

Maps and Legends:
Revisiting Charles Booth's Classifications of London Poverty in the
Context of Twenty-first Century Urban Inequality

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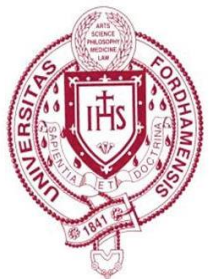
Key points

1. Study of inequality and social exclusion in New York City and London.
2. History of mapping and geospatial analysis as valuable instruments in the formative stages of social work's understanding of social problems (the problem of poverty) – presenting data for practical purposes.
3. Use of mapping and GIS in social work education, practice, research, and advocacy.
4. Dynamics of globalization and human migration, shifting racial and ethnic diversity, patterns in the growth and structure of cities (the problem of gentrification).
5. Dynamics of inequality and social exclusion.
6. Retrenched welfare state policies.
7. Utilizing Carto to analyze how gentrification affects important causal factors of inequality and social exclusion within current neighborhood contexts in New York and London where settlement houses and other CBOs are located.



Implications

1. The Anglo-American tradition (King, 1974)
2. Urban development
3. Social reform (philanthropy and the private sector)
4. Social policy
5. Social work
6. The Settlement House Movement
7. The Puerto Rican experience and Fordham

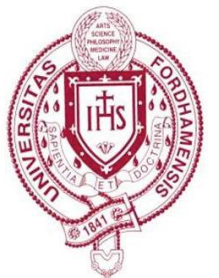


The evolution of social work research and practice

Philosophy and methods

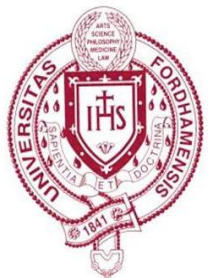
Theory and praxis

- Evidence-based praxis
- Advocacy as praxis



Mapping and GIS in social work

1. Contending with social problems—the problem of poverty
2. Visualizing social problems
3. Interdisciplinary studies
4. Education, research, and practice (advocacy)
5. Influencing policy development
6. Digital advocacy
7. Digital scholarship



Maps that changed the world: William Smith (1815)

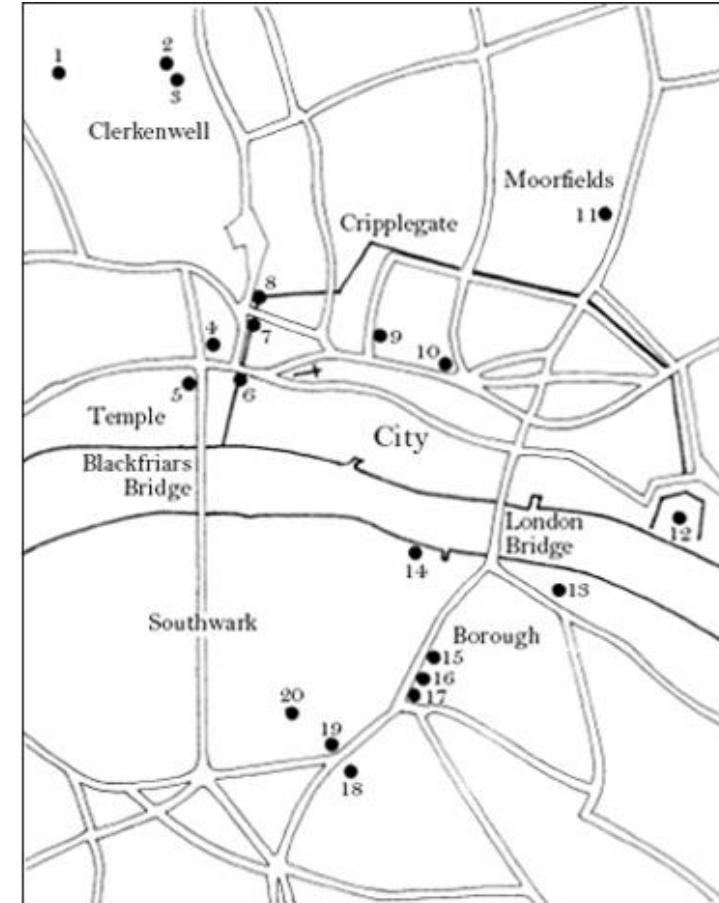
“...step back for an instant, and the three maps suddenly look utterly remarkable...principally because **they display a pattern, simplistically reasoned maybe, crudely executed surely, but a pattern that is boldly representative** ... Set a copy of a Smith map of 1801 along-side a British Geological Survey map of 1979, and the pattern looks just the same: **The underground of the nation is shown in a broad outline that has hardly changed at all**, much like the unvarying outlines of the overground.” (p. 145)

—Winchester, S. (2001). *The map that changed the world: William Smith and the birth of modern geology.*

