

The needs of new communities : a report on social provision in new and expanding communities / prepared by a Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee.

Contributors

Great Britain. Central Housing Advisory Committee.
Great Britain. Ministry of Housing and Local Government.
Great Britain. Welsh Office.

Publication/Creation

London : H.M.S.O., 1967.

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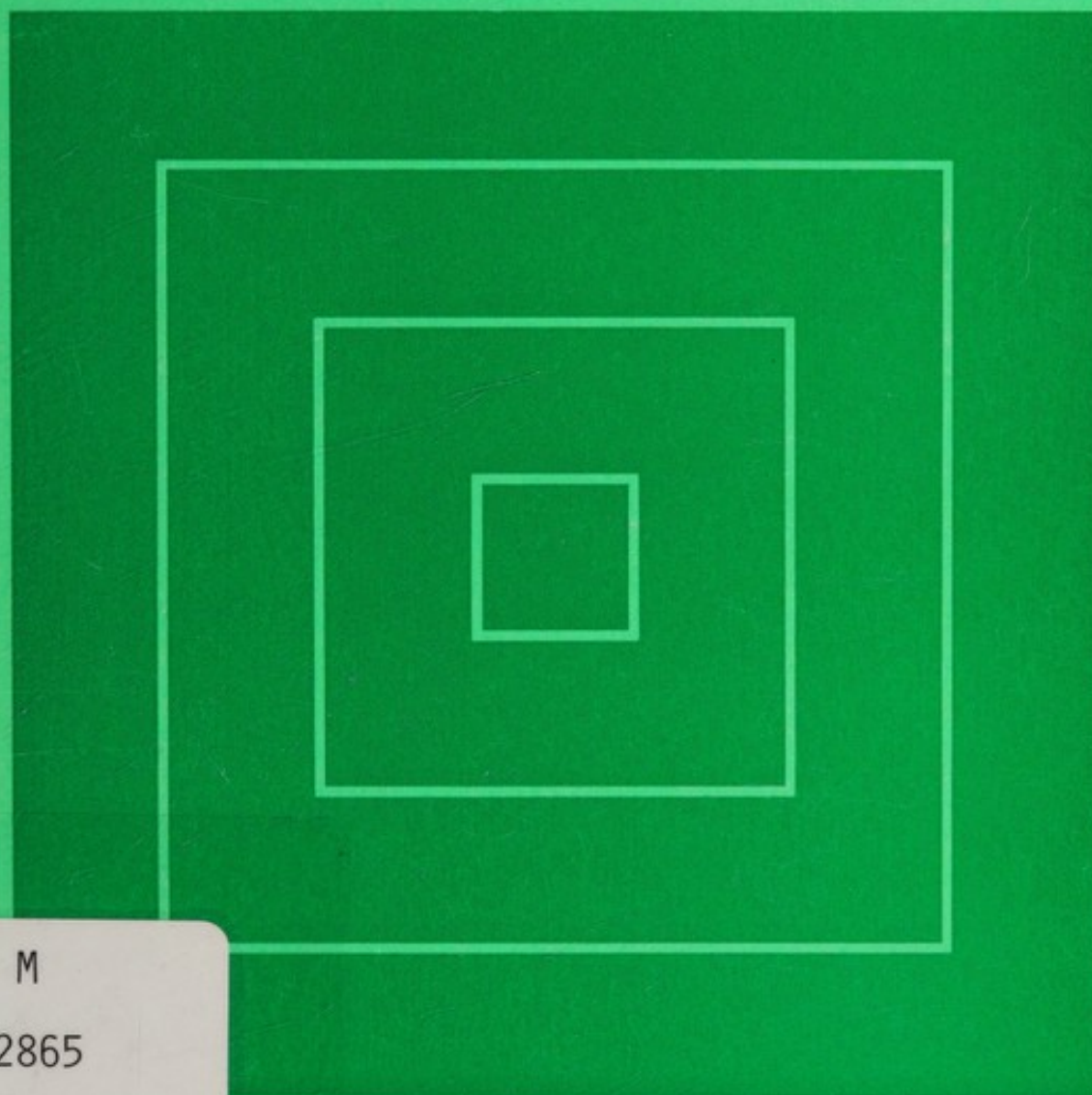
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The needs of new communities



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A report on social provision in new and
expanding communities

Prepared by a Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory
Committee

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1 We were appointed by the Central Housing Advisory Committee in February 1965 'to consider the scale of community facilities and services needed in new and expanding communities, and in particular to consider administrative and financial problems arising in town development schemes, and to make recommendations.' The establishment of the present Sub-Committee followed directly from the work of an earlier study group of the Central Housing Advisory Committee. The report of this study group, *The First Hundred Families*,¹ dealt with the community facilities which needed to be provided for the first arrivals in expanding towns.² When this Report was discussed by the Central Housing Advisory Committee it was proposed that a wider inquiry should be mounted dealing with the community facilities and services needed in later stages of a development. After discussion the above terms of reference were agreed.

2 The members of the Study Group were Mrs E. Denington, Mrs M. A. Smith, Mr J. B. Cullingworth and Dr A. H. Marshall. Mrs Denington and Dr Marshall attended the early meetings of the Sub-Committee, but owing to heavy pressure of other commitments, were not able to continue. They have, however, made a very valuable contribution to the work of the Sub-Committee and we wish to express our gratitude to them.

3 We decided at our first meeting that it would be useful to increase and broaden the membership of the Sub-Committee, and we invited five people with particular experience in the field covered by our inquiry to join us—Miss O. D. Clarke (Associate Children's Officer, County of Huntingdon and Peterborough), Mr W. C. Blake (Clerk of Haverhill Urban District Council), Mr Walter Bor (then City Planning Officer, Liverpool), Mr N. Browning (Director of Town Development, Winsford Urban District Council) and Mr Richard Edmonds (Chairman of the New and Expanding Towns Committee of the Greater London Council).

¹ HMSO, 1965.

² In this report 'expanding towns' and 'town development schemes' have the same meaning.

4 At the outset we wish to explain how we have interpreted our terms of reference. Though we are required to pay particular attention to town development schemes, we are also concerned with other types of 'new and expanding communities'. Indeed, over much of the field of our inquiry the distinctions between different types of development are relatively unimportant. There are, of course, major planning, administrative and financial differences between a large new town and a small scale expansion of an existing town or a housing development built on the periphery of a large city. We shall comment on these differences in so far as they are relevant to our main centre of interest. But all these types of development present a similar range of social issues. Communities have the same needs, irrespective of the administrative framework under which they come into being. Size is, of course, an important factor, but as we show in Chapter 2, some new towns are smaller than some peripheral housing developments, and town development schemes vary greatly in size.

5 Though we believe that much of our discussion will be equally relevant to city housing developments and new towns as to town development schemes, our main study relates to the latter. Even if this had not been the case we would have felt it necessary to delimit our enquiry in some way. Otherwise we would have been faced with a task of such magnitude that our deliberations would have extended over an inordinate period of time.

6 A further delimitation of our inquiry was also necessary from the very beginning. 'Community facilities and services' can be taken to mean merely the provision of such things as facilitate and promote social activity—especially tenants' meeting halls, and community or social centres. But these cannot be considered in isolation from the whole range of social services which are required in a contemporary industrialised society. Even more important, the provision of community facilities and services can be discussed profitably only in relation to social needs. A consideration of social needs requires an understanding and assessment of the problems facing families moving into new environments. If this is to be done fully, it is necessary to look at a wide range of issues—shopping, transport, employment, the layout and density of estates, and so forth—which take us far beyond not only our original starting point but also any manageable and legitimate extension of it. It was never intended that we should make a full-scale study of 'the planning of new communities' and we have not felt that we should attempt to do so. If for no other reasons it would have diverted our attention—and the attention of our readers—from the main issues with which we are concerned; it would have greatly lengthened the time before we could present our Report; and, last but not least, it would have been difficult to know where to stop—particularly at a time when major changes in planning and social policies are under way.

7 We were thus faced with the problem of deciding how far our inquiries should range. We are very conscious of the likelihood that though some may be surprised that we have ranged as far as we have done, others will think we have stopped short of issues which may be fundamental.

8 The principle which we have attempted to follow is to include all those community facilities and services which are important to families moving to a new area. We are particularly critical of the view that 'the social' is a separate sphere which can be considered independently of physical planning and development. Too often 'social aspects' are considered only when 'problems' arise: the social administrator or social scientist is then brought in to advise on how the social deficiencies can be made good. We maintain that just as landscape architecture needs to be considered at the planning stage of a scheme (rather than after the development has taken place) so social planning must be an integral part of the whole planning and development process.

9 Our inquiry has three objectives: first, to examine the problems involved in providing for rapidly growing communities; secondly to work out principles for the guidance of those statutory and voluntary bodies who are dealing with the planning of new communities (particularly in town development schemes), and, thirdly, to make recommendations on the administrative and financial aspects of town development schemes. In essence, our work has involved documenting the accumulated experience in this field, identifying the major social problems which arise, assessing the adequacy of measures which have to be taken to deal with these, and suggesting the lines along which experience indicates that the best results can be obtained.

10 During the course of our inquiry we visited several new communities and we received written and oral evidence. We also heard evidence from a number of organisations and individuals. Details are given in Appendix A.

11 Deep interest was shown in our study by all the local authorities and organisations approached. Much useful material was prepared for us, and this has been invaluable in the preparation of our report.

12 We were not able, in the time available to us, to undertake any surveys of our own, but the results of published and unpublished work were made available to us, and this proved to be particularly helpful.

Chapter 2

Types of new communities

13 The justification for embarking on a description of the legal, administrative and financial as well as the social aspects of the various types of developments needs explanation. We have two reasons. First, since we are called upon to make recommendations concerning the operation of town expansion schemes, it is necessary to see what provisions are made for other types of development. Secondly, it is by comparing different types of communities that the particular problems of expanding towns can be more readily appreciated. There is, however, a further point: though expanding towns do have some particular problems with which we are specially concerned, in certain ways it is difficult to distinguish between different types of new communities. Indeed, we have been struck, not so much by the differences between the problems of planning for expanding towns and other developments, as by the common approach which has to be made to any kind of 'social planning'.

14 Post-war planning policy has laid considerable emphasis on the planning and development of new communities. Emphasis was at first placed on improving housing standards. The new 'estates' and 'suburbs' provided vastly superior living conditions but the planning of these new communities often left much to be desired, both in checking the growth of large urban areas and in creating new communities complete with a full range of community and social facilities.

15 The development of the planning and social policies of the period after the second world war has been extensively documented and there is no need for us to repeat the story. It is sufficient to note the acceptance of the policy of restraining urban growth (which was urged by the Barlow Commission in 1940)¹ and the complementary positive policy of developing new and expanding towns as a means of providing relief to the congestion of the major urban areas. Above all the emphasis was on creating 'self-contained and balanced com-

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, Cmd. 6153, HMSO, 1940.

munities for work and living'.¹ Though aspects of these policies are now being reviewed in a regional context in the light of the great social and economic changes which have taken place over the last two decades, the importance of amenities, services and facilities is receiving increasing attention.

16 The new towns programme was launched with the designation of Stevenage in 1946 under the New Towns Act passed in that year. By the end of 1949 eight new towns had been designated in the South East. Three 'provincial' new towns (Cwmbran, Newton Aycliffe and Peterlee) were also designated in the late 'forties and Corby in 1950 but all these had special objectives—mainly in relation to industrial growth. The expanding towns programme started a few years later. Even more explicitly than the new towns policy this was specifically geared to the dispersal of population from congested areas. The Town Development Act of 1952 aimed at encouraging expansion by local authorities in county districts 'for the relief of congestion or over-population elsewhere'. Over fifty town expansion schemes have been agreed, of which about a half are related to London; the remainder are related to Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Salford and Wolverhampton.

17 No further new towns were designated in England and Wales until the turn of the 'sixties, when there was a marked change in policy—due mainly to the remarkable change in population trends. Early post-war policy had been conceived on the assumption of a fairly stable population. The lowest projected population increase for England and Wales was 1.7m. from 1955–95. Projections to the year 2000 were first computed in 1960 when the increase expected in the 40 years was 9.7m. The latest projections show an increase of 17.8m. in the period 1965–2000.

18 The problem of 'overspill' from congested urban areas now became part of a much bigger problem of accommodating a forty per cent population increase. At the same time the trend towards regional and national economic planning provided a new framework within which physical planning could be conceived. Between 1961 and 1964 five new towns were designated—Skelmersdale, Dawley, Redditch, Runcorn and Washington. All these were in the Midlands and the North and were specifically related to the needs of the provincial conurbations. In the South East a regional study² estimated a need to find land, over a twenty-year period, for 3½ million people, at least one million of which would have to be provided for in planned schemes outside London. The Study suggested a programme consisting of three new cities (Southampton/Portsmouth, Bletchley, and Newbury), six big new expansions (Ashford, Ipswich, Northampton, Peter-

¹ From the terms of reference of the Reith Committee on New Towns, Reports of the New Towns Committee, Cmd. 6759, 6794 and 6876, HMSO, 1946.

² Ministry of Housing and Local Government, *The South East Study, 1961–1981*. HMSO, 1964.

borough, Swindon and Stanstead), twelve other substantial schemes, and an expansion of the targets for some of the existing London Ring of new towns.

19 A recent review of the South East Study confirms the need for a programme of planned expansion schemes on this scale. As part of this programme the Government have announced proposals for the expansion of Ipswich, Northampton and Peterborough. A new town in North Buckinghamshire is also being planned which should accommodate an incoming population of about 150,000 people over 20 years. Studies have been carried out of the feasibility of further substantial schemes at Swindon and in the Southampton-Portsmouth area. A study is also being made of Ashford.

20 Far from being a once-for-all operation to meet the needs of London and other big cities, the programme of new and expanding towns has come to the fore-front of national and regional economic and physical planning. At the same time the differences between 'new' and 'expanding' towns are becoming blurred—at least over a large number of schemes. Of the five recently designated 'new' towns, four had populations at the date of the designation of 20,000 or over and one (Redditch) had a population of 29,000. Other areas being planned for expansion have even larger populations: Ipswich (121,000), Northampton (122,000), Peterborough (78,000) and Warrington (126,800). Even more dramatic is the proposal, contained in *The South-East Study*, to develop a new city in the Southampton-Portsmouth area, which already contains a population of three-quarters of a million.

21 The problem of providing these new communities with social services and community facilities has thus assumed major dimensions. Instead, therefore, of merely looking at the problems which emerge in numerous small expansion schemes after the 'first hundred families' have arrived (and which were discussed in the earlier report) we are now concerned with the settlement of hundreds of thousands of families moving to new and expanding towns and cities over the length and breadth of the country.

22 Obviously the problems of providing social services and community facilities in a large development are different in many ways from those which arise in expanding a small country town by a few thousand immigrants. Nevertheless we maintain that the approach to 'social planning' is fundamentally the same. We hope to demonstrate this in later chapters. First, however, we wish to discuss the types of new communities which are currently being developed. In this chapter we examine, in varying degrees of detail, the four major types of new community—new towns, expanding towns, 'peripheral developments' and redevelopment areas. The first three of these are alternative methods of dealing with what is termed 'overspill'. We have tried to avoid the use of this inelegant word. It may have been

appropriate in the early post-war years when the problem was largely one of meeting the needs of congested cities; but it has now been transcended by the need to house a very large population increase.

New towns

23 The New Towns Act 1946¹ provided powers for the designation of any area of land as the site of a new town, and the appointment of development corporations to plan and develop new towns. Development corporations have extensive powers 'to acquire, hold, manage and dispose of land and other property, to carry out building and other operations, to provide water, electricity, gas, sewerage, and other services, to carry on any business or undertaking in or for the purposes of the new town, and generally to do anything necessary or expedient for the purposes of the new town or for purposes incidental thereto'. Despite the apparently all-embracing character of the corporations' powers, they do not replace the normal local and statutory authorities. Education and local health services, for example, remain the responsibility of the usual local authorities. Where the necessary provision of water, sewerage and amenities would create too great a strain on the technical or financial resources of the responsible authority, development corporations have power to make a financial contribution provided they have the approval of the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the Treasury. (On the other hand, if the development corporations are authorised by Order made by the Minister to provide water and sewerage, the contributions would be going the other way, i.e. from the local authorities to the development corporations).

24 Development corporations, as their name suggests, are responsible only for *developing* new towns; when the development is substantially complete the assets (and liabilities) are transferred to the New Towns Commission. 4 of the 17 new towns in England and Wales have already been transferred to the Commission. Like the Corporations the Commission has powers to make contributions towards the cost of providing amenities for the town and of providing water supplies, sewerage and sewage disposal services.

25 In most of the new towns the provision of housing development has to be balanced with the development of industry. A few, however, are designed to provide homes and urban amenities for people already working in existing industry in the vicinity. Peterlee in County Durham aims at concentrating in one urban area development which would otherwise have been scattered over a number of small

¹ The New Towns Act 1965 consolidated previous new towns legislation.

mining villages, none of which could provide urban facilities and amenities.

26 The majority of families are weekly wage earners and most of the houses built by the corporations are on weekly rentals. Only a small proportion of houses have been built by local authorities or by private builders for owner-occupation, but it is now proposed to increase the proportion of owner-occupied housing. Increasing interest is also being shown in the provision of housing by Co-operatives and Housing Associations although on a relatively modest scale compared with other European countries.

27 All the new towns have made some provision of parks, children's playgrounds and sports fields. In some, more ambitious provision has been made: in Harlow, for example, there is a Sports Centre comprising an athletics track and arena of international standards; football, cricket and hockey grounds; a flood-lit all-weather training area; and a large indoor sports hall. At Welwyn Garden City, the Gosling Stadium has for some years comprised an arena supporting the full-range of field events at international level, a running-track giving a quarter-mile lap with six running lanes, and first-class cycle-racing tracks. Over two hundred community buildings have been built in the new towns, and others are under construction or planned. A wide range of voluntary organisations have built up a network of social, political and specialist activities though commercial entertainment, particularly for young people has not as yet developed on an adequate scale.

28 The age and family structure of the population of the new towns constitutes their most striking social characteristic. A very high proportion of families who move to new towns are young couples with children. Indeed, children under ten years of age form about a quarter of the total population, compared with an average of about sixteen per cent for England and Wales at mid-1965. As the towns develop, however, experience has shown that a demand develops for housing from the elderly relatives of the first migrants and from other old people some of whom may have had no previous contact with the town. The later new towns are attempting to make this provision at an earlier stage than was originally thought possible. We discuss this issue more fully at the end of this chapter.

Expanding towns

29 'Expanding towns' are those in which a planned expansion takes place under the Town Development Act 1952. This legislation gave extra powers to local authorities wishing to expand by providing for families moving from congested urban areas. In practice a local authority will only wish to do this if the benefit is mutual, e.g. a town

may need a new injection of employment to offset local decline or stagnation. The policy has been termed one in which the local authority has an enlightened self-interest. An essential feature of town development is its voluntary nature and, unlike new towns, the development is entirely the responsibility of local authorities.

30 In the selection of a particular town for expansion the initiative rests with the receiving and exporting authorities. The county council in whose area the receiving district is situated are, of course, vitally concerned since, as the local planning authority, they must agree to the proposed influx of population, and they will be responsible for the preparation of an amendment to the development plan to accommodate the increased population.

31 The approval of the Minister of Housing and Local Government has also to be obtained: in addition to satisfying himself about the particulars of the scheme, he will want to ensure, on regional and national grounds, that the proposed town development scheme fits into the general planning of the region and is in harmony with government policy. This has been particularly so in South East England where the Minister has had to ensure that town development schemes are complementary to the larger schemes which have been proposed, most of which are likely to be undertaken by using the machinery of the New Towns Act.

32 Given the wide definition of town development and the essential element of voluntary agreement between the participating authorities it is not surprising to find that there are great variations between different schemes. The provision of housing is the primary object, but the development *must* include the necessary public services, facilities for public worship, recreation, amenity and so forth, and it *may* include industrial or other activities. Town development may therefore range from a small 'housing scheme' to virtually a 'new town'. The development may be carried out wholly by the local authority in the area (known as the *receiving authority*), or by the local authority from which the population moves (*the exporting authority*), or by the council of the county in which development is to take place; alternatively arrangements can be made for joint participation.

33 A list of town development schemes is given in Appendix B. The towns under-going expansion vary in original size from about 5,000 (Daventry, Haverhill and Thetford) to 70,000 (Swindon). The number of houses to be built ranges from 60 (Stafford R.D.) to over 10,000 (Basingstoke, Wellingborough and Winsford). Some are villages or small towns (Mildenhall and Haverhill), while others are parts of large conurbations (Worsley).

34 In total the programme assumes very large proportions. About 150,000 people had been housed in town expansion schemes by the end of 1965 and current proposals will increase this figure to over 450,000.

35 Administrative arrangements for Town Development Act schemes vary, but there are three main types :

- (a) Where the expanding town undertakes most of the work, as in Aylesbury, Letchworth and Winsford ;
- (b) Where the exporting authority acts as agent for the receiving authority, as in Andover, Haverhill and Thetford ;
- (c) Where the participating authorities form a joint committee, as in Basingstoke (exporting authority, receiving authority and receiving County Council) and Droitwich (receiving authority and receiving County Council).

Some examples of administrative structures are given in Appendix D.

36 Families moving to expanding towns are usually selected on employment grounds. All the Greater London Council schemes operate an industrial selection scheme though many of the provincial schemes accept families from the exporting area's housing list, irrespective of their places of work. This is mainly due to the fact that the expanding towns are close to the city concerned. (Worsley is a case in point : the housing estates there are no further from Salford than Wythenshawe is from Manchester City centre). However even expanding towns at a considerable distance from the exporting area sometimes accept families who are not employed locally, particularly when industrial development is lagging behind house production. This can give rise to very serious financial and other problems for the families concerned. It underlines the importance of an adequate industrial development policy in expanding towns to which we make reference later.

37 Like families moving to new towns those moving to expanding towns are predominantly young married couples with children. Experience to date suggests that they have more children and the age structure is therefore even more youthful than that of new towns.

Peripheral developments

38 We had some difficulty in finding a term to describe the wide range of large scale developments undertaken by local authorities both within and outside their own boundaries. The term 'housing estate' is inadequate since it implies that only houses are provided whereas some of the larger developments are equipped with a town centre and have industrial development. In the London region the phrase 'out-county estate' was commonly used in connection with L.C.C. development outside the county of London but this is similarly inadequate ; furthermore it is inaccurate and misleading in provincial areas, where the exporting authority is not a county. Since we are concerned with developments undertaken both within and outside the administrative boundaries of the 'exporting authority' this term is in any case inappropriate.

39 For want of any better we have chosen the term 'peripheral development' to cover all those developments undertaken by local authorities in areas at some distance from the town centre, whether these be inside or outside the landlord-authority's boundaries. Our concern is with the larger developments which clearly constitute 'new communities'. Some of them are very large indeed; Wythenshawe (Manchester), Becontree (London) and Kirkby (Liverpool) are as large as or even larger than some of the new towns. Wythenshawe and Becontree have populations around 100,000, and Kirkby has over 60,000.

40 Since these developments are carried out under Housing Act powers no special administrative organisation may be involved. The houses are built, let and managed by the City concerned. Tenants are chosen by the usual selection procedures. Though, as already indicated, there may be some industrial development, employment in the local area is not typically a factor which is taken into consideration in the selection of tenants. Even where, as in Speke, Kirkby and Wythenshawe, there are industrial estates the majority of the employees on these estates travel from other areas; likewise the majority of workers living in the area travel outside to work.

41 A proposal for a large peripheral development outside a City's boundaries will follow broadly the same lines as a proposal for a town development scheme, though here the Minister may be acting in a more quasi-judicial capacity, weighing the respective claims of the big City against those put forward by the district and county councils. The issues may be complex, but generally rest mainly on a conflict between, on the one hand, a desire to restrain the City's growth and to maintain a green belt, and, on the other hand, the pressing need to provide more land for housing families from the congested urban area. Wider questions of the regional distribution of the population and other developments (particularly other new town proposals) have also to be considered. If a proposal is approved, the plan for the area will be prepared by the exporting authority in conjunction with the planning authority, though the respective roles vary in different areas. For a housing development within a City's boundaries, though similar wide issues may arise, these are settled between the City and the Minister.

