GCSE's at Herries School (1999:2)

²⁷ Davies describes Sheffield's social geography thus *'Sheffield wears its social divisions on its sleeve. Roughly speaking, the working class – with or without work – live in the old housing estates and crumbling red-brick terraces of the north-east, while the affluent middle class live in the green and pleasant suburbs of the south-west'* (2000:24).

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soared in this country in the past twenty years' (2000:x). The schools had a critical mass of students whose home lives did not lend themselves towards study. Their catchment areas contained not only Pitsmoor but other impoverished council estates on the east side of the city like Shirecliffe, Shiregreen and Southey Green and *'If a school takes in a substantial proportion of children who come from a disadvantaged background...then the school is more likely to fail academically'* (Davies, 2000:8). At the very time when local and national government needed to intervene to lessen the impact they were instead rapidly reducing services and removing funding. While Woodside students excelled at certain elements of the school curriculum they failed to establish themselves sufficiently to gain good grades across the board. Some did not finish senior school either through outright expulsion or sustained absconding. Sol combined both these factors and failed to receive an adequate education at a series of schools.

Educational failure was not assured however. Tariq remembered how his father never once attended his son's parents evening yet Tariq battled against childhood polio and received a degree. Research by UCAS revealed that *'The 1.6m households living in council flats form nearly 7% of the UK total, but only 3% of applications'* and people sharing Tariq's tenure of low rise council accommodation number three million but managed just 2,700 applications for university (cited by Elliott Major, 1999:13). But even armed with this qualification Tariq was unable to secure employment possibly because of his serious disability. Without his mental illness there is every chance that Charlie would complete his studies and be an asset to the technology business. Both Glen and Dougie excelled at art in senior school and were both encouraged by their respective teachers. Yet both failed to convert their talent into careers even after attending college to study the subject. Glen came closest yet failed to progress to HND level because of what he felt was a lack of parental interest at his crucial end of term show. Others who were subsequently chosen by the lecturers to progress to higher education had parents who attended the all day event. Glen's mum and dad did not and this he felt swung the selection process against him. While Glen was thankful to his parents for remaining together through tough years he did not feel he received any educational support from them especially from his father. *'Head teachers and officials at the town hall agree that in the old public housing estates, education has never been highly valued'* while only ever partially true of the most deprived layers of the working class Davies explains how such attitudes are not self inflicted *'In the good old days up until the early 1980's, that was because there were apprenticeships more or less on demand in the coal and steel industries'* (2000:11).

But Colin, Alan, Scott, Lol, Sol and Des did leave school to all intents and purposes without qualifications. Alan and Scott were comforted during their later school days by the opportunity family connections would provide within local industry. In a similar manner Colin seems to have settled in his own mind at an unnervingly early age his suitability to the rigour of the publican's trade. Des who described himself as a '*reyt little goody-goody*' before his parents split up together with brothers Sol and Lol left school without any educational qualifications to offer prospective employers. Not that employers were thick on the ground during the 1980's and even with a few O' levels many working class school leavers without the stigma of a Woodside and Pitsmoor postcode could do little better than government funded schemes like YTS.

It is no coincidence that those Woodside residents who had experienced the most serious adult incidence of unemployment were those without qualifications. Reviewing almost thirty years of research the Treasury reported:

'Children from disadvantaged backgrounds are much less likely to succeed in education...On 'difficult to let' estates, one in four children gain no GCSE's (the national average is one in twenty) and the rates of truancy are four times the national average...There is considerable evidence that growing up in a family which has experienced financial difficulties, damages children's educational performance' (HM Treasury, 1999:8).

Equally they also turned out to be those residents who had suffered the deepest poverty during childhood. At the time of the interview Des, Dougie, Sol and Lol were either unemployed or in low paid work. Dougie was operating within the informal economy to supplement his benefits but Des and Lol were unemployed with Sol in low paid entry level service sector employment.

5.8 SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to analyse the life history interview transcripts of residents from both Woodside and Kelham Riverside. Initially we discussed the general life history of each resident through brief vignettes. This section of the chapter gives a brief yet detailed snapshot of each resident and details of their thematic transmission factor patterns. Each vignette discusses the resident's specific experiences of the three thematic transmission factors. In addition, this section incorporates personal background details such as ethnicity, age and parents

occupation.

After the introduction to the individual residents life history's the discussion analysed each thematic transmission factor. The individual life histories are crucial but their conflation into a general discussion is valid as a means of expressing more universal developments and patterns. Each of the three sections has introduced the individual thematic transmission factor and highlighted how they transmit inequalities from the previous generation, and simultaneously are an expression of current circumstances and determinants for subsequent generations. We acknowledge that each thematic transmission factor is intimately internalised in relation to the other two to such an extent that their influence upon life chances is difficult to separate. Consequently their division in the discussion is somewhat arbitrary yet necessary for clarity.

The thematic transmission factor of residential mobility is acknowledged as a prime symbolic indicator of life chances and a direct expression of life worlds. The Kelham Riverside residents tended to be born and raised within privately owned suburban Britain. Most expressed a desire to return to the suburbs once their 'city living' investment had accrued. While Woodside residents school years were spent within inner city council housing, frequently on the Woodside estate or its immediate surrounding districts. However, as children both cohorts enjoyed, by and large, little or no residential mobility by their parents during their childhood. But we noted how the Woodside residents from the most disadvantaged background, brothers Sol and Lol, at their mother's behest moved properties with alarming frequency during their formative years.

The teenage and young adult years of most Kelham residents was characterised by inter city residential mobility in order to attend higher education. In general these university years involved a transitional lifestyle between rented properties. Two Kelham Riverside residents, Vern and Ashley, experienced downward social mobility in early adulthood and their patterns of residential mobility during these years reflected their descent.

By comparison Woodside residents' residential mobility patterns were much more 'parochial' with some never having left the Woodside estate. Indeed one or two still resided within the only home they had ever known. My fieldwork research suggests that upward social mobility and/or middle class status can involve substantial adult residential mobility. By contrast working class status or intra working class downward

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mobility can involve much less residential mobility. University attendance can only go so far towards explaining the disparity. The relative privilege of middle class occupations and remuneration effectively makes residential mobility more accessible. By contrast, the insecurity of the poor working class and tenure within social housing seems to shrink the scope for residential mobility. These patterns were reflected in the quite modest desire for future residential mobility expressed by Woodside residents. These issues are thoroughly influenced by the other two thematic transmission factors.

The thematic transmission factor of employment adequately described the contemporary circumstances of the Kelham Riverside residents who were all employed or self-employed. But the term should have been coupled with another related term, namely unemployment for both cohorts. Two Kelham residents in earlier times of downward social mobility experienced spells of unemployment. But this was insignificant compared to Woodside where unemployment was a permanent fixture. On the council estate almost all the cohort had experienced lengthy bouts of unemployment. At the time of my fieldwork research three were out of work and a further two were in receipt of disability welfare benefits; this amounts to half the Woodside cohort. Fortunately the only resident who fitted the stereotype of never having had a job got one shortly after the interview. All the Woodside residents, whether in or out of work, able bodied or disabled, were working class except for one. They did not conform to the notion of an 'underclass' residing beneath the working class and indeed raise pertinent questions of such classifications. Unfortunately the one middle class Woodside resident was slowly going bankrupt and thereby sliding into the ranks of the proletariat.

With social class membership read from employment circumstances (relationship to the means of production) the Kelham Riverside residents were much less homogenous. By the classical Marxist definition three of the eight residents were upper working class rather than members of the middle social strata because they did not own capital. All of them must work for a living and accept orders from above. My fieldwork research suggests it is becoming increasingly difficult for some lower middle class offspring to replicate their parents circumstances, especially without higher education qualifications. The fieldwork evidence suggests the distinction between the upper working class and lower middle class is increasingly fluid and subject to the turbulence created by the emergence of economic globalisation. The heterogeneous nature of the Kelham Riverside residents calls into question the efficacy of the term

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'gentrification' with its upper middle class overtones.

In terms of the education as a thematic transmission factor the distinction between Woodside and Kelham residents was clearer. With the exception of one resident all the Kelham cohort had studied for and gained higher education qualifications, a couple had postgraduate qualifications. Just two of the Woodside cohort had studied at the level of higher education, with one failing to complete the course. The other eight Woodside residents could count just a couple of Art O' levels between them. Few of them even managed to finish secondary school. However, beyond this obvious education distinction few direct correlations between education and future employment circumstances existed. At Woodside, Charlie did not complete his degree while Tariq did. But through circumstances beyond their control neither was in paid employment. While at Kelham Paul was one of only two residents with postgraduate qualifications, but he was also the only resident in manual working class employment.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

We open by restating the hypothesis and questions that have structured this research. The research hypothesis was framed around a contemporary contradiction between the revolutionary advances in the productive forces, manifested in the process of economic globalisation, and the simultaneous regression of working class male life chances (a decreasing incidence of upward social mobility). Economic globalisation has utilised the unprecedented developments in productive technology to bring about the greatest advances in labour productivity in human history (Wolf, 2005). While this process has unfolded the incidence of upward social mobility for working class males has slowed almost to a stop (Aldridge et al, 2001). Flowing from this hypothesis the research asked two interrelated questions: how does the emergence of economic globalisation influence urban inequality within a specific locality? Secondly, we asked how the life chances of people living within that specific locality are influenced by the accumulated changes. The two research questions were designed to offer a 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation upon both social and urban inequality within a specific locality with disparate residential communities. In keeping with the dialectic approach adopted for this research the measurement of social and urban inequality will be either quantitative or qualitative.

This final chapter reaches some provisional conclusions, expressing key observations and answering the relevant research questions. To reiterate briefly upon the key premise of this thesis: there is a dialectical relationship between the individual and society. The individual is born into a society that exists prior to their birth and develops independently of their human consciousness. But whilst society forms the individual, simultaneously the individual creates society in a continuous dialectic; society is an externalisation of humanity, and humanity is a conscious appropriation of society.

The term 'life chances' is synonymous with social mobility, i.e. the relative and absolute chances for the individual of upward or downward mobility through the social classes (see chapter one, page 21). In this study membership of a social class is determined by your relationship to the means of production which

determines employment circumstances and remuneration accordingly. The city resident's individual life world is, by and large, dependent upon their life chances in as much as social class, to a high degree of probability, determines the resident's everyday experience of the city; whereabouts they live, go to school, whereabouts they work, and their journey to and from work. In short, 'life worlds' refer to the class determined nature of the resident's everyday urban experience within the city.

6.2 ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION AND LIFE CHANCES

Research by Ermisch and Francesconi (2002) suggests *'that upward mobility from the bottom is more likely than downward mobility from the top'* (2002: ii/iii). My fieldwork research suggests little of either type of social mobility. Amongst my fieldwork cohort upward mobility from the lower working class is non-existent and modest from its upper echelons. We cannot comment on downward movements from a Kelham cohort of whom nobody was from an exceptionally privileged background. However, there was a slow downward movement for Colin (see chapter five, page 156) out of the traditional petit bourgeois. Although probably temporary, downward mobility for Paul from Kelham, was much like that experienced at an earlier stage in their life histories by Ashley (see chapter five, page 165) and Vern (see chapter five, page 173).

Ermisch and Francesconi (2002) also suggest people are increasingly marrying partners from a similar social background, they call this tendency *'assortative mating'*. This may help explain the upward residential mobility of some Kelham residents because a noted disparity between the Woodside and Kelham cohorts was the latter's higher tendency to live with a partner. Based on a 5,000 strong sample of families who have been traced and quizzed at intervals since 1958 the study found people with middle class parents are much more likely to earn similar amounts themselves and have partners of similar means. The research found that half of earnings can be attributed to background and the better off the family the bigger the proportion of the child's income emanates from their background. Not only are they likely to replicate their parent's status but also to marry someone of a similar social status also with parents in higher earning occupations. Life chances and life worlds in unison – university, work, leisure and residence, hand in hand with such dynamics go the advantages of their

parent's social and vocational contacts, networks and associations.