A “simple” pattern

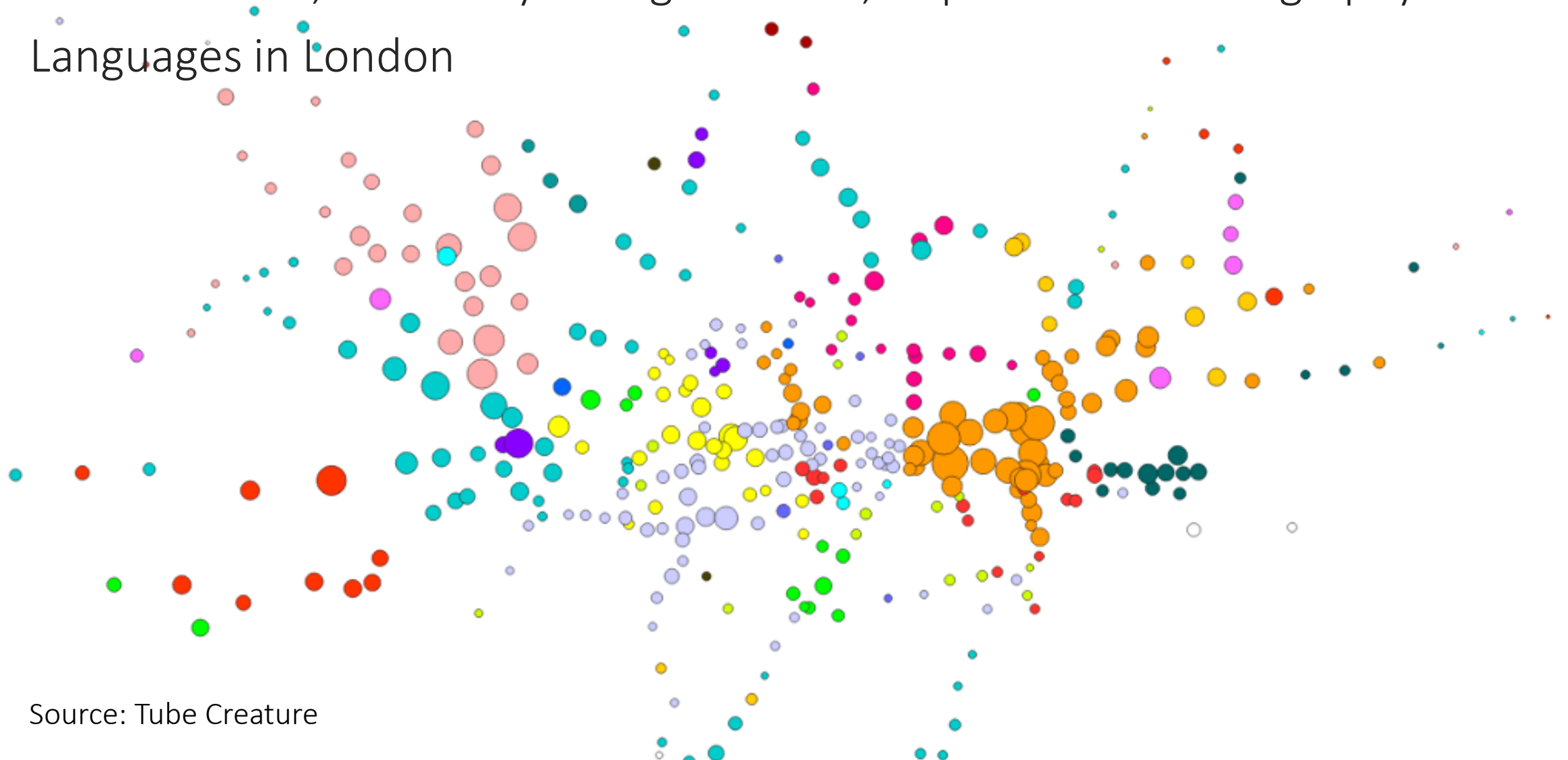
The principal prisons—including those for debtors—in London, 1819. Smith was languishing in Southwark, in what is noted here as King’s Bench Prison II.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Cold Bath Fields | 11. Ludgate Prison II (after 1760) |
| 2. Clerkenwell Bridewell | 12. The Tower |
| 3. New Prison, Clerkenwell | 13. Borough Compter |
| 4. Fleet Prison | 14. The Clink |
| 5. City Bridewell | 15. Marshalsea Prison |
| 6. Ludgate Prison I | 16. King’s Bench Prison I |
| 7. Newgate Prison | 17. White Lion Gaol |
| 8. Giltspur Street Compter | 18. County Gaol for Surrey |
| 9. Wood Street Compter | 19. King’s Bench Prison II (after 1758) |
| 10. Poultry Compter | 20. St. George’s Fields Bridewell |