42 Where a development is within the City's boundaries the provision of social services is the responsibility of the City, but when, as in Kirkby, the estate is outside, responsibility rests with the local district council and the county council. Though the county council will be clearly responsible for education and local health services, the provision of community facilities can be made by the district council, the county council or the exporting authority and even for the services which have to be provided by the local authorities of the receiving area there has to be close collaboration with the exporting

authority to ensure that sufficient land has been allocated and that the scale of provision will be adequate. These matters should, in theory, be settled at the planning stage. Though the City will be the landowner, developer and manager, they are not the planning authority. Planning permission for all development has to be obtained from the county council (or, where planning powers have been delegated, from the district council).

43 The assessment of the social needs of peripheral developments and the planning and provision of the necessary services and facilities are in many respects the same as those in new and expanding towns. Indeed, as we have already pointed out, some of the larger estates are virtually 'new towns'—though with the important difference in relation to employment. The town expansion scheme at Worsley, for example, is not readily distinguishable from the housing developments built by Manchester at such places as Middleton and Hattersley.

44 Peripheral developments vary enormously in the range and quality of their community facilities. Some of the best equal the new towns, while some of the worst are veritable social deserts. Generally, however, the standard of provision is low and certainly inadequate for the needs of the population. This appears to stem from the fact that these developments are commonly regarded and planned almost entirely as housing estates: the families living on these estates are expected to travel into the city for their recreational and cultural activities. A description of one very large estate, submitted to us in evidence, is far more telling than any general account:

'A half of the estate's inhabitants are under twenty-one and yet there is no cinema, no dance hall, no bowling alley, no restaurant, no theatre, not even a coffee bar. Not surprisingly, therefore, many local youngsters have little else to do besides play in the streets. Since the development is compact, large numbers of children inevitably tend to gather on street corners and open plots of land. Less responsible members of the press have seized on this fact to label the estate as 'Kidsville' and 'Mobtown', and gradually the name of the estate and vandalism have become synonymous'.

45 This particular estate was outside the boundaries of a large city but similar situations are by no means unknown on equally large estates within the boundaries of several of our major cities. If such developments had been our main concern we would have examined the problem in more detail. As it is we merely record our deep concern that such situations can arise. They serve as a warning of what can happen if inadequate thought is given to the social needs of new communities. *We strongly urge that a study should be undertaken of the problems of these 'housing estates'.* We nevertheless hope that later chapters of our report will be of assistance to the authorities concerned.

46 Families moving to peripheral developments are selected from the housing lists of the City concerned. The tenants tend to be young

families with children as is true of most migrant streams. Much, of course, depends on the policy adopted by the local authority. Some are careful to ensure that the development has a reasonable balance of house types and try to avoid too heavy an over-weighting of families with young children. Generally, however, it is clear that insufficient attention is paid to this issue. Consequently there are immediate problems of strains on maternity and child welfare services, followed by over-crowded schools. At a later stage there is the question of rehousing the second generation. Families living on estates within the city boundaries are eligible for rehousing by the City, though they may have to accept a house at a considerable distance away. The rehousing of families living on estates outside the City boundaries can raise even more difficult problems since the responsible housing authority is the local district council. We have found extreme examples where the district council is quite unable to meet the need either because there is insufficient land or for financial reasons. Even where these are not serious problems there is frequently argument as to where the moral responsibility for rehousing lies; and, since the district council generally has a far smaller pool of pre-war low-cost houses than the city, the rents of any new houses which it builds are likely to be relatively high.

Redevelopment areas

47 Since the end of the second war some two-thirds of a million unfit houses have been demolished and two million people displaced. Slum clearance is now running at a rate of 60,000 a year and current policy aims at increasing this. Many slum clearance areas are quite small; but, particularly in the larger cities, very large areas of unfit and obsolete houses are being redeveloped. One of the first major schemes to start in the post-war period—the Stepney Poplar Comprehensive Development Area in East London—aims eventually at a virtual ‘new town’ for 100,000 people. There are also huge areas in Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and Sheffield which are being redeveloped. These constitute new communities in a very real sense of the term.

48 Problems of social and community provision, and of social adjustment in these large schemes, may be more rather than less acute: the redevelopment commonly takes the form of high flats; the physical centres of social activity—the corner shop, the club, the billiards hall, the pub and even the church—are frequently swept away. A large proportion of the families who lived in the area have to be housed in other areas since it is seldom possible to rehouse more than 60 per cent in the area and the proportion is frequently much less. Furthermore, an even lower proportion of the families who originally

lived in the area will in fact be rehoused in the same area. Some will have moved out while redevelopment proceeds—the time taken for redevelopment may necessarily be lengthy—and even if they wish to move back again the type of housing provided may not be appropriate to their needs or may be too expensive. In short the area may be very different after redevelopment.

49 There is not usually an abnormal number of school children in redevelopment areas. Indeed it is possible that the population structure will be unbalanced at the other end of the age scale, with a high proportion of elderly people and small declining households.

50 Some of the problems which face other types of new communities will obviously not be significant in these areas. The administrative problems of co-operation between different local authorities will not arise,¹ at least in so far as county boroughs are concerned, though administrative problems are by no means necessarily solved when only one authority is responsible for all the services. There can be a lack of co-operation between different departments of the same authority. There can also be conflicting assessments of needs and priorities. The needs of a new community as seen by the Housing Committee may be different from those experienced by the local residents, and both may be different from the priorities as seen by, for example, the Education Committee.

51 In our view large scale redevelopment presents problems of social planning which are as significant as and often more difficult than those faced in developments taking place on virgin ground. *The problems of redevelopment areas are, however, not within the scope of our report but as with peripheral development we feel that a comprehensive study of their social problems is necessary.*

New towns, expanding towns, peripheral developments and redevelopment areas compared

52 The New Towns Act and the Town Development Act operate to the same end, namely the relief of overcrowded, congested areas by the transfer of population and employment to new areas where houses, jobs, services and facilities are provided in a balanced way. The new town may be built on virgin land: on the other hand it may be a major expansion of an existing town. In an expanding town the expansion may be so large as to make it of new town character. The important difference is in administration and finance. In the one a special *ad hoc* development authority is established, while in the other wider powers and some financial assistance is given to the normal local government machinery.

53 Peripheral developments and redevelopment areas differ funda-

¹ Except in Greater London where there is a two-tier system of local government.

mentally from new and expanding towns. They do of course raise important questions about the distribution of employment but their progress is not necessarily dependent on the provision of new employment. Nevertheless in scale both types of development can equal or exceed the new and expanding towns.

54 In spite of these differences there are some striking similarities between the different types of development. The basic needs for social services and community facilities are the same irrespective of the location of the development and the administrative framework within which it is undertaken. In redevelopment areas, though there may be no problem of providing employment, the social and community facilities may be grossly inadequate even for the smaller population which is rehoused in the area and although the city centre with all its facilities may be close at hand.

55 In the new developments, whether they constitute a new town, expanding town or peripheral developments, the striking feature is the youthfulness of the population. Though families are selected in different ways the majority are frequently in the early stages of the family cycle. There are a large number of children from the very beginning and as the families settle more children are born. One of the first priority needs is thus for a major development of maternity and child welfare, nursery and educational services. Less tangible but equally important for the families concerned are the problems of settling in a new community, adjusting to a new way of life, coping with the financial strains of often higher rents and furnishing a new home. For the young housebound housewife with young children there may be acute loneliness. Separation from friends and relatives may have removed a strong source of social and family support. Many of these problems may be teething troubles but the need to prevent them from becoming major problems is clear. We discuss this issue in the following chapter.

56 The abnormal age-structure of these new communities is a direct result of the speed of development and the fact that a major proportion of all movers are young families in search of better housing. The age structure will be more likely to approach the national average if development is undertaken at a slower speed. Indeed it is theoretically possible to spread the development over a sufficiently long period to avoid any appreciable imbalance. This, of course, is not practicable. New communities are being built to relieve the housing problems of the congested cities and to accommodate a high rate of population growth. The faster they can be built the greater will be the benefit they can provide. The extreme youthfulness of new communities is therefore a fact which has to be accepted. Though we make proposals later in the chapter which are aimed at increasing the proportion of elderly people, it is unlikely that this will have a major effect on the age-structure.

57 The fact that most moves are made for housing reasons has an important implication for different types of communities. Those which were built rapidly as residential 'dormitories' tended to have a higher proportion of young families than those in which at least some families moved with their firms from a congested urban area. In the latter case more rather older families move; these older families move more for employment reasons (established posts, career opportunities etc.) than for purely housing reasons. But, whatever the reason, past experience suggests that the immigrants to expanding towns have a younger household structure than the immigrants to new towns. *On this as on all matters concerning basic demographic, social and economic issues, there is a very great and urgent need for more and better information.* In view of the importance of this issue we feel it would be useful to summarise, for purposes of illustration, some of the demographic information which has been collected in new and expanding towns.

58 ¹People moving to the earlier new towns consisted predominantly of young married couples with young children. Approximately half were between 20 and 40 years old compared with about 27 per cent for England and Wales. Children under 10 years of age formed about a quarter compared with only 15 per cent for England and Wales. Only a small proportion of the newcomers were in the 15—19 age-group or in the over 45 age-groups. A structure of this kind produced the following features:

- (i) A large school population or the first 10 to 15 years. During the first ten years there was a relatively small proportion of teenagers.
- (ii) After 10—15 years a large volume of school-leavers seeking employment at a time when retirement would have had little effect on the current population of working age; in effect, there would be a second peak of demand for employment.
- (iii) In the 15—20 year period there would be an increasing number of second generation households being formed and requiring housing.

59 With regard to town development schemes it had been assumed that experience would prove similar to that of the earlier London new towns but the small amount of demographic information that is available suggests that this may not be so. Recent analyses of the household structure of immigrants indicate, at least in the early years of town development schemes and the second generation new towns, an even more youthful population than that experienced by the earlier new towns at a comparable stage of development:

- (i) There is generally an even higher proportion of children under 10 years of age, about one-third of the incoming population

¹ This and following paragraphs are taken from Appendix I to *The First Hundred Families*, though some of the figures have been revised in the light of later experience.

compared with about one-quarter in the case of the earlier new towns.

- (ii) The 15—19 age-group and the over-45 age-groups are likely to form initially an even smaller proportion than in the earlier new towns.
- (iii) It is possible that between two thirds and three-quarters of the total incoming population will be under 30 years of age.
- (iv) The average household size tends, certainly in the initial years of a town development scheme, to be larger than the earlier new towns experienced. Average household size at time of arrival in the earlier new towns ranged between 3·0 and 3·2 persons, tending to decrease in later years. In recent town development schemes the first immigrants have had an average household size of 3·5 persons or more—in one scheme the average in 1964—65 was 3·9.
- (v) There is generally a higher proportion of 3, 4 and 5 person households, whereas 80 per cent of earlier new town immigrants consisted of 2, 3 and 4 person households.

60 Whether the composition of later families under town development schemes will conform to the pattern of the earlier new towns (which probably reflected the low birth rates in the early 1950s) remains to be seen but expanding towns should be aware of the possible composition of the earlier families to come to their areas.

61 A population of young age-composition may be expected to give rise to a high rate of natural increase for a number of years and considerable pressure on school accommodation may be expected. Moreover, since more children have already been born to incoming parents than was the case in the earlier new towns, the peak of school-leavers will occur earlier and on a relatively larger scale. Similarly, second-generation family formation may be expected to occur a few years in advance of earlier new town experience.

62 Clearly the problems of new communities continue long after the term 'new' is appropriate. Equally clear is the need to plan ahead for the needs which arise as the community grows. We examine these needs in detail in later chapters. However, before ending the present discussion we feel that it would be useful to set out our views on the possibilities of attracting more elderly people to new communities.

Elderly people in new communities

63 New communities are usually characterised by an absence of elderly people. It may, therefore, seem strange that we devote a section of our report to them. The main reason for this is that we believe that there is considerable scope for attracting elderly people to new communities and that this would be of real benefit to the new communities and to the areas from which the elderly people move.

The Ministry of Housing and Local Government also recognise that the presence of old people is essential to a properly balanced community. They have advised development corporations that they should give careful consideration in planning their housing programmes to the needs of old people at all stages in the development of a new town.

64 We are anxious that the importance of housing elderly people should not be minimised. To begin with the housing conditions of elderly people are very often poor. Nearly a quarter of households are of the 'older small' type:¹ though usually well housed in terms of space, they are in a relatively poor position with regards to the three main household amenities (fixed bath, water closet and hot water supply). Unlike younger groups who are in poor housing conditions, their prospects for improvement are more limited. Typically they are not in a position to obtain a mortgage to buy a house and the privately rented housing sector has little to offer them. They are therefore heavily reliant on the public sector for an improvement in their housing conditions.

65 As was stressed to us in the evidence we received from the National Corporation for the Care of Old People :

'the importance of an adequate policy in relation to the housing of old people (whether in new towns, expanding towns or anywhere else) is that old people can remain independent for much longer if they are suitably housed, near those who can give them occasional moral and physical support, and with relevant social services available as required. It is important that they should be given the opportunity to move when appropriate because so often the places they move from are inadequate in these ways. Old people are often left behind in slum areas, as is discovered when slum clearance is undertaken; many are found unhappily occupying rooms in the older and larger properties of our cities, paying high rents, as has been shown by the Milner Holland Report: many who have lived long in the suburbs are occupying houses which are too large for their needs now that their families have grown up and moved away, and would welcome the change of moving to less expensive areas and a bungalow or flat with one or two bedrooms'.

66 There is without doubt a very large need for dwellings suitable for old people. On this ground alone new communities ought to make some provision for them. The case is, however, very much stronger than this. First the housing of elderly people allows the provision of a more varied housing stock: this is of immediate advantage in physical planning terms, and in the longer term it can assist the rehousing of contracting families whose houses have become too large for them. Secondly it allows elderly people to follow their married children into new communities. This is likely to happen in any case at a later stage of development but the danger then is that the demand will outstrip the supply. In this connection the following extract from the 1965 Report of the Commission for New Towns is very relevant :

¹ One or two person households with at least one member aged 60 or over.

'In the interests of securing well-balanced towns, the Commission would like to see a higher proportion of older people in Crawley and Hemel Hempstead. To this end, arrangements exist for parents of Commission tenants to be considered for tenancies as dwellings become available. Regrettably, few can be accommodated at present because priority must be given to meeting the various housing demands arising from within the towns. Applications to house tenants' parents from London so greatly exceed the availability of dwellings that the Commission have been obliged to suspend their waiting lists'.

67 Thirdly—and the above quotation amply supports this—sociological studies¹ have shown that though generations may separate when children grow up and marry, they come together again when the parents grow old. In many cases the sharing does not mean sharing the same house, but sharing the same neighbourhood.

68 Fourthly, if elderly people can be accommodated near their children a system of family mutual aid can develop. This can be of a tangible nature in periods of illness and for such things as baby-sitting: it is less tangible but equally important in providing company and combating loneliness and isolation.

69 While housing for elderly people in new and expanding towns should be essentially for parents, thus adding measurably to the quality of family life, there is clearly a need for flexibility on this issue. The argument can be advanced that, when young families move, their middle-aged parents are still at work and not ready to go with them. It could therefore be that houses occupied in the early stages of a development by unattached elderly people could be made available at a later stage for parents ready to move near their married children.

70 The large-scale movement of elderly people to retirement areas on the coast and in the country suggests that there is considerable scope for attracting non-parents to certain new and expanding towns. In certain of these towns, where attractions are comparable with established retirement areas, this may be specially true, but at the same time it must be recognised that this would involve an increase in supportive services for old people.

71 Finally we should point to the community advantages of providing for elderly people. In a community in which a large proportion of families are young people whose interests are centred on making their homes and caring for young children, there is a very definite advantage in having older people who do not have such commitments, and who have the experience and time to give to community affairs. We quote again from the evidence of the National Corporation for the Care of Old People:

'It may be argued that it is not peculiar to new towns to have a shortage of housing for old people. This is true, but there is good reason for singling them

¹ See, e.g. P. Willmott and M. Young, *Family and Class in London Suburb*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.

out for special mention ; because they are almost wholly built by one landlord, and within a short span of years, the policy of that landlord is of fundamental importance, and once interpreted into buildings its mistakes are almost irrevocable for there will be no old buildings constantly needing replacement to give flexibility found elsewhere. Moreover it must be recognised that new towns inevitably commence without traditions and often without leadership of wisdom and experience and this applies to a lesser extent to expanding towns. The admission of recently retired people could do much to provide that leadership and so help in establishing traditions which give stability to a community and the good voluntary and statutory organisations which are essential. It was no idle concept of the Reith Committee when it referred to the 'balanced community'. It needs a balance of age grouping for the reasons outlined here'.

Chapter 3

Moving to a new community

72 Any move presents problems of 'settling-in'. The wider family and the network of friends are left behind and new relationships have to be established. A new house has to be furnished. The children have to attend a new school—which may be organised on unfamiliar lines and may involve travelling. The husband may have a new job and work-mates. The wife has to become acquainted with the local shops and tradesmen. Many adjustments have to be made.

73 A move to a newly developing community involves further problems, occasioned both by the fact that all the services are not yet available and that so many of the families are newcomers. The age structure of these new communities is usually such that the need for social and community services is greater than in an established area, yet the existing provision may well be below average.

74 The majority of families moving to a new community do so for housing reasons. Many may never have had a separate house before and, if earnings are lower than in the area from which the families have moved, there can be acute budgeting problems. Hire purchase, although a most useful device for spreading over a period the payment for household goods, can easily become burdensome.

75 We think it necessary to underline the financial problems facing families moving to a new community. The cost of the move, of furnishing a new house, of travelling back to their former area to see relatives and friends, and possibly of higher rents and shopping bills; all these may add up to a serious problem.

76 In pinpointing the difficulties it is easy to exaggerate the true position. Indeed, a new vocabulary of social pathology has developed—'new town blues', 'suburban neurosis', 'social ghettos', 'prairie planning', 'cultural deserts', and the like. These melodramatic terms are frequently exaggerations; certainly problems do exist, but where the necessary thought and social provision has been made, they can be dealt with before they become serious.

77 The evidence we have received suggests that families who have serious problems of adjustment and who need special help are in the minority, but it has also been made clear to us that the majority of

families, even those who are well-equipped to deal with their own problems, settle down more quickly if they find that :

- (a) their new homes and the environment are to their taste ;
- (b) there is a good range of employment opportunities both for the chief wage earner and for married women ;
- (c) shopping facilities and a primary school are within walking distance ;
- (d) local transport facilities are reasonably good ;
- (e) neighbours are congenial and have a standard of living and interests not too different from their own ;
- (f) the officials with whom they come into contact when they move to the new community and the existing residents are understanding and welcoming ;
- (g) a good information service is provided. (Details of local bus and train services, the addresses of doctors and dentists, the location of the various health and welfare services, churches, schools, voluntary organisations are all useful).

78 In short we believe that the difficulties of settling in can be greatly reduced if proper social provision is made and the problems of social integration (which we discuss later) are appreciated. In our view proper social provision involves four things; high quality physical planning, first-rate administration, an explicit and carefully thought-out but flexible programme of social development and an adequate economic basis.

79 These ingredients for comprehensive planning are essential both for new and existing communities; but in a new community the problems arise directly from the scale and tempo of the development, first because there are so many newcomers, and secondly because many of the services will not have kept pace with the development. The newcomers will usually come from a large city and will be used to a standard of service and a scale of services which one expects to find in large cities—good public transport, a wide range of shopping facilities, a great choice of entertainment, and so forth. Instead they will find a much more restricted range of facilities open to them. And by the nature of things this is not just a transitional problem: a town of 10,000, 30,000 or even 70,000 people cannot be expected to have the same services as a city of several hundred thousand inhabitants. Furthermore, the pattern and tempo of life is inevitably different in a relatively small town. All this takes some getting used to.

80 Three broad stages of 'social integration' can be discerned. In the first stage the families coming to the area are predominantly concerned with their new homes and with settling down. At this stage a prime need both for the newcomers themselves and for the existing residents is for information, for assurance about the future and for explanation of what is happening, when new services are to be provided and the reasons for any delay, and so forth. As much

information as possible needs to be given before the families move, in order that all may have some idea of what to expect.

81 It is unlikely at this stage that many people will join town organisations: attention will be concentrated on the immediate locality. The men will meet each other at work, and the children at school. The women will get to know one another at informal meeting places such as the local shop or school entrance. When eventually local groups begin to form and local leaders emerge, activities are mainly concerned with children, gardening and improving local conditions. By this time there should be a local building which can be used for community purposes. Where, as is frequently the case, the new housing development is at some distance from the town centre and separated from other housing areas the new community will appear separate from the existing one. This will not matter so long as good relationships between the new and the existing residents are gradually building up.

82 The second stage can be said to have arrived when the family feel more settled and secure in their new environment. They join town organisations and start to take responsible positions in town affairs. Children who may have mixed only in primary schools with others from the same housing area now make friends in secondary schools with children from other districts. There is movement not only into the town by the newcomers but also outward into the new areas by the established resident. Thus, while some people come *in* for shopping and to belong to a variety of organisations others go *out* to the new area for employment, to enjoy sports facilities, or to take part in some neighbourhood activity. Factors which particularly influence this stage are physical layout, the pattern of communications, the design of open space and the siting of major community facilities such as swimming baths, sports halls and playing fields.

83 The third stage may not be reached until the second generation has grown up in the town. By now, if things have gone well, there will be little consciousness of any difference between the old and the new residents.

84 There are, of course, real difficulties in assisting this process. Unless the town has a housing shortage of its own—and this is unusual in town expansion schemes—the new houses which are built will all be let to the newcomers. They naturally tend to be physically separated from the established community. Furthermore they are built at relatively high current costs. The housing authority must therefore either require the newcomers to pay higher rents than those in the older, low-cost, council houses; or reduce their rents by increasing those of the existing population. Either situation could make for friction.

85 Things can easily happen in this way and at times there may be no alternative. This makes it all the more important that the utmost care

should be taken at an early stage to foresee the likely difficulties and to take steps to prevent them so far as is possible. Good public relations are essential from the very beginning if antagonisms are not to develop. The local authority are often in an extremely difficult position in trying to do justice to both the newcomers and the local population. Matters are not made easier by the fact that the provision of educational, hospital and local health services come under other authorities who have a wider geographical area of responsibility. The same arguments which are used at the district level about the relative claims of different parts of the town can be heard at regional and county level in relation to the relative claims of different districts.

86 There is, of course, another side to the picture. Town expansion is not something which is foisted on to a local authority irrespective of local wishes. On the contrary, the receiving authorities themselves have generally been the prime mover in any scheme and there has to be a great deal of local support before a scheme can even begin to go ahead.

87 With new towns the problem may be more acute, since the development may be approved in the face of local opposition. It follows that 'one of the first tasks must be therefore to try and reassure the existing population as to their future, to convince them that their interests will be borne in mind as far as possible, and that in any case on a long-term basis they will experience many advantages through the provision of modern shops and amenities and greater facilities for local employment. This is an exercise in public and social relations which any developing authority will try to bring to success at the earliest possible date'.¹ In these respects the roles of 'Social Relations Officers' and 'Arrivals Officers', which we discuss in Chapter 5, are important.

88 Town development is essentially a practical application of the principle of enlightened self-interest and basically the interests of the existing population (in local growth) and the newcomers (in obtaining a new house and a job) coincide. Once this is understood the difficulties can be seen in their true light as teething troubles and a necessary short-term price which has to be paid for a long term benefit.

89 There are, however, two important qualifications which must be made. First and foremost, the local authority should not be forced to pay too high a price. We feel that at present this often happens, particularly in those areas which have town development agreements with local authorities other than the Greater London Council, and which therefore do not receive the financial and technical assistance which the Greater London Council provides. If our recommendations

¹ E. H. Cage, *The Problem of Developing a New Town*, 1965. Paper presented to the South Eastern Regional Annual Conference at Crawley.

concerning social development are accepted town expansion authorities will be involved in even greater financial burdens. All this underlines the importance of the recommendations we later make, in accordance with our terms of reference, concerning the administration and finance of town development schemes.

90 The second qualification is really a warning. It is unlikely, even with the best planning and the best public relations, that all opposition to a town expansion scheme will cease. There are bound to be certain interests who regard town expansion as damaging to the essential character of an area. And in one sense they may be right. An individual who has moved to a rural backwater precisely because it is a rural backwater is hardly likely to be swayed by arguments about economic growth and greater opportunity.

91 We noticed an article which appeared in *The Times*¹ during our deliberations which we thought nicely conveyed the fears which can develop in a local community :

**'Peaceful Dorset Shrinks from the Madding Crowd :
Exaggerated Fears about Overspill**

There is dark and grisly rumour about the awful things that will happen to Dorset once the Greater London Council have gained a foothold and the countryside is crawling with Cockneys. There will be cockle stalls on every corner, landless farmers, local traders made bankrupt by supermarkets ; and the terrible things that will happen to the local maidens in the dark streets of Cerne Abbas or Beer Hackett are too frightening to repeat'.

