

*Friends in high places: government-
industry relations in public sector house-
building during Britain's tower block era*

Article

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Friends in high places: government–industry relations in public sector house-building during Britain’s tower block era

Abstract

Britain’s high-rise public housing era is widely seen as a serious social policy mistake. We show that the problems associated with this housing format were known to policy makers at an early stage, while tower blocks were also substantially more expensive, both from the perspective of central, and local, government. Conservative governments championed high-rise mainly owing to the political advantages of urban containment. Major building contractors then used their close links with (central and local) policy-makers to aggressively lobby for high-rise ‘system building’, as their expertise in this field enabled them to dominate the sector and exclude local competitors.

Key words: Housing, Construction, Government-industry Relations, Contracting, Corruption

Introduction

In common with many western industrialised nations, Britain embarked on a major programme of mass public housing from the 1950s, with tower blocks constituting a substantial and increasing proportion of new units. Central government established the ‘rules of the game’ for the programme, and provided major financial subsidies, while local councils organised the actual development, through contracts with (overwhelmingly) private building contractors.¹ However, by the early 1970s tower blocks had fallen into disrepute and the volume of construction was declining sharply both in absolute terms and as a proportion of

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3 all new public sector housing. This study explores the rise and decline of high-rise public
4 housing in Britain, focusing on the interactions between the three main agencies involved in
5 their development – central government, local government, and a small group of national
6 contractors who received most of the building contracts.
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12 Using hitherto unexploited archival sources, including Ministry of Housing and Local
13 Government (MHLG) and Treasury records, we show that, contrary to some influential
14 accounts, the key ministries involved with the programme were sceptical both about the
15 potential for high-rise industrialised building to become more cost-effective than traditional
16 low-rise housing, and the ability of this new building form to meet the needs of – particularly
17 – families with children. These concerns were evident from the early days of the high-rise
18 boom, while subsequent experience tended to reinforce them.
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28 Tower blocks were initially justified within Whitehall as a means to prevent
29 ‘overspill’ from urban centres into suburbs or other greenfield areas, which threatened to
30 erode Conservative support in key marginal constituencies. **Corralling urban working-class**
31 **households within urban boundaries took priority over ‘value for money’ criteria for**
32 **evaluating housing projects. This enabled other vested interests, especially large-scale**
33 **building contractors, to lobby for tower blocks, built using industrialised methods, and thus**
34 **gain an increasing share of public housing contracts - as expertise in high-rise system-**
35 **building was limited to a relatively small number of large (typically national) firms.**
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46 **Such lobbying increasingly involved the cultivation of close relationships with**
47 **politicians and public officials, ranging from the provision of specialist advice to ‘gifts’ and**
48 **other incentives. By the late 1960s corruption in the awarding of tower block contracts had**
49 **become ubiquitous, as illustrated in a series of high-profile corruption scandals which,**
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3 together with the introduction of stronger cost yardsticks by national government, and the
4
5 Ronan Point disaster, brought tower blocks into disrepute.
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8 This paper also addresses three major 'myths' regarding the rationale for high-rise
9 flats. The first - that high-rise offered a low-cost solution at a time of acute housing shortage -
10 is largely a popular, rather than scholarly, myth, though some of the literature argues that
11 policy-makers perceived the potential for major cost-savings, or even that such savings were
12 achieved.² The second myth is that high-rise was an inevitable consequence of the town and
13 country planning legislation of the 1940s, which allegedly prevented 'overspill' development
14 into rural areas.³ We show that the creation of green belts and the blocking of urban
15 boundary extensions was in fact a deliberate strategy of successive Conservative
16 governments, to prevent overspill. Moreover, in most cases, target housing densities for the
17 urban sites chosen could have been achieved using conventional housing or low-rise flats.
18 The final myth is that local authorities were compelled to accept tower blocks on cost
19 grounds, not because they were inherently more cost-effective, but because they carried much
20 larger subsidies. We show that, even with the greater proportional subsidies per flat, high-rise
21 was still a more expensive option for local authorities.
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38 After briefly reviewing previous studies, the paper charts the evolution of British
39 high-rise policy until the late 1960s, when the policy fell into disrepute. This is followed by
40 an examination of the cost-effectiveness of high flats, using contemporary civil service
41 analyses. We conclude that policy-makers' enthusiasm for high flats can only be
42 convincingly explained in terms of Conservative Party political interests and the personal
43 financial interests of local (and sometimes national) politicians and officials.
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55 **Explanations for the high-rise boom**

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3 The three main studies of Britain's high-rise era were published before most relevant
4 MHLG and Treasury records became available and were largely based on interviews and
5 published sources. The first, Patrick Dunleavy's 1981 monograph, *The Politics of Mass*
6 *Housing in Britain*, argues that, - while there were strong pressures for the adoption of high-
7 rise flats – advocated on architectural, technological, and industrial concentration grounds -
8 there were also strong arguments against, including the high costs and unpopularity of this
9 building form and the reduced amenity provided. He concludes that the sum of these
10 pressures did not appear to justify the widespread adoption of high-rise solutions and explains
11 this 'rationality deficit' in terms of the strength of advocacy for urban containment by the
12 suburban middle-class and rural upper-class, organised in the Conservative Party. Policy was
13 then legitimised by being presented as a 'technological shortcut to social change,' with public
14 statements stressing the alleged productivity advantages of high-rise, 'system-built' housing.⁴

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Dunleavy's thesis was challenged by two subsequent studies. The first of these, Brian
Finnimore's *Houses from the Factory*, argues that system-built high flats represented a
genuine, but ill-judged, attempt to achieve 'not only a revolution in building methods, but...
better quality housing,' thus representing a failed welfare state initiative, rather than any
triumph of Conservative politics.⁵ A more extreme challenge to the Dunleavy thesis was
advanced in Glendenning and Muthesius's *Tower Block*, which places responsibility for high
rise flats on, 'powerful local authorities [who] determinedly set about the task of keeping
control of their own housing densities, by combining slum-clearance with a building policy at
variance with Government-endorsed decentralism: the massed development of high flats on
their own territory...'⁶ These were also said to be responding to the town and Country
planning legislation of the 1940s, which - in conjunction with a powerful 'town planning
establishment' - created a 'land trap' for councils wishing to expand their urban boundaries.⁷

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3 Glendenning and Muthesius identify the key actors in this process as ‘crusading’
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5 councillors, driven by a combination of determination to maximise numbers of new homes
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7 and considerations of ‘municipal power, independence, and prestige’, while exonerating
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9 contractors, architects, and planners from any responsibility for promoting high flats or
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11 delivering a sub-standard product.⁸ However, the evidence they offer, is – to put it mildly –
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13 partial. They provide little discussion of other proposed explanations of local authorities’
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15 acceptance of high-rise (for example, *Tower Block* has almost no discussion of corruption in
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17 the awarding of building contracts); they reject claims that central government subsidies
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19 incentivised councils to build high (while simultaneously stating that building costs are
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21 excluded from their study); and they explicitly exclude the history of habitation,
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23 management, and maintenance of high flats, together with issues such as, ‘claims of structural
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25 inadequacy’ as being outside their remit.⁹
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32 **The genesis of high-rise policy**