Concerning the seemingly inexorable slide from the lower middle class by landlord Colin from Woodside, research has revealed that 3.8 million of Britain's middle class is living on incomes beneath the poverty line. Such findings question whether such people remain in any real sense middle class. Research by the Elizabeth Finn Trust (EFT) (2004) suggests that downward social mobility from the middle class is accelerating. They state *'The rate of downward social mobility from the professional classes is growing'*. They add *'If current trends continue we will see up to 11% of the adult population falling into the EFT potential beneficiary group'* (2004:2).¹ A major contributory factor in the misfortune endured by this class fraction is a lack of educational qualifications with 6% holding a degree compared with a national average of 12%. One third, like Colin, has no educational qualifications whatsoever. The EFT research findings question the efficacy of the so-called *'soft networks'*² that Ermisch and Francesconi (2002) believe assist middle class offspring. They question whether who you know is of any residual relevance in what they refer to as a *'meritocratic society'* (2004:1). Arguing against a kind of Weberian 'social closure' argument implicitly used by Ermisch and Francesconi the EFT research states *'Among the professional classes, one-quarter leave school without five good GCSE's...once this group may have got into the workforce through their connections, this will be increasingly difficult in a world where qualifications are paramount'* (2004:2). The research discusses how *'Downward social mobility can occur when one or a combination of...factors pushes an individual into a vicious cycle of decline'* (2004:1). These factors include financial problems, lack of employment, family breakdown, poor health and inadequate pensions.

¹ The Elizabeth Finn Trust client group is the *'14% of the professional classes – 3.8 million adults in the UK – are below the poverty line'* (2004:1).

² The so-called *'soft networks'* of the middle classes are often counter-posed favorably to the *'hard'* working class networks of close friends, family and work mates.

6.2.1 DOES AN INNER CITY COUNCIL ESTATE UNDERCLASS EXIST?

This section addresses issues raised in chapter one concerning the social class status of those who live within the contemporary inner city (see page 26). The conclusions are informed by my original research in the sub-locale. The EFT research findings help undermine 'underclass' type arguments by highlighting the heterogeneous nature of the working class. The EFT research contributes towards challenging assertions that an underclass exists beneath the working class, because, to paraphrase Karl Marx - the working class is recruited from all classes. In contrast to the incredible wealth accumulated by the super-rich Antolin (1999) estimates that more than 55% of the British population has experienced poverty at some time over a six year period.³ As suggested by my fieldwork research at Woodside, many of the most vulnerable elements of the lower working class suffer from the carousel or churning effect whereby they intermittently rise above a poverty level income but only for a short period before returning to such circumstances. Contrary to those who claim the existence of a group beneath the working class Spicker's research suggests that poverty is not an issue only for a permanent minority of society i.e. a recalcitrant underclass. Spicker claims *'People move through dependency and most poverty is temporary. Poor people do not stay in poverty indefinitely'* (2002: 5). Most poverty is temporary and many poor children do not grow up to become poor adults or at least not for their entire adult lives. However, as the Woodside fieldwork research suggests while poverty might not be constant it is persistent and constantly lurking around a corner. When we consider the experiences of Kelham residents like Ashley, Vern and Robbie (see chapter five, page 172) together with most Woodside residents Spicker seems correct when he asserts *'Poverty is generally an experience for part of peoples lives, not for all of it'*. He could be writing specifically about Lol and other Woodside residents when he adds *'Relatively few people who are unemployed stay unemployed continuously'* (2002: 23). My original research suggests that while their socio-economic circumstances were quite disparate at the time of the fieldwork, members of both communities have experienced similar socio-urban circumstances of deprivation during some stage of their life histories. The disadvantaged circumstances experienced at one time or another during their life histories by both Woodside and Kelham Riverside residents goes some way

³ Coincidentally in 1998 55% of the British population identified themselves as working class (cited by Anthony, 1999:3).

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towards undermining notions of an underclass.

In general the notion of an underclass has revolved around the contention that beneath the working class, however specifically defined, exist an underclass. The defining characteristics of Charles Murray's (1990, 1994) underclass is one of involvement in crime, unemployment and illegitimacy (hence satirical asides about idle thieving bastards). While the thematic transmission factors of inequality utilised in my fieldwork (education, employment and residential mobility) were not designed to directly investigate the existence of an 'underclass' my research does reveal certain tendencies and currents which challenge such notions.

Murray's assertions are difficult to deal with because ultimately his explanation wrests upon cultural, moral and behavioural traits. It represents an attempt to blame the poor for their poverty and arbitrarily divide the working class along lines of deserving and undeserving, between, as he sees it, those who are poor and accept their lot and others whose behaviour and morals are repugnant and destructive to bourgeois society. Trotsky could have been writing about Murray's work when he described bourgeois morals as the '*mechanics of class deception*' (1969:16). According to Katz (1989) the notion of an underclass is but a modern euphemism for the discredited term the '*undeserving poor*'. To blame the victim is attractive to the political right because it encourages the reaffirming of individual responsibility and minimum intervention by the state. In classical Marxism the proletariat is, in an historical sense, a potentially revolutionary class. But under contemporary circumstances the working class, including its poorest elements, is neither more, nor less, virtuous than other social classes, it is simply poorer, in many cases much poorer. It is the circumstances of inequality, poverty and disadvantage – less money, poorer housing, less access to material goods, little security, few prospects and inadequate education that create the problems Murray speaks about as somehow intrinsic to the lower working class. Murray's assertions are little more than a crude justification for the explosion of inequality, poverty and disadvantage over the last thirty years. This thesis has discussed how inequality is growing between social classes and this dynamic simultaneously exacerbates disparities within social classes. Growing intra working class socio-urban disparities are perhaps the reason why notions of the existence of an underclass find acceptance within that same class.

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Jones and Novak (1993:3) point out that amongst underclass type explanations of poverty *'there is little if any recognition of the devastating structural changes that have reshaped British society over the past twenty years'*. My thesis rejects such an approach to complex and protracted sociological issues and instead has explored social and urban phenomena through a dialectic method which seeks to contextualise, illustrate and understand rather than merely condemn. The viscous nature of social classes has been illustrated by the life histories of my fieldwork research: the Kelham Riverside cohort (see chapter five, page 166) confirms how poverty is not an isolated event, only periodically befalling a minority of the British population, but instead is a widely experienced phenomena. The Woodside cohort (see chapter five, page 153) illustrate how an impoverished section of the working class has been created since the advent of economic globalisation. However, my fieldwork research does not support the notion that a section of society exists beneath the working class. A section of the working class they remain, however poor or fitfully employed – not a class beneath. Some are uneducated – undoubtedly, some are a little 'rough' around the edges – oh yes, some partake in the informal economy and some utterly despise their mundane employment, but regardless, they remain within the working class.

Unfortunately, the notion of an underclass has a life beyond the innuendos, assertions and anecdotes of Murray. In a more general sense the term has come, however vaguely, to represent a layer beneath the working class identifiable both socially and geographically. The exacerbation of social polarisation since the late 1970's has undoubtedly created a malign urban footprint and Woodside would certainly qualify for what Peter Townsend called *'poor areas'* (1979). But the former inner city council estate was not the *'Fourth World'* of Castells's (1998) nightmares, nor was it remotely like what he menacingly refers to as a *'black hole'* (1998) of the world economy.⁴ Just as the residents of Woodside are working class, i.e. connected, however tenuously, to capitalist forms of production, the Woodside estate remained intimately connected to the capitalist economy. Woodside was an impoverished working class community where ordinary life continued regardless of the protracted residualisation of their council housing. It was a place where people made the best of their lot within very difficult socio-urban circumstances.

⁴ Castells must be aware that Calcutta's infamous *'black hole'* was created by neglectful and incompetent colonial administrators who allowed the prisoners to die.

Some like Auletta (1999) postulate that a chronic lack of upward social mobility defines the so-called underclass. But this explanation is also undermined by the findings of contemporary academic research and my own fieldwork research. Research by Blanden and Gregg (2005) illustrates the decline of upward social mobility by comparing two generations. The generation born around 1970 are more likely to be employed in jobs similar to that of their parents than the generation born in 1958. What some call cross generational or inter generational social mobility has slowed rapidly in the intervening period. The earlier generation would leave school somewhere in the early 1970's while the generation born in 1970, a year incidentally that falls in the middle of my cohort criteria, leave secondary education in the mid 1980's. The authors believe there is less mobility for the later generation because in part the correlation between family income and educational attainment has increased. Evidence from my fieldwork research suggests that children from better off backgrounds achieve more educational qualifications and frequently go on to attend university. Blanden and Gregg (2005) believe the expansion of higher education since the late 1980's has disproportionately benefited the upper middle classes. Participation rates amongst the top fifth of British society have more than doubled, rising from 20% to 47%. Amongst the poorest fifth of society, the lower working class, rates rose from just 6% to 9%. Blanden and Gregg are insistent upon the centrality of family income in childhood years determining subsequent education achievement and believe this relationship is '*at the heart of Britain's low mobility culture*' (2005:3) especially concerning access to higher education. With Esping-Anderson (1993:234) describing educational achievement as the '*alpha and omega*' of upward social mobility from the working class my fieldwork research would appear to support the intrinsic links drawn out by Blanden and Gregg regarding class, income and education. These links were explored by the inequality thematic transmission factors of education, employment (determines income) and residential mobility in chapter five.

In the first chapter we explored how the emergence of economic globalisation brought about a growth in social inequality. Teeple describes the momentous period of its emergence, '*The 1980's was a watershed, a turning point in the history of capitalism*' (1995:1) and the policies subsequently introduced '*represent the conscious retrenchment of national state intervention in the*

spheres of social reproduction' (p.5).⁵ What occurred in the meantime to explain the disparity between the two generations, as researched by Blanden and Gregg (2005), was of course economic globalisation and the exacerbation of social inequality it engendered. The contradiction between advances in productive technology and the social condition of workers is described by Munck as *'the Globalisation revolution' which is 'characterised by a seemingly miraculous development of capitalism, but also by an equally profound dislocation of the lives of ordinary people'* (2002:2). Teeple also notes how *'the computer-aided production makes science and technology pre-eminent in the production process, and the resulting highly capital-intensive systems greatly raise productivity and reduce the amount of necessary labour'* (1995:65). Similar sentiments concerning this contradiction between the incredible advances in productive technology intimately associated with globalisation, and the simultaneous regression of the social and urban conditions of both the working and middle classes are shared by a number of academics (Harvey, 2005; Greider, 1997; Martin and Schumann, 1997; Tabb, 2001; Gray, 1999; Mishra, 1999; Bauman, 1998a; Luttwak, 1999; George and Wilding, 2002). In the first chapter we drew upon Karl Marx who explained that the inexorable development of the productive forces under capitalism retards social development.⁶

The sharp rise in inequality after 1979 was unprecedented in Britain and coincided with Sheffield's industrial fall from grace (see chapter three). Brewer et al (2005) point out that between 1979 and 2001 the top 10% in income distribution in the UK received more of the total share of income than the bottom 50%, and, as Bartley explains, *'policies that increase inequality will act to decrease social mobility'* (2002:9).⁷ If the inequalities between social classes are stretched then it becomes more difficult in a market driven society for

⁵ *'Monetarism represented the policies required by internationalized capital in a global economy, an arena in which political compromise with national working classes was a declining issue, and in which the costs of production became pre-eminent and the costs of re-production of the working class completely subordinate'* (Teeple, 1995:70).

⁶ Marx also explained how the *"Improvements"* of towns, *accompanying the increase in wealth, by the demolition of badly built quarters, the erection of places for banks, warehouses...drive away the poor into even worse and more crowded hiding places'* (1887:615/616). While globalisation has revolutionised the productive forces local authorities embark upon what Merrifield calls *'purification of some of the more unpalatable and problematic internal spaces within cities'* (2002b:13).