We quote this because we know such fears exist. Change is of the very essence of town expansion and our natural national inclinations are against change. Fear of change, particularly when its character can only be guessed, is even more difficult to deal with. All this underlines the importance of good public and social relations.

92 The essential pre-requisite for good social relations is an adequately prepared background. Though we must resist entering into a broader discussion of the relationships between local authorities and their electorates, it is our strong view that the arguments which are put forward for a greater degree of citizen-participation and good public relations in local government generally apply a fortiori in areas of town expansion. At the very least the public must be kept well-informed about the development proposals, of what is likely to happen in the future, and what is happening now.

93 We do not regard this as a way of quelling opposition. This should, of course, be a welcome by-product, but the main objective is a more positive one of improving the quality of local government, of bringing the general public into close touch with the plans and hopes of the local leaders, and of stimulating voluntary activity. The benefits are two-sided. The local authority will benefit from being in close

¹ The Times, 30th December 1965.

touch with local feelings and needs, and at the same time, voluntary organisations will be able to see where and how they can contribute to the needs of the area. The role played by individual voluntary groups may be relatively small (though this need not be the case), but they have a very real contribution to make. The value of this contribution is very considerably enhanced if it is part of a wider common approach aimed at meeting the needs of the area.

Chapter 4

The needs of new communities

94 In this chapter we review the main needs of new communities for social services and community facilities. Our original intention was to produce a handbook giving practical advice as regards the provision of amenities but time and lack of resources made this impossible. In consequence on a number of points we have only been able to urge that further study should be given to the issues involved. In spite of these shortcomings we hope that our review and suggestions as regards the lines along which those responsible for the planning of new communities might be thinking will be of use.

95 Where the provision of new employment is an essential part of the development the characteristics of the new community and hence its needs will to some extent be determined by the type of industry which is attracted to the area. Obviously if there was a choice an expanding town would choose firms which are likely to result in the most favourable social conditions. Few, if any, towns will be in this position which makes it all the more important that those responsible should take the social implications of the industrial development into account in their social planning. Authorities should keep a watch on the employment opportunities for women—both full and part-time. They should also be aware of the need for employment to be available when the newcomers' children reach school leaving age.

96 It is difficult to explain to the people living in a new community that, however desirable it may appear to them, facilities such as a hospital or an indoor swimming pool of Olympic standards can be realised only if they can be justified from a regional or sub-regional point of view. It is also inevitable that even the purely local amenities will be less conveniently situated for some families than for others.

97 Ideally the pattern for local services for a residential area should provide the maximum convenience to the users. In practice a balance has to be struck between the advantages gained by grouping facilities so that visits to various services can be combined in one trip and the advantages of having particular facilities close at hand for easy use. Many services will be best concentrated at points of public congregation and at the nodal points of the communications pattern or in

multi-purpose buildings. Others, concerned primarily with meeting local needs, might be scattered at strategic points in residential areas. **98** The sheer lack of resources which makes it impossible to satisfy everybody leads us to consider how those which are available can best be deployed.

The concept of a hierarchy of social facilities

99 This concept could in our view help to ensure that resources are used to the best advantage, that an adequate range of social facilities is provided at the right time for a given population and that guidance is given as to the most appropriate distribution of social facilities singly or in groups in relation to residential areas. In this section we have drawn on the as yet provisional conclusions of the Research Section of the Liverpool City Planning Department, and one of the members, Mr Walter Bor, kindly provided us with the material. The hierarchy as presented is a hypothesis constructed on the basis of information and evidence from a variety of sources which indicates the direction along which a rational provision of social facilities should be provided. Some services will, however, have to be provided for different purposes at more than one level. For all types of housing developments—new towns, expanding towns, peripheral developments and urban redevelopment—the long-term aim should be to evolve a total environmental standard for residential areas, of which the social facilities represent a vital element.

The standards which the team in Liverpool have so far evolved derive directly from a statutory authority (e.g. school standards), or from patterns established by economic and social forces (e.g. public houses), or from detailed investigation of the subject (e.g. open space). Standards have yet to be established for some of the leisure-time and welfare services which are relatively new and cannot be adequately judged on the basis of past experience.

The team point out that environmental standards relating to community facilities can never be applied as a strict formula, but should be used as a base point for the establishment of facilities which other factors will affect. Amongst such factors will be density of population, its socio-economic classification and age/sex structure, the location of the area in relation to such features as major open space, the city centre, or transport routes, the availability of sites and whether new development or re-development is proposed. Standards must also be related to the particular policy of a local authority, the extent of voluntary action, and the size of the town and its location in the region.

The team consider that the pattern of local services for residential areas should ideally fulfil three requirements:—the convenience of

the users, the requirements of the agencies who provide the services, and general planning requirements such as economy of space.

Against this background an attempt has been made to work out a hierarchy of social facilities needed in the redevelopment of large areas of the city.

The concept is for a city of $\frac{3}{4}$ million inhabitants and five levels of social provision are identified :—

(i) Facilities for city-wide regional catchment

In addition to existing facilities, such as the City Hall, local government offices, main shopping centres, restaurants and clubs, theatres, cinemas, dance halls, an art gallery, museum, central library, churches and so on, certain new facilities are required, such as a sports stadium, a central clinic and a centre for youth organisations.

(ii) District centre, catchment c. 50,000

This type of centre may well be the equivalent of the town centre of a small new or expanding town. It will include district offices of corporation departments and the various social services, a district recreation centre, incorporating sports hall, swimming pools, library, meeting rooms and hall, catering facilities and a refreshment service. (Multi-use by different age groups, day and evening). Extensive shopping provision, nursery schools, day nurseries and old people's homes.

(iii) Local centre catchment c. 15,000

This includes maternity and child welfare clinic and school health clinic, library, primary school, secondary school with adjacent but separate building containing sports facilities, swimming bath, meeting rooms and catering facilities, suitable for public use, in part, during school hours (e.g. social and luncheon club for the elderly), in whole, out of school hours, adventure playground, nursery school/day nursery, possibly related to local industry, and in some cases, a home for the elderly and shops.

(iv) Local level, catchment 4–5,000

This includes primary school with separate wing for play centre (evening/holidays) and pre-school play group (daytime), meeting rooms, maternity and child welfare clinic, local shops, children's playground.

(v) Others

Churches, public houses, meeting rooms, local shops and children's playgrounds, in many cases, do not require grouping with other facilities, and could be located singly in areas of housing, introducing visual variety.

Application of the concept to expanding towns

100 So far as expanding towns are concerned the highest level of services and facilities, i.e. those for city-wide/regional catchment,

may not be relevant, though a particular town might be a good situation for a regional technical college or hospital or for a major sport and recreational centre. Much will depend on how the town fits into the regional or sub-regional picture. Generally, however, the main centre will be the equivalent of a district centre. Decisions as to which facilities should be provided in the district centre and the lower levels of the hierarchy can be taken only in the light of local circumstances. In most cases it will only be necessary to add to general town facilities and to ensure provisions within the housing area.

101 It must be remembered that the differences in density in the centre of a large city and the density at which town expansion takes place may mean that walking distances are doubled (a quarter of a mile at a net residential density of 200 to the acre represents half a mile at the density of 45 to the acre). These facts are of significance in the planning of shops, clinic, primary school and other services so that they are conveniently situated for mothers of young families.

102 We think that the concept of a hierarchy of social facilities is potentially a very useful one. *We recommend that further study be made of this concept with a view to the preparation of a Planning Bulletin for the guidance of local authorities.* The Bulletin might include a list of the advice which is available on the provision of particular amenities and of current studies as well as examples of where particularly successful provision has been made.

Health services

103 Because of their age-structure new communities make very heavy demands on the health services, particularly the maternity and child welfare services. Three administrative organisations are involved here: the hospitals, the local health authority and the family practitioner service. Though the respective roles of these differ in different areas, it is certain that the staffing of the local health authority's midwifery, health visiting and home help service will need review in the light of the rapidly growing needs in the area of new development.

104 Particular difficulty in expanding the home help service to the extent required may be experienced because of the age-structure of the new community. A population containing a high proportion of young married couples with children creates demands for the home help service which it may not have the human resources to provide. Much will depend on the relative sizes of the existing and the new population. The larger is the existing population the greater is the scope for attracting middle-aged women to the home help service.

105 The provision of health visiting and home help services, together with those of home nursing and domiciliary midwifery demands careful advance planning on the part of the local health authority.

Living accommodation on or accessible to the new developments needs to be provided at an early stage. There should be close liaison with the local Executive Council (in relation to doctors) and the Regional Hospital Board (in relation to hospital services). In fact the Regional Hospital Board should be consulted long before the development has begun because a major influx of population into the area will necessitate a review of the hospital building programme. As the recent *Hospital Building Programme* notes :

'account must be taken of planned movement of population It is therefore important that the hospital building programme remains fluid and that there should be a willingness to adapt it to changes of need'.¹

106 The planning of general practitioner services presents a range of difficulties which are not easy to cope with in advance. Though each general practitioner enters into a contract with the local Executive Council, the organisation of his practice is entirely his own business. Increasing numbers of doctors are now in partnership and group practice (15,000 out of the total 20,000) but it is entirely up to the individual practitioner to decide whether or not to work single-handed.

107 Increasing interest is being shown in health centres, i.e. premises which combine facilities for general practitioner and for local health authority services, and sometimes include consultant out-patient facilities. According to a recent report², there is a growing realisation between family doctors and local authorities that :

'... effective medical care in the community calls for the closest co-operation, and this can often best be achieved in health centres where the family doctor can enjoy the use of modern premises and daily contact with local authority staff and facilities.

Much has been learned from recent experiments about the desirable size and scope of health centres. Today the tendency is to think in terms of smaller and more compact buildings than were at one time envisaged. Large centres costing more than say £150,000 are now generally acknowledged to be uneconomic and too ambitious for the needs of most areas. While a few authorities have provided in their plans for health centres costing over £100,000 the tendency in counties is to prefer centres costing about £40,000, and in boroughs about £60,000.'

108 The report goes on to suggest that though there are proposals to increase the number of maternity and child welfare clinics this calls for some reconsideration. According to the Report,

'... The medical functions and staffing of child welfare centres are at present being reviewed by a sub-committee of the Standing Medical Advisory Committee whose recommendations will be relevant to this question. If the best interests of the community demand closer integration of the local authority and family doctor services the continued provision of separate maternity and child welfare clinics

¹ Ministry of Health, *The Hospital Building Programme*, Cmnd. 3000, 1966, para. 20.

² Paragraphs 21, 58-60 of Health and Welfare : *The Development of Community Care* (Cmnd. 3022) 1966.

may be undesirable. The future may indeed lie with the provision of health centres, which may replace much of the present clinic programme. While not forgetting other purposes which may be served by these clinic premises (e.g. the welfare of the elderly), authorities may well think it prudent to look again at their proposals for the provision of new clinics.'

109 Where there is an accepted need for local health clinics for the local health authority services, guidance on their design is provided in a Ministry of Health *Local Authority Building Note*.¹ The *Note* stresses that it is important to consider the siting of the clinic when planning any neighbourhood development. The site selected should be within walking distance for mothers with prams; conveniently accessible by public transport; and sufficiently large to permit expansion. The clinic should serve as a base for health visitors working in the area. Where a base is not provided elsewhere for home nurses or midwives serving the district, it will also be necessary to provide a home nursing centre, and separate facilities for the care and sterilising of midwifery equipment.

110 We support the view expressed in the *Note* that the clinic can be used for other activities such as immunisation and chiropody sessions, mothers', parents' and old people's clubs. We believe there is considerable scope for multi-purpose use of such buildings. The recommended accommodation is for populations with an average birth rate of 16 per thousand. In new communities the birth rate is frequently very much higher than this; the provision made must therefore take account of this greater need.

Personal social services

111 As a committee² has been appointed 'to review the organisation and responsibilities of local authority personal social services in England and Wales', we have not studied in detail local authority and allied social services. In the course of our enquiries however, various aspects of these services, as they impinge on the lives of families moving to a new district, have been included in evidence submitted to us. There would appear to be grounds for drawing attention to matters which may well affect the whole country, but which affect an expanding town more intensely.

112 The intensity is not surprising. The abnormal population structure of an expanding town with its exceptionally high proportion of young parents and young children, creates a situation where personal social services are in great demand. The personal and financial resources of parents are at the point of greatest strain when their

¹ Ministry of Health, Local Authority Clinics, Local Authority Building Note No. 3, HMSO, 1962.

² The Seebohm Committee on local authority and allied personal social service.

families are young. The need for improved co-ordination of services is also seen at its peak in a new area.

113 One of the problems quoted to us in evidence was the distance and scatter of places from which the various services operated, making direct and prompt access by a mother with young children very difficult. For example, both the Welfare and Child Care services may be administered from the county town some miles distant. This condition may apply also to the offices of the Ministry of Social Security. It is appreciated that the streamlining of both central and local services is receiving attention. At the same time, it cannot be stressed too strongly that some arrangement should be made in the early stages of development to meet the exceptional dependence on these services. It might be possible, for example, that representatives of the various services are available in the area regularly on a sessional basis until the size of the development justifies a more comprehensive provision. *We recommend that those authorities having responsibility for personal social services should, at the planning stage, consider in close collaboration with the reception authority, the provision of a central office from which varying kinds of personal help and advice can be sought.*

114 We stress in the next chapter the importance of the reception authority dealing effectively and promptly, through sound methods of housing management, with the day to day problems presented by tenants. Where this is done, many family difficulties are prevented from assuming serious proportions. Moreover, in this way, the minority of families with complex problems are the more easily put in touch at an early stage with the particular social service best able to help them. The early availability of the family case work service is an essential complement to this procedure. Each department is then able to assist the other to the benefit of the minority of families needing maximum help.

115 It would appear to be the common experience of all the personal services, both statutory and voluntary, which submitted evidence, that financial pressures are heavy on many families moving to expanding towns. Arrears of rent compete with arrears of hire purchase payments and if the difficulty is not overcome there is the risk of eviction. The family unable to manage its affairs without help finds itself at a disadvantage in a new environment with the additional stresses of moving to unfamiliar surroundings and the need for support is correspondingly greater. The closest liaison between the Housing Department of the reception authority and the family case work service of the County Council (either Welfare Department or Children Department) is essential if family disaster is to be avoided.¹

¹ See also a joint circular (Ministry of Health 20/66, Home Office 178/66 and Ministry of Housing and Local Government 58/66) entitled *Homeless Families—Temporary Accommodation*.

116 *We recommend that there should be close consultation, at a very early stage of development, between the reception authority and the County Welfare and Child Care services.* We think that they should devise a scheme to give sustained support to the minority of families who may arrive with problems which soon become aggravated by the strains of moving, and adjusting to different conditions of housing and employment.

117 Child Care authorities, in particular, are increasingly aware of the greater demand being made on them for short term care of children while the mother is in hospital, a situation aggravated by the absence of relatives and close friends. In some areas this has been matched in the later stages of development by an increased number of offers from new residents to foster children. Where the expansion is of considerable size, the Child Care authority needs also to consider provision for long term care which implies not only more foster homes, but also additional residential accommodation. One authority, Norfolk, suggests that where development reaches 10,000 a Children's Home should be provided. It is desirable that a Children's Home catering for a new district should be part of, or sufficiently close to, the housing development so that a parent may visit without undue transport difficulty. Here again, full participation of the Children authority at the planning stage is important so that a suitable site is reserved for this purpose. A short stay home at Huntingdon, built on the boundary of the Greater London Council expansion scheme, serves a wide area but also enables nearby children, perhaps received into care while mother is in hospital soon after their arrival in the town, to continue to attend the primary school with which they have only just become familiar.

118 Similar considerations apply to the County Welfare Service in relation to providing for handicapped persons and for the elderly. If our recommendations in Chapter 2 regarding the housing of the elderly are fully implemented, then a County Welfare Committee will need to review its services (e.g. residential homes, day clubs or centres) so that these are adjusted to meet an increased demand at an earlier stage in the development. The same applies to joint housing and welfare schemes for elderly people.

Day nurseries and nursery schools

119 We discuss day nurseries and nursery schools together since, although the first is a 'health' service and the latter an 'educational' service, they both cater, though to a differing extent, for the pre-school child. The 'health' service started during the second world war with wartime nurseries. Following the war a Ministry of Health Circular (No. 221/1945) stated that general provision for children under

five was to be made by nursery schools (i.e. under the Ministry of Education). Day nurseries were to be regarded as a supplementary service for the special needs of those children whose mothers were 'incapable for some good reason of undertaking the full care of their children'. In practice, there have been few nursery schools to supplement because the limited educational resources have been concentrated on providing for children of statutory school age and beyond.

120 It would be going far beyond our terms of reference to discuss all the relevant issues here, and in any case at the time of writing the Central Advisory Council on Education (the Plowden Committee) were undertaking a comprehensive review of the educational needs of children under five. We feel bound, however, to comment because on no other issue was the evidence submitted to us so clear and overwhelming as on the need for a greatly expanded provision for this age-group.

121 There are several reasons for this. First the composition of the population of new communities is such that even a normal proportionate demand would give rise to a large absolute demand. Secondly, since many families are separated from their relatives and friends there is less chance for mothers to entrust their children to the care of someone whom they know and trust. Thirdly the financial strains on a young family building a new home can necessitate the mother going out to work. Finally, even if there is no such necessity many mothers wish to go out to work part-time for the companionship and social satisfaction which this affords.

122 These are 'community' rather than 'educational' arguments for nursery provision, but we note from the evidence submitted to us by the Department of Education and Science that their policy is to approve new nursery schools 'when they are likely to make it possible for married women who have been trained as teachers to return to the profession but not otherwise'.

123 The policy of the Ministry of Health is to agree to the building of new day nurseries where over fifty per cent of the places will be used by children with special needs or where there are special local difficulties and slightly less than fifty per cent of the places will be so used.

124 *Though we cannot anticipate the Plowden Committee's recommendations we urge that when policy is reviewed in the light of these recommendations consideration should be given to the special needs of new communities.*¹

¹ The Plowden Committee have now reported and have recommended that 'there should be a large expansion of nursery education'. They also maintain that 'the planning of accommodation for nursery groups should become as much a commonplace in the development of new areas as that of other community facilities'; and that 'until enough maintained places are available local education authorities should be given power and should be encouraged to give financial and other assistance to non-profit making associations which, in their opinion, fill a need they cannot meet'. For a full account (including the arguments for part-time nursery education, and the role of day nurseries) see Chapter 9 of the Report, *Children and their Primary Schools*, Volume 1, HMSO, 1967.

125 Private nurseries and play groups have increased greatly in recent years and local authorities can assist by way of the provision of sites and buildings. Where the organisation concerned is a voluntary body some local authorities have been able to go further and give direct financial assistance. In many areas groups of housewives have formed pre-school play groups and we believe there is considerable scope for more voluntary activity the need for more provision is urgent and action should not be delayed for any re-appraisal of policy which may follow the Plowden Report. *We recommend that local authorities of expanding towns should review the provision for pre-school children in their areas and assess what further provision can be made within the constraints of current policy either by themselves or by voluntary bodies.* This recommendation is relevant also to authorities who fall outside the scope of our inquiry.

Education

126 All expanding areas face difficulties in meeting the demand for school places. They must forecast the number of school age children who can be expected: match the school-building programme with the housing development; and ensure that the provision will meet future as well as immediate needs.

127 Though all new communities tend to have a large number of children of school age the actual proportion may differ markedly between different schemes. As an illustration of the range, in four new communities the proportion of the incoming population who were under the age of five ranged from 15·5 per cent to 23·0 per cent; the five to under-fifteen group ranged from 15·7 per cent to 40·5 per cent. In established communities school places are being provided on a basis of a birth rate of 18 per thousand. The evidence from Hertfordshire County Council noted that their experience had led them to revise the provision of school places in new towns on a basis of a birth rate which it was thought would ultimately level out at about 22 per thousand. Some of the figures supplied to us by Hertfordshire County Council are reproduced below. They relate to five neighbourhood areas in Hemel Hempstead.

	1960	1961	1962	1963
Adeyfield	25·6	24·8	25·1	25·7
Bennetts End	33·3	26·9	25·9	24·0
Chaulden	39·7	44·1	40·8	37·1
Warners End	27·7	40·1	38·4	36·1
Gadebridge	31·1	29·9	29·0	36·3
Total for town	32·6	30·2	29·9	30·1
National average	17·5	17·7	18·3	18·2

It is clear that a continuous check must be kept on demographic trends in new areas, so that authorities know in good time for what they have to provide.

128 Some part of the 'bulge' problem can be met by expedients such as temporary classrooms though these can lead to problems. For instance, temporary classrooms are usually erected on hard playing areas or on playingfields and therefore the total amount of space available is reduced though the number of children who share these limited facilities is increased. A further disadvantage is that they may lead to excessive use of specialist classrooms which may in turn lead to a serious drop in educational quality. Moreover cloakrooms, toilets and diningrooms will have to be used by more children than they were designed for.

129 Temporary classrooms may avoid the problem of overproviding with school places. The evidence we have received suggests that overprovision is unlikely to happen in practice except in very rapidly expanding areas. We note that in the new towns at least a comparatively high level of demand has continued. Our own view is that the problem can be met by better forward planning and a better population balance, e.g. by the intake of old people. Above all, provision should be related to local needs rather than to national averages.

130 In some areas a considerable number of children will require denominational schools. It is important that this need should be anticipated and that consultations be made with the appropriate authorities.

Further education and recreation

131 The wider educational and recreational needs of a new community are of vital importance. These needs imply larger catchment areas which in turn may require a sub-regional or regional approach. The *Education Act, 1944* places on local education authorities the *duty* of securing the provision of facilities for the further education of persons over school-leaving age, and for the leisure-time occupation of such persons in organised cultural, training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements. They are also required by the Act to secure that the facilities for primary, secondary and further education include adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training, and for that purpose they have power to provide camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres, gymnasias, swimming baths, etc. They can also co-operate with voluntary societies or bodies whose objects include the provision of similar facilities. (Other statutory powers under which various amenities can be provided or contributions made to voluntary bodies are listed in Appendix C).

132 With this abundance of powers, and with enterprise and initiative on the part of the local authorities, the scope for providing a new community with an extensive range of educational and recreational facilities is clearly very great, though as we show in Chapter 6 the restrictions imposed by finance are severe.

133 Though there are large numbers of young married people and young children there are relatively few in the older teenage group at the start of an expansion scheme. This situation lasts for only a comparatively short time: the 'bulge' of young children begins to form a 'bulge' of school-leavers after some ten or fifteen years. This is not a long time to build up the scale of services which will be required, particularly since the basis on which the expanded services must develop is likely to be a small one. As the report on *The Needs of Youth in Stevenage*¹ pointed out:

'We conclude, then, provision for youth in Stevenage is doubtfully adequate to its existing needs, and certainly inadequate as a basis of expansion on a scale commensurate with the spectacular increase in the young population. In a new community, which must bear the shock of continuing large-scale immigration during a period when its own physical environment is still in process of formation, this situation holds grave dangers. These might express themselves in the loss and wastage of much that is best in the youth: and in the degradation of what is worst. 'We have no gangs now', a witness told us, 'but I greatly fear that we may have them'. Our investigations have shown this fear to be widely entertained'.

134 The problem is how to sow and foster the seeds of growth in order that a rapid and durable expansion can take place on the large scale which will be required as the youth in the new community increases. This requires careful planning as well as coping with the difficulty of attracting youth leaders from a population whose adult members are heavily preoccupied with family and home commitments and whose freedom and leisure to undertake voluntary work are thus restricted.

135 A new community has both an exceptional need and an exceptional opportunity of starting almost if not completely from scratch. But the very newness also constitutes a major element in the exceptional need. The Albermarle Report², in speaking of 'the young people enjoying the first-class housing, schools and shops' in new communities pinpoints the problem:

'Homes are more attractive, but beyond, nearly all are strangers. The street corners are quiet and uninviting with their searching sodium lamps, and their lack of familiar lights and smells. It is all houses or flats, perhaps occasionally a pub or church, but rarely a coffee bar or a place provided for young people to meet. The present generation of teenagers, the first in these towns and areas, is cut off from

¹ *The Needs of Youth in Stevenage: A Report to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, published by the Foundation, 1959.