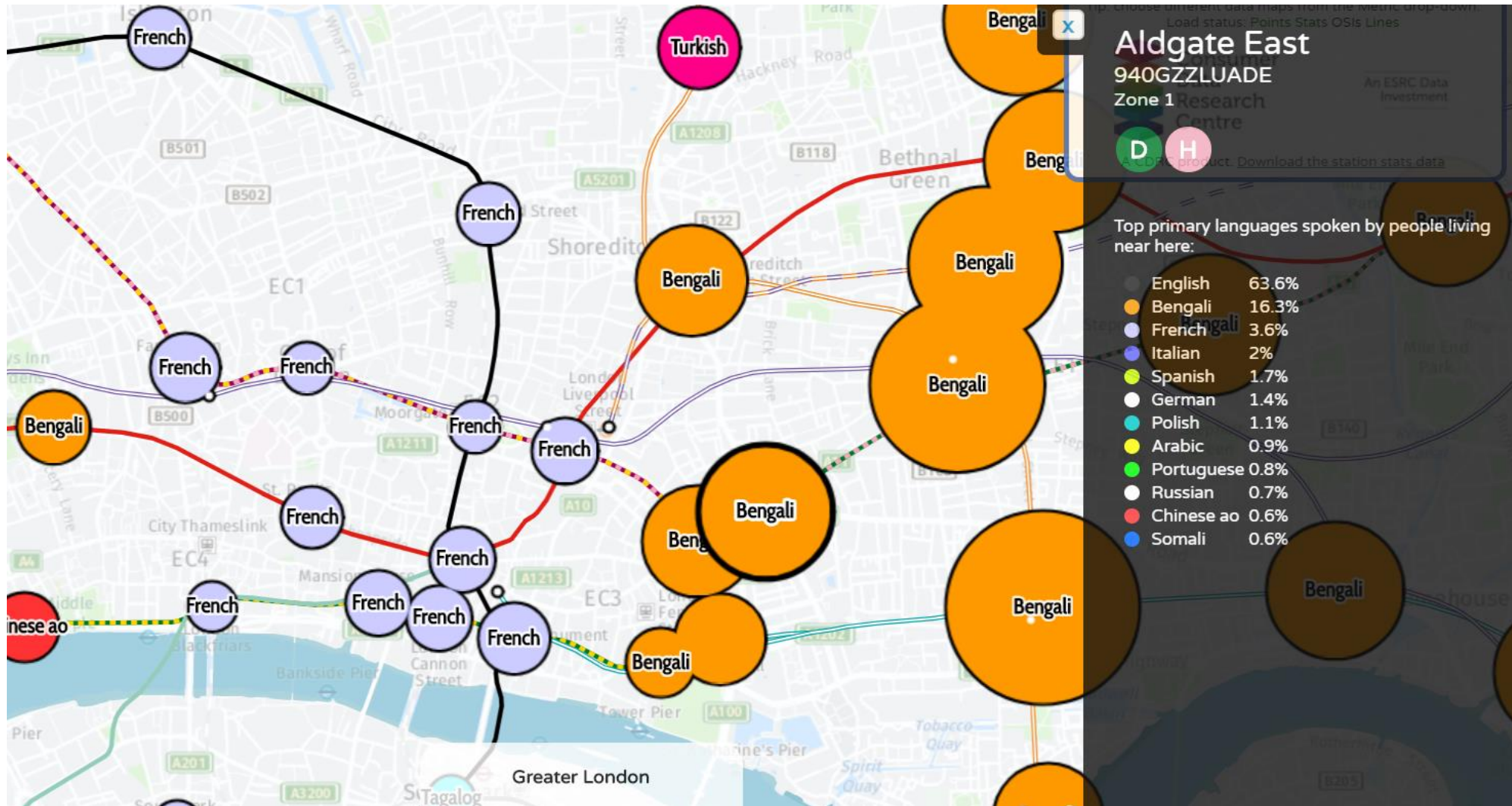
A “simple” pattern

Oliver O'Brien, University College London, Department of Geography
Languages in London



Source: Tube Creature

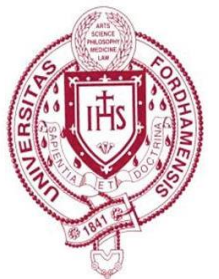
A “simple” pattern



Source: Tube Creature http://tubecreature.com/#/tongues/current/same/*/*/TFTFTF/13/-0.1000/51.5200/

History of mapping as a valuable instrument in the formative stages of social work

- Gilded Age into the Progressive Era
- Urbanization, industrialization, and migration
- Social problems



History of mapping as a valuable instrument in the formative stages of social work

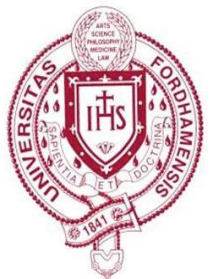
“What shall we do with our great cities?”

“What will our great cities do with us?”

“These are the two problems which confront every thoughtful American.”

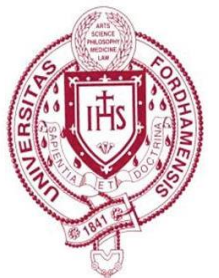
– Reverend Lyman Abbott, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York, 1892

Source: Campbell, Knox, & Byrnes (1897, p. 40)



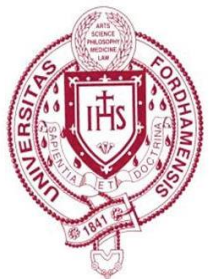
History of mapping as a valuable instrument in the formative stages of social work

- Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement House Movement
 - Behavioral, moral, and structural explanations of poverty
 - “Negative and positive environmentalists” (Boyer, 1978)
- Octavia Hill
 - “Friendly rent collector”



The settlement house movement

- The Barnetts — Toynbee Hall and Hampstead Garden Suburb
- The Fabians and LSE
- Jane Addams — Hull House
- Florence Kelly — Hull House Maps
- Octavia Hill Association
- Emily Wayland Dinwiddie “Friendly Visitor”
- Maps, models, and photographs
- Ethos, logos, and pathos (Seltzer, 2009)



The settlement house movement and the welfare state

William Beveridge

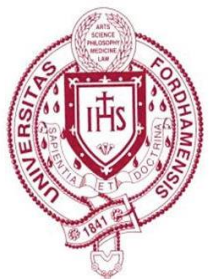
- Main challenges for social policy - 'Five Giant Evils'
 - Squalor, ignorance, want, idleness and disease
 - Required social reforms and social policies - social insurance, education, health care, and housing and employment services

Clement Attlee

- Labour Party

Theodore Roosevelt

- Progressive Party

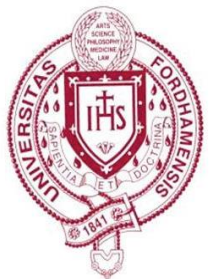


Legends: Mapping class structure in the urban environment

Charles Booth – *Inquiry into the Life and Labour of the People in London* (1886-1903)

- “Photography”
- Range of methods
- Basis for policy development (old age pensions)
- Poverty, resources, and living a “a decent independent life”
- Housing conditions as a gauge of material resources and affordability









(Spicker, 1997)



MAP DESCRIPTIVE OF LONDON POVERTY, 1898-9

(IN 12 SHEETS)

THE STREETS ARE COLOURED ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS. AS UNDER:—

	Lowest class. Vicious, semi-criminal.		Very poor, casual. Chronic want.		Poor. 18s. to 21s. a week for a moderate family.		Mixed. Some comfortable, others poor.		Fairly comfortable. Good ordinary earnings.		Middle class. Well-to-do.		NIL.		Upper-middle and Upper classes. Wealthy.
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A combination of colours—as dark blue and black, or pink and red—indicates that the street contains a fair proportion of each of the classes represented by the respective colours.



Source: LSE Archives

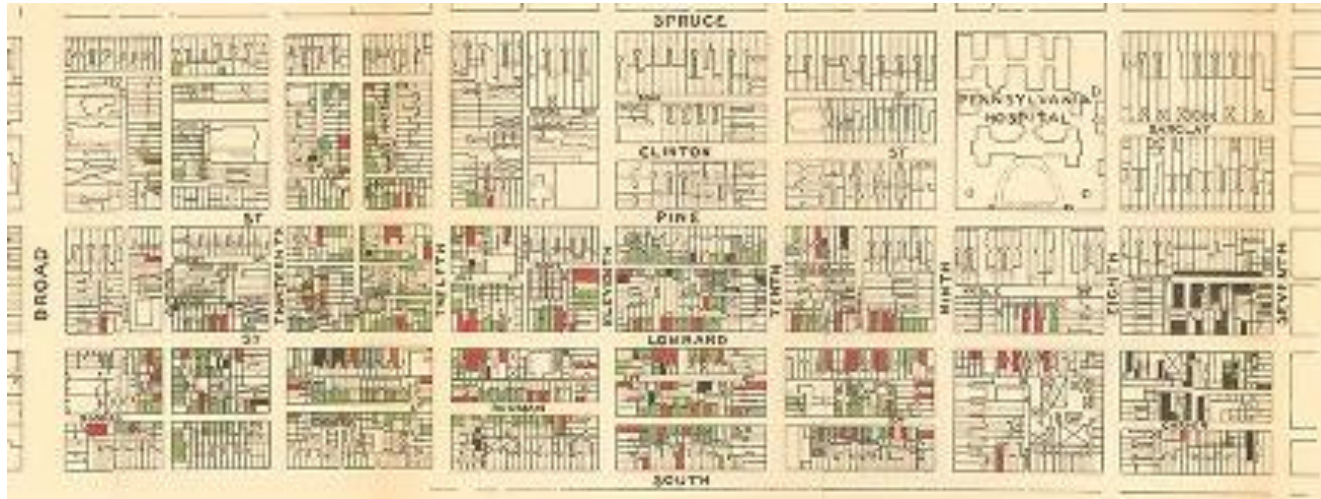
Legends: Mapping class structure in the urban environment