⁷ Westergard argues *'my title sets 1979 as a watershed year. For the first time in some 35 years, there was now a government seriously and openly committed to challenging the socio-political 'class compromise' (1996:144).*

members of a lower class to overcome the accumulated disadvantages and climb into the class above. It is the growth of social inequality that brings in its wake a furring up of social mobility's arteries. Goldthorpe and Mills (2000) identify the period 1979-1981 as the period when working class upward social mobility in Britain slowed to a trickle. Simultaneously during this historical period Sheffield's industrial collapse occurred as a concentrated regional expression of a national phenomenon. Sheffield as the '*Keynesian city*' par excellence was decimated by the monetarist induced recession of the Thatcher government.

Aldridge explains that '*upward career mobility from manual occupations to higher status professional and technical occupations has declined*' (2001:2). My fieldwork research of the Woodside cohort seems to support such a suggestion. But Robbie and Irwin from Kelham illustrate that perhaps mobility has not completely been abrogated. The life histories of those two Kelham residents confirm the point made by Aldridge that higher status occupations are increasingly entered '*direct from the education system rather than through mid-career flows from lower status occupations*' (p.2). Evidence garnered from my fieldwork cohort support the claims of Blanden and Gregg (2005) about how the expansion of undergraduate numbers has disproportionately benefited the middle classes. This contemporary development has effectively finished what was known as the '*tradesmen's entrance*' according to Gershuny (1993: 167) whereby diligent and bright working class employees would access upward occupational mobility from within their workplace. Instead of internally promoting employees enterprises nowadays prefer to advertise and employ suitably qualified graduates. Aldridge also explains how upward relative social mobility, i.e. the chance of the son of a lorry driver becoming a doctor, relative to the chance of the son of a doctor becoming a doctor has remained unchanged over the last one hundred years. Complementing the findings of Blanden and Gregg (2005) Aldridge (2001) declares rates of mobility have declined considerably over the last twenty to thirty years; upward mobility from manual occupations to higher status professional and technical occupations has declined over the same period and has now virtually ceased.

What Aldridge's (2001) research identifies as factors that fetter upward social mobility, namely education, poverty and housing are very similar to the thematic transmission factors chosen for my fieldwork research - education, employment and residential mobility. The strength of the approach adopted for this research

compared to that of Aldridge is that the transmission factors of inequality are understood as part of the structural experience of social class. The transmission factors utilised in this research are understood as part of the totality of human existence rather than abstract phenomena as with Aldridge et al (2001). In this research we have sought to understand the interrelations between the transmission factors of inequality rather than treating them as isolated phenomena. In keeping with a dialectic approach this research has highlighted the essential interconnectedness and interpenetration of the transmission factors rather than understanding them as separate and arbitrary. In short, one cannot understand any social or urban phenomenon or a resident's life history without first relating them to the totality i.e. the economic structure of society and the superstructure that flows from the mode of production.

The weakness of the approach of Aldridge et al is highlighted when the lack of upward mobility from the working class is explained by them with reference to the superiority of the free market and Murray's underclass type arguments of morality, values and lack of effort. Their research routinely refers to the poorest echelon of the working class as an underclass and ultimately they conclude that the working class is guilty of spurning available opportunities for upward social mobility.⁸ Attempting to rationalise the lack of upward social mobility the research resorts to the oft repeated academic and media adage: the working class is disappearing. In this manner Aldridge erroneously equates the movement from industrial manual employment to service sector employment as upward social mobility, i.e. the transformation of the working class into the middle class. In this manner the term middle class is applied to a substantial layer of the working class whose white collar status involves no discernable difference in pay or conditions. If anything the protracted shift from manufacturing to service sector employment has witnessed a lowering of wages and sustained attacks upon terms and conditions of employment. Pointing to the growth of the service sector using the example of the call centre Aldridge's research asserts that this is proof there is '*more room at the top*' (2001:2). But this type of employment is characterised by short term contracts, insecurity and poor pay. By regarding the expansion of the financial and service sector as

⁸ For Aldridge (2001) social inequality is not considered intrinsic to a society divided into unequal social classes. Instead inequality and the lack of social mobility are put down to subjective factors like ambition, lack of entrepreneurial attitudes or social networks and the like.

absolute upward movement, Aldridge can claim that the working class is shrinking. By contrast Philo describes the bottom 50% of the British income distribution thus, *'This includes many of the traditional middle class, who are now faced with the industrialisation of their work, as "safe" occupations in banking and insurance turn into low-paid call-centre jobs'* (2001).

If one examines the growth of income and wealth inequality there is actually far less room at the top than before. Over the last thirty years the top five percent of British society has enriched itself beyond all historical precedents, while the remainder of the population faces increasing insecurity and stagnating or falling real wages (Elliott and Atkinson, 1999). An ongoing process of social polarisation has brought about a situation whereby the top layer of society, consisting of the traditional bourgeoisie and the upper echelons of the middle class, now earn as much as the bottom 50% of the population as a whole. In addition to lending routine service sector employment a false middle class status Aldridge et al (2001) ignore the effects that economic restructuring has had upon what used to be considered thoroughly middle class professions. Flores & Gray (2000) have researched this process of proletarianisation and concluded that the traditional middle class *'career'* is effectively finished. Teachers, university lecturers and other public sector employees especially, have witnessed an absolute decline in their earnings and a simultaneous loss of workplace autonomy and professional status. They find themselves increasingly reduced to the status of white collar day labourer, frequently employed by the hour as little more than hired hands.

Aldridge (2004) followed up his initial research with a more nuanced analysis. While maintaining that social mobility refers to the movement of people between social classes Aldridge now contends that *'Opportunities for social mobility are one dimension of an individual's life chances'* (p.3). Life chances are no longer synonymous with social mobility but instead refer to *'the opportunities open to individuals to better the quality of life of themselves and their families'* and other dimensions include *'the absence of poverty and social inclusion'* (p.3).⁹

⁹ Callinicos (2001b:19) points out how the day after the political implications of Aldridge's initial research was splashed across the Guardian newspaper i.e. progressive taxation, abolishing inheritance tax, encouraging downward mobility from the middle class etc, the Financial Times carried the headline *'Social Equality Disowned by Blair'*. It is possible that the findings were so unpalatable to New Labour that Aldridge subsequently pulled his punches second time round. Increasing social mobility requires

Accusations of creating a tautology can be levelled at Aldridge with this distinction because it seems the criteria for his life chances are determined first and foremost by social class.¹⁰ After all, the recent research on life chances clearly establishes that the best chance of securing a better quality of life is to access upward social mobility.

While Aldridge continues to promote the problematic *'more room at the top'* scenario, his follow up research admits that *'The odds of a child from the middle class background making it into the middle class – as opposed to the working class – relative to the same odds for a working class child are of the order of 15:1'* (2004:24). Later education is identified as the *'Major Factor'* (p.29) in weakening the link between class origins and class destination, the most likely route in and out of the middle classes in the light of the other recent research findings, is the completion or absence of a university education. Nevertheless, my fieldwork research illustrates, education is not an autonomous variable. Indeed *'Social class is still central to an understanding of educational outcomes'* (Furlong, 1997: 69) and for Walker *'Life chances do depend on luck and ability but, more than anything else, on how much your parents earn'* (2003:1).

Seemingly mindful that the logical solution to the issues raised in his first research was increased government intervention Aldridge asserts in his follow up study that *'open and competitive markets'* are essential to opening up social mobility and apparently *'have an important role to play in overcoming class barriers'* (p.49). The evidence from my research points in the diametric opposite direction.

reducing inequality, whereas a focus upon life chances implies otherwise.

¹⁰ Westergard argues for objective fact *'On the one hand, the facts about class – in Britain and a number of other western countries – show that inequality has widened, quite dramatically since about 1980. Yet, over just the same period, fashionable theories and influential ideologies have appeared to say almost the opposite. While rich and poor have grown further apart, both predominant ideology and social theory have set out to dismiss this; or to argue that it does not matter anyway'* (1996: 141).

6.2.2 HOW USEFUL IS THE TERM 'GENTRIFICATION' IN UNDERSTANDING CONTEMPORARY CITY CENTRE DYNAMICS?

This section of the chapter addresses theoretical issues initially raised in chapter one regarding the social class status of those who live in gentrified housing (see page 28). The findings are informed by my fieldwork research within the sub-locale. From the limited size of my research cohort it would be unwise to offer general extrapolations but my fieldwork seems to support wider research findings. It would appear from my research that upward social mobility for the children of semi and unskilled working class parents has stagnated or actually fallen. How representative Irwin and Robbie are of upward social mobility from the upper working class in general is debatable. Arguing that Britain is a meritocracy Saunders argues that bright working class kids will '*almost certainly*' make it into the middle class (cited by The Economist, 2002b:29). But Furlong argues that '*Despite the common belief that ascribed occupational roles have gradually eroded, the truth of the matter is that social ascent through education is limited and family background has remained an important determinant of educational attainment*' (1997:58). The class profile of '*marginal gentrifiers*' (Rose, 1984) at Kelham as predominately lower middle class possibly exaggerates the significance of upward social mobility from the non-social housing, upper working class.

Further research into the issue may find a higher proportion of residents within the newly regenerated city centre whose tenuous middle class status raises questions concerning the efficacy of the term gentrification. Hackworth (2002) amongst others has questioned whether the term gentrification is useful anymore because of its wide contemporary remit. But my fieldwork research raises a different matter: whether the term gentrification accurately describes the residents on whom it explicitly bestows middle class status. Previously we questioned the middle class status of the Kelham Riverside cohort and found that perhaps as many as three out of eight were in proletarian employment (see chapter four, page 120). Further research into the social class of those living within Sheffield's rapidly expanding city centre apartment district may well find a sizeable proportion employed as white collar proletarians. The likelihood of such a social composition in Sheffield's city centre is elevated by the fact that, after almost ten years of city centre regeneration, as yet, Sheffield has failed to attract the upper middle classes who can bring about what Sassen refers to as

'high-income gentrification' (1998:122). Such a development would be problematic for Lord Rodgers's (1999) call for the civilising mission of the middle classes in the city centre and for its promoters like MP Richard Caborn. That is not all: Caborn effectively utilised trickle down economics to legitimise Sheffield's city centre gentrification. He argued that such development would create service sector employment for Sheffield's working class. Because the type of gentrification identified by Sassen tends to create employment in property maintenance, speciality boutiques, gourmet food stores and restaurants she describes it as *'labor intensive'* (1998:122). In other words the consumption patterns and lifestyles of the upper middle classes can create working class employment in fields servicing their wants and desires. A singular lack of this type of development in Sheffield with instead a city centre with a sizeable proportion of white collar working class residents will not create the kind of spending power required to create employment for people like the former residents of Woodside.

It is possible that Woodside residents are not entirely representative of inner city council residents in their lack of upward social mobility. Interviewing residents who still lived at Woodside four years prior to demolition effectively precluded finding those whose upward social mobility and concomitant upward residential mobility had already taken them elsewhere. However, the life histories, life chances and life worlds of Woodside residents are accurately captured and correlate with wider research. In a similar manner the timing of the interviews at Kelham Riverside, within months of their completion, possibly skewed the social composition of the residents towards *'marginal gentrifiers'* (Rose, 1984). Instead a somewhat fluid, possibly transitional, situation was captured by the fieldwork research at the two disparate housing developments.

6.3 REFLECTIONS ON THE LIFE CHANCES OF WOODSIDE AND KELHAM RIVERSIDE RESIDENTS

At Woodside Glen had eventually managed to achieve skilled working class employment and replicate his father's status as a skilled machinist. Alan's position in an inspection post meant he was replicating the semi-skilled social class of his parents but his Uncle, Scott's father, had been a skilled fitter. Scott, however, was employed within a semi skilled capacity operating the furnaces.