² Ministry of Education, *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, Cmd. 929, HMSO, 1960, p.20.

the traditional forms of face-to-face social education in the long-established neighbourhoods.

It is hardly surprising that many young people get out of these areas where boredom reigns, as quickly and as often as they can. They make for the nearest established town or simply the nearest main road where they can race up and down on their motorbikes'.

136 The Albermarle Report¹ has much useful advice on how the youth service can (at the local as well as the national level) develop in response to contemporary needs. We draw attention to their concern for the problem in new communities :

'New schools and new housing are setting the standard of physical provision ; television too plays a part in accustoming young people to attractive surroundings. Commercial interests recognise this and woo the teenager with plush and chromium. The lesson for the Youth Service, whether voluntary or statutory, is plain. It needs to take account of the worthy desire young people have for a bright and gay background, a desire they express in their choice of colourful and unconventional clothes.

'We hope to see a number of specially designed youth centres built, particularly in areas such as new towns and housing estates which by their nature are lacking in other available premises. Such buildings can provide unrivalled opportunities for drawing in the unattached and for the formation and meeting of informal groups. Ideally they should contain, in addition to the coffee bar and the larger rooms for dancing and games, a number of small rooms for the use of such groups Inevitably the provision of youth centres will be costly, but in one way they are economical : they give an opportunity to make the most effective use of first-class leadership—without which, indeed, their potential can never be acheived'.

137 A discussion of the needs of youth brings us to the subject of sport. This has been dealt with extensively in recent reports, particularly that of the Wolfenden Committee². A wider range of grants under the *Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937* is now available to voluntary bodies, and local authorities have been urged to use their powers to make adequate provision for sport and recreation. A joint circular of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Department of Education and Science has pointed to the need for collaboration between local authorities, voluntary organisations and other agencies, in improving and extending facilities for sport and physical recreation. A Sports Council has been established at the Department of Education and Science and eleven Regional Sports Councils have been set up—nine in England, one in Wales and one in Scotland, consisting principally of representatives of local authorities though with members of voluntary organisations. These Regional Councils have been asked to survey their areas and to assess the adequacy of existing facilities. Local authorities have been urged to review their administrative machinery 'with the aim of facilitating

¹ Ministry of Education, *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, Cmnd. 929, HMSO, 1960, p.20.

² Sport and the Community, Central Council of Physical Recreation, 1960.

the development of a community policy for provision for recreation as a whole'¹.

138 This is an area in which there is a bewildering number of organisations. Administrative co-ordination is therefore of vital importance. Because the need for planning and co-ordination in all aspects of town development is so great we offer some guide lines on these subjects in the following chapter. Here we are concerned with the important issue of standards of provision.

139 The first point which must be made is that standards can be put forward only as a guide. As a *Technical Memorandum*² of the Department of Education and Science has pointed out :

'By their nature they are no more than generalised statements of minimum requirements based on conditions that are normally and locally applicable but are not universally so. They are useful as a starting point in the assessment of demand and as a check to conclusions, but they can mislead if they are accepted uncritically and applied indiscriminately'.

140 The National Playing Fields Association recommend at least six acres of land per 1,000 population for playing space and at least one acre for parks and public gardens. This provision excludes private open space not available to the public, full-length golf courses and school playing fields. Minimum standards for schools sites are laid down in statutory regulations,³ but school playing fields are not generally open to the public.

141 The N.P.F.A. standard is expressed in relation to the population of an area as a whole.⁴ When the standard was first recommended in 1925 about a half of the national population were between the ages of 10 and 40 years when active games are mostly played. Of the '500 per thousand' between these ages it was assumed that probably 150 did not desire to play games or were prevented from doing so by physical infirmity, while a further 150 would be attending schools or colleges with their own recreational provisions during school hours and terms. Thus (excluding the holiday requirements of those attending schools or colleges) approximately 200 in every thousand remained who were neither too young nor too old for organised games and other outdoor recreation. Six acres of land, provided it is of suitable shape and reasonably level, will only just accommodate one senior football pitch, one junior or hockey pitch, one cricket table, one three-rink bowling green, two tennis courts, plus room for a small children's playground of about half an acre, and a pavilion.

¹ *Provision of Facilities for Sport*, Ministry of Housing and Local Government Circular No. 49/64 ; Department of Education and Science Circular No. 11/64, HMSO, 1964.

² *Provision for Sport and Recreation*, Sports Council Memorandum 1965.

³ *Open Spaces*, Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Technical Memorandum No. 6, MHLG, 1956.

⁴ The following is reproduced from the 1955 Memorandum of the NPFA on *Standard of Playing Space*.

142 According to paragraph 211 of the Final Report¹ of the New Town's Committee 'It is essential, therefore, that adequate open spaces be provided in the town plan. The total amount should not be at a lower rate than about ten acres per 1,000 population, apart from school playing fields'.
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143 The N.P.F.A. consider their standard of 6 acres is still the minimum requirement even though the number of persons in the 10-40 age group is now 400 per 1,000. In new communities the number will be much higher than 400. The implications are therefore that the standard of provision should be higher as well as subject to constant review². Of course what is required will vary according to local circumstances.
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144 The evidence which we have received suggests that an adequate recreational programme which takes into account future leisure-time needs is bound to appear lavish and unrealistic to some. Whereas road traffic engineers can call upon statistical techniques to show the extent of future needs there is no similar technique yet available to produce accurate forecasts of future social needs. Certain revised standards for some leisure activities are gradually emerging (e.g. for swimming-baths, advice on which can be obtained from Ministry of Housing and Local Government's Sports Officer). But generally speaking there is a shortage of advice on which those responsible for the planning of new communities can draw. We feel bound therefore to draw attention to the pressures building up everywhere for new guide lines in the light of the increased mobility of the population and the vastly increased interest in all forms of leisure activities.
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145 In view of the guidance which we anticipate is to be forthcoming from the central government departments we have not felt it appropriate for us to attempt to duplicate the work which is being carried out elsewhere. *We urge that, when the necessary work has been done to allow guidelines to be prepared, particular consideration should be given to the special needs of new communities.*
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146 We also wish to comment on the scale of provision and the particular needs of young children. Opportunities for play are essential for the normal growth and development of a child. 'Our children from their earliest years must take part in all the more lawful forms of play, for if they are not surrounded with such an atmosphere they can never grow up to be well conducted and virtuous citizens.'³ There are various theories about why it is so important for children to play, but there appears to be agreement among educationalists that through such spontaneous activity children acquire not only
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¹ Comd. 6876, HMSO.

² Scales of provision are being reviewed by a 'Standards of Provision' Committee of the Sports Council in the light of present day trends and demands and a report will be published in 1967.

³ Plato : The Republic.

skills but 'imagination, self-reliance, self-control, and the capacity to co-operate with others.'¹

147 Even with improved standards of space in the home there is seldom a room available in which children can play without interruption. The gardens of new and expanding town houses are frequently small, and the more pride is taken in them, the less likely are they to be a place where children can play freely.

148 Parents therefore are dependent in the main on other resources, such as the school, park or recreation ground, for their children's play. There is scope for experiment in this provision. Experience suggests that there is a need for local playgrounds preferably with supervision, storage space and playroom. Informal play spaces are needed within housing groups and an arrangement which has been successfully adopted in some instances is a grouping of houses with their private gardens opening onto the communal space in which children can play in complete safety. Sometimes it is possible to leave a piece of ground as a natural playground with trees and shrubs which the children will make their own.

149 There are three new trends in the provision of play facilities. Whilst swings, slides and other mechanical equipment are still popular with children, attempts are now made to fit these into the landscape instead of placing them on a flat, hard surface. Slides can be let into a bank, and children can climb artificial hills made from excavated materials left on the building site.

150 Secondly, there is a growing recognition that children very quickly tire of fixed equipment, and if they are to be absorbed for long periods they need opportunities for imaginative games, to use sand, water and earth, to build camps, light fires, make things with their hands, and have access to wood and nails, paint and clay.

151 Thirdly, there is the recognition that such things are possible only if there are friendly adults to supervise (but not organise) these activities, and to be responsible for the equipment. A trained play leader knows how to encourage and help a child who may not be getting sufficient encouragement at home.

152 From all this it will be appreciated that play space whether to be supervised or not must be planned as an integral part of the design. This applies equally to public and private enterprise housing developments. Since there are opportunities in a new area to plan for leisure-time activities as a whole, including those for children of school age and under, it is very important that the appropriate local authorities and other bodies should be consulted so that their views may be known and their needs incorporated from the start.

153 In high density building it is essential to have a minimum stan-

¹ D. E. M. Gardner : International Council for Children's Play Report 1960.

dard of play space, and the Parker Morris Committee¹ suggested a standard which can be roughly calculated as $\frac{1}{2}$ acre per 1,000 of the population but doubt is thrown on the adequacy of this standard by a new study². In low density areas it is possible to have a much more generous standard. The number of children, however, who can play happily together in one play area will depend more on the design, layout, equipment and supervision than on the amount of space. A reasonable size for a supervised play space might be $\frac{3}{4}$ – $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

154 *We think that a much deeper study than we have been able to undertake is needed of the issues involved here. We recommend that this should be considered by the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the Secretary of State for Education and Science.*

Shared recreational facilities

155 Secondary schools in particular can make a very important contribution to the facilities of a new community. (In primary schools the scale of the furniture and equipment limits the scope for their use by adults). It has been common for the halls of conventionally designed secondary schools to be used by the adult community during the evenings for meeting and musical and dramatic performances. Other teaching accommodation is often used by evening institutes. In some areas schools have been the only buildings available for communal use.

156 While a great deal can be done within schools which have been designed solely with the needs of pupils in mind, much more would be possible if schools were designed from the outset for the joint use of both school children and the adult community (with of course due regard to the necessary safeguards). Development along these lines has been commended to local authorities in a joint circular of the Department of Education and Science and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government³ and also in building bulletins issued by the former. While there are indications that a trend in this direction is developing there are still few examples on the ground.

157 There is, of course, a financial problem here. Yet, though it is clearly more expensive to provide a school with facilities which can be used by the community as a whole, it is even more expensive in total to provide completely separate facilities.

¹ *Homes for Today and Tomorrow*, HMSO, 1961, p. 42.

² *Children's Play on Housing Estates*. National Building Studies Research Paper No. 39, HMSO, 1966

³ Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Circular 49/64; Department of Education and Science, Circular 11/64, *Provision of facilities for Sport*.

Meeting places

158 Meeting places can be provided under a variety of different powers. (See Appendix C). Though they will serve the needs of only a section of the community we view them not only as important places for individuals to meet one another but also as making valuable provision for a wide variety of organisations and groups with different interests.

159 In expanding towns there are likely to be three levels of provision to be considered by those responsible for the initial planning: good central facilities of the large social centre variety, a community centre at the local level and the tenants' clubroom type of accommodation in the residential areas. In most small developments it is likely that only two of these levels will be required. Sites might also be left available for organisations who wish to provide their own specialist buildings.

160 As far as timing is concerned the immediate need at the start of the development will be for a tenants' clubroom or a small local community centre which can be expanded or contracted if necessary at a later stage. Whether all three levels of provision will be necessary will depend on the size of the new development, the distance from the town centre and the adequacy of the existing social provision.

161 We are reinforced in these views by the results of an enquiry by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government on *Meeting Places for Hire in New Towns*,¹ the main findings of which are summarised below.

The study covered ten of the well-established new towns and was aimed at providing an assessment of the amount, suitability and convenience of existing meeting places. A large proportion of the members of adult clubs and societies were found to come from all parts of the town, the exception being old people's clubs and about half the women's groups. In addition over 80 per cent of the more specialist activities like those related to sport, arts and culture, and hobbies draw some of their members from outside the town.

Many of the premises where rooms are hired by social organisations are primarily serving some other purpose or groups and bookings are accepted only when their own activities are not taking place. If conditions are attached to the letting or the building is designed for a specific purpose it may not be suitable environment for other groups. According to the Study the main need is therefore for large publicly-provided central premises not related to any neighbourhood, and specifically designed for its purpose and administered by a manager.

¹ The study was carried out by Miss Margaret Willis of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. It has not been published.

To estimate the amount of type of provision required in local areas it is important to know the kind of groups that draw members from the immediate neighbourhood. Overwhelmingly, they are the activities and groups catering for children and young people like the Scouts, Guides, Boys Brigade etc., the clinics and welfare services, the Sunday Schools, the dancing and nursery classes, and a few youth groups which hire premises.

The other sections of the community which require local meeting places are the elderly particularly if they are without private transport and the mothers whose young children restrict them to the locality.

In the survey, each organisation was asked to choose the type of building in which they would prefer to meet. The self-contained hut was popular primarily with the children and youth groups, and secondly with women's organisations. A high proportion of old people's clubs said that they had no preference. Therefore, a robust building suitably designed for play and games with a kitchen and side rooms is suggested. Sound insulation is an important feature if the centre caters for a variety of activities at the same time.

An important aspect of design is that of *storage*. Many organisations said they would prefer to have exclusive accommodation in order to have adequate storage and be able to leave their equipment etc. Therefore plenty of store cupboards, even store rooms rented exclusively to each organisation, would increase satisfaction among groups using a communal centre.

Present hiring fees are very low ; 21 per cent of the social organisations in the Survey, which admittedly includes many youth groups, are not paying hiring fees at all and a further third are paying less than 10s. a meeting. Most organisations (three-quarters) do not appear able or willing to pay more, even for better accommodation. At the moment hiring fees are either subsidised (by the local education authority) or nominal by special arrangements with a church or voluntary body, or covered by a small weekly subscription paid by the members. Any future developments, therefore, need to be viewed against this financial background.

162 We stress that the Survey relates to well-established new towns. Though the main need there (and possibly in the expanding towns which have made similar progress) is for central premises, the immediate need in a town just starting or in the early stages of expansion is for a local meeting place.

G.P.O. services

163 The need for Sub-Post Offices, telephone kiosks and post boxes is too obvious to require elaboration. Even so, the importance of the public telephone in new communities cannot be over stressed. It is

important that consultation with the local Postal and Telephone officials should be arranged at an early stage in the planning of a new community.

164 We have sought the advice of the General Post Office on this matter: they have stressed the impossibility of defining precise standards of provision in view of the wide variations in local conditions.

165 *Public Telephones:* The Post Office state that they will provide a public telephone kiosk if it is estimated that the takings will cover the cost of its provision and maintenance. On residential housing estates a kiosk may be provided even if the takings are likely to be slightly below those necessary to cover its upkeep if there is not an existing kiosk within reasonable walking distance of most of the residents on the estate. Local Authorities should contact the Telephone Manager as early as possible to discuss the provision of public telephone facilities.

166 *Sub-Post Offices:* The Post Office do not normally open a new Sub-Office in a town area less than a mile route distance from an existing Office (two miles route distance in rural areas); but this standard is not applied rigidly, and in particular exceptions to it are considered if:

- (a) There is a substantial demand for a new Office in a fairly self-contained area with its own generally recognised shopping centre largely providing for the residents' day-to-day needs; and where a considerable proportion of the residents have more than half-a-mile to walk to the nearest existing Office; or
- (b) There is a good deal of congestion at the nearest existing Office which cannot be remedied and a new Office would give relief;
- (c) Old age pensioners and people drawing Family Allowances would benefit to any considerable extent from a new Office;
- (d) The journey to the nearest existing Office (for those who would use the new Office) is particularly difficult, e.g. because of steep hills, busy roads to be crossed, or lack of public transport.

167 *Letter Boxes:* In town areas letter boxes are not normally sited within a quarter-of-a-mile of an existing box, nor where more than a quarter-of-a-mile additional travelling would be involved for collection. In rural areas boxes are not normally provided within half-a-mile of an existing box.

168 The G.P.O. who are very much aware of the fact that all Post Office Regions will be increasingly involved with areas of planned expansions set up a Committee in 1964 to study the additional problems which these areas presented as far as their services were concerned. The Committee have recently reported and, arising from one of their recommendations, information and guidance will shortly be made available to new town development corporations and expanding town authorities.

Chapter 5

Providing for community needs

169 The Planning of any new community is essentially an exercise in team work. Even in the new towns, where an ad hoc public corporation is set up to develop the town, a number of services has to be provided by other authorities. No single administrative body could be conceived which would be responsible for all the services which are required. Although the difficulties which beset town expansion schemes have led to the suggestion that some form of development corporation should also be established for town development schemes, a close examination shows that it is not any alleged administrative superiority of the development corporation per se which is important. Far more important is the feeling that new towns involve a greater commitment on the part of central government, more favourable Exchequer assistance, and greater priority on the part of the Board of Trade to industrial development. Our terms of reference do not extend to an examination of these issues. It is, however, clear that team work can develop only in a framework of confidence; and that the 'unsuccessful' and 'difficult' town expansion schemes suffer from a lack of this necessary confidence.

170 Development corporations seem to find it easier to attract and keep technical staff than do many town development authorities. Often town development schemes are on too small a scale to warrant the building-up of technical teams of the size which is required in a typical new town. But the essential point is the size and character of the development rather than the particular Act of Parliament under which the development is carried out. Where a town expansion scheme is small in scale there is a clear need for technical assistance. As matters stand this can be provided either by the exporting authority or the county council of the area undergoing expansion. So far as exporting authorities are concerned only the Greater London Council (and their predecessors) have felt themselves able to give assistance on a wide scale. In provincial regions the role of the local county council can therefore be crucial. We discuss this issue further in our chapter on finance.

171 The emphasis which we are giving to administration is deliberate.

We do not believe that the social problems involved in developing new communities are as difficult to solve as they sometimes appear to be. They can, however, become extraordinarily difficult to deal with if planning and administration are deficient. Indeed, we would go so far as to maintain that many of the social issues become significant problems only when planning and administration are inadequate.

172 Given an adequate financial framework an essential requirement is a form of administration which allows all the participating authorities to see clearly—and in good time—what provision they will be called upon to make. Foresight in planning and co-ordination in administration are the two key concepts.

The master plan

173 It should go without saying that the development of a new community should be preceded by the preparation of a master plan and full discussions with the appropriate local and public authorities. Unfortunately it is not every scheme which has undertaken these essential exercises in foresight and co-ordination. Even more frequent are situations where there has been inadequate consultation with the various public authorities and other bodies concerned—particularly the Regional Hospital Board, the local Executive Council, and even different departments of the County Council.

174 The term 'master plan' has no statutory meaning. It is commonly used in relation to the plans prepared by a development corporation as an overall guide to the development of a new town. A master plan must be distinguished from a Town Map, which is a statutory document prepared by a local planning authority and requiring the Minister's statutory approval.

175 It would be going beyond our terms of reference to discuss planning techniques. We do, however, stress the need for a Master Plan for town expansion schemes on similar lines to those prepared for new towns. This amounts to nothing more than a recommendation that *all* town expansion schemes should follow the practice of those¹ which already have master plans.

176 Our concern, however, is not so much with physical development as with social development. In principle new communities should benefit from the fact that an overall plan and programme of development is prepared in advance. The limitations of attempting to provide separate solutions to inter-related problems are thus avoided. In practice the ideal is frequently not achieved. Plans suffer from the shortcomings of the assumptions and data on which they are based. They are subject to the vicissitudes of the economic climate. In

¹ i.e. Basingstoke, Cramlington, Droitwich and Winsford.

innumerable ways they have to be revised in the light of changing circumstances. Some of these problems are inevitable particularly during a period of rapid social and economic change. Other problems should now be less troublesome because of the experience which has been accumulated (for example the large number of school children which can be expected in a new community can now be predicted more accurately than in the early post-war schemes). And the need for constant review is now accepted. But plans as they are currently conceived do not deal adequately with social provision. By their very nature they are predominantly concerned with land use: a Town Map will thus show the location of schools, of open spaces and of areas for 'principle business, civic, cultural or other special uses for the town as a whole'. It will not show the position of, or even record the number of, doctors' surgeries, tenants' meeting places, children's play spaces and the like. Though it is not the function of an overall plan to allocate land uses in such detail the danger is that since such provision is not planned at this stage, it may be given insufficient attention at the detailed planning stage.

177 This is not the only limitation of existing plans. Even more significantly, they do not deal with 'social development'. We must stress that in the last resort it is the quality of the family and social life which it permits and encourages which is of predominant importance. Yet little or no mention is made of this in existing plans. Though it is now fashionable to refer to 'social needs', 'social integration', 'community life' and so forth, the plans themselves do not show how this is to be achieved or even explain what the terms mean.

A social development plan

178 We use the term 'social development' frequently in this Report. It is an imprecise term which can be used in different ways. Our own use of the term is a straightforward one. By social development we mean policies and programmes directed towards meeting social needs. We hold no lofty views as to wider social purposes which some believe can be achieved through social development. We are concerned with problems of families settling in a new environment, of providing them with education, health and welfare services, community facilities, etc. and with the provision of opportunity and choice. Families may wish to use their opportunities to live a family-centred rather than a community-centred life. They may wish to congregate in residential areas where they can find others of similar background and interests. In our view, though social development should aim at facilitating the growth of and participation in community activity, it should not attempt to impose patterns of behaviour. The belief that the extent of organised activities can necessarily provide a measure

of the quality of a community is a mistaken one. It is by no means true that all—or even most—people wish to engage in organised social activities.

179 None of this should be taken as a lack of appreciation on our part of the real issue of frustration, loneliness and boredom which are to be found in all communities. Indeed, social development will aim at providing an environment where these problems—in so far as they can be affected by social action—will be minimal. Though only a minority of individuals may wish to have a socially active life or even join social organisations, it is desirable that a community as a whole should have as wide a range of social activities as possible. But there is a limit to which social action can go. Beyond that limit the province is that of the missionary, the social worker and the psychiatrist, not that of the social planner.

180 *We recommend that in addition to a physical plan each new community should have a social development plan and programme.* We envisage that this would be concerned not only with the provision of physical amenities, but also with the staffing of services at both county and district level and with all those functions which, as we show later, are the responsibility in the new towns of a Social Relations Officer and his staff. It would show how the social services and community facilities were to be provided, by whom, and when. Its preparation would involve a great deal of consultation with existing statutory and voluntary bodies. Since it would be dealing with changing social needs it would require constant reappraisal in the light of changing conditions.

181 The plan will be closely concerned with the social provision to be made by statutory authorities, particularly in the case of educational, health and social welfare programmes. Clearly the implementation of these programmes must remain with the responsible authorities¹ and they will, of course, have their own scale of priorities for the wider geographical area for which they are responsible. It is likely that this will differ from the priorities as seen by the new community, but these essentially political issues can never be planned away. What the plan can do is to ensure that there is adequate co-ordination between the different authorities concerned.

182 Town development is a means whereby an existing community is enlarged. The first stage in the preparation of a plan of expansion should be to assess how adequate are the services in the town for the existing population. The second stage is to assess how these services will have to be expanded and what new services will be needed for the increased population. Consultation with the exporting authorities will establish as far as is possible in advance the types of

¹ Though not necessarily with the authorities which are currently responsible. This raises issues which are beyond our terms of reference but which are being studied by the Royal Commission on Local Government.

families who are likely to move. Much will depend on the industrial development which is to take place, and this cannot usually be predicted with any accuracy. A constant flow of information on age, sex, marital condition, family size, occupations, educational attainment, skills, and income is necessary if the required provision of housing (of different types), social services and community facilities is to be kept in relation to the needs of the incoming population.

183 We attach great importance to the preparation of long-term, as well as short-term programmes of development. Though they will need constant revision as experience demonstrates the validity or otherwise of the assumptions on which they are based, they form an essential part of the planning process.

184 Ideally a planned programme of physical development would ensure that industrial and housing development, schools, shops and the whole range of public, private and voluntary services are provided *pari passu*. In practice, however, this is very difficult to achieve. It demands a very high degree of co-ordination and a virtually complete absence of economic or financial constraints. It could only happen if industrial development (and the consequent demand for labour) could be predicted with accuracy, and if it could be organised in a relatively even 'flow'. In practice industrial development tends to be uneven. If an industrialist wants to find a new location it is unlikely that any area would equally suit the economics of his operation; and even when a firm decides that a particular area is suitable it is necessary to obtain an Industrial Development Certificate from the Board of Trade. The Board of Trade may agree that the area is a suitable one but, in line with Government policy, may seek to persuade the firm to move to a development area (which can offer financial advantages that most expanding towns cannot). Probably the majority of firms which consider a location in an expanding town do not in the event move to the area.