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35 Although tenement housing had been common in Scottish cities, and in much of
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37 Europe, there was almost no tradition of such housing in most parts of England and Wales,
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39 where the dominant urban dwelling form was the two-storey house. Similarly the vast
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41 majority of new inter-war homes, both for the public and private sector, were suburban semi-
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43 detached houses or short terraces.¹⁰ Yet, despite the huge popularity of semi-detached
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45 housing, during the 1930s an influential section of Britain’s architectural and planning elite
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47 became enamoured with modernist architecture, championed by Le Corbusier and the
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49 Bauhaus school, which found concrete expression in a number of high density mass public
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51 housing projects such as the Vienna workers’ flats. These were seen as being superior to
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3 suburban semis both on social grounds - fostering more cohesive communities - and aesthetic
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5 grounds, providing monumental buildings that would impact the urban skyline.¹¹
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8 During the 1940s such developments were strongly advocated by the architectural and
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10 planning professions, as a technocratic fix to the post-war housing problem - using
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12 industrialised techniques to undertake mass housing projects that were said to offer both cost
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14 and social benefits.¹² However, the Ministry of Works' initial optimism regarding the cost-
15
16 effectiveness of mass-produced pre-fabricated housing soon proved ill-founded, with 15 of
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18 the 19 systems in production requiring (often substantial) subsidies to make them competitive
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20 with traditional techniques. The termination of subsidies in 1948, together with shortages of
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22 structural steel, led to a rapid return to conventional housing.¹³ Meanwhile flats and
23
24 maisonettes represented only around 10 percent of new local authority dwellings in England
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26 and Wales over 1946-50, with virtually no high-rise blocks being built.¹⁴
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30 It was the Conservative governments of 1951-64 that launched Britain's mass housing
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32 era, the contribution of flats to new municipal homes rising to 22 percent during 1951-5, 35
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34 percent over 1956-60, and 48 percent for 1961-5.¹⁵ Meanwhile blocks of ten or more stories
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36 comprised 9 percent of new public sector housing during 1953-59 and reached an all-time
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38 peak of 28 percent during 1960-64. The shift towards high flats was partly justified by the
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40 need to prevent urban sprawl and conserve rural land – though as MHLG records show, the
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42 underlying aim was to preserve the political complexion of rural and suburban areas and
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44 avoid alienating their voters.
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48 Inter-war overspill housing developments, such as the London County Council's 'out-
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50 county' estates beyond the County's borders, or Manchester's Wythenshawe 'satellite town'
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52 had faced substantial opposition from established local residents.¹⁶ Several of the Attlee
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54 governments' 'new towns' had also faced vehement local opposition, while there was
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3 considerable antipathy in outer-London, rural Warwickshire, and Cheshire, to potential
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considerable antipathy in outer-London, rural Warwickshire, and Cheshire, to potential
overspill developments from inner-London, Birmingham, and Manchester, which took on a
party political edge given the divisions of these counties into Labour urban councils and
Conservative county councils.¹⁷

While some accounts stress the importance of the Attlee governments' planning
legislation as a key constraint on overspill development, only one green belt was formally
proposed before 1952, for London. It was the following Conservative governments who
effectively blocked overspill development, through three main measures: the creation of
provincial green belts; Ministerial refusals to approve urban boundary extensions, and an
informal suspension of the New Towns programme in England and Wales. The
Conservatives' 1953 Housing White Paper emphasised the need to locate new housing,
especially for slum clearance, within existing urban areas and support green belts around
major cities.¹⁸ In April 1955 the Housing Minister, Duncan Sandys, told the Commons, 'I am
convinced that, for the well-being of our people and for the preservation of the countryside,
we have a clear duty to do all we can to prevent the further unrestricted sprawl of the great
cities...I am accordingly asking all planning authorities concerned to [consider] proposals for
the creation of clearly defined green belts.'¹⁹ Many county councils seized on the 1955 Green
Belts circular as a means to check expansion of their (often Labour-voting) cities, while
successive Conservative governments typically rejected, or restricted, proposals for urban
boundary extensions.²⁰ Government also blocked longer-distance overspill – via new town
development – by failing to designate any further new towns in England and Wales during
the 1950s.

This policy fostered dramatic growth in the proportion of new public sector housing
comprised of flats, together with increased emphasis on industrialised building methods.
Proponents claimed that this was a new technology, that offered astounding productivity