Otherwise the picture is somewhat depressing. Des's father was a machinist in the steel industry and his mum a nurse but he had fallen back into the lower echelons of the class. Both Tariq and Charlie were in receipt of benefits connected to their disabilities and by the dint of their welfare recipient status lived in poverty.¹¹ Both had fathers who had worked. Des, Dougie and Sol, at the time of the interview, were all in receipt of Jobseekers Allowance. Dougie, and the brothers Sol and Lol were born into the lower working class, the children of single parents and remained within the lower echelons. The landlord Colin was the only middle class resident of Woodside but his class status became less secure by the day. Living in a defective building, effectively in poverty and holding only currently worthless capital it was not a middle class existence as experienced or recognised by Kelham residents.

The Woodside residents are caught in a bind that captures their generation's plight and highlights the effects of economic globalisation. While their parents and the British working class in general experienced significant improvements in their living and housing circumstances during the immediate post war period the same cannot be said for the interviewees' generation. Their parents established themselves within the labour market between 1945-1970 in what Byrne in an allusion to the quarter century of Keynesianism and universal rising living standards, of which full employment and council housing represented two central elements, has called the '*fortunate quarter*'.¹² Fortunate indeed, they did better than their own parent's generation, and though they would surely not have vouched for such an outcome, better than their children's. The Woodside cohort are arguably the first generation born in the twentieth century and certainly the first since the Second World War who have experienced a decline in their social, economic and urban circumstances compared to that of their parents. Their socio-urban circumstances for instance cannot in a realistic manner be compared with those of their parents at a similar juncture in their

¹¹ These two life histories might at first hand strike the casual observer as acts of god, yet far from unpredictable they are rooted in social class inequality. They can adequately be described in the words of Richard Sennet as '*hidden injuries of class*': Tariq's family were of poor Punjabi peasant stock, like most immigrants of that period from Pakistan and unable to afford sufficient medical treatment for their son even with remittances from Sheffield. Charlie's family was an unstable and troubled one from the east-end of London and it would seem churlish to discount Charlie's own implicit suggestion that his mental illness sprang from the incongruity of being a precocious child within an unstable working class family.

¹² David Byrne made reference to what he termed the '*fortunate quarter*' during a public *Talk Shop* event in Sheffield in the summer of 2002.

lives. While their parents established their adult lives amidst an economic boom and expansion of social services their children were born at the end of that era. Even with fortuitous family connections Alan and Scott cannot replicate the living standards of their parents. Born during the mid to late 1960's or early 1970's when Keynesianism was starting to come unstuck, and then leaving school during the locally calamitous decade of the 1980's when the jobs that employed the likes of their fathers left the region, the life chances of Woodside residents had suffered accordingly.

However, while it appears that the residents of Woodside have in the main experienced either downward intra working class social mobility or at best replicated their parents' status, the circumstances of Kelham Riverside residents are less clear cut. The residents from the gentrified area offer a more socially and geographically heterogeneous picture and were not employed within those sections of the middle class most vulnerable to proletarianisation - public sector, financial, insurance and computer based employment in general. Indeed for Irwin and Robbie it was quite the opposite They had experienced upward social mobility from the upper working class into the middle classes. However, while the middle class status of Nigel, Ashley, Robbie and Ted as managing directors and small holders, together with Irwin as a senior professional appear relatively straightforward, the others seem less so. While Paul is employed as a telecom engineer and therefore is located within the skilled working class, both Terry and Vern's position within the middle class is more debatable. If we accept that sections of the ostensible middle class do not actually own capital, accept orders from their superiors and must work to make ends meet then it is possible that the aforementioned Kelham residents, as a salesman and a skilled engineer, occupy positions within the upper working class. The repercussion of such a categorisation, one that renders three out of eight Kelham residents as working class, undermines the term gentrification. It is perhaps in the nature of the marginal gentrifiers, with their relative youth and limited financial means that they are more heterogeneous in their class composition than those who come later to the city centre residential market.

If we accept Paul, Vern and Terry as achieving middle class status, then as illustrated by Paul, Ashley and Vern's life histories the replication of their parents' middle class status is problematic for many born into the middle classes. This would seem to apply especially to those from the lower fractions

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like Vern and Paul. A large element of economic and social insecurity has manifested itself in the lower middle classes and consequently it can take a decade or two to re-establish them back within that social milieu. This is especially so when, like the aforementioned, the educational route to social class replication is initially scorned. While youthful deviations, a taste for bohemia and other questionable choices might delay their class replication it seems that the task has possibly become more difficult. It seems entirely plausible under the conditions rendered by economic globalisation that when the entire race is moving faster you must quicken your stride just to stay still (Luttwak, 1999). One who rejected the educational route was Ashley who required the benevolence of his family to rescue him from a speedy return to the social status his parents were born into.

What is interesting about Paul's life history is his possession of a vocational postgraduate qualification but inability to access his chosen profession. University degrees and increasingly postgraduate qualifications are becoming the norm when formerly none was required for many middle class occupations. Even with an eminently suitable postgraduate qualification Paul was, at the time of the interview, unsuccessful in climbing back into what ironically might well turn out to be just the kind of employment - externally funded and dependent upon grants - whose middle class status is tenuous. Paul's partner also expressed a desire to be a university lecturer after her studies and again this is the type of public sector employment experiencing serious loss of income and autonomy.

The fundamental lack of educational qualifications experienced by Woodside residents does not however stop them trying to make a living. Woodside residents amongst other things clean and serve the public, make music, save lives and put out fires, manufacture essential surgical instruments, organise social events and understand computer technology inside out. One or two indulge in nefarious activities outside of the formal economy. Yet to a man they remain within the class of their parents and the one middle class Woodside resident was extremely tenuous and subject to forces outside of his control.¹³

¹³ Even if Colin was to secure employment with one of the companies who now run the overwhelmingly majority of public houses a landlord's lot is not what it was. The breweries no longer own the public houses, in an effort to unload unnecessary costs the ownership was sold to companies like *Pubmaster*. Such companies merely employ the landlord who does not have a pub or a tenancy as such but who is instead just an

The centrality of social class inequalities regarding life chances and life worlds was illustrated by the life history interview material. Education, itself chiefly determined by class, plays a fundamental role and to a large degree dictates employment and residential mobility. The possession or absence of educational qualifications was a strong indicator of life history patterns, usually either confirming or denying social mobility to the cohort through access to employment opportunities.

6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has attempted to present an understanding of the relationship between the local and the global and specifically between economic globalisation, urban inequality and life chances. An understanding has been established through a series of chapters designed to explore and link different spatial scales of analysis. The different research strategies were selected to suit the varying levels of analysis and illustrate a dialectic approach through the pursuit of an apparent contradiction between globalisation and life chances. Chapter two, the research approach, establishes the rationale, design, research hypothesis and questions to guide the thesis. The literature review explored the relationship between economic globalisation, the city and urban and social inequality within. Chapter three, the Sheffield city case study, explored the influence of globalisation upon a specific city and the urban and social inequalities within, in particular the residualisation of council estates around the centre and the simultaneous gentrification of the centre. Two contrasting communities, one residualised the other gentrified within Sheffield's city centre are profiled in chapter four while chapter five explores the interview data in the context of the previous chapters. My cohort was small and any generalisations are of a limited nature but there follows a series of reflections which flow from the research.

Chapter one highlighted the role of economic globalisation and the use of the microchip in the production process that has brought about a vast reduction in the amount of labour power required. This has taken place with every major development in productive technology, machines have replaced labour. But in

employee: a worker not a petit bourgeoisie.

previous technological developments the physical attributes of the labourer were replaced and enhanced by the machine like in the development of Fordist assembly line production. Computer technology goes much further - it represents a qualitative development. However, far from opening up a new period of universal prosperity, these economic and technological developments have raised, to an unprecedented level, the basic contradiction between a world economy and the nation state system. During the post war boom and political consensus around Keynesianism a series of regulatory mechanisms contained this contradiction but the unprecedented mobility of capital has rendered nationally and regionally based economic programs obsolete. From the end of the Second World War until the mid 1970's the British state and local authorities pursued a social reformist domestic policy, based on Keynesian deficit spending. Throughout the 1970's the objective preconditions for such policies broke down. Economic globalisation exacerbates social and urban inequalities within the British city by transcending the scope for economic regulation and reform of the free market so prevalent in the '*Keynesian city*'. The imperative to attract international inward investment has brought calculations concerning production to the fore and reduced issues of social reproduction to that of secondary importance. Consequently these developments have set in train the simultaneous process of gentrification and residualisation, not separate dynamics, but instead contradictory expressions of a combined yet uneven process.

Chapter three, the Sheffield city case study, highlighted how globalised forms of commodity production expunged the mono-industrial employment base of cities like Sheffield. Open to international market competition and shorn of subsidies the old industries soon experienced intense competitive pressures and shed large numbers of labour. Advancements in computer technology brought to an effective end the physical labour which had characterised male working class employment in Sheffield. Globalisation coerced local authorities into free market policies thereby reducing the scope for progressive spending on public infrastructure and services, especially housing and education. By abrogating the possibility of economic, social and urban reformist policies and governmental intervention designed to alleviate the worst excesses of the free market the emergence of economic globalisation worsened the social and urban conditions of the Sheffield working class.

Over the past quarter century the shift in terms of Sheffield's city centre urban landscape is now considerable. The simultaneous processes of city centre private regeneration and gentrification together with public degeneration and residualisation are a belated urban expression of social inequalities instigated some twenty-five years previous. The retrenchment of social welfare and drastic cuts to housing and education budgets, together with perennial mass unemployment has brought about a drastic regression in the social position of the British working class, especially its lower echelons.

The community profile of Kelham and Woodside offered a specific exploration of how the disparate tendencies of gentrification and residualisation manifested themselves within Sheffield's city centre periphery, in what Marcuse and van Kempen (2000) memorably call a '*soft location*'. Only thirty years previous Woodside, Neepsend and Shalesmoor (the district names before their reinvention as Kelham Riverside) were mutually dependent. Woodside and other inner city council estates like it provided labour required in the various production facilities located in the Don Valley. Subsequently both the Woodside housing and the local Neepsend industry have experienced a long decline before the recent regeneration and gentrification of the former industrial area. Now their fortunes diverge drastically as did those of their respective residents. Most of the cohort I interviewed from Woodside no longer live in their former residences because their flats and houses no longer exist. I dare say that the majority of those interviewed from Riverside no longer reside in their former apartments either, the difference being, beyond obvious public and private divergences, that Riverside apartments are still standing if with different owners or renters and the district is flourishing. The city centre is being consumed by a wave of gentrification while the council housing on the periphery is being demolished and it appears correct for Marcuse and van Kempen to assert that '*soft locations*' are most vulnerable to the particular changes brought about by globalisation.

Chapter five analysed how these aforementioned and accumulative changes have influenced Woodside and Kelham Riverside residents' life chances. The interviews explored the three thematic transmission factors: education, employment and residential mobility as both expressions and determining factors of life chances. Communities like the Woodside estate with residents overwhelmingly employed in manufacturing were by the late 1970's vulnerable

to economic and political changes driven by advances in computer technology. With the emergence of economic globalisation local industry substituted new productive capital and small numbers of skilled labour for the previous massed ranks of labour. They also shifted their labour intensive industries to lower cost production regions of the world. Low levels of educational attainment amongst working class families had not mattered while Sheffield industry remained technologically backward and reliant upon large numbers of labour but the advent of globalisation altered that situation irrevocably.

Woodside residents' economic vulnerability was two-fold: their employment reliance upon a local uncompetitive mono-industry was compounded by their residence within inner city council housing. Together with the collapse of industry social and urban inequality started to grow rapidly in the early 1980's. Complex and accumulated circumstances accelerated the decline of the inner city estates during this period. Unfortunately, almost simultaneously the political perspective of the local council that had invested heavily in social housing and championed their existence shifted dramatically to the right leaving the inner city estates and the circumstances of their increasingly poor residents to deteriorate. This process continued largely unabated over the following two decades to reach a situation today whereby a council that was considered a champion of corporation housing would now rather raze or privatise what remains after a quarter century of right to buy legislation. The council housing which remains within the inner city is today essentially residualised - poor stock for poor people.