185 Once a decision to move is made the industrialist usually wishes to proceed rapidly. It is not easy to phase a house-building programme to fit into a situation where in one week it is not known whether a certain firm will definitely come while in the next week the decision has been taken and there is an urgent need to provide, say, a hundred houses within six months. Given a situation like this—and it is by no means a typical—it is not surprising that the provision of social and community services tends to lag behind.

186 The larger the scale of the overall development the easier it is to deal with these 'surges'—for the simple reason that there is more room for manoeuvre. But each size of development and each speed of development presents its own problems, and the only general principle which can be applied is that of having a full pipeline. The longest phase of any development is the planning stage—determining the land uses, designing the general physical layout, preparing plans

for houses, schools and all the other buildings which are to be needed, and, finally, obtaining the necessary consents from the responsible planning authorities and government departments. If an authority has sufficient staff to undertake this on the required scale, a 'surge' presents only the ultimate problem of obtaining the necessary physical resources. This, of course, is by no means a negligible problem. Forward planning is just as necessary for the building industry as it is for the development as a whole. The larger the building schemes and the greater the use of industrialised building methods the greater is the importance of forward planning.

187 It is unlikely that any attempt to get all parts of a development programme completely in step will succeed. The number of uncontrollable and unforeseen factors is too great: they range from climate to changes in the general economic situation; from labour shortages to strikes; from shortages of materials to sudden expansion plans of individual firms. These difficulties are common in any type of forward planning. The plan must be sufficiently flexible to allow changes to be made in the programme in the light of changing circumstances. The danger is that so much effort is taken up with industry and housing that other things receive insufficient attention.

188 We think that this last point needs underlining. Social issues rarely raise the same articulate expression of views as a lack of sufficient houses or a temporary glut of empty houses. Few social standards are as clear as the worker's need for a job and a family's need for a house. In our view the implications of this are that there must be a large, consistent and conscious effort to provide for the important social needs which follow the provision of a house and job. Keeping employment and housing in balance is the beginning, not the end.

189 Yet another obstacle to the simultaneous provision of buildings for social and community use is the need to reach certain population targets to make such provision viable; almost inevitably there will be a transitional period before such targets are achieved during which large numbers of people have to put up with serious under-provision of these facilities.

Administration

190 All authorities which are undertaking town expansion have found it necessary to make special administrative arrangements. There is no single administrative structure which will meet the situation in every scheme. The basic problems are more or less the same in most cases: but there are differences in degree and emphasis. During our investigations we have been struck by the diversity of administrative patterns which have been used for carrying out the

work of town development. Details of some of these are set out in Appendix D.

191 When a town undertakes town development there is a rapid build-up of the work which needs to be done. The additional work load is so heavy that it is only in the case of a very small scheme that existing staff will be able to cope. The load is not confined to staff: there will also be additional burdens for the Council, its Committees and the individual members.

192 Therefore, as soon as a town decides to undertake town development on any scale, the Council has to face two immediate problems:

- (i) how it shall arrange its own working so as to leave the members in control of policy and, ultimately, its execution, without imposing an intolerable strain on individual members, and
- (ii) what action should be taken to ensure that there is sufficient staff available both to produce all the information necessary for policy making and to carry out the resulting work.

193 The first of the problems is the easiest of solution given the right attitude to the task which faces the Council. It will find that its whole field of activities has been so enlarged and speedy decisions are so necessary that except in matters of fundamental policy in which all members should be involved there will have to be a large measure of delegation to Committees. There appears to be great advantage in having a 'Development Committee' or, where more than one authority is concerned a 'Joint Development Committee' which is the main responsible body. Experience has shown that this ought not to be responsible only for major policy issues. Some delegation of executive power from the standing committees is necessary.

194 *We therefore recommend that all authorities undertaking town development schemes should review their administration and, where no special Development Committee has been established, should consider setting one up.*

195 The committee structure needs to be mirrored in the staff structure: senior officers from each relevant department should service the Development Committee. *Each scheme also needs a Director or Manager of Town Development* to whom should be delegated a large measure of responsibility. As the examples given illustrate, this may be a new and additional appointment or it can be filled by one of the chief officers of the local authority. The Clerk of the Council may well fill this role. He is the Chief Executive Officer and general co-ordinator of the local authority's work. But the scale of the development and the time needed to give adequate attention to the special problems involved in town expansion may be such as to require a careful assessment of the situation. Some towns have appointed a new officer entitled 'Director' or 'Manager' (usually where there is a joint committee of three participating authorities); others have given this role to their Clerk but relieved him of some of his other duties

(usually where the local council is carrying the main burden of development). Hard and fast rules cannot be applied, but there is no doubt that, even with small expansion schemes, some reorganisation is generally necessary.

196 Inevitably, town expansion requires a rapid build-up of staff. For a town operating on its own this is a formidable and expensive task. The Greater London Council has recognised the importance of overcoming this difficulty by setting up an organisation which enables it to place at the disposal of receiving authorities the necessary technical services on an agency basis. Similar arrangements do not exist on any scale outside the London Schemes, though Lancashire County Council met the similar problem by the establishment of an Estate Development Team to render assistance to any district council undertaking town development in the Administrative County. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether any other exporting authority is operating on a scale sufficiently large to justify the setting up of such an organisation. However we are impressed by the success of the London and Lancashire schemes and *we recommend that the Minister should examine the possibility of encouraging the setting up in other regions of similar organisations whose services would be available to local authorities undertaking town development.* It is inherent in our recommendation that when a team from the organisation is sent to a receiving district it should work under the instructions of the receiving authority to whom it would report.

A social facilities committee

197 Several bodies urged upon us the need for a local Social Facilities Committee. *Though we see dangers in a proliferation of committees, and though we have stated the case for a single 'Development Committee', we nevertheless think that there is a need for a committee concerned with social facilities as a whole.* In our view, its membership should consist of representatives of the district and county council, the 'exporting' authority, voluntary bodies, local industry and, where a private developer is responsible for a large part of the building programme, a representative of the firm concerned.

198 Such committees have been established in several towns and experience has proved their value. (Appendix D includes an account of the situation in Basingstoke where a 'Social Facilities Committee' and a 'Sports Committee' have been established).

199 The Town and Country Planning Association commented that not the least of the advantages of a Social Facilities Committee would be 'its ability to clarify the confusingly divided and overlapping responsibilities of district and county councils, to see that Government grants are obtained in full measure for the right projects and to

harness the obligatory and permissive functions of the participating local authorities so that public money is used in ways that maximise the returns in terms of social benefit'. We would also stress the value of having a committee with a specific remit to deal with community facilities and able to provide a point of reference for voluntary organisations in the new community.

Voluntary organisations

200 Voluntary organisations have an important part to play in the development of new communities. Generally there is no shortage of good-will and enthusiasm, but what is often lacking is an appreciation of how these qualities can be put to their best use. The sociologist's report prepared for the Basingstoke Town Development Committee¹ summed up the problem in these words:

'It is clear that what is urgently needed on the part of the voluntary associations in the town is some coherent idea of what their role should be and some official acknowledgement of the importance of their contribution. One way of achieving these objectives would be the setting up, with the full support of the local authority of a Council of Social Service. Such an organisation would serve many useful functions. It would draw the voluntary social services together and afford them a forum for discussion and a basis for common action. It would serve to represent these services vis-a-vis the local authority in the development of social provision in the town and give them the support, so necessary in a period of very rapid growth, of the expertise and advice of the National Council of Social Service'.

This recommendation was acted upon and is already reaping dividends.

Arrivals officers

201 The first need of families moving to a new community is for information—about tenancy agreements, schools, shops, bus services, local facilities and so forth. This is so obvious that it may appear strange that we make an issue of it. However, we have had sufficient evidence to show that this elementary need is sometimes forgotten.

202 In *The First Hundred Families* it was recommended that an 'Arrivals Officer' should be appointed or nominated to act as 'the friend and adviser' of newcomers. He might be the Housing Manager or the Housing Assistant for an area, or someone specially appointed to the staff of the Housing Department or elsewhere.

'Prospective tenants should be encouraged to visit the town to look around or, if a firm is thinking of establishing itself in the town, arrangements should be made

¹ *The Sociological Aspects of Town Development* by M. Broady. This is an unpublished document, but see *Basingstoke: A Social Study*, published by the Workers' Educational Association, Southern District 1965.

for the work-people to have a conducted tour. These tours may have to take place at the weekend and arrangements should always be made to ensure that various types of houses are open for inspection and suitable staff are available to answer questions about educational and other facilities. If the arrangements are efficient and carried out in a friendly way, an atmosphere of goodwill can be created right from the start. Subsequently the Arrivals Officer is the person to show residents their new homes, tell them where to find the various services, explain the various phases of the development and be regularly available for some months afterwards. (People do not mind waiting a reasonable time for a service provided they know when they are going to get it). The Arrivals Officer who keeps in touch with the tenants can deal with problems as they arise and put tenants in touch with other services should they require them'.

We fully support this and recommend that all expanding towns should appoint an Arrivals Officer.

203 We have received conflicting evidence on the question as to whether the Arrivals Officer should be on the staff of the Housing Department. In our view the question of the Department to which the Arrivals Officer should be attached is of much less importance than the clear principle that there ought to be one. Where the majority of families are moving into council houses the Housing Department provides a natural link with the newcomers. Where a good number are moving to owner-occupied houses (as is anticipated in future schemes) it may be more appropriate for the Officer to be attached to another Department. We are clear, however, that the appointment must be a special one. The Officer may well be nominated from the existing staff of the Housing Department, but it is important that he should have the necessary skills for the job and that he is adequately relieved of his existing duties.

Housing management

204 Town development will make very considerable demands on the existing Housing Management staff. *Where there is no separate housing department, as in some of the smaller local authorities, we strongly recommend that one should be set up, with a trained and experienced Housing Manager in charge.*

205 A prospective tenant should be able to consult the Housing Manager on the economics of the move in the same way as he might consult his bank manager when buying a house or his travel agent when planning a holiday. It is in everybody's interest that a realistic estimate of income and expenditure should be made before the final decision to move takes place.

206 Families often have only a vague idea of the ways in which their income and expenditure will alter. Information is needed on such matters as shopping, cost of fares, part-time work for women, hire purchase, and the probable cost of heating. This last is additionally

important because of the risk to the property if the tenant cannot afford to look after the dwelling adequately.

207 Whatever system of housing management is adopted, the tenant will meet a member of the Housing Department when he moves in. The link with this department becomes stronger still if the Housing Assistant calls for the rent and the family is visited from time to time during the first year, to see how they are settling down and if they wish to report any minor defect in the house.

208 If the Housing Manager and his staff are seen as efficient and approachable, then a family with a problem, however transitory or deep-seated, has the initial security of knowing one person to whom they can turn. This is not to suggest that the Housing Manager has to do social work. It is simply that the tenant frequently sees him as the obvious person to consult. In most cases all he can do is to make the vital link between the tenant and the appropriate social service. When because of rapid expansion the service is inadequate, he may help his colleagues in other departments to improvise.

209 Arrears of rent are frequently the first indication that a family is in financial difficulties. Again, it is the Housing Manager who is in the best position to give immediate help and so prevent a serious situation from developing which might ultimately affect the tenancy of the house. In this connection we were particularly impressed by the evidence submitted to us by Lancashire County Council on three major new developments which had been undertaken in their area. It was found that the area in which there were fewest social problems (particularly those which came to the notice of the Children Department) was the one in which the local housing authority employed officers who could deal at a relatively early stage with personal and rent arrears problems.

Social relations officers

210 We have given a great deal of thought to the question as to whether expanding towns ought to have an officer specifically charged with responsibility for a range of social issues. Such officers have been appointed in most of the older new towns and, significantly, in all the more recent new towns. These officers carry various titles—Public Relations, Liaison, Community Development, Social Relations and Social Development. We use the term Social Relations. The work undertaken by these officers varies somewhat between different towns but there appears to be a general consensus of opinion as to the essential core of work involved.

211 The Social Relations Officer in a new town is generally a senior officer in the General Manager's Department. He is responsible

directly to the General Manager and, though not usually designated as a Chief Officer, attends the meetings of Chief Officers and plays an important role in discussions. The work of his department covers four main fields: social planning and advice; public relations; community development; and research and information.

- (i) *Social Planning and Advice:* It is now generally accepted that the Social Relations Officer has an important role to play as a member of the planning team. He gives advice on a wide range of planning matters which have a social content. The more obvious matters are social provision, population and employment trends, housing and neighbourhood patterns. But the work is much more than this: it involves advising on the social implications of the physical plan and, further, contributing to the actual preparation of the plan. In all this the Social Relations Officer is a member of a team. His success is determined by the amount of understanding and support he can win from the chief executive and the heads of the departments both of the development corporation and the local authorities involved in carrying out the basic functions of development.
- (ii) *Public Relations:* Under this heading falls such relevant matters as press relations, publications, speaking at public meetings, and the reception of visitors.
- (iii) *Community Development:* This can be defined as the processes by which the efforts of people themselves are united with those of authorities to improve the social and cultural life of communities. The Social Relations Officer is an 'enabler' and a catalyst. He assists in the starting of new groups and associations, and in the administration of community centres. He encourages and keeps co-operation between different statutory and voluntary bodies.
- (iv) *Research and Information:* Under this heading is included the compilation of records and the obtaining and assembling of data concerning population, industry, shopping, transport, employment and so forth.

212 *Our review of the work of Social Relations Officers in the new towns leads us to the definite conclusion that similar Officers should be appointed in expanding towns, and we recommend accordingly.* We discuss later the minimum scale of development which warrants such an appointment. First it is necessary to discuss more thoroughly the role which we believe such Officers have to play.

213 It is the main theme of our Report that social issues are extremely important in the planning and development of new communities. 'Social thinking' and 'awareness' is not—and should not—be delegated to one individual. It should permeate all the work undertaken for or by a new community. There is, nevertheless, considerable advantage in having one officer who has specific responsibility for

(and competence in) advising on social matters. One of the important functions of a Social Relations Officer is to assist in policy decisions on the size and types of dwellings needed in relation to the incoming population, standards for recreation and community facilities, social effects of proposed layouts, types of employment, and so forth. This 'social policy' function is closely allied to a research function. At many points in our Report we have referred to the importance of a steady flow of basic data on the new community. Comprehensive records of both incoming and outgoing population need to be kept. Statistical information of this sort becomes increasingly important as the town develops, since it influences day-to-day decisions on the quantity, type and timing of further development by the participating authorities.

214 Much of the success of a new community rests on the activities of organisations and groups outside the local authority. A Social Relations Officer must have knowledge of the structure and finances of these organisations; encourage the use of their powers and resources; have the imagination to foresee new possibilities and to stimulate them; and have the tact and skill to build up good relationships with them. While he cannot be expected in a big development to take a direct part in all that is going on his job is to see that there is a variety of community facilities, that social provision in its widest sense is achieved by the use of both public and private enterprise, and that as full a range as possible of statutory and voluntary services is available.

215 The Social Relations Officer should attempt to encourage the growth of voluntary associations, and civic and cultural activities, and to establish lines of communication between the residents and the local authority. He must be actively aware of the needs of the residents and have an overall picture of the social activities in the town and the provisions to be made for them. In short we see the Social Relations Officer as holding a key position in relation to the preparation of and the carrying out of the Social Development Plan.

216 The staffing of a Social Relations Officer's Department has, of course, to be assessed in the light of the scale of the expansion, the existence and adequacy of existing services, and so forth. In a small scheme there may be only two officials—the Social Relations Officer and an Arrivals Officer. In a large scheme the department may be of considerable size and might include a research officer, an information officer, neighbourhood workers at a local level, an officer concerned with provisions for young people and another with facilities for children's play.

217 This raises questions as to the allocation of work between different officers. Here it is impossible to lay down clear guidelines, since the allocation has to be worked out in relation to a local situation. In some areas it may be desirable for the Social Relations Officer to

take responsibility for all the functions which otherwise might fall to the officers named ; in others he may serve mainly as an adviser to the Social Facilities Committee and the Development Committee and therefore act mainly as a research and liaison officer. It is because of the importance of the local issues that we have found it impossible to draw a clearer distinction between the roles of the Arrivals Officer, the Housing Manager and the Social Relations Officer.

The scale of development justifying the appointment of a Social Relations Officer

218 All new communities ought to have an Arrivals Officer, but it is not immediately clear what size of new community justifies the appointment of a Social Relations Officer. Our initial thoughts on this were in line with the view expressed in *The First Hundred Families* that only 'large town expansion schemes' required such an Officer. However, the more we looked into the matter, the more we became convinced that even 'small' schemes would benefit greatly by the appointment of a Social Relations Officer. We were confirmed in this view by the evidence we received from Haverhill Urban District Council and West Suffolk County Council. Here, despite the small scale of the expansion scheme (10,000 people) the two councils have decided, in the light of experience, that such an officer is needed. He is to be appointed to the staff of the County Education Department who will meet the whole of his salary, but he will work from the offices of the District Council who will provide him with the necessary clerical assistance. His appointment is additional to that of the Arrivals Officer who has been appointed by the District Council as a member of the staff of the housing Department. *In the light of our studies we are convinced that all town expansion schemes need a Social Relations Officer and we recommend accordingly.* A further possibility, where geography permits it, is for a Social Relations Officer to be appointed jointly for two or even more schemes. There is room for experiment along these lines.

219 We draw attention to a major problem which must be guarded against. One of the main functions of a Social Relations Officer is to liaise with other bodies. He will thus have close contact with voluntary bodies, the local statutory services and other departments of the local authority. By the nature of his work he will be concerned to see that gaps in provision are filled. But he must take care not to fill them himself ; he must not become a social worker as well as a Social Relations Officer. We see this as a very real danger, particularly in areas where the social services are understaffed. It is, of course, an even greater danger if the Social Relations Officer combines some or all of the functions of an Arrivals Officer.

The qualities and training of a Social Relations Officer

220 The essential quality of a Social Relations Officer is an ability to get on well with people in general and other officers in particular. There is no one qualification for this appointment since so much depends on personality and breadth of experience. He needs to understand the structure of local government and to have a good knowledge of the statutory and voluntary social services. He must know how to encourage, help and stimulate community development while keeping himself in the background. He should be well-informed on current sociological and planning work relevant to new communities. He must be of sufficient calibre to join on equal terms in discussions with professional colleagues.

221 There is no recognised training for Social Relations Officers. *We recommend that the possibility should be explored of mounting short courses for Social Relations Officers at a University. We further recommend that the Minister should consider, in conjunction with the New Town Development Corporations, the possibility of 'training-attachments' with appropriate Social Relations Officers.* In connection with the first of these recommendations we understand that the new Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham is planning an experimental course of the type suggested.

Conclusion

222 We have laid great stress in this chapter on administrative structures and on the appointment of specialist staff. All our studies of the questions of the planning and provisions of services and facilities in new communities convinced us that these were the crucial issues. The normal local government machine is heavily taxed to deal adequately with the problems involved. Planning and developing a new community raises problems and involves skills of an order which is quite different from those normally experienced in the day-to-day work of local authorities—at least of the size with which we have been concerned. Though a few larger authorities have recognised similar needs and are now trying out new administrative forms these are still very exceptional.

223 There is, however, an important qualification. All our recommendations must rest on the assumption that the local authorities concerned have an adequate financial basis from which to work. As we demonstrate in the following chapter this is not always so.

Chapter 6

The finance of social and community facilities

224 Our terms of reference require us to consider 'financial problems arising in town development schemes'. Though the importance of these has been continually impressed upon us during our inquiry we have found difficulties in making our recommendations. The finance of community facilities and services cannot be divorced from the overall financial situation in expanding towns and, in turn, the latter cannot be considered in isolation from much wider general issues of local government finance, especially at a time when major changes are being proposed in the finance of local government services.

The financial problem of expansion

225 All areas undergoing rapid expansion are faced with the problem of meeting, at an early stage, increasing expenditure which is not matched by a similar increase in income. Though the expansion may pay for itself in the long-run it is the early unremunerative period which presents the crucial financial problem. This is the period when the need for social services and community facilities is particularly urgent. It is also the period when an adequate team of officers has to be assembled. If our recommendations concerning social planning are implemented the financial problem in these years will become even more acute, although it may well result in some savings in the long run.

226 The problem is intensified where an expansion scheme is undertaken by a small local authority, and even further intensified where several expansion schemes are under way in one county or where the county council of the area is in a poor financial position. Of course with the rate-deficiency (and now rate support) grant no county council is poor in a technical sense since those with low rateable values are given assistance to bring them up to the average. Nevertheless there is no doubt that some counties can meet the needs of the situation only with considerable difficulty.

227 These financial problems would arise even if there were no pressures to raise standards. But higher standards of, for example, education, health services and housing considerably aggravate the problem. We wholeheartedly agree that standards should be raised, and our recommendations in relation to community facilities are, in effect, recommendations for higher though, in our view, minimum basic standards in these fields.

228 We are particularly concerned at the problem which faces expanding towns in relation to housing standards. As the evidence presented by the Town and Country Planning Association pointed out:

'recreation in the widest sense of the term begins at home. Activities in and around the home occupy much the greater part of the leisure time of most people. This is particularly true of families with young and school-age children. We therefore consider good housing standards to be the first essential requirement in creating an environment that is rich in opportunities for recreation and communal activities'.

We have found this argument commands widespread acceptance. Nevertheless many expanding towns find that, with current costs and housing subsidies, the rents which need to be charged are very high (particularly for houses built to Parker Morris standards) and can create acute problems for the tenants. The new housing subsidies (which we discuss further in a later section) ease the situation, but in our view they do not take sufficient account of the fact that few expanding towns have a large pool of existing houses over which the higher current costs can be spread.

229 A serious decision which many expanding towns have to face is whether to pool rents and therefore raise to a substantial extent the rents of pre-expansion houses. If rents are pooled the local families may be inclined to resent the newcomers since they will in effect be subsidising their housing. The alternative, which is to have two levels of rents, one for expansion and one for pre-expansion houses, can lead to resentment on the part of the newcomers. At a time when their resources are already strained by the expenses of moving and furnishing a new home they may well feel it particularly unfair that they should have to pay noticeably higher rents than the local families.

230 We have drawn attention in Chapter 3 to the effects that rent policy can have on social integration. Whichever of the two alternatives referred to above is adopted there is the danger of splitting the town into two camps, the local families and the newcomers. The G.L.C., who appreciated the difficulties of this situation, decided to give the towns with whom they have agreements short-term assistance in respect of houses occupied by their nominees details of which are in paragraph 251. This assistance gives the authorities a breathing space of a few years during which an integrated rent structure can be built-up gradually. Rises in the rents of the pre-expansion houses can be phased over a longer period thus avoiding

the necessity for sharp increases which immediate pooling would demand. When the new subsidies were fixed we feel that insufficient attention was given to this problem though the special provisions for town expansion housing do give some relief.

231 In expanding towns all the development has to take place at current market prices and be financed by borrowing at the current high levels of interest. The Society of County Treasurers stressed to us that :

‘there is a greater awareness of the need for public services on the part of people transferred under planned arrangements to a new environment. Existing lower standards or indeed absence of certain services may be tolerated by a settled community whereas the full range at a higher standard is required by new communities’.

In an established community social and recreational facilities will have been developed over a long period by both public authorities and voluntary organisations. The community will have grown roots and will have established its own traditions and community interests. In these circumstances inadequate physical provision may be accepted. A continuous influx of new families will look on the provision critically. Furthermore, however adequate the current level of provision may be for the existing community it will certainly need major development when an expansion scheme is undertaken.

232 The financial issues are, of course, intertwined with political problems. The concentration of development in an expanding town poses acute difficulties for county councils. Other parts of a county which have a legitimate claim for improved services naturally feel aggrieved if they see resources being channelled to one particular area which is taking population from outside the county. The problem arises particularly in relation to the school-building programme. This is a matter of public relations and *we feel that there is much to commend the proposal made to us by Thetford Borough Council that when the Department of Education and Science notify the local education authority of the amount of new school building which they may carry out, it should be indicated what has been added to the county programme specifically to meet the needs of town expansion.* This would not, of course, have any impact on the financial position of the county council, but it may make it easier for them to justify the building of additional schools in expanding towns. *We therefore recommend that this suggestion should be considered by the Department of Education and Science.*

233 In the evidence which has been submitted to us it has been suggested that new towns are in a considerably stronger financial position than expanding towns, and that expanding towns should be given the same favourable treatment. We think that it is appropriate that we should set out the position, first in broad terms and secondly in relation to community facilities and services.