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3 gains, by transforming building into relatively simple assembly operations for components
4 pre-fabricated off-site in factories.²¹ In fact these methods were long-established, but had
5 been beset by the sort of problems they were to become synonymous with in the 1960s.
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7 Industrialised building, based on concrete prefabrication, dates from the 1860s and had been
8 introduced to Britain by the turn of the century.²² Various public housing contractors had
9 employed these techniques in the aftermath of the First World War. However, most of the
10 systems demonstrated structural problems such as cracking and dampness, usually
11 necessitating expensive repairs within 10-15 years, problems which re-surfaced when Walter
12 Gropius applied similar techniques at the Törten housing estate at Dessau from 1926.²³
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23 There were three British post-war government drives to encourage industrialised
24 building; in 1946-48 ('prefab' houses), 1952-54, and in the early and mid-1960s. The first
25 two were partly a reflection of scarcities in traditional building materials and crafts, while the
26 third was more explicitly justified in terms of revolutionising building productivity – despite
27 mounting evidence that industrialised building methods not only failed to offer major
28 productivity advantages, but had higher costs per dwelling than conventional techniques.²⁴
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36 Urban councils were incentivised, via subsidies and pressure (such as threats to
37 withhold the loan sanction for the necessary development funds) to build at high densities
38 within their existing urban boundaries. A MHLG Housing Policy Committee document of
39 July 1953 noted that to promote such development, increased subsidies for multi-storey flats
40 should be considered.²⁵ However, there was not, as yet, any strong specific commitment to
41 'high-rise' per se. In 1954 25 per cent of local authority homes were built by industrialised
42 methods, though only about 20 per cent of new local authority houses in England and Wales
43 were flats and of these only around a quarter were in blocks of five or more storeys.²⁶
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3 Despite their advocacy by influential architects, planners, central government, and
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5 some of Britain's largest contractors, there was well-informed contemporary opposition to
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7 both high flats and industrialised building. This included a group of, generally older,
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9 architects and planners led by F.J. Osborn, who still advocated the use of garden city-type
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11 suburban housing estates.²⁷ Some politicians also railed against the flats programme. In
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13 March 1953 Conservative M.P. Henry Brooke made a speech to the Royal Institution of
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15 Chartered Surveyors in which he noted that flats were not a suitable environment for families
16
17 with children; houses were generally cheaper to build; and councils only chose flats on
18
19 account of their higher subsidies.²⁸ Such arguments indeed weighed heavily with local
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21 authorities; in 1955, when the industrialised building drive was relaxed, the proportion of
22
23 industrialised building fell sharply, reflecting both contractors' higher tender prices and the
24
25 unpopularity of the new methods with councils and tenants.²⁹
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29 High flat development was boosted by the 1956 Housing Subsidies Act, which
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31 introduced a new per dwelling subsidy for flats, based on the number of storeys. Annual
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33 subsidies rose steeply up to the sixth storey and then increased by £1.75 per additional storey.
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35 Flats of six storeys would receive more than twice the subsidy for houses and fifteen-storey
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37 flats almost three times as much.³⁰ Another change introduced in 1956 was the
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39 discontinuation of the requirement that local authorities must make a rate fund contribution to
40
41 the annual cost of housing, equivalent to half the government subsidy (implying that councils
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43 would bear at least a third of the costs of high-rise flats directly, together with any adverse
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45 impact on rent levels). This reduced the incentive for councils to keep costs down and - in
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47 conjunction with the new progressive subsidy for higher flats – substantially increased local
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49 authorities' incentives to build high.³¹
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53 The early 1960s witnessed the start of a third industrialised building wave,
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55 championed by Sir Keith Joseph – heir to the Bovis property fortune – who had been
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3 appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the MHLG following the 1959 election. In August 1962
4 he was promoted to Minister of Housing and Local Government and spoke enthusiastically at
5 the October 1962 Conservative Party conference about the potential of 'new building
6 techniques' to speed up slum clearance and redevelopment.³²
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12 During this third phase high flats were often used even when target housing densities
13 could have been met via conventional housing. This was typically justified on aesthetic
14 grounds or the need to incorporate 'mixed development'. However, Phil Jones found that this
15 sometimes reflected a desire to award the contract to a large building contractor with whom
16 the relevant council had forged a close relationship (as industrialised high-rise housing was
17 much less vulnerable to competition from local builders than traditional housing).³³
18 Prefabrication methods were only found to be at all cost-competitive for high rise flats, which
19 were in turn 35 – 85 per cent more expensive than low-rise dwellings.³⁴
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30 The third industrialised building wave witnessed greater use of 'hard' industrialised
31 building methods, using pre-cast concrete components manufactured off-site. These
32 demanded a level of precision (both for their off-site prefabrication and on-site fitting) that
33 was often beyond the competence of the unskilled labourers who were substituted for
34 traditional building crafts. Poorly fabricated and/or fitted components contributed to the high
35 maintenance costs of many 1960s tower blocks.³⁵ Growing use of pre-cast components was
36 accompanied by an upsurge in 'package deal' contracts – where contractors tendered not only
37 for construction work, but for the professional services of architectural design and
38 engineering consultancy traditionally undertaken by separate parties.³⁶ By 1964 some 46 per
39 cent of all new public housing in England and Wales (excluding the London County Council
40 and direct labour contracts) was undertaken under negotiated or package-deal contracts; a
41 figure that rose to 55 per cent in 1966-8, before falling sharply to 28 per cent by 1970.³⁷
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Policy under Labour

Labour's October 1964 election victory was assisted by an ambitious commitment to achieve around 500,000 housing starts per annum by 1969, mainly through an expanded council housing programme. This responded to a major housing shortage, renewed concerns regarding homelessness, and malpractice - or even criminal behaviour - by private sector landlords ('Rachmanism').³⁸ In 1965 there was still an absolute housing shortage of around 670,000 (based on the excess of households over dwellings), while over the next ten years the number of households was expected to increase by around 150,000 per annum and the government was committed to slum clearance and the replacement of many older dwellings, deemed technically obsolete.³⁹

Labour initially viewed industrialised methods as key to raising building productivity. To enable large forward orders for industrialised housing to be placed, local authorities were tasked with preparing four year programmes and grouping themselves into consortia. Bizarrely, this policy was advocated despite the fact that in 1965 industrialised techniques were still not price-competitive with traditional building methods.⁴⁰ Nor was there any great confidence among MHLG officials that they could prove more productive. A memorandum by Dame Eveleyn Sharp (the long-serving Permanent Secretary at MHLG) advocating their use, only went so far as arguing that, 'with large scale production of a few selected systems, houses built by industrialised systems are likely to be competitive in costs and in design with those built by traditional methods.'⁴¹ Nevertheless discussion of the new methods in political circles and in journals such as *The Economist* generally took their productivity advantages for granted.⁴²

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3 As Robert McCutcheon has noted, in Britain (and elsewhere) once a policy of
4 industrialised building had been initiated, its evaluation was not based on the claims of huge
5 productivity gains which had prompted its initial adoption, 'but simply whether it is
6 marginally competitive with traditional building', a process supported by continued assertion
7 that this was a fundamentally 'modern' technology as distinct from 'inefficient and
8 backward' traditional methods.⁴³ This fitted well with Labour's commitment to boosting
9 productivity by unleashing the 'white heat of this... [scientific] revolution.'⁴⁴ It was also in
10 keeping with the widespread contemporary belief that industrial concentration would boost
11 productivity growth. Indeed one of the principal impacts of industrialised building was to
12 concentrate public sector house-building among a small group of major contractors. A survey
13 found that four firms accounted for over 50 per cent of system building completions in 1966:
14 Wimpey (No-Fines system, 12,085 completions); Laing (Easi-form, 2,763); Concrete Ltd
15 (Bison, 2,733) and Wates (Wates High Rise, 1,980). Indeed Wimpey's No-Fines system
16 alone accounted for eight per cent of the entire local authority housing market.⁴⁵ Meanwhile,
17 in 1965 some 40 per cent of high flats approved for tender used industrialised systems,
18 compared with only 17 per cent of low flats, giving contractors a substantial incentive to
19 encourage councils to build high.⁴⁶

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22 System-built high flats were also claimed to offer important savings in scarce skilled
23 building labour, by using pre-fabricated components produced by less skilled workers.
24 However, on closer examination these arguments are shown to be deeply problematic.
25 Contemporary estimates suggest that structural labour accounted for only 9 per cent of total
26 building costs for traditional housing. Meanwhile proportionate labour costs were
27 substantially greater for high-rise flats - one of the reasons why industrialised building
28 focused on this format (because it could reduce labour costs for what was a particularly
29 labour-intensive dwelling form).⁴⁷

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3 Once again central government pressurised local authorities to make greater use of
4 system building. MHLG Circular 21/65 of April 1965 threatened to withhold loan sanction
5 for municipal house-building for non-complying local authorities: 'in deciding what
6 programmes to approve the Minister will be influenced by the extent of the proposed use of
7 industrialised methods.'⁴⁸ Labour's new Minister of Housing and Local Government, Richard
8 Crossman, proved as strong an advocate for the new methods as his Conservative predecessor
9 Keith Joseph. Crossman was notorious for his 'hands-on' approach to managing policy; for
10 example, he broke with Whitehall tradition by appointing Peter Lederer, a director of
11 Costains, as a 'special advisor' to help him formulate policy on industrialised building.⁴⁹