The rapid decline of socio-economic and urban conditions was particularly hard felt by those working class fractions residing within inner city council estates like Woodside. Sometimes with immigrant parents, surrounded by collapsing social and educational infrastructure with family members and other tenants suffering similar or worse personal circumstances, the life chances of their residents have declined precipitously. This is especially true of those with low educational qualifications. Some have been reduced to the status of marginal, part time or temporary labour, and forced to eke out a living on poverty level wages. Others languish amidst perennial mass unemployment. In addition, the rough and ready culture of the lower working class and especially its most uneducated elements is not deemed acceptable for employment within the better paid service sector where puerile niceties prevail. The increase in low paid service

sector employment offers few career prospects or chances of supporting a family nor does it often induce upward social and residential mobility.

The Kelham Riverside residents' background was more geographically varied than that of their Woodside counterparts and therefore more difficult to summarise. But certain trends and tendencies emerged from their life histories. Three-quarters of the cohort was from a middle class background who, with the exception of Vern's mother, were not employed by the state or public sector and were therefore possible victims of economic globalisation's pressure upon the most vulnerable sections of the middle class. By and large the fundamental economic restructuring of the 1980's did not adversely affect the social and urban circumstances of their families while the cohort was growing up. For residents like Ted, Vern and Ashley it was their parents' upward social mobility in the earlier historical period that secured their families' middle class status. This is not to say that the life histories of the cohort were without strife, evidently they were anything but. However, it is clear that neither they nor their parents experienced the social and urban turmoil of their Woodside counterparts. Living as they did within middle class suburbia in privately owned property with gainfully employed parents their childhoods were characterised by relative security. The kind of serenity that is conducive towards if not actual high educational achievement, as the interviews underline, then at least sure fire preparation that can be drawn upon later in life. Their parents, especially those who had themselves experienced upward social mobility from the working class, appreciated the importance of education for the life history of their progeny.

The emergence of economic globalisation has made their subsequent adult life histories more complicated than that experienced by their parents and often more difficult by narrowing the socio-economic conduits for upward mobility. But economic globalisation has also broadened the possibilities of setting up small businesses. While certainly squeezing certain sections of the middle class and delaying for others the replication of their parent's middle class status the revolution in computer technology temporarily widens entrepreneurial possibilities in certain new sectors of business activity. While economic globalisation effectively proletarianises certain lower sections of the middle class, Colin from Woodside might be counted amongst this group, it also expands possibilities for the self employed and technology literate, without guaranteeing success. This is not to say it enriches them, takes them into the

upper middle classes or makes their lives easier than those of their parents. Nor that it has brought about an expansion of the middle classes. On the contrary globalisation tends to diminish the lower ranks, but the revolution in telecommunications undoubtedly allows those with an entrepreneurial bent to set up business and find out if they sink or swim. Ashley's family enjoyed their meteoric upward social mobility during the 1980's when many men in a similar position to Ashley's father ended up out of work. However, economic globalisation also increases the insecurity of small businesses by encouraging more to try their hand and consequently their chances of failure and the subsequent gravity of the penalties should they fail increase.

None of the six Kelham residents who had been born into middle class backgrounds had done better, at the time of the interview, than their parents. They had not climbed sufficiently up the ranks of the middle classes to surpass their parents' status. It is difficult to describe, for instance, Nigel's status as a petit bourgeois small holder as superior to his late father's status as a chief civil engineer. After all Nigel together with Paul were '*marginal gentrifiers*' (Rose, 1984) who would possibly have struggled to get onto the 'city living' bandwagon at a later date when property prices rose. Indeed it is difficult to envisage many of the Kelham Riverside cohort being able to comfortably afford their property only two or three years after their purchase. For those living with a partner and an additional income it would still have been possible but certainly more difficult. Westergaard (1996:148) explains how these '*dual earning*' middle class couples, less prevalent in general within the working class and indeed amongst my Woodside cohort, have acted to help widen social class disparities. Children were noticeable only by their absence at Kelham except for Robbie and his partner's daughter. Of the cohort only Ted and Irwin lived alone and the latter was in the process of moving home to live with his wife to be. As the life history snakes and ladders of the middle class becomes ever more difficult to navigate, the existence of two relatively well paid earners in the household makes the task somewhat easier. It certainly makes buying property and residential mobility easier to access. Concerning residential mobility another advantage bestowed upon the gentrified cohort was their sometimes childhood inter city movement in addition to their university experience away from the family home and city. This precursor to labour market flexibility prepared this social layer for the increasing uncertainty, insecurity and turbulence of modern middle class existence. In this sense inter city residential mobility is essential for career

development because of the relatively specialist employment pursued by Kelham Riverside employees.

The first research question asked how economic globalisation influences urban inequality within a specific locality. The small scale nature of this research means that conclusions drawn are circumscribed and provisional, yet this thesis has established trends and tendencies that appear influential. From the evidence offered in this thesis it would seem that the accumulated influence over a protracted period of some twenty-five years that economic globalisation does influence urban inequality within and around the periphery of Sheffield city centre. This takes the form of the simultaneous and contradictory development of the residualisation of inner city council estates and, on the other hand, the gentrification of the city centre. This took a particularly sharp expression in the juxtaposition of Woodside and Kelham Riverside whereby an inner city estate suffered residualisation, then demolition, while just over the river Don a formerly industrial district was being transformed into new private housing. Cheek by jowl relative wealth and poverty are not new to Sheffield, the first city centre middle class housing at Paradise Square and St. Pauls Parade existed side by side with the Crofts slum. Nevertheless this contemporary process represents a qualitative new state of urban affairs. It represents a stark expression of a new spatial order brought about, albeit belatedly, by economic globalisation. The demolition of public housing and the transformation of a formerly industrial district into gentrified housing are redolent and indeed symbolic of two disparate periods; one dominated by Keynesianism the other by economic globalisation. So the demolition of one and further development of the other is not simply more quantitative change but is instead the qualitative expression of gradual quantitative change reaching a critical mass after a quarter century. However, a contradiction arises that leads us to the second research question. What is occurring within Sheffield city centre is termed gentrification but the social profile of the Kelham residents is more complex than the middle class status the term implies.

The second research question asked how the life chances of people residing within the specific locality are influenced by the accumulative changes instigated by economic globalisation. The recent research suggests that the primary influence upon life chances is that of social class which at birth is determined by parent's occupation and so to a large degree childhood life

chances and concomitant life worlds are determined by the chance of birth. Class is both an outcome and an active generator of inequality because we inherit our class circumstances from our parents and then subsequently transmit our own onto our offspring. The fractions which comprise social classes came to life vividly as social types within the life history interviews and these classes and their life chances do not stop evolving.

Nothing is automatic, no life history is absolutely determined, no life history, as this research indicated, is linear. People overcome disadvantage and some relatively privileged fail to take advantage of their background. But regardless of the snakes and ladders of adulthood and factoring in how individuals make conscious choices and decisions regarding their own life chances and life worlds most of the residents of both communities remained within the class of their birth. But this is not the same as saying that economic globalisation had no influence upon life chances, quite the opposite in fact. Those of Woodside residents had been regressively influenced by the enormous growth of social inequality and poverty over the past quarter century. Consequently upward mobility at Woodside was a non starter. Residents from the council estate could not slip further down into a lower social class, we do not acknowledge the existence of an underclass, but some did experience intra-class downward mobility into the lower echelons of the proletariat. Meanwhile those born into the lowest echelon of the working class in single parent families tended to remain there albeit with intermittent episodes of short-lived upward intra class mobility. While upward social mobility from the working class remained a minority sport during the period of Keynesianism, even amongst the children of the labour aristocracy and upper layers of the class, this contemporary furring up of upward social mobility's arteries, occurring to a large extent because of the enormous growth of social inequality, represents a qualitative shift in patterns of social mobility.

On the other hand at Kelham Riverside Robbie and Irwin's' life histories suggest that upward social mobility is not completely finished for the upper working class non council tenant families. The rest of the picture from Kelham was less certain. While five of the eight residents are established within the middle class the growth of social inequality has an influence upon middle class life chances. The delayed replication of middle class status amongst some residents points towards an increasingly insecure and fraught existence for the lower middle

classes with possible downward social mobility. While the growing importance of educational qualifications appeared crucial to life chances Paul was still awaiting replication with ample qualifications and while Vern had used the educational route to access replication Ashley had done so without further education. Colin, the sole member of Woodside's middle class, was slipping further from their ranks everyday.

I chose to understand the relationship between the local and the global, between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality, through a dialectic analysis that attempted to follow an ostensible contradiction: between the revolutionary advances in productive technology and the simultaneous regression of working class life chances. In keeping with this analysis I have offered a 'measurement' of the influence of economic globalisation and find it to be, with all the necessary caveats surrounding a small sample and specific location, of a qualitative nature in terms of urban inequality. The findings regarding the lower working class confirm the hypothesis that economic globalisation regresses life chances. The picture is less clear for the upper working class. The situation for the middle class is also less clear cut but alongside a small downward movement other emerging tendencies indicate increasing insecurity and difficulties concerning middle class replication of their parent's status. However, this cannot be characterised as a qualitative development although further accumulated quantitative developments of the same tendency as those illustrated within Kelham life histories may well bring about fundamental change in the future.

As previously mentioned the remit of this research has been broad and ambitious because it explores the relationship between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality within a specific location. It makes a contribution to research concerning the relationship between the global level of analysis and the local. But such an undertaking must acknowledge its challenging and complex nature and it is important to re-state that the thesis while drawing upon general tendencies can only offer limited insights into more general developments. Understanding the influence of globalisation upon social and urban inequality requires acknowledgement of the inherent diversity of life histories and a recognition that it is impossible to discuss and explore every specific detail arising from the life histories. Instead this thesis focused upon the thematic transmission factors of education, employment and residential mobility

as the process of analysis identified them to be pertinent within life chances. While acknowledging the limitations of this research I believe that an exploration and analysis of these dynamics enabled a certain understanding of the relationship between changes occurring at a global level and their relationship to local life chances.

Acknowledging the limitations of this research points towards possible research areas that requiring further investigation. The residential mobility patterns of the Kelham Riverside cohort as compared with that of the Woodside resident's meant we were not comparing like with like and while this may well be a research finding it leaves open possibilities for further research. Likewise the vanguard nature of Cornish and Brooklyn quite possibly also skewed the number of '*marginal gentrifiers*' at Kelham Riverside. Just as the residualised status of the Woodside estate possibly exaggerated the numbers of lower working class tenants. Again a follow up study could contribute to the research agendas of residualisation and gentrification.

In summary, this research has attempted to explore the relationship between the local and the global levels of analysis and especially the relationship between economic globalisation and urban and social inequality. Towards this end the research examined the life histories of a relatively small number of residents from two disparate housing developments. Consequently an exploration of the relationship and the influence upon life histories has been presented and thus a contribution has been made to an as yet under researched area.

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Kelham Riverside Matrices

Profile – Vern
Residence – Kelham, Brooklyn Works, two bedroom apartment
Age in 2000 – Thirty two, left secondary education in 1984
Ethnicity – White British
Marital Status – Single, cohabits with partner
Dependents – None.
Additional Notes – In January 2002 Vern and his partner moved to Australia to take up employment. He let his property via an agent.
Residential Mobility pattern overview – Family live in a mixed class suburb. Vern experiences downward residential mobility after leaving family home throughout transitional years and period establishing professional credentials. Delayed social class reproduction coincides with owner occupation and residential reproduction.
Social Mobility pattern overview – Born into a lower middle class family Vern initially experiences downward mobility into the lower working class and experiences periods of unemployment. Later he moves slightly upward into the ostensible lower middle class, however precarious this movement is. After a period as a mature student he qualifies and becomes employed belatedly reproducing the class position of his parents in the lower middle class. Promotion to senior position brings about upward intra middle class movement to professional status.