The finance of new towns

234 New towns derive their income from housing rents, commercial and industrial rents and, exceptionally, the sale of property. In fixing housing rents the new town has no advantages over the expanding town except in relation to borrowing which is discussed later. Indeed since the Development Corporation will have no pre-war houses which can have their rents pooled with new houses they can be in a worse position than an expanding town. Nevertheless a new town is likely to receive substantial benefits from its commercial income whereas in a town development scheme much of the profit accrues to private developers. While the comparative advantage is not so pronounced with industrial development it does exist.

235 The capital expenditure (including working capital) of development corporations is financed by advances by the Minister under Section 42 of the New Towns Act 1965. Advances are repayable with interest by equal annual instalments over 60 years. The rate of interest is determined by the Treasury from time to time and is currently 6 per cent. Section 42(2) of the Act authorises the Minister to make grants to enable development corporations to defray expenditure other than capital expenditure. The only significant grants payable are housing grants analogous to the rate fund contributions a local authority may make to its Housing Revenue Account. Currently these grants are at the rate of £12 per annum per dwelling and are payable for such period as the Minister may determine. Up to the present no time limit has been imposed. At the time of writing it is not known whether any changes in these grants will be made consequent upon the provisions of the Housing Subsidies Bill before Parliament.

236 When a development corporation has substantially completed the building of the new town it is wound up and its assets and liabilities are transferred to the Commission for the New Towns. The Commission is financed in the same way as a development corporation. Section 45 of the New Towns Act 1965 provides that any surplus made by the Commission may be required to be paid over to the Exchequer. So far the surpluses have not been considered such as to require any such payment.

The finance of expanding towns

237 Town expansion is generally undertaken by the receiving authority and the financing of the development is the responsibility of the authority under the ordinary local government legislation. A local authority can borrow from the Public Works Loan Board at the 'quota rate' (currently 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ % to 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ % depending upon period and method

of repayment) a proportion of their capital needs. Currently the 'quota' is either 30% of all long term borrowing within the year (40% for places in Scotland, Wales and the Northern Counties of England) or £100,000 whichever is the greater. For the rest local authorities have to borrow at the market rate. Currently, even if short-term borrowing is used to the maximum permitted extent, the average rate of borrowing is likely to be of the order of 7%.

238 The Housing Subsidies Bill provides for general housing subsidies which represent the excess of the annual loan charge for 60 years on the cost of each dwelling, calculated at a rate of interest to be specified by the Minister, over the charge calculated at 4% per annum. The rate of interest specified by the Minister will be based on average interest rates in the previous year. In a period of increasing interest rates this method of calculation could adversely affect expanding towns with their high rate of building although if interest rates fall they would be in a correspondingly advantageous position. As the rate of interest specified by the Minister can be different for different classes of recipient authorities it does not necessarily follow that new towns will obtain a relative advantage by reason of their lower rate of borrowing.

239 Under the Bill houses provided for town development may qualify for an additional housing subsidy of £12 per annum per dwelling for 10 years. This will be matched by an equivalent contribution from the authority of the exporting area where the provision of dwellings operates for the relief of housing need in that area. There are also grants under the Town Development Act 1952 of 50 per cent of expenditure on the provision of water and sewerage and sewage disposal facilities attributable to town development. The Town Development Act also gives the Minister of Housing and Local Government power (with the approval of the Treasury) to make financial contributions towards:

'expenses of acquiring land on which any of the development is carried out, or of acquiring land in substitution for land on which any of the development is carried out'; and 'expenses of site preparation and other works for making the area of land within which the accommodation is to be provided suitable for the provision and use thereof'.

This power has not been used.

The finance of new and expanding towns compared

240 In both new and expanding towns the development may not initially pay its way. In the case of the development corporations the large scale provision of basic services before remunerative development can take place is likely to mean heavy revenue deficits for a possibly lengthy period. In this respect they can sometimes be worse

off than an expanding town which may have some reserve capacity in existing services or at least have a basic provision which can be expanded more quickly and with less difficulty than starting from scratch. Expanding towns are under the normal discipline of local authorities in that they cannot borrow for revenue purposes save in the restricted circumstances allowed under the Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act 1963. Section 8 of this Act enables local authorities to suspend, for periods up to five years, provision for the repayment of loans for the construction of revenue-producing undertakings or for carrying out any other operations that may be described or specified by direction of the Minister. It also enables them to borrow to pay interest on such loans for the period of suspension. Housing, commercial and industrial development for town development purposes are considered to be operations for which a direction could be given. Apart from this the local authority must make good any revenue deficit attributable to its expansion by a charge on the rates. Development corporations have no rate fund to fall back on and the Government have refused to meet revenue deficits by way of grant. (The first generation of new towns and the first of the second generation were allowed a measure of assistance towards their revenue deficits in their first two years, partly by grant and partly by capitalisation, but these grants are no longer paid). A corporation is accordingly compelled to carry forward a revenue deficit and finance it out of working capital which it has to borrow from the Exchequer in the ordinary way. Given that grant is not available in either case, neither the local authority nor the development corporation have any other way in which they can deal with a revenue deficit. In one way or another the owners of the enterprise, whether rate payer or tax-payer, have to meet the full cost of the development including the financing of the revenue deficits.

241 From this account it would appear that there is only one distinct advantage in the way in which new towns are financed compared with expanding towns, i.e. the rate of interest at which they borrow.

The finance of social provision and amenities

242 In the new towns the general aim of the development corporations is to see that adequate facilities become available as the town increases in size to meet the needs of the population. The corporation's main role in this has been to negotiate with the appropriate interest or authority, to make land available, and where appropriate to give financial assistance. Whilst the very wide terms of the New Towns Acts make it possible for development corporations to carry out any building or other work necessary for the purposes of the town, limitation is placed on the exercise of this power. The Minister does

not expect a corporation to build churches, public houses, cinemas or the general range of buildings for commercial amusement. Nor will he authorise them to build schools, civic halls, swimming pools, and so forth, which are the statutory responsibility of a local authority and are properly rate-borne expenditure.

243 Corporations are encouraged to build meeting halls to serve areas of new rented housing built by them. The cost can be carried on the Housing Revenue Account and thus reflected in the rents charged. If, however, after discussion with the local authorities it is decided that a full scale community centre is needed to serve a wider area and to provide a much greater range of facilities, then the appropriate local authority is expected to undertake both the building and the management with suitable contributions from the corporation and, possibly, other sources.

244 Where land is being reserved for public playing fields, parks, play spaces, etc., corporations can normally undertake the clearing, levelling and other site preparation, leaving the final seeding, fencing, provision of buildings and equipment to be undertaken by the local authority. To some extent the cost of this work may be reflected in the price of the land when it is handed over to the local authority; the balance is normally chargeable to general development expenditure.

245 Development Corporations can with the Minister's consent make contributions to the local authorities or other bodies which supply the major amenities of up to £4 per head¹ calculated on the basis of the target population less the original population. These contributions are intended to make sure that proper and timely provision is made even though the rateable value of the town has not built up to the point at which the expenditure can be fully supported from the rates. The development corporations borrow money for this purpose since the contributions are normally charged to capital account. The local authorities or other bodies are responsible for maintenance costs. For minor items development corporations are authorised to spend at their own discretion up to £2,000 a year out of revenue.

246 Similar financial assistance is not available to local authorities in the case of Town Development or Housing Act schemes. They have statutory power to provide amenities out of revenue or borrowed moneys, and under enactments such as the Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937, the Public Health Acts and the Local Government Act 1948 they can make contributions to voluntary bodies for amenity purposes. No specific Exchequer grants are given for any provision under these Acts, though the expenditure does figure in the calculation of the rate support grant.

247 There is no doubt that amenity provision in new towns has received considerably more attention and resources than is generally

¹ The amount of this contribution is under review. Second Reading of the New Towns Bill, Hansard, 28th October 1966, Col. 1583.

the case in expanding towns. The '£4 a head and £2,000 a year' formula was introduced in 1963 as a means by which a total programme could be worked out for each new town. Development corporations have varied greatly in their expenditure but by 30th June 1965 over £700,000 out of a total 'allocation' of nearly £3 million had been spent on major amenities. For individual towns the allocation varies (according to size) from £66,000 to £266,000.

248 It should be noted, however, that though this expenditure is clearly a grant to the local authority or voluntary organisation it is not a grant to the development corporation. The cost has to be borne on the corporation's accounts. It is met from the income which is received from rents of commercial, industrial and residential property. Had a local authority been responsible for the development of the town they could have met the costs in the same way—and additionally from the rates. But this is precisely the position in expanding towns. On examination therefore, a new town is not *in principle* different from an expanding town. There is no doubt however that *in practice* new towns are considerably better provided with facilities than is common in expanding towns. The reason for this, we believe, is more related to the scale of the development, its planning and administration than to purely financial issues. There are, however, two qualifications to this. The procedure under which development corporations borrow money for major amenities and the lower rate of interest at which they borrow is a considerable advantage particularly in the early stages of development. Secondly, the contributions which the Development Corporation make towards amenities cannot be used for any other purposes, whereas expanding towns have to consider the need for similar expenditure against the numerous other demands on their resources.

Financial contributions and assistance to expanding towns

249 As was pointed out in Chapter 2, town expansion schemes usually involve several local authorities working in voluntary agreement—the local authority of the area undergoing expansion (typically a district council), the county council in whose area this district is located, and the exporting authority. Both the county council and the exporting authority can make financial contributions to the expanding town. The main statutory powers are to be found in the Town Development Act 1952 (Section 4, 8 and 10) and the Local Government Act 1958 (Section 56). The form which the financial arrangements take will depend on the nature of the development, the circumstances of the individual schemes and the policies of the local authorities concerned. The arrangements once made need not be static; they can be varied by subsequent agreements, and it is

always open to local authorities to offer assistance to meet a particular situation or need.

250 Financial arrangements vary greatly and we do not propose to set out a detailed summary. Instead we have selected for mention those arrangements which seem to us to be particularly worthy of study by all authorities involved in Town Development Act schemes. We discuss first the role played by exporting authorities.

Financial assistance by Exporting Authorities

251 Most exporting authorities contribute only housing subsidies to expanding towns with which they have an agreement, but the Greater London Council (in succession to the London County Council) provide a much wider variety of direct and indirect financial aids. Financial assistance is geared to meet the needs of each particular town but, though there are variations, their schemes can be divided into two types :

(i) Towns where the G.L.C.'s assistance is usually confined to direct financial aid.

Ashford, Aylesbury, Banbury, Basingstoke, Bletchley (first phase), Bury St. Edmunds, King's Lynn, Letchworth, Luton County Borough, St. Neots and Wellingborough (first phase) are in this category which the G.L.C. describe as 'nomination' schemes. The G.L.C.'s assistance usually consists of a contribution to meet the interest charges on land and houses prior to occupation by the London families and an annual payment for 10 years of half (or whole for 5 years) of the notional deficiency in the expanding towns housing revenue account, which is attributable to houses let to families nominated by the G.L.C. (This deficiency grant is based on a calculation made just before the houses are built.)

(ii) Towns where the G.L.C. are responsible for carrying out all or part of the development on an 'agency' basis.

Andover, Bletchley (second phase), Haverhill, Huntingdon, Luton Rural District, Melford, Mildenhall, Newmarket, Sudbury, Thetford, Wellingborough (second phase) and Witham fall into this category which the G.L.C. describe as 'agency' schemes. The G.L.C. usually finance the acquisition of land, site works and erection of houses, and sometimes factories. The local authority of the expanding town reimburse the G.L.C. when they take over the completed houses, but the G.L.C. bear the costs of interest charges on housing and housing land during the 'unproductive' period in so far as they are attributable to houses occupied by G.L.C. nominees. In the three earliest agreements (Haverhill, Huntingdon and Thetford), which were concluded at a time of what were then thought high interest rates, the L.C.C. made available maturity loans at $4\frac{1}{4}\%$ interest for a period of up to five

years. This concession has now been replaced by an undertaking to pay either for ten years half the annual notional deficiency or for 5 years the full notional deficiency in the Housing Revenue Account attributable to houses occupied by G.L.C. nominees.

252 Other features common to a number of the G.L.C. schemes are :

- (i) financial facilities towards the cost of town centre redevelopment (e.g. Andover, Basingstoke, Haverhill and Witham). The G.L.C. finance land acquisition and clearance until the sites become revenue producing, at which time the full cost, including interest charges, is repayable by the district councils.
- (ii) when the county council in whose area the expanding town is situated are willing to provide a guarantee to the receiving authority against the possibility of a heavy rate burden arising from town expansion, the G.L.C. agree to contribute half the amount paid by the county council under what is known as the 'rate-aid formula' clause of the agreement.

253 All schemes receive the benefit of the professional advice of the staff of the G.L.C.'s Valuer's Department which is available without charge to all receiving authorities and is invaluable in negotiations for the acquisition of land. The valuer is also responsible for the G.L.C. Industrial Centre which facilitates the movement of industry from London to the expanding towns. As a further aid to town expansion the G.L.C. allocate £3 million a year which is spent almost entirely on the acquisition of non-conforming industrial premises whose owners are willing to move from London to an expanding town.

Financial assistance by County Councils

254 Some county councils give no special financial assistance to expanding towns in their areas, but most make some kind of contribution. In Norfolk (Thetford), and Surrey (Frimley and Camberley) contributions have been made towards expenditure on water supplies and sewerage. In Staffordshire (all Birmingham agreements) and Gloucestershire (all Bristol agreements) the county councils pay additional housing subsidies. In Lancashire a formula has been devised under which the county council guarantee to meet the estimated rate in any year due to town development, subject to the rule that no contribution will be made which would reduce the local rate below the county average. Other counties concentrate their aid on particular social services and amenities. West Suffolk, for instance, in addition to financial assistance for sewers and sewage disposal has agreed to pay the salary of a Social Development Officer for Haverhill (the U.D.C. will provide office accommodation and clerical assistance) ; they also contribute towards the approved expenditure of all district councils in the county under the Physical Training and

Recreation Act 1937 and towards the cost of neighbourhood meeting halls on housing estates. Cheshire provide half the cost of appointing 'neighbourhood resettlement officers' as well as making lump sum grants for the provision of neighbourhood Social Centres.

The sharing of the financial burden

255 The types of financial aid outlined in the previous paragraphs have evolved in response to particular situations. The Greater London Council give a greater degree of financial assistance than any other exporting authority because they have found that substantial financial aid is essential if town expansion schemes are to go ahead on a significant scale. In this respect the relative lack of progress with some expansion schemes for provincial cities (particularly the long-distance schemes) is striking.

256 Whether it is equitable that exporting authorities *should* contribute in this way is a question on which opinions differ. Certainly provincial cities appear to regard the principle as inequitable. We have sympathy with this view. The major financial role assumed by the G.L.C. was forced on them by the necessity to make the Town Development Act work in order that they could proceed with their redevelopment programme. Where the will is not so strong the issue of principle apparently comes to the fore. Certainly there is a strong argument that the problems should be a national rather than a local responsibility. At the least they should be seen as a regional responsibility. In this connection the difference between London and the provincial conurbations needs underlining. The G.L.C. covers a region whereas in the provinces the exporting authority covers only the central part of the conurbation.

257 The role of county councils is much more difficult to assess, partly because they vary so much in wealth but also because they are involved in considerable expenditure on providing the normal county services in expanding towns. We have, however, noted the way in which relatively poor counties can, on occasion, give very considerable financial aid to expanding towns. West Suffolk is particularly noteworthy in this respect. Though expansion schemes are going ahead in six of the eleven County Districts, the County Council is giving assistance, both by way of grants and staff services, on a very extensive scale. It is clear that however important financial issues may be they are not the sole factor in explaining the difference between counties.

258 The form of the contributions given by different counties warrants some comment. The popularity of the additional housing subsidy lies in the fact that rents tend to be high particularly in relation to average wage levels. The 'Worsley formula' (whereby the local rate

is guaranteed not to rise above the county average by reason of the expansion scheme) provides a general grant-in-aid. Its attraction is that it enables the County to cushion the district council against a heavy rate burden while at the same time not inviting criticism from other district councils who may feel aggrieved that so much aid is going to particular areas. This can be a very important factor for counties. There is a strong body of evidence to show that in some areas expansion schemes (and, indeed, new towns and other forms of new communities) do tend to result in the deferral of improvements to services in other parts of a county.

259 Of particular relevance to our inquiry are the grants given by West Suffolk for the salary of a Social Development Officer and towards the cost of facilities and services provided under the Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937, and by Cheshire towards the cost of 'neighbourhood resettlement officers'. We think that these types of assistance could usefully be given by other county councils.

260 The exceptional financial assistance provided by the G.L.C. is of particular importance. In effect it shields an expanding town from the burden imposed by the unremunerative period before development begins to bring in income from rents and rates. It also offsets part of the high interest rates which in the early years can be crippling for a small town undergoing major expansion. It is no exaggeration to say that, without this financial assistance by the G.L.C. and its predecessors, many of the existing town development schemes would never have been started.

261 We have already stated our opinion that contributions from exporting authorities are of doubtful equity. It is also clear that there is little scope for any major increases in assistance from county councils who are already shouldering the cost of providing the normal county services in expanding towns though it would certainly be helpful if all provided the support given by the most progressive.

The new grant provisions

262 We have examined the provisions of the Local Government Act 1966 to see how far they will affect the financial position of expanding towns.

263 The principle underlying the new arrangements is that an aggregate of Exchequer aid will be fixed in advance as a percentage of estimated total local authority expenditure. Part of the Exchequer aid will then be allocated to specific grants, and the balance to the rate support grant.

264 So far as the new specific grants are concerned, the position is as follows:

(a) Grant for development and redevelopment

This grant is intended to assist authorities undertaking comprehensive redevelopment of areas of bad lay-out or obsolete development and associated relocation of population or industry or replacement of public open space. If the development or redevelopment includes amenity provisions the grant will cover the cost of the land for these provisions along with everything else. Grant, which is limited to 50%, will be paid on a loan charge basis, towards the cost of acquisition, clearing and preliminary development of land less than new use values accruing from time to time as the land is developed or disposed of. The new use value of land used for amenity provisions would normally be prevailing use value, i.e. shops, offices or housing, according to where the amenity land was located, but unless they are put where the peak values are, this is likely to be less than the original cost of the site, including any buildings on it, existing use rights, disturbance etc. An expanding town authority with a town centre needing comprehensive redevelopment in any case would be eligible for grant in the same way as any other town and the fact that expansion might bring forward the timing and enlarge the extent of the town centre would not exclude it. A new centre on virgin land in an expansion area, however, would not qualify.

(b) Grant for public open spaces

This grant will be paid towards the cost of acquiring land for public open space including parks and playing fields. This is wholly an amenity provision and expanding towns will benefit from it in the same way as all authorities. However, in view of the particular need for these amenities in expanding towns it will constitute a very real benefit to them.

(c) Grant for the reclamation of derelict land

This grant will be paid in respect of works of reclaiming or improving derelict, neglected or unsightly land. The intention is to bring the land into a condition in which it is suitable for development, or to a reasonable standard of amenity where development is not appropriate. Though there may be cases where expanding towns would be eligible for this grant it is unlikely to be of any general benefit.

265 It should be noted that there is no new specific grant towards the cost of amenity buildings, and it is clear that the policy is to keep the number of specific grants to the minimum (see, e.g. the Minister's statement in his speech on Second Reading, *H.C. Debates*, 14th June 1966, Col.1269). Furthermore, the introduction of a new specific grant would reduce the amount available for distribution through the rate support grant, and would thus be paid to the qualifying authorities at the expense of all the others.

266 The rate support grant itself is paid in aid of virtually the whole of the revenue expenditure of local authorities and not in respect of specific services. It will comprise three elements: a *needs element*,

very similar to the general grant but wider in scope, which will be distributed to county, county borough and London borough councils by reference to objective factors such as population, numbers of schoolchildren and miles of road; a *resources element*, virtually identical with the rate-deficiency grant but with a pre-determined national aggregate, which will be paid as a percentage of expenditure to authorities in whose areas a rate of one penny in the £ produces a smaller amount per head of population than average; and a new *domestic element* which will compensate rating authorities for the standard reduction in domestic rate poundages which they will be required to make.

267 The needs element as it stands makes no special provision for county councils with rapidly expanding populations, who have long contended that their rates are burdened by the need to spend money in advance of the intake population and schoolchildren by reference to which the greater part of the element is to be distributed, and to provide services at current standards and costs with a continuing burden higher than that in areas which are already developed. It is on these grounds that their proposal for a supplementary grant for expanding population was argued; but after consultation with the associations the Minister concluded that the case for a supplement had not been made (Official Report, Standing Committee F, 12th July 1966, columns 245—257).

268 So far as the resources element is concerned the position will vary between different expanding towns. Some of them will not qualify for it. Others, which will qualify initially because their existing property is of low value may find their grant diminishing as the proportion of new and more valuable property increases, and they may eventually cease to qualify.

269 In short, expanding towns will receive some additional benefit from the new grant arrangements, but it does not appear that their position will be greatly eased or that they will be affected any more significantly than other authorities.

The cost of providing community facilities and amenities

270 The facilities and amenities which are required for a new community and the cost of their provision depend on such factors as the scale and tempo of the development, the adequacy of existing provision and the population structure of the migrants. It was beyond our powers to investigate the social needs of each of the 60 or more expanding towns but it was clear from the evidence we received that lack of finance inhibited provision.

271 We were, however, provided with material by Haverhill, the Clerk of whose council is one of our members, which shows beyond

all doubt that even after 8 years of expansion the provision of recreational amenities will put a severe strain on the local rate payers.

272 Haverhill, which is a small town making big strides in population, started to expand in 1958 when the population was about 4,000. It is now about 10,250. According to the local planning authority's estimates, 40% to 45% of the inhabitants in the early 1970's (when the population will have reached 20,000) will be under 21 years of age. Unless new recreational facilities are provided within the next few years, there could be about 8,000 persons under 21 with very little opportunity for recreation, sports facilities already being in short supply and commercial provision being more or less non-existent.

273 According to a West Suffolk County Council report on sport and recreational facilities the immediate requirements for Haverhill are a centrally situated community centre/youth centre, a sports hall, an indoor swimming pool, three games pitches serving housing estates, two tenants' meeting rooms on housing estates and later, a second youth centre. We consider how the cost of providing these facilities will affect the local rates.

(a) Capital Costs—(tentative estimates only)

	Gross £	Contributions* £	Net £
Community Centre/Youth Centre	65,000	(County Council)	
Sports Hall	120,000	(County Council)	
Indoor Swimming Pool	130,000	43,000	87,000
Three games pitches	155,000	52,000	103,000
Two tenants' meeting rooms	37,000	12,000	24,000
Second Youth Centre	25,000	(County Council)	

* $\frac{1}{3}$ gross cost—from County Council

(b) Gross and Net Annual Costs—(tentative estimates only)

	Loan Charges £	Repairs & Maintenance £	Total £	Income £	Net £
Community Centre/ Youth Centre	(County Council)		—	—	—
Sports Hall	—	7,500	7,500	2,000	5,500
Indoor Swimming Pool	6,200	10,000	16,200	5,000	11,200
Three games pitches	7,350	1,500	8,850	550	8,300
Two tenants' meeting rooms	1,700	1,200	2,900	1,000	1,900
Second Youth Centre	(County Council)		—	—	—
					£26,900

(c) *Costs expressed in terms of rate poundage*—(tentative estimates only)

The cost of each scheme individually and the total expressed as in terms of rate poundage for the present population (10,250) and for the target population (18,500) is as follows :

Schemes involving the District Council	For population of :	
	10,250	18,500
Sports Hall	4·31d.	2·39d.
Indoor Swimming Pool	8·78d.	4·86d.
Three games pitches	6·50d.	3·60d.
Two tenants' meeting rooms	1·49d.	·82d.
	21·08d.	11·67d.

274 It is doubtful if a local authority can ask its rate payers to pay a rate of 1s. 9d. or even just 1s. 0d. for amenities particularly when the rate poundage is higher than the national average as the following shows.

	Haverhill U.D.C. Rate	Average U.D.C. Rate
1964/65	10/3	9/6
1965/66	11/6	10/7
1966/67	13/4	11/8

Yet in some ways Haverhill are better off than other expanding towns. They do not have to meet the cost of the housing development until there is an income from rents and rates and West Suffolk C.C. are prepared to meet one-third of the cost of the swimming pool and the whole of the cost of the sports hall.

275 The case of Haverhill (and we could quote other instances) which would be even more serious if county council help were not available, shows that the local authorities cannot provide the appropriate amenities at the appropriate time because the cost is too great. Clearly help is needed. We think that our conclusion in this matter is supported by the fact that the Development Corporations are allowed to contribute up to £4 per head of the new population towards amenity provision and are encouraged to be more generous in the early years. In our view this contribution whether made to a local authority or to a voluntary organisation is the equivalent of a grant as far as the local authority is concerned and emphasises the need for a specific amenity grant in approved areas.