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14 However, the Labour government's enthusiasm for high-rise system building soon
15 turned to disillusionment. The mid-1960s saw growing disquiet regarding the suitability and
16 cost-effectiveness of system building, which, as one council representative noted,
17 construction firms showed no enthusiasm for in their own private sector developments.⁵⁰ The
18 New Town Development Corporations were also becoming sceptical, noting that some
19 ambitious schemes showed heavy losses per dwelling and raised, 'a good deal of uneasiness
20 about whether they will in fact provide acceptable living conditions. No doubt they can be let
21 now, in the London [new] towns at any rate, but will they let so readily in, say, ten years'
22 time, when it is to be hoped the present acute shortage of housing will have been
23 overcome?'⁵¹ Examples were given of flats in Crawley, Bracknell, and Basildon, which did
24 not let quickly and it was noted that tower blocks required, 'an actual demand. They cannot
25 be put up just for architectural reasons.'⁵² Demand was said to be particularly weak for high-
26 rise flats designed for families, though this had not inhibited London local authorities from
27 developing large numbers of such flats, with rents heavily subsidised from the rates.⁵³

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29 As Figure 1 shows, high-rise developments peaked in 1966 (both in absolute terms
30 and as a proportion of all public housing) and then fell steeply during the rest of Labour's

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3 term in office. Indeed the Labour government had sought to cut back subsidies to high flats as
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5 early as 1965, though its Housing Subsidies Bill failed to reach the committee stage before
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7 the March 1966 general election, which delayed its passing into law until 1967.⁵⁴ As a June
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9 1966 report for the Prime Minister noted, 'the new subsidy system will encourage solutions
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11 which do not include too many tall blocks.'⁵⁵ While the Housing Subsidies Act of 1967 still
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13 provided additional flat rate subsidies for buildings of 4-6 storeys and over, the progressive
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15 subsidy for building higher than six stories was abolished. Furthermore, the Ministry's
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17 Housing Cost Yardsticks (introduced in 1963 as advisory guidelines on what prices and
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19 specifications MHLG would give loan sanction for) were made mandatory from 1967 and
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21 were strengthened.⁵⁶ This reflected the arguments of Alec Bellamy in the Ministry's
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23 Architects' division, who had called for this measure in order to prevent unnecessary
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25 development of high flats.⁵⁷
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29 **[Figure 1 near here]**
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32 In conjunction with another 1967 decision, to make the more expensive Parker Morris
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34 housing space standards mandatory from 1969, these changes greatly reduced the financial
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36 viability of high-rise building, from both the local authorities', and the developers'
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38 perspectives.⁵⁸ Although their impact is conflated with the general cut in public housing
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40 expenditure in the aftermath of the November 1967 devaluation, which continued for the rest
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42 of Labour's time in office, the package of changes appears to have been decisive in making
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44 high flat development grossly uneconomic.⁵⁹ The number of flats of five or more stories, built
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46 using industrialised methods, fell from over 20,000 in 1967 to 5,500 in 1969 and only 752 in
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48 1971.⁶⁰
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54 **The cost-effectiveness of high flat development** 55 56 57

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3 As noted above, in contrast to popular perceptions that tower blocks were a cost-
4 cutting measure, high flat development was more expensive than conventional housing
5 (considerably so for very tall flats). According to a 1961 Alliance Building Society report,
6 building costs per square foot averaged 40 shillings for houses, 45 shillings for maisonettes,
7 74 shillings for eight storey flats; and 83 shillings for 12 storey flats.⁶¹ This is corroborated
8 by unpublished official estimates. In 1958 high flats were estimated to cost over 50 per cent
9 more than two storey houses, while also having much higher running and maintenance
10 costs.⁶² High flats were also more expensive than low ones: the average tender price for local
11 authority flats in England and Wales during the 1964/65 financial year was £3,159 per flat for
12 blocks of four or more storeys, compared to only £2,045 for blocks of three or fewer
13 storeys.⁶³ Building in inner-urban areas did, of course, incur higher land costs, though for
14 most tower-block developments the target densities could have been met using low-rise flats,
15 or even conventional housing. Moreover, as Table 1 (below) shows, costs per dwelling rose
16 substantially for higher flats, even when examined in terms of total costs to develop
17 (inclusive of land).
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36 Dunleavy estimated that if the money spent on municipal flats of five or more storeys
37 had been spent on two-storey three bed houses, over 37 per cent more dwellings could have
38 been built for the same cost, while the average dwelling size would have been over 30 per
39 cent larger (though he acknowledges that the heavy weighting of London in the data
40 exaggerates the cost saving).⁶⁴ However, the ultimate cost differential is much higher, as such
41 estimates do not take into account the far greater maintenance costs of high flats built using
42 industrialised methods and, critically, their much shorter lifespans.
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51 High-density flats were sometimes justified in terms of preserving agricultural land.⁶⁵
52 However, there was no economic case for such arguments. Over the decade from 1955
53 British agricultural land contracted by only around one per cent, while net agricultural output
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3 rose by more than 30 per cent. While farmland was typically worth £250 per acre (or £5,000-
4 10,000 per acre with planning permission), the cost of 'saving' an acre of land by building at
5 higher densities was put at over £30,000.⁶⁶ Furthermore, under the 1947 Town and Country
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Further, under the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, local authorities could acquire land at its 'existing use value', using their powers of compulsory purchase, without any premium for potential development gain.

Moreover, there is little evidence that government really attached great importance to preserving agricultural land. While land conservation arguments were sometimes employed by ministers and MHLG officials to justify high flat development to third parties, this was rarely mentioned in internal MHLG policy discussions, suggesting that it was more a legitimisation device for policy than a core driver. The Treasury was even less keen on supporting agriculture. A 1955 Treasury working party rejected both the balance of payments and strategic arguments for supporting agriculture, while three years later, R.W.B. Clarke described agricultural subsidies as the 'biggest government expenditure scandal'.⁶⁷

Glendenning and Muthesius reject claims that local decisions to build high flats were driven primarily by the extra subsidies available. Nor do they accept that the 1956 subsidy change increased incentives to build high (while qualifying this with a statement that their study did not discuss building costs).⁶⁸ They further argue that there is no firm evidence that multi-storey building was consistently more profitable for contractors than low blocks of flats.⁶⁹ However, the MHLG and Treasury documents examined in this study contradict their claims. Even prior to the 1956 subsidy changes the MHLG's Principal Private Secretary, J.E. Beddoe, noted that the subsidy system encouraged local authorities to build flats even when housing densities did not require this. For example, Birmingham had built 180 flats in six-storey blocks, at a density of only 57 rooms per acre, that could have been met using conventional houses.⁷⁰ The more generous 1956 high flat subsidies were specifically designed to incentivise councils to build high. In response to criticism by the Parliamentary