W. E. B. Du Bois (1899)

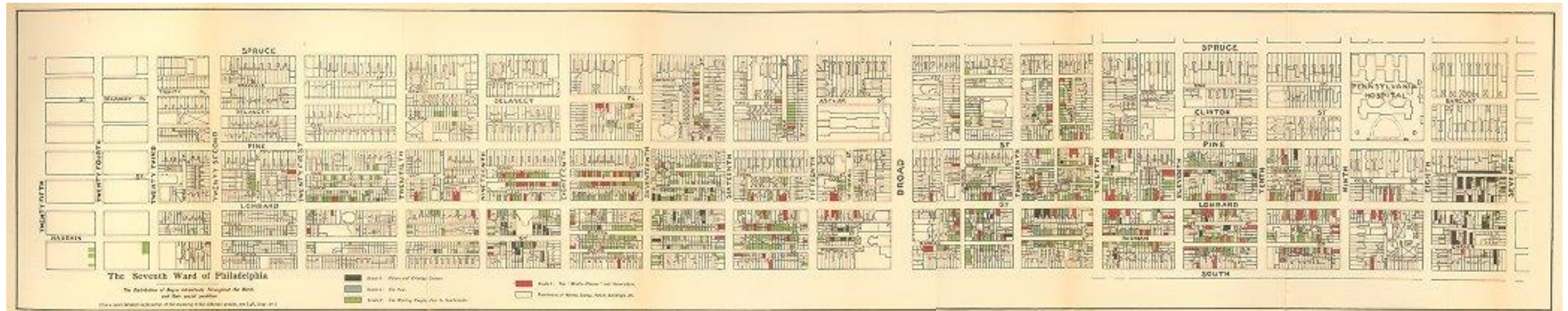
- Philadelphia's Seventh Ward
- Distributions of:
 - Race
 - Occupation (labor market)
 - Daily life and organizations (civil society and the commons)
 - Home (residence/housing conditions)



Du Bois Legend



-  Grade 4 (black): Vicious and Criminal Classes
-  Grade 3 (blue): The Poor
-  Grade 2 (green): The Working People, Fair to Comfortable
-  Grade 1 (red): The “Middle Classes” and those above
-  Residences of Whites, Stores, Public Buildings, etc.



Source: <http://www.dubois-theward.org/resources/mapping/>

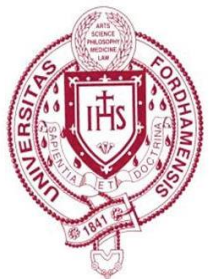
The Octavia Hill Association



Source: Miller, Vogel, & Davis (1983)

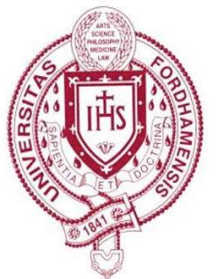
Shifting bedrock: Dynamics of globalization and migration

1. Global integration
2. Development
3. Displacements and “unsettled lives”
4. Shifting patterns of racial and ethnic diversity and the growth and structure of cities
5. Criminal justice system
6. Gentrification



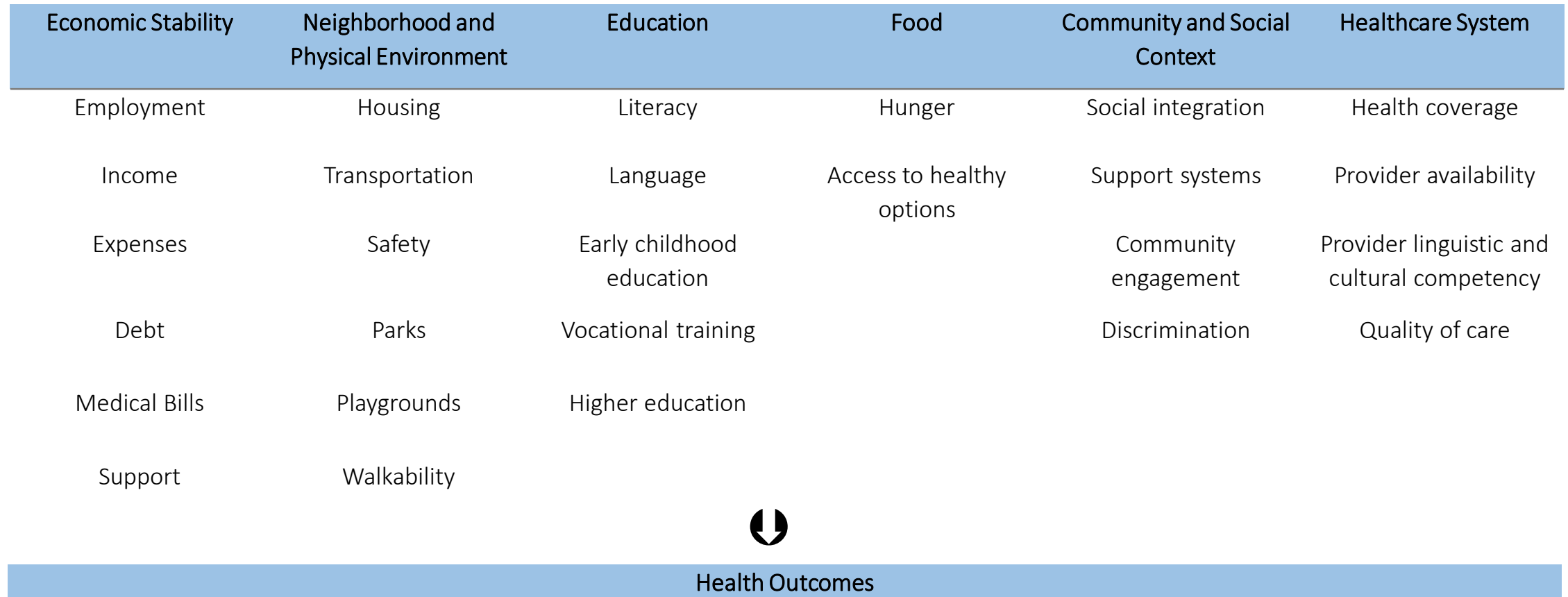
Shifting bedrock: Dynamics of inequality and social exclusion