Time (age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
-5	Owner occupiers of semi detached Wisewood, Sheffield. A mixed outer suburb in the Northwest.	Wisewood nursery		Lower middle class family. Father an estimator & mum primary school teacher.
-10		Wisewood infant & junior		
0-15		Wisewood Comprehensive One O' level		
5-20	Lives in family home		Y.T.S with British Gas Car body repairer Labourer Intermittent periods of unemployment	Downward mobility into the lower working class
-25	Briefly rents a room from friend Housing association semi, Sutton estate Wisewood. Better off working class HA estate.		Machine tools salesperson & general office duties employee	Upward movement into lower middle class status. Pay and work conditions only slightly better.

	<p>Shared private rented town centre flat above shop</p> <p>Brief period back at family home</p> <p>Barnsley District Hospital residence</p>	<p>Access course in natural sciences</p> <p>BA in Radiography Sheffield Hallam University</p>	<p>Machine tools salesperson</p>	<p>Antechamber to upward movement</p>
5-30	<p>Rented from council -Edward Street two bed flat, Saint Georges, a walk up tenement on periphery of Sheffield city centre.</p>		<p>Radiographer</p>	<p>Establishment of upward movement and family reproduction.</p>
0-35	<p>Edward Street Flats</p> <p>Brooklyn Works Apartment Owner occupied</p>	<p>Postgraduate certificate towards MA</p>	<p>Senior Radiographer</p>	<p>Middle class professional. Slight upward movement</p>

Profile - Ashley**Residence** – Cornish Place two bedroom apartment**Age in 2000** – 26, left secondary school in 1990**Ethnicity** – White British**Marital Status** – Married. Wife - deputy restaurant manager**Dependents** – None**Residential mobility pattern overview** – substantial upward family movement stalls initially for Ashley but family upward movement replicated with family assistance**Social mobility pattern overview** – family experience rapid and substantial social mobility but upon leaving school Ashley experiences serious downward mobility but again upward mobility and family mobilisation resurrected with family assistance.

TIME LINE (AGE)	RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT	SOCIAL MOBILITY
5	Terrace House – Hillsborough, Sheffield. Mortgaged. Worker suburb in North West in the bottom of valley	Local nursery.	n/a	Father pipe fitter. Mother housewife. Working class family.
10	Semi Detached – Wadsley, Sheffield. Mortgaged. Mixed area mix of working and middle classes inner suburb in North West. Upward residential mobility.	Attendance at local Marcliffe Junior. Mixed class intake mainly working class.	n/a	Father sets up very successful Sheffield based firm. Mum remains housewife. Upward family mobility to lower middle class. Father employs others but still works. Classic petit bourgeois.
-15	Detached House – Bradfield, Sheffield. Bought outright. Greenbelt mixed predominately middle class. Outer suburb in North West. Upward residential mobility	Wisewood Comprehensive. Mixed intake mainly working class. Move house changes to Bradfield Comp. Similar class intake. Four O' levels.	n/a	Father's firm becomes a household name in Sheffield. Initial downward mobility to skilled working class destination if finishes apprenticeship.
-20	Family home. Bed-sit – Ecclesall Rd, Sheffield Area. Rented. Downward residential mobility.	Day release trade training attendance at local college Music training at local college	Apprenticeship as Electrician Sporadic work as DJ	Further downward social mobility – never finishes apprenticeship. DJ self employed but sporadic employment. Intermittent periods of unemployment.
-25	As before & flat in Ibiza. Upon return bed-sit at Crookes. Residential mobility stable after fall.	n/a	D.J's in Ibiza. Van driver back in Sheffield.	Father sells up share in firm and sets up in telecommunications firm. Further downward mobility to unskilled working class.
-30	Apartment at Cornish Place. Upward residential mobility. Mortgage.	n/a	Starts as van driver for father's firm then moves up to company director.	Rapid upward mobility from lower working class to lower middle class. Belated reproduction of family class status with family assistance.

Profile – Irwin**residence** – Cornish Place two bedroom apartment**age in 2000** – 30, left secondary education in 1985**ethnicity** – White British, Irish Catholic Heritage**marital Status** – Engaged to be married. Partner administrator at pottery firm.**dependents** - none**additional notes** – at time of interview Irwin was in process of moving to Chesterfield to cohabit with respective partner. Irwin working in Leeds and she in Stoke.**residential mobility pattern overview** – family experience upward mobility during Irwin's childhood which he is continuing albeit after horizontal movement due to accessing social mobility. This continued upward movement includes inter city movement patterns that appear quite common to degree holders.**social mobility pattern overview** – relative upward mobility from working class family to middle class status

TIME LINE (AGE)	RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT	SOCIAL MOBILITY
5	Anfield area of Liverpool. Terrace house. Mortgaged.	Local nursery		Father a supervisor in tobacco factory. Mother a housewife
10		Attends local working class junior.		
-15		Attends selective Bluecoats secondary school.		Irwin marked for upward mobility.
-20	Family move to Wavertree area of Liverpool semi suburban socially mixed. Semi detached Mortgaged. Upward residential mobility. Tapton Halls of Residence. Walkley – Commonside bed-sit.	Stays on to do A' Levels successfully. Law degree at Sheffield University	Bank clerk at Barclays. Part time work as bar keeper at Halls of residence.	Small intra class upward mobility Initial antechamber to further upward mobility
-25	Return to family home. Rents room in house in Wolverhampton. Shared house in Birmingham. Slight downward resi-mobility	Solicitor qualification at Liverpool Law College.	Employed as solicitor	Antechamber to upward mobility Upward mobility from working class family to personal middle class status confirmed
-30	Shared house in London. Residential mob stable		Employed as solicitor	
35	Apartment rented in Cornish Place. Upward residential mobility Indications suggest upward residential mobility started by family will continue and correspond to his and partners class status		Promoted to senior solicitor.	Solid middle class status Relative upward social mobility from working class family to middle class status.

..sequence – **Cornish Place**, two bedroom apartment

Age in 2000 – thirty-three, left secondary education in 1984

Ethnicity – white British

Marital Status – single

Dependents – one young child who lives with his mother separated from Nigel

Residential mobility pattern overview – considerable inter city movement in childhood and in early twenties followed by downward residential movement during years when establishing business then settles in contemporary middle class residence

Social Mobility pattern overview – downward intra class downward movement from professional background to small retailer status

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Semi detached in Southport suburb Hillside	Local nursery		Father a Chief engineer in International construction company. Middle class family
5-10	Family move to four bedroom semi in Dore, the southwest of Sheffield 'Golden triangle' middle class suburbs	Local infant and junior		
10-15		King Egberts senior at Totley. Mixed intake predominately middle class. Seven O' levels		
15-20	Buys a terrace house together with friend in.... Nottingham and pays mortgage with rent Rents bedsit while still owning house in Nottingham	Four A' levels Business Studies degree at Nottingham Trent University (2:2) Sandwich course placements with Wimpeys the Builders	Various management type placements for Wimpeys Briefly employed by Wimpeys as an office manager before redundancy – simultaneously selling jewellery at festivals etc	Establishment of middle class replication
20-25				

25-30	Moves back to parents home in Dore, Sheffield Lives in numerous properties in Nether Edge, Sheffield a mixed inner suburb with students, Pakistani families but predominately middle class			Self employed as a retailer sells jewellery and artefacts from a stall Buys a shop in Ecclesall Road area of Sheffield sells to professional Buys another shop in Forum emporium, Devonshire Green, Sheffield	Small downward intra middle class movement from professional fathers status to small retailer – classic petit bourgeoisie works and employs others
30-35	Sells house in Nottingham & purchases loft apartment at Cornish Place at Kelham, Sheffield				

Profile – Paul

Residence – Kelham, Cornish Place two bedroom apartment

Age in 2000 – twenty eight, left secondary education in 1988

Ethnicity – White British, Irish Catholic heritage

Marital Status – Cohabiting, to be married with PhD studying girlfriend

Dependents – None

Additional Notes – Paul indicated that his partner and he would be moving to Manchester in the near future because she would be starting a new job at the university.

Residential Mobility pattern overview – Extensive inter city mobility initially with family and further mobility to Manchester due to partners employment. The purchase by his mother of a house for her two sons has given Paul a financial springboard for future purchases.

Social mobility Pattern overview – Paul's pattern of social mobility is quite turbulent. Born into a middle class family the death of his father brings about downward social mobility but upward residential mobility. His mum takes working class employment but invests wisely. Paul's academic qualification holds the possibility of upward social mobility back into the middle class but for now he is the only working class resident I interviewed in Cornish Place.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Family move from Liverpool to two bedroom semi in Leeds outer suburb Arbal	Local nursery		Middle class family. Father a senior civil servant until death when Paul 7 years old. Mum housewife afterwards a supervisor at supermarket
5-10	Family move into bigger semi same area – Arbal, Leeds	Hall Park Middle School		
10-15		Hal Park Middle School Hall Park Senior school Seven O' levels	Work experience at property surveyors	
15-20		Failed A' levels	Works for a builder in holidays	

	Moves to live with brother in 3 bed Ecclesall road terrace house in Southwest of Sheffield	ISVA surveyor qualification at Parson Cross College, Sheffield Qualified for final year of Estate Management degree at Sheffield Hallam University Higher Diploma in Heritage Management	Employed doing bodywork on vintage cars Telecom engineer	Upper working class skilled tradesman.
20-25				
25-30	Private rent terrace house in Nether Green, Southwest of Sheffield Bannerdale Road 3 bed semi in Southwest of Sheffield Buys 2 bed apartment at Cornish Place, Kelham			

Residence – Kelham, Brooklyn Works two bed apartment

Age in 2000 – thirty three, left secondary education in 1983

Ethnicity – White British

Marital Status – Married

Dependents – one young child

Additional Notes – Rob also uses one of the work units in Brooklyn Works

Residential Mobility pattern overview – Bewildering mix of residential movement but eventual upward movement to CP/BW

Social Mobility pattern overview – Rob has accessed very substantial upward mobility from the upper working class to the upper middle class.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Edmonton, North London.			Upper working class family Father a pipe fitter
5-10				
10-15				
15-20				
20-25	Spent two years travelling Australia and Indian Sub continent. Upon return privately rents House with partner in Edmonton.		Officially unemployed but working as labourer with father. Briefly starts fashion company with brother Employed as ski instructor and bar work Employed as a fitness instructor	
	Rob and partner move to Italy Upon return moves back in with parents			

	buys one bed flat in Palmers Green, north London.		Tour Guide in France	
25-30		Access course in social science		
30-35	Walkley Brooklyn Works, Kelham two bed mortgaged apartment		Company Director of limited company design agency.	

Residence – Brooklyn Works, two bedroom apartment
Age in 2000 – 35, left secondary education in 1980
Ethnicity – White British
Marital Status – Single, recently split from long term partner
Dependents – None

Residential Mobility pattern overview – Born into middle class suburbia. Leaves Doncaster for education and follows a well worn student path through inner suburbs with substantial student populations. Second purchase is an outer suburban semi but relationship ends and subsequently moves into town to be close to work and single life style.

Social Mobility pattern overview – Born into a lower middle class family Ted has experienced upward intra class mobility into the upper middle class as a company director.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Semi detached Cantly, suburban Doncaster			Lower middle class family. Parents both in sales.
5-10		Sycamore Infants & Junior Cantly, Doncaster		
10-15	Family move to bigger new build semi in Cantly, Doncaster	Passed 11+ Cantly High school Grammar school		
15-20	Living with parents Shared house in Walkley, Sheffield. Student area. Terrace housing.	Sixth form at Doncaster College National Diploma at Doncaster College Higher national diploma at Sheffield Hallam University	Barman in Doncaster wine bar	Confirms social reproduction of family
20-25	Rented house in Hunters Bar, Sheffield. Student area at		Graphic Designer	

	Rented house with partner in Walkley, Sheffield.				
25-30	Owner occupied terrace house in Crookes, Sheffield Owner occupier 4bed semi in Dronfield Woodhouse, Sheffield. A wealthy outer suburb.		Computer salesperson Digital reprographic designer		
30-35			Company Director of digital reprographic limited company.	Ascent into middle class	

Residence – Riverside Exchange two bedroom apartment
Age in 2000 – 27, left secondary education in 1989
Ethnicity – White British
Marital Status – Married. Wife taking second degree, working part time
Dependents – None

Residential mobility pattern overview – Besides the transitional student years in ex-council accommodation Terry is reproducing his parents middle class patterns albeit with the modern twist of a city centre apartment.