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3 Secretary regarding the high costs per room, and per square foot, of tower blocks at Sefton
4 Park, Liverpool, Beddoe reminded him that using higher subsidies to encourage high flat
5 development (which was inherently more expensive), was a specific aim of the new subsidy
6 regime.⁷¹
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12 While low density overspill developments were more cost-effective, this was not the
13 key factor determining policy. As Beddoe noted, 'The arguments for encouraging high flat
14 building... rest largely on political and social grounds.'⁷² He spelled these out in a separate
15 memorandum as being: 'to reduce overspill problems as much as we can. This is because the
16 practical and financial problems associated with overspill are so intractable (to which I might
17 add the political ones... all reception areas are ex-hypothesi Conservative seats, and usually
18 marginal). The purpose was also to encourage high building for its own sake'.⁷³
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28 However, while the 1956 progressive height subsidy increased the proportion of total
29 building costs paid by central government for higher flats, local authorities still had to pay
30 more per dwelling for high flats than for low-rise developments. This is illustrated in a 1959
31 Treasury analysis, summarised in Table 1. The capitalised value of central government
32 housing subsidies rose from 31 per cent of development costs for 4 storey blocks to 38 per
33 cent for blocks of 6-8 stories and 43 per cent for blocks of more than 12 storeys. Yet, despite
34 the higher proportionate subsidy, the capitalised value of the local authority contribution for
35 flats of over five stories was significantly larger than for four storey blocks. Councils did not,
36 therefore, face a cost imperative (or even a cost saving) to build high.
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48 **[Table 1 near here]**
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51 Information on the relative profitability of high flat development for contractors,
52 compared to other forms of public sector housing, is more fragmentary. However, available
53 evidence indicates that public sector flat development, particularly high flats, was unusually
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3 lucrative. For example, a November 1954 Wimpey minute noted that their 'no fines' building
4 system provided them with a margin of 14 percent, which was exceptionally high for
5 contracting work.⁷⁴ Moreover, the fact that the major contracting companies had the
6 resources to generously finance networks of local and regional PR firms, that in turn provided
7 lavish hospitality and other incentives to councillors and council officials, is itself an
8 indication of the substantial margins available on high flat contracts.⁷⁵
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16 The cost premium for high flats is, of course, only half the story – it has to be weighed
17 against the utility derived from them relative to lower-rise housing. Studies consistently
18 pointed to inferior outcomes for tenants in tower blocks relative to conventional housing or
19 low-rise flats.⁷⁶ Moreover, evidence for negative tenant impacts, especially for young
20 children, was already available by the mid-1950s. For example, a MHLG memorandum of
21 January 1954 noted that a recent Central Housing Advisory Committee report had found high
22 flats to be unsuitable for children.⁷⁷ While policy-makers assumed that families with young
23 children would be given flats on the lower floors, this proved impracticable – as the
24 proportion of re-housed families with children exceeded their availability. Moreover, given
25 the limited supply of housing it generally proved impractical to move tenants to lower floors
26 when they came to have children.⁷⁸
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41 Subsequent studies generally corroborated these findings.⁷⁹ Pre-school children were
42 shown to be particularly disadvantaged, as they lacked spaces for interaction with other
43 children of their own age, with potentially permanent adverse impacts on their social
44 development. Mothers typically prevented young children from playing on external balconies
45 owing to safety fears, while outdoor play areas were difficult for parents to observe, were
46 typically unsupervised, and were often perceived as being unsafe. This contrasted with the
47 private gardens or enclosed areas adjoining conventional housing, where, 'they can be left to
48 play in safety with little or no supervision.'⁸⁰
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3 Studies also highlighted negative health impacts. Many adults (especially mothers)
4 were found to have high incidences of stress, depression, and other psychological problems
5 attributed to environmental factors associated with high-flat living.⁸¹ Meanwhile children, in
6 particular, were subject to unusually high incidences of respiratory infections, reflecting
7 problems of dampness caused by poorly-fitted pre-fabricated building components, together
8 with tower blocks' typically high heating costs and poor insulation (even by the standards of
9 the time).⁸²

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19 Successive social surveys indicated that 80 – 98 per cent of working people would
20 prefer a house to a flat (at equivalent rents).⁸³ Again, this information was available at an
21 early stage. For example, in 1957 Birmingham's Housing Manager, John P Macey, told a
22 Royal Institute of British Architects symposium on family life in high-density housing that 80
23 per cent of prospective tenants would rather live in a house than a flat. Evidence also
24 consistently showed that most council tenants preferred to be allocated a traditional inter-war
25 council house than a modern flat (sometimes overturning official council policy that the best
26 tenants should be allocated to their new accommodation).⁸⁴

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37 Indeed, despite the housing shortage, by the early 1970s there were reports of some
38 councils having difficulties finding tenants for new high-rise blocks.⁸⁵ Social problems and
39 tenant dissatisfaction typically grew over the lifetime of each completed development,
40 accentuated by the rapid physical deterioration of many tall blocks and consequent problems
41 of dampness, cold, and poor accessibility (owing to lifts being frequently out of service),
42 which in turn led to the flight of those tenants able to access better accommodation and their
43 replacement by a growing proportion of 'problem families' and associated problems of anti-
44 social behaviour, vandalism, and crime.⁸⁶

Explaining local authorities' acceptance of high flat development

The above analysis has shown that while central government heavily subsidised high flats, the subsidies were insufficient to make tower blocks cost-competitive with low-rise flats or houses, from a local authority perspective. This begs the question why there was so little political opposition to central government policy – with the new 1964 Labour government actually championing current policy during its first year in office?

While Conservative governments had prioritised blocking population overspill of urban (and often Labour voting) families into rural and suburban areas, urban councils also had a political incentive to keep their voters within their boundaries.⁸⁷ However, in most cases this could have been achieved without high-rise developments, given that inner-urban housing estates were typically at densities that did not require tower blocks. In order to understand the strong local government support for tower blocks, it is necessary to examine the close links between politicians and contractors (or their agents) that emerged particularly during the third industrialised building drive.

The push for industrialised building involved collaboration between central government, local government, and a relatively small group of national contractors, with whom they developed close, informal, relationships. Such relationships are analogous to those between governments and military equipment suppliers. In western market economies defence contractors devote considerable resources to cultivating close relationships with procurement agencies, to secure higher volumes of orders and higher prices for those contracts. Strategies aimed at achieving this include forging strong personal ties with senior military personnel and ministers; providing them with business services; and offering entertainment and gifts, together with lucrative directorships or consultancy positions.⁸⁸