1. Class
2. SES
3. Poverty measures (Vaughan & Geddes, 2009)
4. Inequality and social exclusion
5. Wealth inequality
6. Social determinants of health



Shifting bedrock: Dynamics of inequality and social exclusion

Social Determinants of Health



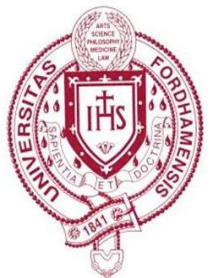
Mortality, Morbidity, Life Expectancy, Health Care Expenditures, Health Status, Functional Limitations

Source: Artiga & Hinton (2018)

Retrenched welfare state policies

Claus Offe (1984)

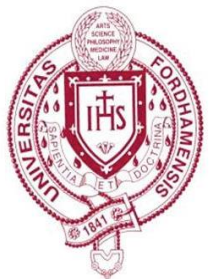
- Primary contradiction of the welfare state:
 - Promotes commodification through increasing the scope of the market.
 - Promotes social welfare through de-commodification of certain sectors of society in order to protect its citizens from market forces (socialization structures).
- Transnational migration of capital:
 - Intensifies commodification.
 - Destabilizes social life.
 - Erodes the power and discretionary authority of the welfare state.



Retrenched welfare state policies

Richard M. Titmuss

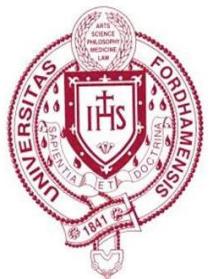
- Commodification and social policy



Retrenched welfare state policies

“If blood is morally sanctioned as something to be bought and sold, what ultimately is the justification for not promoting individualistic private markets in other component areas of medical care... and in education, social security, welfare services, child foster care, social work skills, the use of patients and clients for professional training, and other ‘social service’ institutions and processes?”

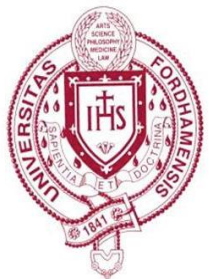
— Richard M. Titmuss (1997). *The Gift relationship* (p.58)



Retrenched welfare state policies

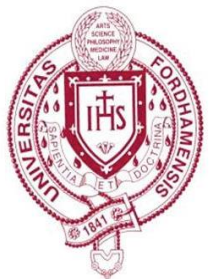
“Just when our affection becomes large enough to care for the unworthy among the poor as we would care for the unworthy among our own kin, is certainly a perplexing question. To say that it should never be so, is a comment upon our democratic relations...which few of us would be willing to make... **to obtain the stern policy of withholding...results in such a dreary lack of sympathy and understanding that the establishment of justice is impossible.**”

– Jane Addams (1902). *Democracy and social ethics* (p.63).



Retrenched welfare state policies and social work practice

- “Growth of **the social work business**” (Ferguson, 2004; Harris 2003).
- “Relationship-based work has been transformed into a **bureaucratic focus on the assessment of risk and rationing** of resources and services, together with **a more controlling, moral policing role**” (Rogowski, 2012).



New legends

Inequality

Gentrification



Photo by Greg Acevedo (2012)



Manhattan Before

Source: Nickolay Lamm (2013). "What if you could see inequality?"



Manhattan After

Source: Nickolay Lamm (2013). "What if you could see inequality?"

New legends: Social exclusion

Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM)

1. Resources
 - a. Material/economic resources
 - b. Access to public and private services
 - c. Social resources
2. Participation
 - a. Economic participation
 - b. Social participation
 - c. Culture, education and skills
 - d. Political and civic participation
3. Quality of life
 - a. Health and well-being
 - b. Living environment
 - c. Crime, harm and criminalisation