Social mobility pattern overview – Terry himself mentioned how university was almost predestined. The degree solidifies the replication of his parents middle class status.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Nottingham, suburban area - Chillwell	Nursery		Mother – GP Father- middle management. Middle class family.
5-10	Same House	Local infant and junior school. Mixed but mostly middle class		
10-15	Same House	Nottingham City Centre Church of England Senior School. Socially very mixed. Did well but did not excel		
15-20	Lived at parents Uxbridge Hall of Residence Shared house in Stafford	A' levels at same school Brunel University – Sandwich course in Electronics and electronic engineering	Training placement with GEC Taken on by GEC as a design engineer Design engineer with Fujitsu	Replication of parents middle class status
20-25	Cohabited with future wife in ex-council house in Birmingham	Finished degree	Senior design engineer with ARM in Sheffield	Maintenance of middle class status
25-30	Lives alone in Bard Street flat, Sheffield Park district.			

	Buys two bed apartment at Riverside Exchange with wife				
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Residence – Woodside, Highway Public house
Age in 2000 – Twenty seven, left secondary education 1990
Ethnicity – White British
Marital Status – Single
Dependents – None

Residential Mobility pattern overview – Born in Attercliffe, Sheffield. Family run public house in industrial area of Sheffield. Family move and buy taxi cab business in Torquay. Come back to Sheffield in late 1980's and purchase Highway public house on the Woodside estate.

Social Mobility pattern overview – Born into successful lower middle class family. Classic petit bourgeois - work and employ others in business. Business fortunes nosedive with move back to Sheffield and family illness. Intra middle class movement from entrepreneurial lower middle class towards struggling lower middle class. Business going through slow motion bankruptcy, employs nobody outside the family.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Parents own v successful public house in Attercliffe, Sheffield. The industrial area of the city.	Local nursery		Petit bourgeois pub landlord family. Family work and employ others.
5-10	Family move to Torquay live in semi detached in very wealthy area	Local infant and junior school		Family own taxi cab firm run from home. Family work and employ others.
10-15	Family purchase Highway pub, Woodside, Sheffield	Attends Myers Grove Senior in Stannington, Sheffield. Not local to Woodside. Outer suburban area with mixed working and lower middle class intake. Zero academic qualifications		
15-20			Works in the public house. Become youngest landlord in Sheffield due to parents illness	

an or o igway ub

25-30

Landlord of Highway Pub

Struggling lower middle class

e – Dougie
ence – Woodside
 28, left secondary school in 1988
city – Afro Caribbean
al Status – Single
ndents – one young daughter
ential mobility pattern overview – besides a brief move which retained status and tenancy
 ns Dougy is reproducing his mothers intra Pitsmoor patterns
I mobility pattern overview – no movement, currently reproducing his mothers lower
 ng class status no guarantee of potential upward movement

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT
Initially live with relatives in private rented house	Pye Bank Nursery & Infants	Mother single parent does not work. Lower working class family
Council rented maisonette on Verdon St, Pitsmoor	Pye Bank Nursery & Infants	
Council rented flat Spital St, Pitsmoor	Herries Senior. Poor grades.	
Live with cousin in council rented flat on Andover Drive, Pitsmoor	Art College unfinished. YTS unfinished Unemployed. Local college course in management	Lower working class. Mother moves to London and has cleaning work. Remains lower working class.
Live with partner in Housing Ass rented flat at Castle Court, Park area Sheffield	Brief stint working cash in hand with partners dad fitting kitchens. Substantial involvement in informal economy.	Lower working class
Council rented maisonette Andover St, Woodside. Replication of family intra Pitsmoor residential mobility with small period away but still social sector rented status	Unemployed. Employment service course for the unemployed. Substantial involvement in informal economy.	Lower working class with room for upward movement if business initiatives take off. Currently replicating family class status in lower working class. Half sister will access upward mobility through education.

Residence – Woodside, three bedroom council house. Lives with mother and two sisters

Age in 2000 – twenty seven, officially left secondary education 1989

Ethnicity – White British

Marital Status – Single

Dependents – None

Additional Notes – Charlie is an absolute wizard with computers but currently suffers from clinical depression and/or mental illness.

Residential Mobility pattern overview – From being a child Charlie has experienced a large amount of residential mobility due to a chaotic family life.

His own adult life has been no less turbulent consisting of rapid inter city movement. The family arrived on Woodside under a cloud having been allocated the property via a national network for troubled families.

Social Mobility pattern overview – His uncanny ability with computers briefly brought about dramatic upward movement after initial downward mobility working as a baker. His mental health problems together with an unfinished degree prevent Charlie accessing substantial and sustainable upward mobility. As it is he is currently experiencing a small degree of downward mobility into the lower working class relying upon state benefits.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Family live in council house in Basildon			Born into working class family. Father a car mechanic and Mother a nurse. V.turbulent home life.
5-10	Family move to rural Laindon. Private rent of small cottage Family move back to Basildon council rented flat.	Blue House Infants, Laindon, Essex Fellmores Junior, Basildon		
10-15		Freelands Comprehensive, Basildon. Expelled. Truant for last two years of secondary school. Zero qualifications.		

15-20	Lives at family home infrequently and friends and family. V. Chaotic	Self taught computer wiz kid.	Baker in Basildon	
20-25	Lives with family in owner occupied house. Large amount of residential mobility due initially to education then employment requirements. East Ham, London – Edinburgh, Inverness, Basildon and others too numerous. All privately rented accommodation	Local college computer course NVQ potential noted and referred to H.E Computer Science Degree at South East Essex College then transfer to Edinburgh College. Degree still unfinished.	Self-employed worked for Mecca & Top Rank as a gambling machines engineer. Punctuated by brief periods of unemployment Quit working due to high pressure and stress.	Experiences upward mobility into upper working class. V. Large salary Downward intra class movement
25-30	Mother and sister move to Woodside, Sheffield. Council rented house.		Voluntary community work with computers. Officially on Sickness benefit. Registered as a carer for his Mother.	Currently resides within lower working class

Residence – Woodside, Terrace house
Age – 28, left secondary education in 1988
Ethnicity – Mixed race, a white British mother (Irish heritage) and Afro- Caribbean father
Marital Status – single
Dependents – None

Additional Notes – Des had a horrific accident while working in cutlery, nearly lost his hand. Never worked again in industry. Whilst working in Woodside a year after the interview I heard from a friend of Des's that he had been working in a hostel in the meantime but was once again out of work.

Residential Mobility pattern overview – Des still lives in the same house he was brought up in by his parents. After they split up his mum kept the rent on but she now lives elsewhere. Des lives there alone. He has had spells living at girlfriends in the Pitsmoor area and once at Shiregreen, Sheffield.

Social Mobility pattern overview – Born into an upper working class family Des has the skills to maintain that status but is currently struggling with unemployment and little bits of casual D.J. work. Career plagued by perpetual insecurity since leaving school. Intermittent periods of unemployment. The longest period one year.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Parents live with relations in terrace house Walkley, Sheffield	Pye Bank nursery		Working class family. Mother a ward orderly. Father a steel worker
5-10	Rent council terrace house Fox St, Woodside	Pye Bank Infant Pye Bank Trinity middle school		
10-15	Fox Street	Herries Senior. Couple of GCSE's	Casual work as DJ	
15-20	Fox Street		YTS Leisure & Recreation YTS Building Maintenance Security Guard	

			<p>Pub security (casual)</p> <p>Multi polisher in cutlery factory</p> <p>Year on sickness benefit</p>	
<p>25-30</p>	<p>Fox Street</p>	<p>Locally based software engineering course</p> <p>Short Music technology course, Darnall Music Factory</p> <p>Introduction to music industry, Darnall Music Factory</p>	<p>Sound Engineer</p> <p>Unemployed</p> <p>Casual work as DJ</p>	<p>Slight downward intra class movement into lower working class.</p>

Residence – Woodside, one bedroom maisonette
Age in 2000 – thirty three, left secondary education in 1983
Ethnicity – mixed ethnicity, white British and Caribbean parents
Marital Status – Single, long term girlfriend
Dependents – none

Additional notes – since the interview Glen has moved to a property he owned while simultaneously living in his council flat. In the meantime he renovated the property which is on the periphery of Pitsmoor.

Residential mobility pattern overview – initial intra Pitsmoor and Woodside movement of family replicated but followed by upward movement to owner occupation of semi detached house in neighbouring working class area.

Social mobility pattern overview – after a period of replicating family position in semi skilled working class upward mobility to upper working class.

Time Line (Age)	Residential mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Private rented terrace house Ellesmere close to industry – working class	Ellesmere nursery		Father semi skilled steel furnace operative. Mother a 'picker' at Bassets sweet factory - Working class family
5-10	Council maisonette on Brunswick St, Pitsmoor	Burngreave junior & infant		
10-15	Council house on Gray Street, Woodside	Hinde House senior school. No qualifications		
15-20	Lives in family house	BTEC diploma in Graphic design at local college	Part time and full time jobs working as a printer Construction site labourer & intermittent periods of unemployment	
20-25	Rents Gray Street council .maisonette on Woodside			Replicating family status in semi skilled working class
25-30	Continues living at council maisonette		Concreter & intermittent periods of unemployment Trainee then qualified firemen	
30-35	Continues initially to live at Woodside while renovating		Simultaneously working casually as a concreter and/or	Established upward mobility into upper working class

	leaves council flat and moves to house.		main job as a fireman	
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Profile – Lol**Residence** – Woodside, two bedroom terrace house**Age in 2000**, thirty-one, left secondary school in 1984**Ethnicity** – Mixed Race, Black African & White British heritage**Marital Status** – single**Dependents** – three young children living over the road with long term girlfriend**Additional Notes** – Shortly after conducting the interview I was informed by Lol's mother that he had started his first job serving ice-creams, cleaning up and general duties. His younger half brother Sol helped him get the job. He too works at the same cinema. Until then Lol was the only Woodside resident to fit the stereotype of one who has never had a job.**Residential Mobility pattern overview** – Apart from three years living in Shiregreen, Sheffield Lol has lived his whole life within the parameters of Pitsmoor and Woodside. He has always lived in council rented accommodation.**Social Mobility pattern overview** – Born into a single parent unskilled working class family Lol's failure to attend school and achieve any qualifications almost guarantees his continued membership of the lower working class.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Council rented 2 bed tower block flat Woodside	Pye Bank Nursery & Infants		Born into lower working class single parent family
5-10	Council rented 3 bed maisonette Spital Street, Pitsmoor	Pye Bank Trinity Junior		
10-15		Earl Marshall Senior Zero qualifications Frequent truant		Social reproduction of lower working class
15-20	Catherine Road council rented terrace house		Sickness benefit	
20-25	Move to council rented terrace house on Fox Street, Woodside		Unemployed Bricklaying course	
25-30	Lives with girlfriend and kids in council rented house - Shiregreen Estate, a poor estate in the Northeast of Sheffield.		Unemployed Painting & Decorating course	
	Moves with partner & kids to Fox Street council rented 'Upside-		Unemployed	

	down' house Woodside				
30-35	Live with mum again on Fox Street Woodside	Computer course at Square Mile training	Unemployed	Employed at cinema.	Even through employed for the first time still resides within the lower working class.

Residence – Woodside, lives with parents in four bedroom council house

Age in 2000 – twenty eight, left secondary school in 1988

Ethnicity – White British, one Irish Catholic parent

Marital Status – Single

Dependents – None

Residential Mobility Pattern Overview – Scot still lives with his parents. Apart from a brief stay in a private rented property in Sharrow in the Southeast of Sheffield the family have a quite parochial Pitsmoor and Woodside residential mobility pattern.