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3 A number of senior Conservative ministers had strong links with building contractors.
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5 Keith Joseph was a former chairman of Bovis and his Minister of Public Buildings and
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7 Works, Geoffrey Rippon, was a director of Cubitts. Meanwhile several big contractors,
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9 including McAlpine and Taylor Woodrow, were major contributors to the Conservative Party
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11 and other right-wing bodies. Dame Evelyn Sharp was a close friend of the developer Neil
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13 Wates and was appointed as a director of Bovis on her retirement by Keith Joseph.⁸⁹ And in
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15 1962 Albert Costain relinquished directorships of Costain-associated companies, when he
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17 was appointed Principal Private Secretary to Geoffrey Rippon. None of these arrangements
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19 may have broken any formal or unwritten rules of conduct, though the fact that *Construction*
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21 *News* carried an article on these and a string of other Tory Ministers and MPs who were
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23 directors of building-related firms under the title, 'Do contractors need an MP on the board?',
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25 suggests that the trade considered they provided a competitive advantage.⁹⁰
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30 Such relationships created potential conflicts of interest. For example, in May 1963
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32 Newcastle's Conservatives had demanded a public inquiry into potential corruption in the
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34 awarding of three blocks of municipal flats to the contractors Crudens, (involving the
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36 architect John Poulson and the local Labour politician T. Dan Smith). However, Smith also
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38 had strong links with Bovis and – according to Fitzwalter and Taylor - the possibility of
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40 damage to Bovis's reputation put the Minister, Sir Keith Joseph – who refused to pursue the
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42 matter – in a very embarrassing position.⁹¹
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46 However it was principally the links between local politicians and major system-build
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48 contractors that were dramatically illuminated by the housing corruption trials of the 1970s
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50 (though a number of national politicians, including household names, were said to be 'lucky'
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52 to have avoided prosecution). These mainly related to tower blocks developed during the
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54 1960s building drive, where the major contractors used 'hard sell' marketing techniques,
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56 promoted by 'door to door salesmen'.⁹² Councillors and council officials were offered
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3 various inducements, including lavish business entertainment and expenses-paid trips
4 (sometimes overseas) to see the contractors' systems in situ. These were increasingly
5 organised by PR firms and consultancies, sometimes run by major local government figures
6 such as T. Dan Smith (who pioneered this approach). Meanwhile the shift from open
7 tendering to negotiated housing contracts opened the door to corruption, as a few key people—
8 usually the council leader, the chairman of the housing committee, the local authority
9 architect and the town clerk – enjoyed great discretionary power regarding which firms were
10 awarded the contracts.⁹³

21 Despite mounting evidence of pervasive malpractice, revealed by a series of high
22 profile criminal trials, the 1974-9 Labour government persistently refused widespread calls
23 for a general enquiry into local authority corruption in building contracts, or more specific
24 enquiries regarding particular local authorities.⁹⁴ However, the ubiquity of bribery is reflected
25 in the fact that one of the Trustees in Bankruptcy's concerns about John Poulson's tax returns
26 was, 'That whereas it was well known that architects got "kick backs" from contractors there
27 was a noticeable absence of such receipts by Poulson...'⁹⁵ Indeed perhaps the most atypical
28 characteristic of the two most notorious figures of the corruption scandal - John Poulson and
29 T. Dan Smith (whose activities were fictionalised in the seminal BBC drama series *Our*
30 *Friends in the North*), was their practice of keeping extensive records, even after Poulson's
31 bankruptcy, which considerably eased the police's job of pursuing charges that would
32 otherwise have been difficult to prove.⁹⁶

47 Those cases that did come to court revealed networks of PR companies working for
48 building contractors (who – it was stressed during the trials – were not necessarily aware of
49 their business practices). The PR agencies in turn either hired councillors and council
50 officials, or offered them inducements.⁹⁷ For example, Maurice Byrne, a former mayor of
51 Pontefract, informed Leeds Crown Court how, as public relations officer for the London-

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3 based building firm Carlton Contractors (a subsidiary of the Trafalgar House Group), he gave
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5 'backhanders' of up to £1,000 to officials and councillors. Byrne, who pleaded guilty to ten
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7 charges of corruption, defended his behaviour by stating that backhanders were 'the order of
8
9 the day' in local authority contracting.⁹⁸
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12 Another case revealed how Birmingham Council's dominant contractor, Bryants,
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14 lavished hospitality, 'Christmas gifts' and other presents, such as holiday accommodation, on
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16 councillors and officials in the West Midlands, with a list of recipients that contained some
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18 2,000 names by 1968-9.⁹⁹ Birmingham's chief architect, Alan Maudsley, together with two
19
20 colleagues, were arrested on various charges and, following their early guilty plea for
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22 conspiracy to corrupt, a further case led to Maurice Barwick (Bryants' former managing
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24 director), and two other ex-directors, pleading guilty on 28 counts of corruption.¹⁰⁰
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28 Yet it was the trials of John Poulson and his associates that captured the public
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30 spotlight. Poulson had pioneered the development of an integrated construction practice that
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32 combined the disciplines of the architect, engineer, and quantity surveyor, at a reduced fee.
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34 Police enquiries indicated that in the early-mid 1960s his organisation was highly regarded by
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36 hospital planners. However, as he expanded into other areas of public sector building he
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38 became increasingly reliant on what eventually became industrial-scale bribery.¹⁰¹ This was
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40 organised by a string of PR firms, headed by leading figures in local politics, such as T. Dan
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42 Smith. The 'Poulson scandal' began in early 1970 with two separate police investigations into
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44 corruption in local authority contracting in Wandsworth and Bradford.¹⁰² This eventually led
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46 to 21 people being convicted on corruption charges, including prominent civil servants, local
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48 councillors, and council officials. In total 300 individuals had been short-listed for
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50 investigation (some avoiding prosecution by leaving the country).¹⁰³ The scandal also ended
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52 the careers of three MP's including Home Secretary Reginald Maudling. These escaped
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54 prosecution partly owing to a legal opinion that MPs were exempt from the corruption acts.
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3 Moreover, in the 1970s prosecuting a former senior minister such as Maudling required a far
4 higher evidence standard than that for ordinary mortals. As the Director of Public
5 Prosecutions' legal counsel, John Cobb, told his colleagues, 'Given the nature of the man,' he
6 would only proceed if given, 'a one hundred per cent, copper-bottomed guarantee of
7 winning'.¹⁰⁴
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13 14 **The end of the high flats era**