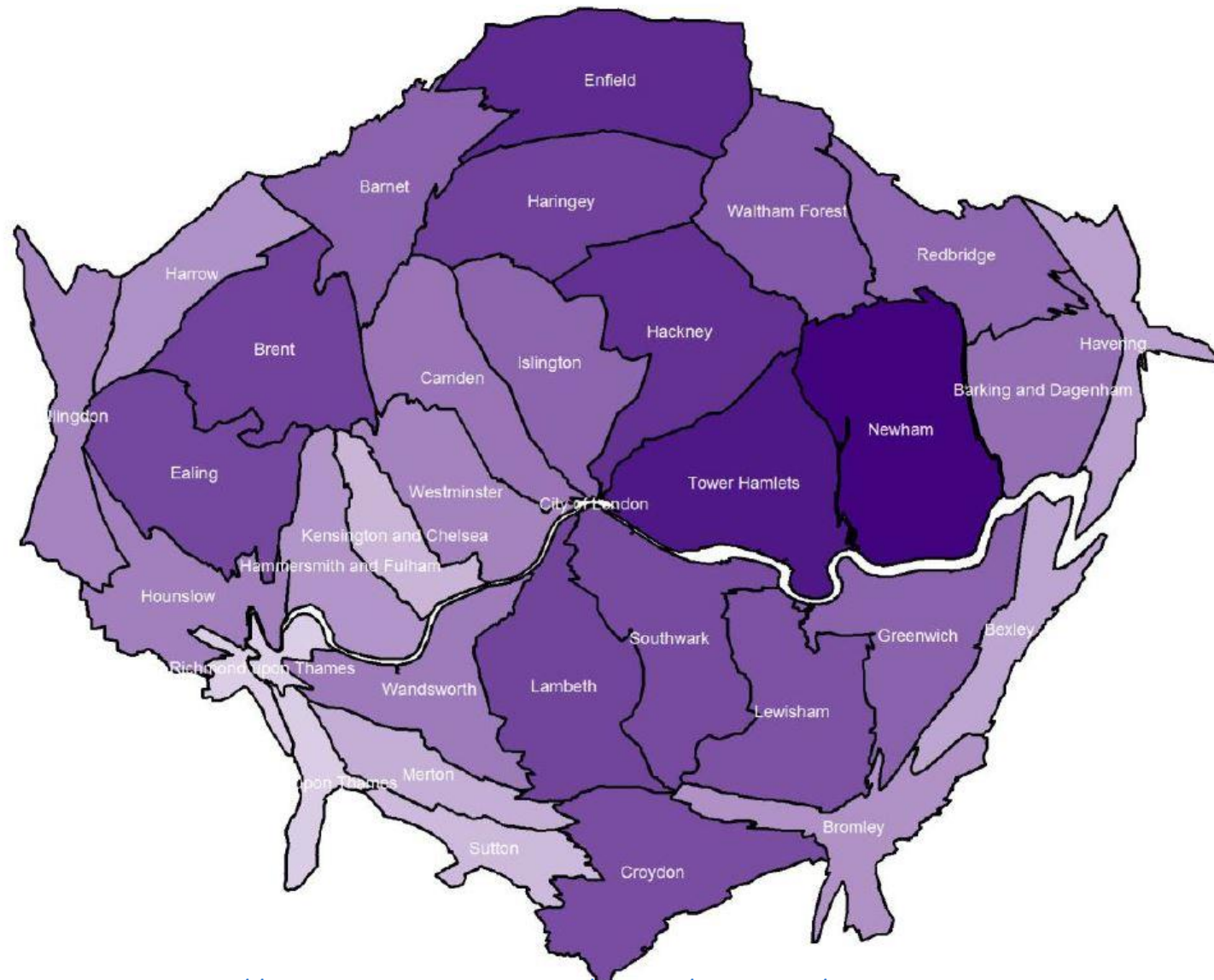
Source: Mack (2016)

New legends: Multiple deprivation

Index of Multiple Deprivation

- Mark Fransham, Changing deprivation in East London, University of Oxford, School of Geography and the Environment
 - **Income, employment, health, education, crime, living environment, and housing and services.**
 - Income and employment weighted most heavily.
 - Measured for Lower Layer Super Output Areas in England – areas with ~1,500 residents.
 - Areas are ranked relative to all others from 1 (most deprived) to 32,844 (least deprived).

New legends: Multiple deprivation



Source: Mark Fransham (2017) <https://www.geog.ox.ac.uk/news/articles/170320-changing-deprivation.html>

New legends: Multidimensional poverty and race

“The Five Evils of Poverty”

Five dimensions of poverty:

1. Low household income
2. Limited education
3. No health insurance
4. Low-income area
5. Unemployment

Source: Reeves, Rodrigue, & Kneebone (2016)

New legends: Multidimensional poverty and race

- Clustering of risks for different groups or different geographical areas.
- Identify race gaps by analyzing specific clusters of disadvantage to see which dimensions overlap.
- Marked differences in multidimensional poverty rates and patterns by race.
- Most blacks and person of Hispanic or Latino origin are disadvantaged on at least one dimension; most whites are not.
- Most African Americans and Latinx persons who are disadvantaged on one dimension are also disadvantaged on at least one more.
- Rates and patterns for Asian Americans are almost identical to those for whites.

New legends: Multidimensional poverty and race

Policy implications

- Most policies are focused solely on raising income.
- An equally important goal should be to de-cluster disadvantage.
- Reduce the consequences of having a low income on other aspects of life.
- “Make income poverty matter less.”

“Social insurance fully developed may provide income security; it is an attack upon Want. But Want is one only of five giants on the road of reconstruction and in some ways the easiest to attack.”