Social Mobility Pattern Overview – Born into a semi skilled working class family. The family briefly experienced upward social mobility into the lower middle class as owners of a small social club. This did not work out and his father went back to working at the brewery. Scot has replicated his family's status in the semi skilled working class mainly through nepotism. Without his aunts elevated status at the blade manufacturers he would have struggled to replicate this position in the class hierarchy. Especially without educational qualifications.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Private rented terrace house Abbeydale Road, Sharrow, Sheffield Council rented 2 bed maisonette Verdon Street, Pitsmoor	Pye Bank Nursery & Infant		Born into semi skilled working class family. Father a fitters mate. Mother a housewife.
5-10	Briefly own Irish Social Club, Brunswick Road, Pitsmoor. Council rented 3 bed maisonette Verdon Street, Pitsmoor	Pye Bank trinity Junior		Brief family upward mobility into lower middle class. Swift return to semi skilled working class
10-15	Council rented 3 bed house Andover Street, Woodside	Herries Senior Frequent truant - Zero qualifications		Obstacle to upward social mobility.
15-20	Council rented 4 bed house Pye Bank Road, Woodside		Straight from school employed at Blade manufacturers as furnace operator	Replication of social status in semi skilled working class
20-25	Council rented 4 bed house Fox Street, Woodside			

Profile – Sol

Residence – Woodside, two bedroom maisonette

Age – 25, left secondary education 1990

Ethnicity – White British

Marital Status – Single, lives with partner

Dependents – None

Additional Notes – Sol and his partner intend to move back to Denmark in the near future.

Residential Mobility pattern overview – Apart from a year in Denmark Sol's pattern is one of parochial Woodside mobility.

Between tenancies and family members but always within the confines of Pitsmoor.

Social Mobility pattern overview – Since leaving school Sol has had a number of menial jobs but with no security or long term prospects. Replicated his mothers status in the lower working class.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Spital Lane, Pitsmoor. Council rented Maisonette	Ellesmere nursery		Single parent lower working class family. Mother intermittently employed as cleaner, barmaid etc
5-10	Catherine Road, Pitsmoor. Council rented Terrace House	Pye Bank Nursery & Infant Pye Bank Trinity Junior		
10-15		Herries Senior , Sheffield. Infrequent attendance. Home tuition. English GCSE		
15-20	Mum and kids move to council rented terrace house Fox Street, Woodside.		Unemployed for first two years after leaving school. Includes period on sickness benefit Briefly employed at McDonalds restaurant worker Labourer in Cutlery works	
20-25	Fox Street, Woodside. Two bed terrace. Living with		Unemployed	

	<p>sister.</p> <p>Moved to rural Denmark. Lived in a private rented flat.</p> <p>Returns and lives with sister again Fox Street, Woodside</p> <p>Rock Street, Woodside. Two bed maisonette</p>		<p>Works in city centre cinema</p> <p>Employed as a care assistant</p> <p>Works briefly for poster company as general dogs body</p> <p>Working again at Cinema in city centre</p>	<p>Replicated his mum's lower working class status</p>
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Profile – Tariq

Residence – Woodside, three bedroom semi detached, a sundry council property

Age in 2000 – twenty nine, left secondary education in 1986

Ethnicity – Pakistani

Marital Status – Married

Dependents – four young children

Additional notes – Tariq contracted polio as a child in Pakistan this condition severely restricts his employability.

Residential mobility pattern overview – Intercontinental movement from Pakistan to the UK. The family initially move frequently because of family and financial issues. Eventually they settle in Woodside, Tariq remains there. All his residential movement to date is within a small distance on the East side of Sheffield. The irony is how migrants come half way round the world but then remain within a restricted space within the city.

Social Mobility pattern overview – From a poor rural Pakistani background to a poor urban British one. Tariq has experienced a small degree of downward mobility due to his illness. Otherwise upward mobility would probably be accessible because of his degree qualification.

Time Line (Age)	Residential Mobility	Education	Employment	Social Mobility
0-5	Rural poverty in Punjab, Pakistan			Family non land owning peasants. Father migrates to England 63 employed in industry as machinist.
5-10	Tariq arrives in Sheffield. Family live at three addresses within the Page Hall/Fir Vale district in East Sheffield.	Nominal village education. Attends Earl Marshall junior school in Page Hall. Simultaneously attends school for English language lessons.		Family shift - peasants to urban proletarians.
10-15	Family move to Pye Bank Drive, Woodside. Council house	Attends Earl Marshall senior.		Father retires due to ill health. Industrial related illness
15-20	Lives in family home	Intermittent Sheffield college attendance for A' levels		
20-25	Lives with family	Engineering & Business Studies		Antechamber to upward mobility

25-30	members in Birmingham	Degree (2:2)			Tariq and his family rely upon state benefits. Slight downward social mobility to lower working class from fathers semi skilled position.
	Tariq, wife and kids move into Pye Bank Road, Woodside. Sundry semi detached council property				

Map 1



Sheffield A-Z, Geographies A-Z Map Company, Sevenoaks

Map 2

Barry price 2002, The upper Don Trail
Section 2, Sheffield Society of
Archeticts

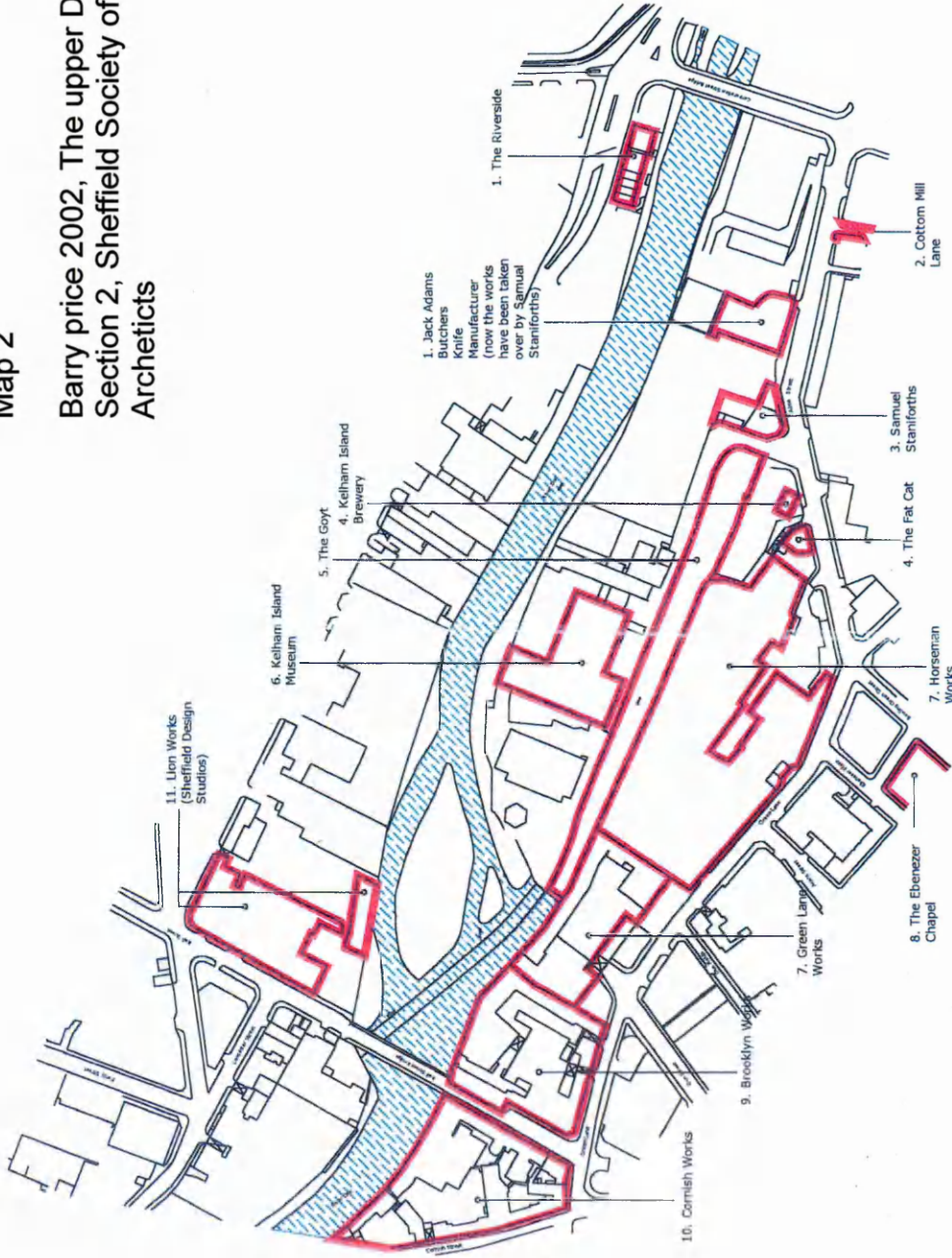




Photo 1



Photo. 2 Cornish Place



Photo 3: Brooklyn Works

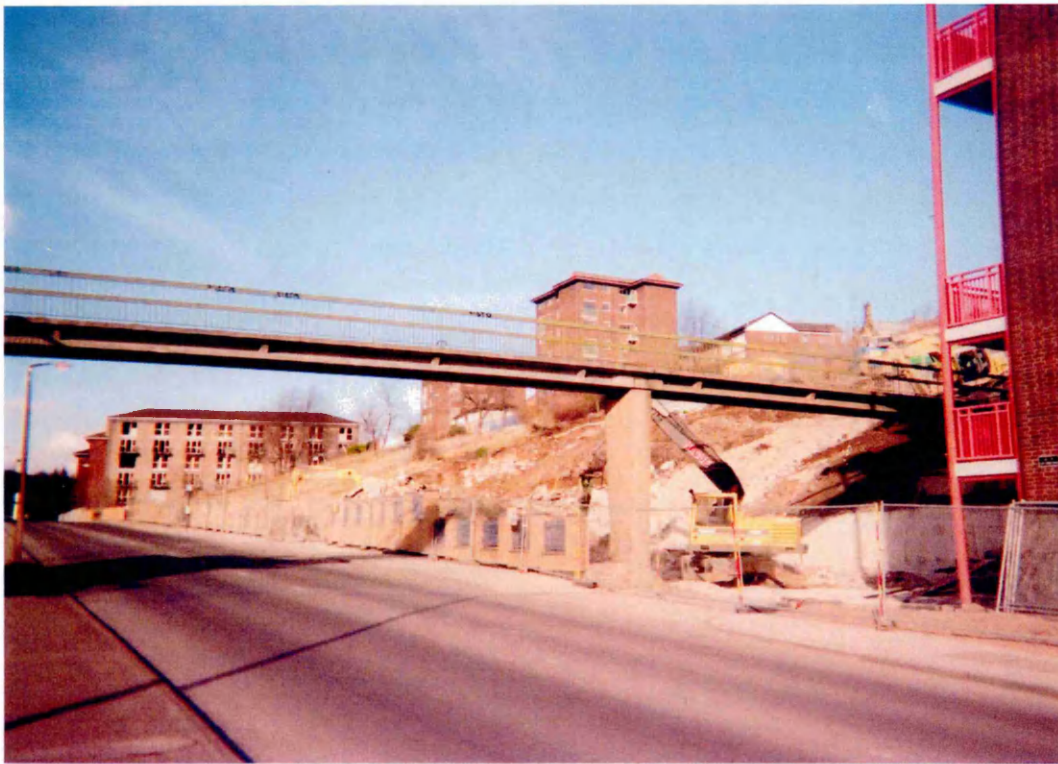


Photo 4: Demolishing the maisonettes on Pye Bank Road



Photo 5: Riverside Exchange



Photo 7: Entrance to Miba Tyzack
Horseman Works



Photo 7: Wharncliffe Works



Photo 8: Shops at Pye Bank Close



Photo 9: Fox & Duck Pub



Photo 10: Fly-tipping at Woodside



Photo 11: Maisonettes at Andover Drive



Photo 12: Footbridge at Pye Bank Road



Photo 13: Pye Bank Close awaiting demolition



Photo 14: Footbridge over Pitsmoor Road with view