Suspension of loan repayments

276 Under Section 8 of the Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act 1963, local authorities are empowered to suspend, for periods up to five years, the repayment of loans for the construction of revenue-producing undertakings or for carrying out any other operations approved by direction of the Minister. They may also borrow to pay interest on such loans for the period of suspension. Amenity provision is rarely revenue-producing and could thus be subject to these suspension provisions only if a Ministerial direction were given.

277 Our firm conclusion is that suspension provisions will not assist expanding towns in the early phases of development because of the very large increase in the total cost of the loan (and therefore in the annual loan charges) which follows suspension. This is illustrated in the following table.

**Additional cost of suspending provisions
for repayment and
borrowing to pay interest charges on a
loan raised for 60 years at 6½%**

Period of Suspension	Repayment by Annuity		Repayment by Equal Instalments of Principal	
	Increase in :		Increase in :	
	Total cost	Annual	Total cost	Average
	of loan	loan charges	of loan	annual loan charges
Years				
	%	%	%	%
1	4·5	6·3	4·9	6·8
2	9·2	13·0	10·2	14·0
3	14·2	20·1	15·7	21·9
4	19·2	27·8	21·4	30·1
5	24·7	35·9	27·4	39·1

Our recommendations

278 Our conclusion is that there is a strong case for additional assistance being given to expanding towns in respect of expenditure on the provision of community facilities and services. However, the case must not be overstated. Town development has its profitable aspects: it is not only unremunerative expenditure that has to be incurred. Nevertheless, the profitability is not likely to be early enough to meet the cost of amenity provision.

279 In framing our recommendations we have been conscious of the fact that our terms of reference, though specifically directed at 'community facilities and services', have been drawn widely, and we are particularly asked 'to consider administrative and financial problems arising in town development schemes, and to make recommendations'.

280 We have referred to the importance of adequate staffing in expanding towns (Chapter 5). The shortcomings both in the general administration of town expansion schemes and in the particular matter of planning and providing community facilities and services have stemmed essentially from the lack of an adequate financial base. This has resulted not only in difficulties of financing the necessary facilities but also in difficulties of planning them. All too frequently overburdened officers have to cope with more work than they can handle. Often the council are aware of the needs for which they cannot cater and they appreciate the magnitude of the problems facing them, but without adequate financial resources to appoint more staff, they are very limited in what they can do.

281 We doubt whether in the smaller town expansion schemes there can be justification for specialist staff operating in all aspects of the work. *In the previous chapter we recommended that the Minister should examine the possibility of encouraging the setting up of skilled teams who could assist local authorities undertaking town development. We now go further and recommend that the financial implications should be examined.*

282 Under Section 2 of the Town Development Act 1952 the Minister has power to make financial contributions towards the cost of acquisition and site preparation in respect of land on which any of the development is carried out.¹ This power has not been used. *We recommend that the Minister should make the maximum use of it in connection with the provisions of community facilities and services.* We recognise that grant under this heading could not extend to the provisions of buildings for amenity purposes. Even so, contributions in respect of expenditure on acquiring and preparing the site on which buildings are to stand would be useful.

283 We accept that not every expanding town has such a strong case for help as Haverhill. We appreciate that in some instances major expenditure on amenity provision may not have to be incurred until the income from rents and increased rateable values or the profits from industrial and commercial development are sufficient to meet the loan charges. The point is that if a town which is getting a fair degree of help from other local authorities needs help to provide amenities at this stage of its development so must other local author-

¹ The Minister also has power under the Local Government Act 1966 to contribute towards expenditure on acquiring land for public open space. (para. 269(b)).

ities. *We recommend that consideration should be given to the introduction of a specific but discretionary amenity grant particularly in the early years of expansion.* Each authority's case would need to be considered on its merits. For example, if an expanding town's estimates of the cost of providing amenities required at a particular stage of the expansion showed that, even after taking the profitable elements of expansion into account, the rate-poundage would have to be increased to an unreasonable extent then there would be a case for grant. Such a grant would be additional to any grant for which an authority might qualify under the Town Development Act 1952 or the Local Government Act 1966.

284 We understand that in assessing the new aggregate-cost housing subsidies certain items will be taken into account as admissible expenditure for subsidy purposes. *We recommend that the feasibility of treating expenditure on providing amenities, in particular meeting places, under Housing Act powers, as part of the housing costs for subsidy purposes should be considered in relation to expanding towns.*

285 We indicated in Chapter 4 that there is considerable scope for the provision of facilities which can be used both by schools and the community as a whole. This applies particularly to school playing fields, gymnasias, swimming pools, and assembly halls. Under the present financial framework, however, there are severe limits to what can be done. School building is subject to a very tight cost control which limits the accommodation which can be provided in any school by regard to the number of school places. The Department of Education and Science have stressed to us that while it may be possible to design the accommodation in a different way to facilitate community use there is no slack in the allocation which can be used to provide additional facilities. If these are to be provided, therefore, it will be necessary for capital to be made available from other sources and aggregated with the capital available for the school project in question.

286 We regard it as unfortunate that action which is generally regarded as being desirable should be inhibited by administrative and financial procedures. Planning for the shared use of facilities is not only inherently desirable, it is also, in total, cheaper. We repeat that though it is more expensive to provide a school with facilities which can be used by the community as a whole, it is even more expensive to provide duplicated and completely separate facilities.

287 The position is further complicated by the fact that grants under the Physical Training and Recreation Act are available only to voluntary organisations. *The administrative problem of co-ordinating the various financial arrangements is thus extremely complex. We strongly feel that the whole situation needs urgent review, and we recommend accordingly.*

Removal expenses

288 A paper (see Appendix F) provided by one of our members, Mr. N. F. E. Browning (Director of Town Development at Winsford) drew our attention to the difficulties which many families experience when they have to find the money for removal expenses. The G.L.C. are prepared to contribute to the expenses of a G.L.C. tenant moving to an expanding town but there is no other help available as far as we are aware either from Government or local authorities' sources. *We therefore recommend that the Ministry of Labour should consider the feasibility of a removal grant for persons moving from a congested area to an expanding town similar to the one which is paid to a redundant worker moving to a new area for employment reasons.*

289 The problems which we have discussed in this Chapter are no doubt being considered in a much broader framework by the Royal Commission on Local Government. We cannot, of course, anticipate the findings and recommendations of the Royal Commission but we would be surprised if they did not find themselves at several points discussing basically the same issues as we are raising here.

290 Finally we must stress that, although amenity provision is not usually regarded as a foremost priority in planned development or redevelopment schemes, the scale and pace of development in expanding towns, coupled with the abnormal age structure, make it far less easy for deficiencies to be accepted there than in communities which are growing more slowly. The desirable, in fact, becomes the necessary. It is clear to us that, if amenities are to be provided on a sufficient scale to avoid the unnecessary creation of social problems, Exchequer financial assistance is needed along the lines we have suggested.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and recommendations

291 Though we have been concerned in the main with the problems of providing community facilities and services in towns which are being expanded under the Town Development Act of 1952, much of our discussion will be equally relevant to other types of new communities. Similar problems exist in all large scale developments irrespective of the administrative framework within which they are undertaken. It is doing no more than state the obvious in saying that the task of building a new community is not finished when its houses, work and shops have been provided. Yet we are conscious that the real social needs of our times have often been imperfectly assessed and inadequately provided for.

Chapter 2

292 We are particularly disturbed by the inadequacy of the social provision in some of the large housing estates built on the periphery of big cities and the redevelopment areas within their boundaries. Though it was outside our terms of reference to examine the particular problems of these estates we have received more than sufficient evidence to indicate that they need urgent attention. We therefore recommend that a study should be undertaken of the social problems of large housing estates built under the Housing Acts and of redevelopment areas. (Paragraphs 38 to 51).

293 Adequate social provision for new communities can be planned only on the basis of a continuous flow of basic demographic, social and economic data. Though this is now being increasingly recognised far too little is being done to ensure that the data are in fact collected. We see here an important role for the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. We recommend, first, that the Ministry's statistical services be expanded and, secondly, that local authorities be urged and assisted to obtain the necessary information on the demographic, social and economic characteristics of families in new communities. (Paragraph 56).

294 New communities are characterised by the youthfulness of their populations. This is a fact which must be accepted and planned for. There is considerable scope for attracting elderly people to new developments, and this would be of real benefit to the elderly people themselves, to the new communities and to the areas from which the elderly people move. (Paragraphs 63 to 71).

Chapter 3

295 Families moving to new communities need some assistance in 'settling in'. Where there is an existing community special attention needs to be given to social integration. Careful planning and good public relations are essential from the very beginning.

Chapter 4

296 In planning for the social needs of a new community it is useful to think in terms of a hierarchy of social facilities. We recommend that further study should be made of this concept with a view to the preparation of a Planning Bulletin for the guidance of local authorities. (Paragraphs 99 to 102).

297 Because of their age-structure new communities make heavy demands on the health services. This necessitates advance planning and provision and, because of the administrative structure of the health services, good co-ordination between the different branches of the service. Health centres in which increasing interest is being shown and clinics have a particularly useful role to play in new communities and provide a means for facilitating a co-ordinated service. Guidance on the design of local authority health clinics is given in a Ministry of Health *Local Authority Building Note*. We particularly support the view expressed in the *Note* that there is considerable scope for multi-purpose use of such buildings. (Paragraphs 103 to 110).

298 The young parents with young children who form a high proportion of the population in new communities tend to rely heavily on help from the social services. We recommend that the local authorities responsible for these services should at the outset of the expansion provide a central office conveniently located from which varying kinds of personal help and advice can be sought. Since the reception authority should know through their housing management which families are likely to need support we recommend that there should be close consultation at a very early stage of the expansion between the reception authority and the county child care and welfare services. In this way problems can be tackled before they reach serious proportions. (Paragraphs 111 to 118).

299 There is an urgent need in new communities for day-nurseries and nursery schools. We recommend that when the official policy of restricting such provision is reviewed, special consideration should be given to the new communities. In the meantime local authorities should review the provision for pre-school children in their areas and assess what further provision can be made within the constraints of current policy either by themselves or by voluntary bodies. (Paragraphs 119 to 125).

300 Special attention must be paid in new communities to school provision. The extent of the need can be very great indeed. Resort may have to be had to temporary classrooms but the difficulties involved should not be overlooked. Where some of the newcomers require denominational schools it is important that this need should be anticipated and that consultations be made with the appropriate authorities. (Paragraphs 126 to 130).

301 There is a very wide range of powers enabling local authorities to provide recreation facilities. It is important that the abnormal age structure of new communities should be borne in mind when planning these facilities. Facilities for older children and teenagers may not be required on an extensive scale in the early stages of development but the need for them develops rapidly. The immediate task is to sow and foster the seeds of growth in order that a rapid and durable expansion can take place as the youth in the new community increases. (Paragraphs 131 to 134).

302 We understand that a review of recreational standards is under way. When this is complete and guidelines are issued reference should be made to the special needs of new communities. (Paragraphs 137 to 145).

303 Opportunities for play are essential for the normal growth and development of a child. Provision for play spaces should form an integral part of the design for a new community. We find ourselves unable to propose standards mainly because we think that a much deeper study is needed of the issues involved. We recommend that this should be considered by the Minister of Housing and Local Government and the Secretary of State for Education and Science. (Paragraphs 146 to 154).

304 Consideration should be given to a much more extensive sharing of recreational facilities. To permit this on the desired scale it is necessary to allow for shared use at the planning stage. This applies particularly to school facilities which can be extensively used out of school hours. (Paragraphs 155 to 157).

305 Meeting places need careful planning both in respect to design and location. The major needs are for small local 'non-specialist' meeting places and for centrally situated meeting places where more specialist activities (attracting people from a wide area) can be undertaken. (Paragraphs 158 to 162).

306 Early consultations are required with the G.P.O. to assist them in the planning and provision of public telephone kiosks, sub-post offices and letter boxes. (Paragraphs 163 to 168).

Chapter 5

307 Much greater attention needs to be paid to the planning and provision of social services and community facilities in new communities. All new communities require a master plan for physical development but this should be accompanied by a Social Development Plan and Programme. We envisage that this should be concerned not only with the provision of physical amenities, but also with the staffing of services. (Paragraphs 173 to 189).

308 The inadequacy of social and community provision in new communities is partly the result of inadequate staffing and of failure to change administrative structures and processes. We recommend that all authorities undertaking town development schemes should review their administration and, where no special Development Committee has been established, should consider setting one up. Each scheme also needs a Director or Manager of Town Development. (Paragraphs 190 to 195).

309 The technical staff needed for the planning of a new community may not be obtainable by a relatively small local authority. To meet this problem, in so far as the London schemes are concerned, the Greater London Council has set up an organisation which enables it to place at the disposal of expanding towns the necessary technical services on an agency basis. Lancashire County Council have dealt with the problem by establishing an Estate Development Team to render assistance to any district council undertaking town development within the Administrative County. We are impressed by the success of these schemes and we recommend that the Minister should examine the possibility of encouraging the setting up in other regions of similar organisations whose services would be available to local authorities undertaking town development. (Paragraph 196).

310 There is great advantage for a new community in having a Social Facilities Committee which is concerned with social facilities as a whole. Such a committee should, in our view, be broadly based. Its membership should consist of representatives of the district and county council, the exporting authority, voluntary bodies, local industry, and, where a private developer is responsible for a large part of the building programme, a representative of the firm concerned. (Paragraphs 197 to 199).

311 Voluntary organisations have an important part to play in the development of new communities. This can be greatly enhanced if there is a local Council of Social Service which can draw the voluntary

bodies together and afford them a forum for discussion and a basis for common action. (Paragraph 200).

312 The first need of families moving to a new community is for information—about tenancy agreements, schools, shops, bus services, local facilities and so forth. There should also be some procedure by which prospective tenants can visit the town and the type of house which they might occupy. We fully support the proposal for the appointment of an Arrivals Officer who would be responsible for this and for welcoming newcomers to the area. (Paragraphs 201 and 202).

313 If the Housing Manager is seen by the newcomers as efficient and approachable then a family with a problem has the initial security of knowing one person to whom they can turn. This is not to suggest that the Manager or his staff have to do social work but they can make the vital link between the tenant and the appropriate social service. Where the local authority do not have a separate housing management department we recommend that one should be set up with a trained and experienced manager. (Paragraphs 204 to 209).

314 Good housing management and the appointment of an Arrivals Officer is not, however, sufficient. Having examined the role of Social Relations Officers in new towns we strongly recommend that in addition such posts should be created in all expanding towns. The responsibilities to be placed on them and their departments should include social planning and advice, public relations, community development and research and information. (Paragraphs 210 to 219).

315 There is no recognised training for Social Relations Officers and we recommend that the Minister should explore the possibilities for training attachments with Social Relations Officers in existing new towns and of mounting a short course at a University. (Paragraphs 220 and 221).

Chapter 6

316 All areas undergoing rapid expansion are faced with the problem of meeting, at an early stage, increasing expenditure which is not matched by a similar increase in income. Town expansion is not, of course, without its profitable aspects, but we have no hesitation in giving our opinion that the current financial provisions are inadequate. Though expanding towns will receive some additional benefit from the new grant arrangements, it does not appear that their position will be greatly eased or that they will be affected any more significantly than other authorities.

317 The concentration of development in an expanding town poses acute difficulties for county councils. Other parts of a county may feel aggrieved if they see resources being channelled to one particular area which is taking population from outside the county. This problem

arises particularly in relation to the school-building programme. We recommend that the Department of Education and Science should, when notifying local education authorities of the amount of new school building which they may carry out, indicate what has been added to the county programme specifically to meet the needs of town expansion. (Paragraph 232).

318 We have looked into the financial assistance given by exporting authorities and county councils to expanding towns. We note in particular the success which has attended the schemes which have received very considerable financial aid from the Greater London Council. We think that this clearly underlines the inadequacy of the normal financial arrangements but we cannot find ourselves able to recommend that other exporting authorities should do likewise. This is not because we appreciate that they are unlikely to be either able or willing to assist on the same scale but also because we are not convinced of the equity of the principle involved. (Paragraphs 249 to 253).

319 So far as aid from county councils is concerned, though there is little scope for major increases we urge that all should review the assistance which they give to expanding towns in their areas and to compare this with the assistance given by other counties. There is no doubt in our minds that some county councils could give more assistance than they are currently doing. (Paragraph 254).

320 We have also examined the question of the suspension of loan repayments to see whether an extension of this procedure would be of benefit to expanding towns in the early stages of development. Our conclusion is that it would not. (Paragraphs 276 and 277).

321 The lack of an adequate financial base can result not only in difficulties of financing the necessary facilities but also in difficulties in planning them. We doubt whether in the smaller town expansion schemes there can be justification for specialist staff operating in all aspects of the work. In Chapter 5 we recommend that the Minister should examine the possibility of encouraging the setting up of skilled teams who could assist local authorities undertaking town development. We now recommend that the financial implications of setting up such teams should be examined. (Paragraphs 280 and 281).

322 We consider that the finance of large-scale population movements is a national responsibility and that more Exchequer aid is necessary. We have two recommendations to make which can be implemented under current legislation.

323 First we recommend that the Minister of Housing and Local Government should seek Treasury approval for making full use of his powers under section 2 of the Town Development Act 1952 to contribute towards the cost of land acquisition and site works in connection with amenity provision. (Paragraph 282).

324 Secondly we recommend that the feasibility of treating ex-

penditure on amenities provided under the Housing Act 1957 as admissible expenditure for the purposes of calculating the new housing subsidies should be considered. (Paragraph 284).

325 Though expenditure on land acquisition and site works is eligible for Exchequer grant there is no provision for grant towards local authority expenditure on amenity buildings. We accept that not all authorities at all stages of the development of new communities will need financial assistance towards the provision of such buildings. We recommend that consideration should be given to the introduction of a specific but discretionary amenity grant particularly in the early years of expansion, each case to be decided on its merits. (Paragraph 283).

326 We were dismayed by the procedural difficulties involved in financing the provision of recreational facilities with a view to their shared use by schools and the community as a whole. This situation is further complicated by the fact that grants under the Physical Training and Recreation Act are available only to voluntary organisations. We feel strongly that the whole situation needs urgent review. (Paragraphs 285 to 287).

327 Our attention has been drawn to the difficulties experienced by families in finding money for removal expenses. We recommend that the Ministry of Labour should consider the feasibility of a removal grant for persons moving from a congested area to an expanding town. (Paragraph 288).

The Royal Commission on Local Government for England

328 Our recommendations are made in the light of the existing local authority structure. We have been very conscious of the fact that the Royal Commission will be examining some of the issues which we have considered but within a much wider context than that of our inquiry. We urge that the Royal Commission should give special consideration to the financial and administrative problems involved in town development schemes and peripheral development schemes. In particular we would like to draw their attention to :

- (a) the administrative complications when a big city develops outside its own boundaries and the often consequent lack of attention to social planning which in turn can lead to social problems.
- (b) the need for specialist staff in town expansion schemes. Few local authorities can afford to pay the salaries required for people with the right training and experience. The G.L.C. have set up a special organisation which is placed at the disposal of the towns with which they have agreements. It is, however, doubtful if any of the other major exporting authorities are in a

- position to give help on a similar scale. This could only come from regional authorities with powers comparable to those of the G.L.C.
- (c) the G.L.C. give a greater degree of financial assistance than do any other exporting authority. This has enabled the London expanding towns to achieve much greater results than the towns building houses for people from the provincial cities. Again it is doubtful if the latter are in a position to give the financial help which is required, particularly during the early years of expansion, if town development schemes are to make progress on a noticeable scale.

The need for research

329 We have covered a very wide field during the course of our inquiry. At many points we have not been able to examine the issues involved as deeply as we would have wished. Furthermore, we were constantly struck by the lack of research which has been and is being undertaken. The amount of resources being invested in new developments is enormous, yet the amount being allocated to research is tiny. We now have considerable experience in developing new communities and in providing for social needs, albeit in an ad hoc way. Relatively modest sums spent on research could turn the results of experience into guidelines for more effective planning in the future.

Housing without Amenities

330 We cannot end this report without recording our absolute conviction that to build houses without parallel provision of community facilities and amenities will result in the unnecessary creation of social problems. This short-term saving in local authority expenditure may well turn out to be a false economy. What is saved and more may have to be spent by the personal social services in the rescue of families in distress.

331 We, of course, accept that in times of economic difficulties there have to be cuts in public spending. Even so, people living in new communities tend to need more support than people living in established areas and at least a modicum of provision (e.g. local meeting places) should be permitted at the outset of an expansion scheme to enable the newcomers to establish a framework of relationships within which they can settle down comfortably. Also if a town which has no or very little social capital has reached the stage where it has a high proportion of youngsters in the population provision should be made for their leisure-time activities. The alternatives could be at best aimlessness and boredom ; at worst vandalism and delinquency.

Acknowledgments

332 We would like to acknowledge the assistance given to us by our joint secretaries, Miss L. Machell and Mr. K. F. A. Cain. They have efficiently dealt with an enormous weight of evidence and have very considerably eased our work. We wish to record our indebtedness to them for their excellent service.

Appendix A : List of local authorities, organisations and individuals from whom evidence has been received

Local Authorities

Andover M.B.
 Banbury M.B.
 Basingstoke M.B.
 Bedford C.C.
 Buckingham C.C.
 Bury St. Edmunds M.B.
 Camberley U.D.
 Cheshire C.C.
 Durham C.C.
 Ellesmere Port M.B.
 Essex C.C.
 Felling U.D.
 Frimley and Camberley U.D.
 Gloucestershire C.C.
 Greater London Council
 Hampshire C.C.
 Haverhill U.D.
 Hertfordshire C.C.
 Heywood M.B.
 Huntingdon and Godmanchester M.B.
 Huntingdon and Peterborough C.C.
 Hyde M.B.
 Kirkby U.D.
 Lancashire C.C.
 Letchworth U.D.
 Liverpool C.B.C.
 Manchester C.B.C.
 Norfolk C.C.
 Northamptonshire C.C.
 St. Neots U.D.
 Swindon M.B.
 Thetford M.B.
 Watford R.D.
 West Suffolk C.C.
 Whiston R.D.
 Winsford U.D.
 Worsley U.D.

Local Organisations

Andover

Andover Churches Consultative Committee

Women's Royal Voluntary Service

Aylesbury

Aylesbury and District Business and Professional Women's Club

Aylesbury and District Chamber of Commerce

Aylesbury and District Soroptimists Club

Aylesbury Industrial Group

Basingstoke

Citizen's Advice Bureau

Workers Educational Association

Bury St. Edmunds

Bury St. Edmunds Council of Churches

Bury St. Edmunds Towns-women's Guild

Ellesmere Port

Ellesmere Port Industrial Executives Association

Wolverham Welfare Association

Liverpool

Liverpool Personal Service Society

National organisations

Association of Chief Education Officers and Association of Education Officers

Association of Children's Officers

Association of County Medical Officers of Health of England and Wales

British Medical Association

British Council of Churches

County Welfare Officers' Society

Health Visitors Association

Institute of Personnel Management

Institute of Welfare Officers

Kindergartens for Commerce

National Association of Chief Education Welfare Officers

National Association of Probation Officers

National Association of Youth Service Officers

National Federation of Community Associations

National Corporation for the Care of Old People

National Old People's Welfare Council

Royal College of Midwives

Society of Medical Officers of Health

Society of Mental Welfare Officers

Society of County Treasurers

Social and Economic Affairs Committee of the Religious Society of Friends

Town and Country Planning Association

Individuals

Mr B. G. H. Brooke-Taylor, Social Development Officer, Dawley New Town

Mr L. Cockerill, Haverhill

Mr Eldon Griffiths, M.P.