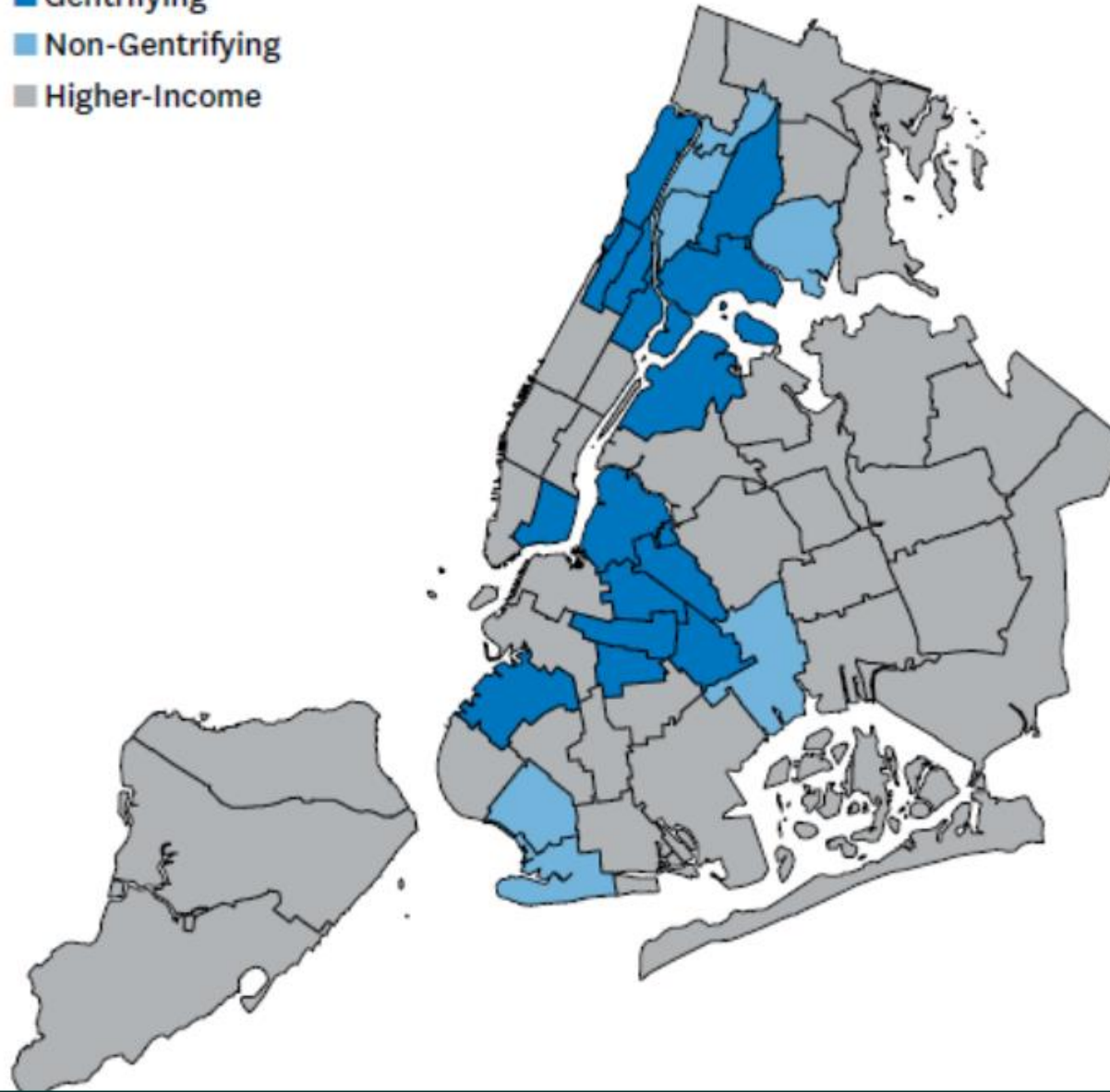
— William Beveridge

New legends: Measures of gentrification

- Richard Florida – New Urban Crisis Index
 - Composite measure of **inequality, economic segregation, and housing affordability.**
- NYU’s Furman Center
 - Neighborhoods with **households earning lower incomes that later experienced rent growth at a higher rate than the median neighborhood.**
- DeVylder, Fedina, & Jun (in press). Neighborhood Change and Gentrification Scale
 - Self-report measure (10 items with a 5-point Likert response set).
 - Sub-scales: Neighborhood Disruption & Neighborhood Gentrification

Figure 1: Classification of Sub-Borough Areas

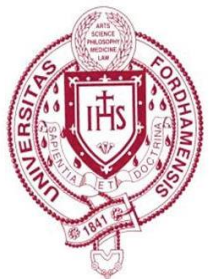
- Gentrifying
- Non-Gentrifying
- Higher-Income



Source: Florida, R. (2016) <https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/05/looking-back-at-gentrification-in-new-york-city/482310/>.

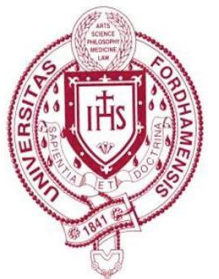
The challenges for welfare states and the settlement movement

- Have the contradictions of the welfare state developed to a point of instability that threatens the fidelity to the original mission of the settlement house? (What services do they provide? Who funds them, and how? Who manages them, and how? Towards what ends?)
- Are the current practices of settlement houses, their programs and the services they provide, effective in serving as “breakwaters” and systems of socialization?