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17 Industrialised building methods peaked at 42 per cent of new public sector housing
18 development in 1969, but then fell sharply to only 5 per cent by 1977.¹⁰⁵ In addition to the
19 corruption scandals, the early 1970s also witnessed rising popular resistance to
20 'comprehensive redevelopment' of inner-urban residential areas and growing perceptions of
21 the negative environmental characteristics of tower blocks and high-density council estates.
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23 However, many local authorities had already lost confidence in high-flats, at least in part
24 owing to the Ronan Point disaster. Ronan Point - a 22-storey block of flats owned by the
25 London Borough of Newham – was constructed by Taylor Woodrow-Anglian Ltd, using the
26 Larsen Nielsen system of large concrete panel construction. On May 16th 1968, two months
27 after completion, a gas explosion in an 18th floor flat caused the 'progressive collapse' of the
28 whole southeast corner of the block, with 22 flats destroyed, four people killed, and 17
29 injured. At the subsequent tribunal Taylor Woodrow-Anglian claimed this was a major blast,
30 with a force of 600 pounds per square inch. However, structural engineers appointed by the
31 Treasury solicitor estimated that the flats had failed at an explosive pressure of only 3 pounds
32 per square inch (an average domestic gas explosion). The enquiry's report found that a
33 structural flaw inherent in the building system had made it vulnerable to progressive collapse,
34 not only from explosions, but from fire or even high winds.¹⁰⁶
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3 The collapse of local authority confidence stemmed not directly from the Ronan Point
4 failure, but from the fact that councils were left to foot much of the bill for remedial work
5 necessary to strengthen similar blocks, together with lost rental income during the work and
6 replacement costs for all gas appliances (deemed dangerous in such blocks even after
7 strengthening). At least 1,893 blocks of flats, comprising 127,585 dwellings, were found to
8 require strengthening, at a cost of around £30 million (£426 million in 2016 prices).¹⁰⁷
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16 June 1969 saw an ill-tempered meeting between the Minister of Housing and his
17 officials, and representatives of local government associations. These pressed the government
18 to meet the costs of remedial work, stressing that they had been 'pressurized' into using
19 system building - Circular 21/65 made this a quid pro quo for being granted generous housing
20 allocations.¹⁰⁸ The Minister countered that, 'Authorities had never been "pressurized" into
21 using high system built flats' - though MHLG records contain repeated references to a policy
22 of pressurising councils to do so.¹⁰⁹ Mr Ward of the MHLG also argued that government
23 sponsorship of system building, 'had been done in the interests of all housing authorities,
24 with the object of getting more houses built with the resources available.'¹¹⁰ This again
25 appears disingenuous, given that industrialised techniques were recognised by MHLG as
26 being more expensive than traditional methods.
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41 An initial government offer to pay for 40 per cent of the strengthening work for
42 blocks of over six storeys was later raised to 50 per cent.¹¹¹ However, the local authorities
43 (some of which faced significant rent and rate rises to cover the remaining strengthening
44 costs, plus lost rents and appliance replacements) remained deeply unhappy.¹¹² Attempts to
45 secure any financial contribution from the contractors proved fruitless. The diffusion of
46 responsibility for design between the contractors, design engineers, local authority engineers,
47 and Building Regulations, made it very difficult to pin down financial liability. Ironically, in
48 some cases (such as Taylor Woodrow Anglian's blocks at Newham) the contractors had to be
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3 paid further substantial sums to strengthen their own developments - as they were the
4 licensees of the specific building systems.¹¹³ Much remedial work was said to have been
5 carried out with a similarly cavalier approach to that of the original construction, eventually
6 leading to further expensive maintenance work, or early demolition.¹¹⁴
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12 By the 1980s changes to the skyline regarding tower blocks generally involved their
13 demolition, rather than construction.¹¹⁵ This was a far cry from what the government intended
14 when it set the yardstick for industrialised building system approvals on the basis that they
15 were 'sound and suitable for a 60 year loan sanction,'¹¹⁶ and contrasts sharply with the legacy
16 of conventional semi-detached inter-war and post-war council houses, which have typically
17 yielded long service lives with low depreciation and substantial rental value growth.
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25 **Conclusion**

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28 The above evidence shows that tower block development was not a policy 'mistake',
29 in that it achieved the aims of the Conservative governments that launched the policy – to
30 corral urban working class families within their existing boundaries and prevent substantial
31 overspill into surrounding areas that might erode Conservatives support (both through the
32 inflow of Labour voters and the alienation of Conservative voters opposed to overspill into
33 their 'back yard'). Strong advocacy of high-rise housing projects by the architectural and
34 planning professions had thus acted to 'legitimise' a policy deemed expedient on party-
35 political grounds. This also served to concentrate public housing contracts among a small
36 number of national building firms, as – while many local builders could tender for
37 conventional public housing – relatively few had expertise in large-scale industrialised
38 building systems. The policy achieved these objectives, but at huge economic and social
39 costs, particularly for the tenants of these blocks and their children.
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3 Given Britain's pluralistic democratic system, it might have been expected that this
4 policy would have been resisted by the Labour Party and (predominantly Labour) urban
5 councils. However, there was remarkably little such opposition— so little that the new 1964
6 Labour government initially pressed for an intensification of high-rise system building. The
7 above analysis partially corroborates Dunleavy's findings that political opposition was
8 diffused by the presentation of high-rise system building as a technological short-cut to
9 solving the housing problem, together with generous grant subsidies. However, we show that,
10 contrary to the findings of previous studies, local councils still faced higher costs per
11 dwelling for high-rise flats than for conventional housing or low-rise flats.
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23 Urban councils accepted system-built tower blocks partly because this maintained
24 their political constituencies in situ, but also, increasingly, because of the close relationships
25 between those councillors and officials who controlled the local planning process and the
26 small group of major contractors (or their agents) that dominated system building. As such,
27 the tower block era was essentially the product of a national government pursuing its party-
28 political interests and local (and, to some extent, national) politicians pursuing their personal
29 financial interests. However, between 1965 and early 1970s this alignment of interests
30 collapsed. The new Labour government had realised the poor cost-effectiveness of high-rise
31 industrial building by the end of its first year in office and introduced legislation that would
32 remove much of the extra subsidies for high flats. The aftermath of the Ronan Point disaster
33 illustrated the financial vulnerability of councils that embraced high-rise housing solutions,
34 while the corruption scandals of the early 1970s spotlighted the vulnerability of politicians
35 and public servants to criminal investigation. Meanwhile a growing public backlash against
36 comprehensive redevelopment of inner-urban areas, high flat construction, and modernist
37 architecture, fatally weakened the legitimising influence of the architectural and planning
38 professions.¹¹⁷
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3 Britain's high-rise era had important long-term consequences for the residualisation
4 and stigmatisation of council housing. From the early 1970s a growing number of councils
5 faced difficulties finding tenants for high flats and increasingly resorted to moving in tenants
6 from 'sink' estates. This led to a growing association of tower blocks with 'problem' tenants
7 as (for example in Birmingham) certain blocks would only be accepted by those really
8 desperate for accommodation.¹¹⁸ Adverse tenant selection (and associated problems of
9 vandalism, crime, and anti-social behaviour) were compounded by the rapid physical
10 deterioration of many tower blocks. These included limited structural failures (of external
11 panels and similar components); dampness; problems with lifts; and unreliable and/or costly
12 utilities.¹¹⁹

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14 Renovation to modern standards was often impracticable, owing to inherent design
15 flaws, or poor specifications (such as only a single staircase for exit in the event of fire).¹²⁰
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17 However, the main constraints were financial, given the scale of the potential maintenance
18 bills facing many councils with substantial stocks of high flats. These increasingly opted for
19 short-term 'patching-up' solutions, such as the installation of cheap external cladding. Even
20 the 2009 Lakanal House fire in Camberwell, London, which left six people dead, and an
21 inquest verdict that highlighted botched renovations, failed to bring about recommended
22 improvements which might have prevented the much more severe Grenfell Tower tragedy in
23 June 2017, where at least 71 people lost their lives.

24
25 While tower blocks were a disaster from an economic and social perspective, they
26 served (and, arguably, continues to serve) the agendas of those vested interests behind the
27 policy. The Conservative governments' policy of fencing working-class populations within
28 existing urban boundaries prevented any substantial dilution of Conservative majorities in
29 suburban and rural areas vulnerable to over-spill; while both central and local government

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3 politicians and officials could claim to be addressing the housing problem, while quietly
4 reaping private financial rewards from contractors whose success was dependent on their
5 support. Meanwhile the small group of contractors who dominated system-building used this
6 episode to transform themselves into highly-profitable multinational companies and have
7 since retained their dominant position in public-sector contracting.¹²¹ Britain's tower-bock
8 era thus serves as a salutary example of how co-operative alignments of political and
9 corporate interests may lead to policies that have severe economic and social costs, not only
10 during their implementation, but for later generations.
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² Finnimore, *Houses from the Factory*, 79-103, argues that policy-makers saw this as a cost-reducing technology, while Rowlands, Musterd, and van Kempen, *Mass Housing in Europe*, 8-9; and Urban, *Tower and Slab*, 14, state that industrialised building reduced building costs by achieving scale economies.