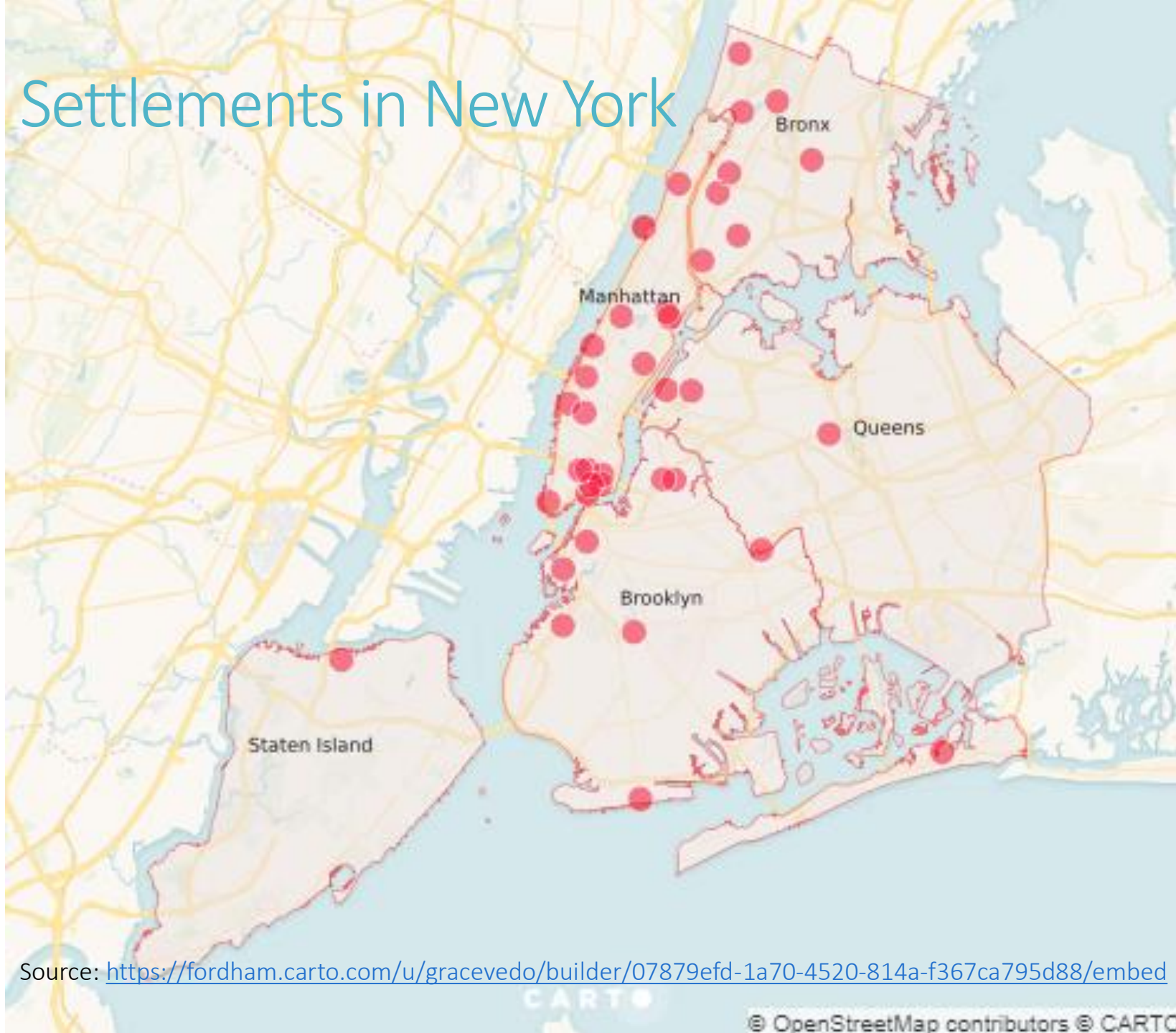


Utilize mapping to study important causal factors of social exclusion within neighborhood contexts

- When considering the present and future of settlement houses and other CBOs, what similarities and differences result from being situated in London and New York City?
- How to utilize mapping and geospatial analysis to further the efforts of settlement houses and other CBOs?



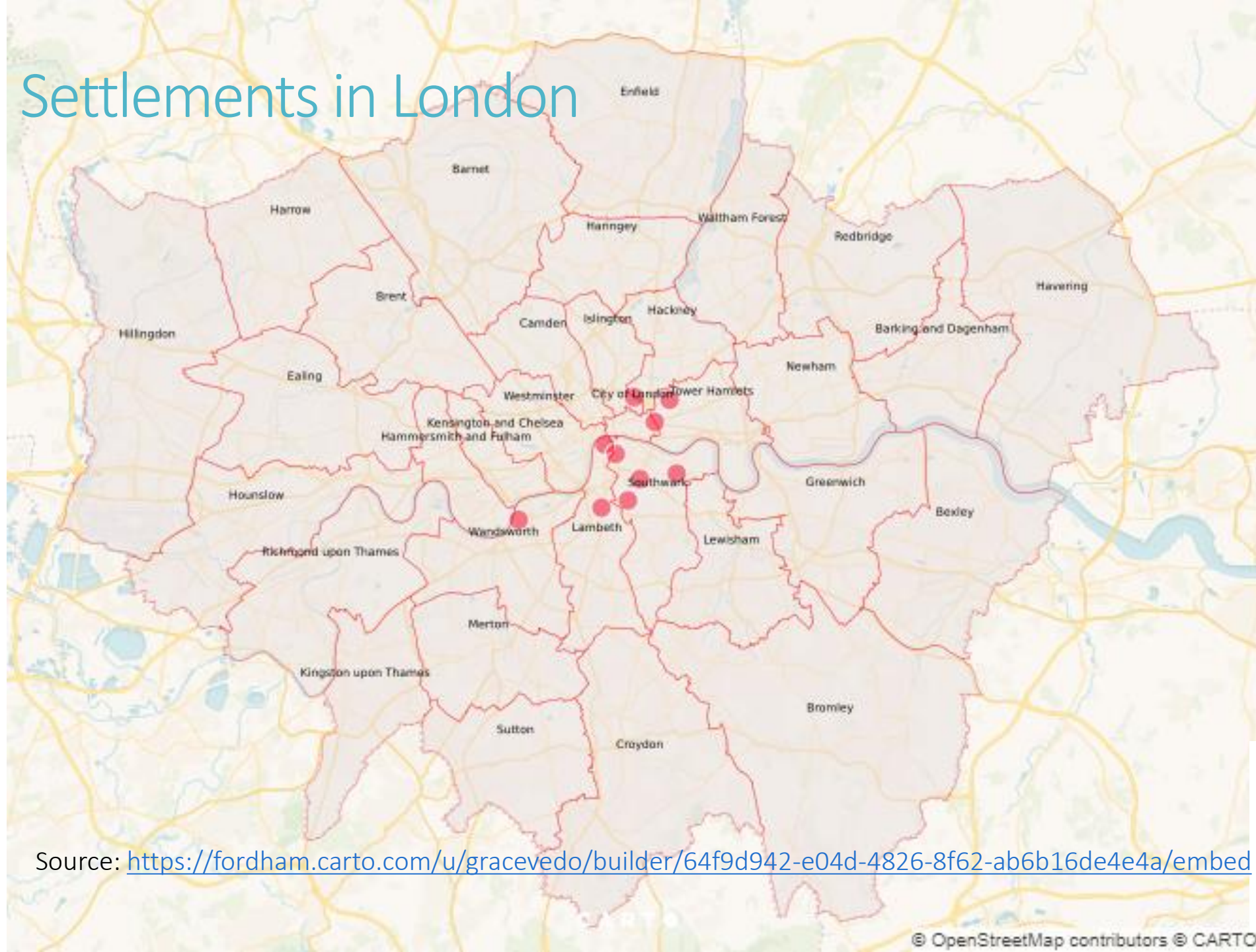
Settlements in New York



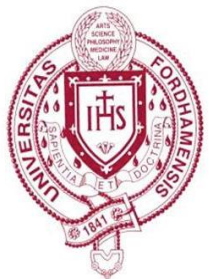
Source: <https://fordham.carto.com/u/gracevedo/builder/07879efd-1a70-4520-814a-f367ca795d88/embed>



Settlements in London

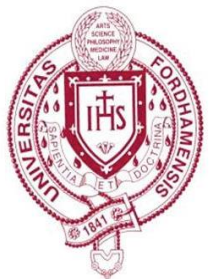


Source: <https://fordham.carto.com/u/gracevedo/builder/64f9d942-e04d-4826-8f62-ab6b16de4e4a/embed>



Summary

- Do settlement houses and other CBOs in New York City and London have anything to learn from each other?
- What are the most effective policies for de-clustering disadvantage?
- What are the best analytical methods and tools for crafting effective advocacy strategies and tactics?
- How do we design new legends and maps that account for gentrification, race and ethnicity, and other forms of intersectional exclusion?



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WE WILL ASK NOTHING
WE WILL DEMAND NOTHING
WE WILL TAKE
OCCUPY



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