³ Glendinning and Muthesius, *Tower Block*, 157-9.

⁴ Dunleavy, *Politics of Mass Housing*, 101-103.

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¹⁷ Shapely, "Council Wars," 104-112; Ward, *Peaceful Path*, 188-94; 241-5; Holmans, *Housing Policy*, 118.

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37 ⁸³ Cooney, "High Flats," 158.

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41 ⁸⁵ Ibid, 157.

42
43 ⁸⁶ Ibid, 83.

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45 ⁸⁷ Urban councils varied in their enthusiasm for high-rise housing, with some major metropolitan councils, such
46 as Manchester and Glasgow, initially following a policy based mainly on "overspill" suburban estates of
47 conventional houses. Shapely, "Council Wars," 100.

48
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21¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 294.

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25¹⁰² Fitzwater and Taylor, *Web of Corruption*, 185.

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27¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 9.

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31¹⁰⁵ McCutcheon, “Science, technology, and the state,” 360.

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33¹⁰⁶ TNA, HLG118/1147, “Ronan Point – General Background,” undated note, c. November 1970; Dunleavy,
34 *Politics of Mass Housing*, 244 & 247.

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36¹⁰⁷ TNA, HLG118/1302, “Ronan Point Grant,” memorandum, July 1970, Appendix II; Dunleavy, *Politics of*
37 *Mass Housing*, 177. 2016 prices calculated using

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39 <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/relativevalue.php> (accessed on 13th June 2017), deflated by retail
40 price index.

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45 Marlow, 3 June 1969.

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47¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*. For records that make explicit reference to pressuring local authorities, see TNA, HLG118/866, “Ronan
48 Point,” Treasury memorandum 4 December 1968; TNA, EW 24/30, “Industrial Housing Demand,”
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53¹¹⁰ TNA, HLG118/1147, “Strengthening of High Rise Flats. Financial Implications,” notes of a meeting by J.
54 Marlow, 3 June 1969.

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4 ¹¹¹ Most councils received a 49 per cent grant, the balance being set aside for a fund to further assist one or two
5 relatively small authorities with modest rate resources.
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7 ¹¹² TNA, HLG118/1302, "Background Note. Grant for Strengthening High Blocks of Flats," November 1970.
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9 ¹¹³ Dunleavy, *Politics of Mass Housing*, 249.
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11 ¹¹⁴ Jones, "Rise and Fall," 171-2.
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13 ¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 60.
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15 ¹¹⁶ Association of Metropolitan Authorities, *Inquiry into British Housing*, 17.
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17 ¹¹⁷ Holmans, *Housing Policy in Britain*, 114-15; Dunleavy, *Politics of Mass Housing*, 353.
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23 ¹²⁰ Association of Metropolitan Authorities, *Inquiry into British Housing*, 18.
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Table 1: Government housing subsidies per flat, for flats in blocks of four or more storeys, c. 1959

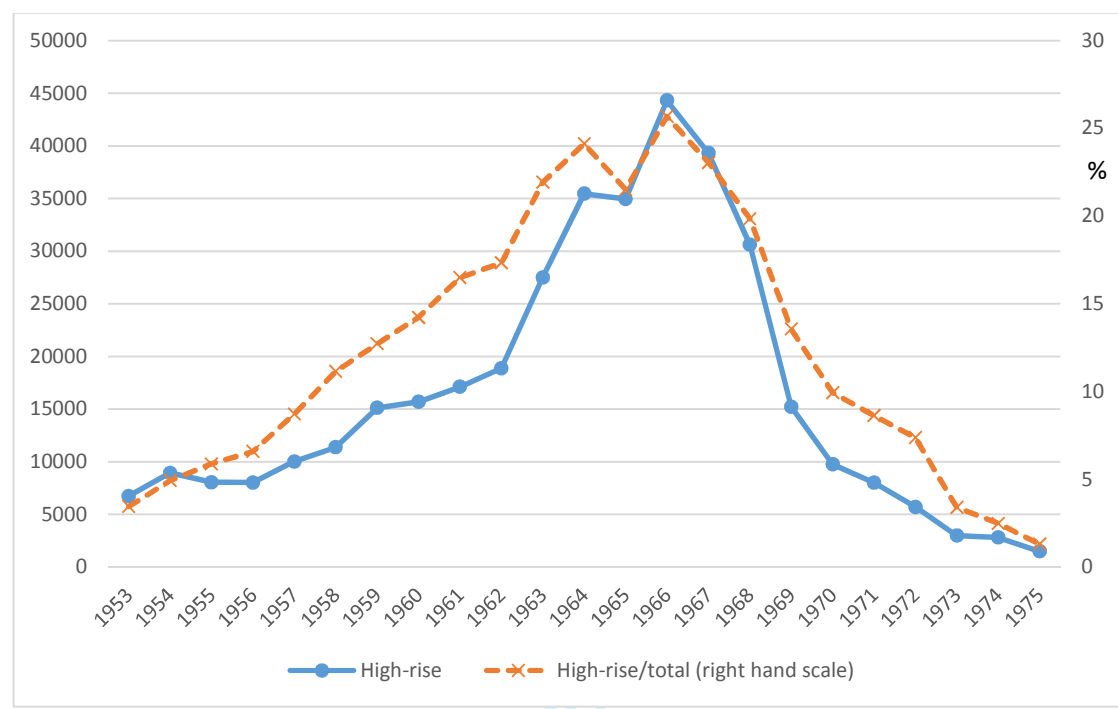
Height	Annual subsidy	Capitalised value	Total cost to develop	Capitalised value/total cost	Cost to local authority
Storeys	£	£	£	%	£
4	32	528	1,693	31	1,168
5	38	626	1,829	34	1,207
6-8	50-53.5	855*	2,258	38	1,400
9-11	55.25-58.75	940**	2,221	42	1,288
12 or more	60.5	1,000	2,308	43	1,316

Source: TNA, T 227/830, document on capitalised values of principal housing subsidies n.d., c. February 1960.

Notes: Subsidies are payable over 60 years; capitalised on the basis of the Public Works Loan Board interest rate (5.875 per cent). Total cost to develop based on data for 1st January 1958 to 30th June 1959. * For a seven storey flat. ** For a 10 storey flat.

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Figure 1: High-rise flat tender approvals in England and Wales, number, and proportion of total local authority dwelling approvals, 1953 – 1975



Source: adapted from: Dunleavy, *Politics of Mass Housing*, 41.

Note: High-rise flats are defined as those of five or more storeys.