Mr J. Lester, Haverhill

Mr C. E. MacCormack, Social Relations Officer, Stevenage New Town

Mrs I. Sharman, Haverhill

Mrs Margaret Stacey, University College of Swansea

Mr Wyndham Thomas, Director of the Town and Country Planning Association

Mr L. E. White, Social Liaison Officer, Harlow New Town

Government Departments

Department of Education and Science

General Post Office

Ministry of Health

Ministry of Housing and Local Government

Appendix B: Expansion schemes carried out under the Town Development Act 1952

Name of town	Population at start of scheme (town map area)	Planned increase		Target population where known and approximate date	Houses completed at 30.6.1966	Houses still to be built	Remarks
		In terms of people	In terms of local authority houses				
London Schemes							
Andover	18,000	21,000	6,000	48,000 1981	377	5,623	
Aylesbury	23,500	10,500	3,000	42,000 1970	1,258	1,742	
Ashford	28,000	14,875	4,250	52,235 1978	619	3,631	
Banbury	21,000	7,000	2,000	40,000 1974	610	1,390	See also Birmingham Schemes
Basingstoke	30,200	40,250	11,500	86,390 1981	2,147	9,353	
Bletchley	10,200	10,500	3,000	25,000 1974	2,524	476	
Bury St. Edmunds	22,000	10,500	3,000	40,000 1981	511	2,489	
Canvey Island	12,500	1,449	414	16,000 —	414	—	Completed 1962
Frimley and Camberley	23,000	4,119	1,177	36,000 1971	1,177	—	Completed 1964
Grantham	25,400	1,750	500	36,130 1981	—	500	
Great Cornard (Melford R.D.)	2,590	2,625	750	6,550 1981	106	644	
Haverhill	4,500	10,500	3,000	18,920 1971	1,272	1,728	
Houghton Regis (Luton R.D.)	23,500 ¹	4,886	1,396	— —	1,396	—	Completed 1962
Huntingdon	8,200	8,575	2,450	21,560 1973	1,163	1,243	
King's Lynn	20,400	12,250	3,500	53,600 1981	553	2,947	
Letchworth	23,000	6,125	1,750	34,000 1973	639	1,111	
Luton C.B.	123,000	3,500	1,000	210,000 1981	1,000	—	Completed 1965
Mildenhall	24,000	7,000	2,000	35,000 1978	43	1,957	
Newmarket	11,350 ¹	3,500	1,000	— ² —	—	1,000	
Peterborough	63,780 ¹	1,050	300	172,000 1981	52	248	Pilot Scheme before expansion under New Town Acts machinery
St. Neots	5,000	7,000	2,000	14,000 1981	303	1,674	
Sudbury	6,550	5,250	1,500	13,000 1981	—	1,500	
Swindon	69,700	21,000	6,000	109,000 1971	7,114	—	Swindon are continuing to build beyond original planned increase
Thetford	5,000	10,500	3,000	18,500 1971	1,101	1,899	
Wellingborough	30,700	10,500	3,000	49,000 1972	342	2,658	
Witham	9,900	10,500	3,000	26,100 1981	—	3,000	
London Schemes Totals	644,970	246,704	70,487	— —	24,721	46,813	

Expansion schemes carried out under the Town Development Act 1952

Name of town	Population at start of scheme (town map area)	Planned increase		Target population where known and approximate date	Houses completed at 30.6.1966	Houses still to be built	Remarks
		In terms of people	In terms of local authority houses				
Birmingham schemes agreed:							
Aldridge	38,000*	7,000	2,000		512	1,488	
Banbury	21,000	1,207	345	40,000 1974	235	110	See also London Schemes
Brownhills	21,590*	1,400	400*		404	NK	Amalgamated with Aldridge U.D.C. 1.4.1966
Cannock U.D.	41,730*	1,750	500		430	70	
Daventry	6,000	17,500	5,000	25,000 1981	49	4,951	Possible target 35,000 by 1981
Droitwich	8,500	7,000	2,000	30,000 1981	—	2,000	
Leek	19,290*	350	100		—	100	
Lichfield M.B.	10,890*	4,200	1,200		514	686	
Lichfield R.D.	42,580*	1,750	500		66	434	
Rugeley	11,710*	1,050	300		111	189	
Stafford M.B.	41,220*	2,625	750		320	430	
Stafford R.D.	19,580*	1,050	300		—	300	
Tamworth	13,370*	5,950	1,700		646	1,054	
Tutbury	15,280*	210	60		40	20	
Uttoxeter	7,580*	700	200		200	—	Completed 1965
Weston-Super-Mare	40,300*	3,150	900		383	517	
Birmingham schemes totals	358,620	56,892	16,255	— — —	3,910	12,349	

*Population of local authority area

Expansion schemes carried out under the Town Development Act 1952

Name of town	Population at start of scheme (town map area)	Planned increase In terms of people	In terms of local authority houses	Target population where known and approximate date	Houses completed at 30.6.1966	Houses still to be built	Remarks
Wolverhampton schemes agreed:							
Cannock R.D.	31,540 ¹	420	120		78	42	Completed 1964
Seisden	22,314 ¹	5,411	1,546		1,546	—	No longer a receiving authority
Tettenhall ²	10,060 ¹	1,050	300		131	—	Completed 1966
Wednesfield ²	17,140 ¹	8,575	2,450		2,450	—	Completed 1966
Totals	81,054	15,456	4,416		4,205	42	
Liverpool schemes agreed:							
Ellesmere Port	38,100	19,250	5,500	77,975 1971	1,099	4,401	Winsford started as a Manchester scheme but an agreement was subsequently made with Liverpool. Now houses are being let only to Liverpool families
Widnes	51,700	13,055	3,730	77,500 1971	—	3,730	
Winsford	12,500 ¹	55,834	6,220 ³	70,1474 1986	1,009	5,211	
Totals	102,300	88,134	15,450	225,622	2,108	13,342	
Salford scheme agreed:							
Worsley	27,000 ¹	15,767	4,505	51,000 1971	4,480	25	

Manchester schemes agreed:						
Crewe	54,000	14,000	4,000	70,000	1971	4,000
Macclesfield	38,750	4,375	1,250	46,500	1971	903
Winsford						See Liverpool
Totals	92,750	18,375	5,250	116,500		4,903
Newcastle schemes agreed:						
Seaton Valley (Cramlington)	5,200	39,998	11,428	60,500	1971	158
Long Benton (North Killingworth)	200	11,497	3,285	18,000	1971	84
Totals	5,400	51,495	14,713	78,500		242
						14,471
Bristol schemes agreed:						
Keynsham	8,921	2,247	642	18,550	1971	642
Sodbury	40,810	476	136	52,200	1971	136
Thornbury	26,830	1,750	500	38,800	1971	500
Warmley	14,500	3,500	1,000	21,600	1971	1,000
Totals	91,061	7,973	2,278	131,150		2,278

¹Population of Local Authority area.

²The major parts of these local authority areas were amalgamated with Wolverhampton on 1.4.66.

Winsford

The planned development is for half the houses to be owner/occupied (6,220) and half L.A. to rent.

⁴The planned increase shown is intake population only. Natural increase in the original population is estimated at 1,555.

Appendix C : Services or facilities which may be provided by Local Authorities

Services or facilities	Statutory powers	Authorities who can exercise powers
Apparatus for games and recreation	Public Health Acts Amendment Act 1907. Section 76(1)	County Borough and County District Councils
Bands or Orchestras	Local Government Act 1948. Section 132	County Borough and County District Councils
Bathing Huts etc.	Public Health Act 1936. Section 232	County District Councils
Baths and Wash-Houses	Public Health Act 1936. Section 221 (a), 222, 225(1) and 230	County District Councils and Parish Councils
Boating Pools and Lakes	Public Health Act 1961. Section 54(1), (2) and (3)	County District Councils and Parish Councils
Buildings and Land for the use of social, athletic or educational organisations	Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4(1)	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Camping Sites	Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4(1)	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Community Centres	Education Act 1944. Section 41 Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4. Housing Act 1957. Section 93	County and County Borough Councils County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils County Borough and County District Councils
Concert Halls	Local Government Act 1948. Section 132	County Borough and County District Councils
Child Care : advice, guidance and assistance to families	Children and Young Persons Act 1963. Section 1	County and County Borough Councils
Dance Halls	Local Government Act 1948. Section 132	County Borough and County District Councils

Education, full-time or part-time for persons over compulsory school leaving age	Education Act 1944. Section 41	County and County Borough Councils
Entertainment or Dancing Facilities	Local Government Act 1948. Section 132	County Borough and County District Councils
Exclusive use by club or other body of part of park or pleasure ground set apart for cricket, football or other games	Public Health Act 1961. Section 52(2)	County Borough and County District Councils
Gymnasiums	Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4(1)	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Halls, Offices and Other Buildings within or outside the local authority's area for the local authority's use and for public meetings and assemblies	Local Government Act 1933. Section 125(1)	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Handicapped Persons, Services for	National Assistance Act 1948. Section 29	County and County Borough Councils
Holiday Camps	Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937. Section 4(1).	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Homes for the elderly, infirm, etc.	National Assistance Act 1948. Section 21	County and County Borough Councils
Information Centres	Local Government Act 1948. Section 134	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Lectures or Instruction, etc. on questions relating to local government	Local Government Act 1948. Section 135	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Leisure Time Occupation for persons over compulsory school leaving age	Education Act 1944. Section 41	County and County Borough Councils
Libraries	Public Libraries and Museums Act 1964	County and County Borough Councils and some County District Councils

100 **Appendix C : Services or facilities which may be provided by Local Authorities—continued**

Services or facilities	Statutory powers	Authorities who can exercise powers
Local Authority Health Services	National Health Service Act 1946	County and County Borough Councils ; and those authorities exercising delegated Health and Welfare Powers, by virtue of the Local Government Act 1958, Section 46
(a) Day Nurseries	Section 22	
(b) Domestic Help	Section 29	
(c) Domiciliary Midwives	Section 23	
(d) Health Centres	Section 21	
(e) Health Visitors	Section 24	
(f) Home Nursing	Section 25	
(g) Maternal and Child Welfare Clinics		
(h) Prevention of illness and care and after-care of persons suffering from illness including Mental Disorder	Section 22	
Meals and recreation for old people	National Assistance Act 1948 (Amendment) Act 1962, Section 31	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Museums and Art Galleries	Public Galleries and Museums Act 1964	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Nursery Schools	Education Act 1944, Section 9	County and County Borough Councils
Open Spaces and Burial Grounds	Open Spaces Act 1906, Section 9	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Pavilions and Other Buildings	Public Health Acts Amendment Act 1907, Section 76(1)	County Borough and County District Councils

Playgrounds : Use of Roads as		Road Traffic Act 1960. Section 49	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Playing Fields—Football and Cricket Pitches, etc.		Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4(1)	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Pleasure Grounds		Public Health Act 1875. Section 164	County Borough and County District Councils
Premises suitable for entertainment		Local Government Act 1948. Section 132	County Borough and County District Councils
Public Walks		Public Health Act 1875. Section 164	County Borough and County District Councils
Reading Rooms		Public Health Acts Amendment Act 1907. Section 76(1).	County Borough and County District Councils
Recreation and Social and Physical Training in connection with primary, secondary and further education		Education Act 1944. Section 53(1)	County Borough and County District Councils
Recreation Grounds		Local Government Act 1894. Section 8(1) Housing Act 1957. Section 93(1)	Parish Councils County Borough and County District Councils
Refreshment Rooms in Parks		Public Health Acts Amendment Act 1907. Section 76(1)	County Borough, and County District Councils
Shops in connection with housing accommodation provided by the Local Authority		Housing Act 1957. Section 93(1)	County Borough and County District Councils
Skating Facilities		Public Health Acts Amendment Act 1907. Section 76(1)	County Borough and County District Councils
Swimming Baths and Bathing Places		Public Health Act 1936. Sections 221 (b), 222, 225(1) and 230 Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4(3)	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils County Councils
Temporary Accommodation for homeless families		National Assistance Act 1948. Section 21(b)	County and County Borough Councils

Appendix C : Services or facilities which may be provided by Local Authorities—*continued*

Services or facilities	Statutory powers	Authorities who can exercise powers
Theatres	Local Government Act 1948. Section 132	County Borough and County District Councils
Wardens, Teachers and Leaders	Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937. Section 4(1)	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Youth Centres	Education Act 1944. Section 53	County and County Borough Councils
General Powers		
Enabling a local authority to erect, construct or carry out any building or work on land held under the Planning and Town Development Acts when no other powers are available	The Town and Country Planning Act 1962. Section 79	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Enabling a local authority to erect any building and construct or carry out works on land for the benefit or improvement of their area. They may use Sections 157 or 158 of the Local Government Act 1933 to acquire land for the purpose	The Local Authorities (Land) Act 1963. Section 2	County, County Borough and County District Councils
Enabling a local authority to incur expenditure which is not otherwise authorised as long as it does not exceed 1d. rate product for the year. The expenditure can be for any purpose in the interests of the local authority's area or its inhabitants	Local Government (Financial Provisions) Act 1963. Section 6	County, County Borough, County District and Parish Councils
Enabling a local authority to provide and maintain shops, recreation grounds or other buildings or land in connection with the provision of Housing Accommodation	Housing Act 1957. Section 93	County Borough and County District Councils

Appendix D : The administration of town development

A. Expanding towns receiving London population

1 The arrangements which are in operation for the London schemes are broadly as set out below.

2 For each scheme there is a joint committee of representatives of the receiving authority, the county council and the Greater London Council. The usual representation is—receiving authority, four members; county council, three members and the Greater London Council, three members. On one or two joint committees the receiving authority has appointed more than four representatives.

3 The Clerk of the receiving authority is Clerk of the joint committee except in the case of the joint committees for Andover and Basingstoke where the Town Clerk and the Clerk of the Hampshire County Council are Joint Clerks.

4 Basingstoke Joint Committee is the only committee which has delegated powers, the remainder being advisory.

5 Apart from Basingstoke where a development group has been established—the actual arrangements are described in detail later in the Appendix—Andover, Bletchley and Wellingborough are the only towns which have appointed Town Development Officers.

6 In addition to meetings of the joint committees there are frequent meetings of officers of the authorities and the Government Departments concerned.

7 The Greater London Council's town development team comprises officers from the Clerk's, Treasurer's, Architect's and Valuer's and Housing Departments. Specialist advice from other departments can be called upon when required. The team is able to advise and assist any of the authorities undertaking town expansion in partnership with the Greater London Council.

8 For many of the smaller authorities, which have not got the staff or facilities available, the Greater London Council will act as agents carrying out the architectural work, letting contracts, supervising construction etc. The Greater London Council will provide the initial finance for acquisition of land, the constructional work etc., the receiving authority reimbursing the Greater London Council when the houses and factories become revenue earning.

9 Further details of the arrangements made in the case of two towns with agreements with the Greater London Council follow :

10 Haverhill

The parties to the Agreement for the expansion of Haverhill are the Greater London Council (formerly the London County Council) and the Haverhill Urban District Council. A Joint Committee, consisting of four members of each of these two Councils, plus four members of the West Suffolk County Council (the local planning authority) meets approximately three times a year, in London and in Haverhill alternately. There is no form of constitution setting up the Joint Committee, it has no specific terms of reference, and none of the individual Councils has delegated any of its functions to the Joint Committee. In practice, the Committee keeps under review the progress being made with the expansion scheme with regard to housing, industry, and educational, recreational and social facilities; it also considers house plans and layout plans, together with estimates of cost, of all proposed new housing developments and studies reports and plans for the re-development of the Town Centre. It makes recommendations on all these matters to the three constituent authorities, and in general these recommendations are adopted by them. The Joint Committee employs no officers, but those officers of the three local authorities who are concerned with the expansion scheme attend meetings of the Committee and report fully on any aspect of their work which is under discussion; they also deal with any questions.

The officers of the Haverhill Council have very frequent meetings with the officers concerned of the other two local authorities on various aspects of the town expansion scheme, particularly in connection with the current housing schemes. These meetings are convened as required; they usually take place in Haverhill but occasionally they are held in London. In addition to meetings of officers of the local authorities among themselves, the officers have meetings from time to time with representatives of Government Departments, and also of such bodies as the Gas, Water and Electricity undertakings, the Post Office (both as regards postal facilities and telephones), and the River Authority to keep them informed on matters connected with the progress of the expansion scheme.

It will be seen from the above that the administrative arrangements are very loosely drawn, but they have the advantage that they are capable of easy adaptation to meet any alterations in circumstances.

11 Basingstoke

At Basingstoke particular care and attention has been paid to sociological aspects of town development and to the provision of community facilities.

In October 1961, Basingstoke Borough Council signed a tripartite agreement with London County Council and Hampshire County Council with the object of expanding the population of Basingstoke from 25,000 to 75,000 over a period of 15 years, under the terms of the Town Development Act 1952. The agreement stipulated that 11,500 dwellings should be allocated specifically to families nominated by the London County Council.

A Joint Development Committee, consisting of representatives of the three constituent authorities, was formed to prepare, co-ordinate, manage and execute the scheme and, in particular, to prepare and submit to the authorities for approval a master plan for the scheme and from time to time more detailed plans and estimates of individual projects forming part of the scheme. A special staff (known as the Basingstoke Development Group) was set up to administer the scheme in the charge of the Director of Town Development, who is directly responsible to the Joint Committee for the administration and execution of the scheme. The first

thing that the Development Group undertook was the preparation of a master plan for the expanding town and this coincided with a quinquennial review of the Basingstoke Town Map, thus enabling the proposals in the master plan to be embodied in the Revised Town Map which was eventually approved by the Minister of Housing and Local Government in September 1963.

The Sociological Aspects of Town Development

The Joint Committee, early on, recognised the importance of the sociological aspects of town development, on which they commissioned a report by a sociologist. This report was received early in 1964 and was considered by the Joint Committee and the Basingstoke Borough Council. The report recommended, amongst other things, that;

- (a) A Council of Social Service should be set up in Basingstoke with the support of the local authority;
- (b) A Social Development Department should be set up with a full time officer and neighbourhood workers; and
- (c) Trusts should be set up to promote sports, educational and cultural amenities.

As far as a Council of Social Service is concerned, this suggestion was taken up by the Borough Council, who called a public meeting to which representatives of all interested local bodies were invited. A steering committee was set up to draw a constitution for the Council and an inaugural public meeting was held at which the Council was formally constituted. It is intended that founder members of the Council will include one representative each from over 50 different organisations together with selected ex officio members. The Borough Council have not adopted the idea of a Social Development Department as yet.

Sports Committee

During 1964, the Joint Committee felt that special attention should be paid to the recreational facilities to be provided during the course of the development period and they therefore established a Sports Committee, whose terms of reference were 'to advise upon the provision of sports facilities in Basingstoke'. The Committee decided that the facilities required were best considered under three broad categories, as follows:

- (a) outdoor facilities provided to meet 'local' needs in specified areas of the town;
- (b) outdoor facilities provided on a 'town' basis; and
- (c) facilities for indoor sports and recreation.

The Committee has already considered the provision of facilities in category (a), including the location and distribution of playing fields. It has also considered what facilities should be aimed at in category (c) and set up a working party to consider the whole question of indoor sports facilities. As a result the Committee made the following recommendations:

- (a) that the Joint Committee (and its constituent local authorities) should sponsor the building of an indoor sports centre in Basingstoke and that this centre should be located in the centre of the town and should comprise facilities for sports and swimming.
- (b) That a Basingstoke and District Sports Trust should be established with the responsibility for planning, building and operating the centre.

As a result a Trust was set up with the co-operation of the firm of developers who are redeveloping an 18 acre site in the centre of the town. A site has been found for an indoor sports centre and swimming pool adjacent to half a million square feet

of shopping and new car parks with accommodation for 2,500 cars. Generous support for the centre has been promised by the Government and by the Basingstoke Borough Council and it is hoped that building will commence in the middle of 1966.

Social Facilities Committee

As a result of the sociologist's report, the Joint Committee felt that a further committee should be established to advise on the provision of social facilities in the course of town development. This Committee, known as the Social Facilities Committee, comprises prominent persons in Basingstoke together with ex officio members who are chairmen of the Basingstoke Borough Estates, Housing and Civic Centre Committees.

The Committee first met in August, 1964, and took as its terms of reference: 'To advise the Basingstoke Town Development Joint Committee on the provision of social facilities (other than sport) required in the course of town development, including the location and construction of community halls, facilities for youth and old people, health and welfare services, and library and cultural services'. The work of the Committee so far is described in the following section:

- (a) *Meeting Halls*—The Committee have agreed a broad distribution of meeting/community halls in the town. At present they have examined plans for halls on two estates where there is an urgent need, and are in the process of examining plans for a third hall in another area, which will form part of a planned communal area which will also comprise shops, a church and a public house. In a fourth area a site has been earmarked for development as a communal area, possibly in conjunction with an existing community association.
- (b) *Shops*—The Committee have approved a broad distribution of shopping groups outside the town centre, which has been prepared in the light of experience in other parts of the country and the sociologist's report. These groups of shops are intended for local day-to-day shopping and are in no sense intended to form 'neighbourhood' centres. Two groups of shops are now being built at South Ham and Winklebury, and a further group is planned at the Oakridge communal area mentioned above.
- (c) *Post Offices and Chemists*—The Committee have considered the distribution of sub-post offices and chemists throughout the residential areas and discussions have already taken place with the Head Postmaster, who has agreed in principle to establish sub-post offices at the locations indicated if suitable shopkeepers can be found. Telephone kiosks and pillar boxes will also be provided where none already exist. Every effort will be made to ensure that chemists are found to take tenancies of shops in those areas where the Committee felt that they were necessary.
- (d) *Libraries*—Hampshire County Council have agreed that a library should be established in one area and that the other residential areas should be covered by mobile libraries. A new main library will be established in the new shopping centre.
- (e) *Public Houses*—Informal discussions have taken place with the Hampshire Brewers Union and the Licensing Justices in regard to the distribution of new licensed premises, both in the residential districts and in the town centre.
- (f) *Medical Facilities*—The Committee have had discussions with both the County Medical Officer and with the National Health Service Executive

Council in regard to the distribution of new medical and health services in the town. A broad pattern of new surgeries has been agreed with the Executive Council and at present the County Council is considering a request by the Committee and the Executive Council for the establishment of a health centre in one area.

- (g) *Educational and Arts Centres*—The Committee have received representations from several sources concerning the possibility of establishing an educational and arts centre in Basingstoke. The possibility of adapting for such use some of the large houses which are being acquired by the Borough Council is at present being considered.

B. Expanding towns other than London schemes

Winsford

12 *Winsford* has appointed the Clerk of the Council as Director of Town Development 'to exercise control over all aspects of town development'. Technical work, other than highways which are the responsibility of the Engineer, are controlled by the Project Manager who is responsible to the Director. Consultants are extensively employed and they report to the Project Manager. At three-weekly intervals a meeting of senior officers is held to report progress and consider problems. Copies of the minutes are circulated to the Chairman of Committees, Government Departments directly concerned with town development, the County Council, and the exporting authority.

The Committee structure has been designed to deal with town development and there is full delegation.

A Working Party has been set up under the Chairmanship of the Estates Officer to deal with all aspects of social development and has recently issued its first comprehensive report.

The original town expansion scheme provided for an increase in population from 12,500 in 1962 to 32,000 by 1971. The Council has now agreed to extend the scope of town development to provide for a population of over 60,000 in the 1980's. A Joint Steering Committee consisting of five representatives of Winsford, four of the Cheshire County Council and one of the exporting authority (Liverpool County Borough) has been set up with the following terms of reference:

- (i) to prepare, through consultants, a master plan for the development of Winsford under the Town Development Act 1952, for submission to the County Council and the Urban District Council;
- (ii) to guide these authorities in the execution of the plan;
- (iii) to consider generally any problems arising from town development, in particular to secure the provision of adequate social and community facilities.

Consultants have prepared a Master Plan. The County Council will pay their fees.

A Working Party has been set up under the Chairmanship of the Director to co-ordinate the work of the Consultants and the technical officers of the County Council and Winsford. Representatives of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and of the exporting authority attend these meetings.

Worsley

13 Worsley is situated within the South East Lancashire Conurbation, some eight miles from Salford. Prior to expansion it has a population of 26,000. Following an 'overspill agreement' with Salford it was planned to grow to 50,000 by 1970.

A total of 4,500 houses are being built; by the end of 1965 the number of completions was 4,281 (1964: 3,898). Although there is some industrial development taking place in Worsley, families are selected for Worsley quite independently of their place of work. The scheme is therefore essentially a housing operation: tenants are selected by Salford, not by Worsley.

Originally the scheme was administered by a Technical Sub-Committee of administrative officers of Lancashire County Council and the Worsley Urban District Council under the Chairmanship of the Chairman of Worsley's Housing Committee. The Sub-Committee was under the control of the Housing and Finance Committees. Under an agreement made in 1952, however, a Worsley Overspill Joint Management Committee was constituted. This Committee comprised twelve members of which five were elected by the County Council, five by the Urban District Council, and two by Salford County Borough Council. The officers of the Committee were the Clerk, Engineer, Treasurer and Housing Manager of Worsley U.D.C. together with the County Planning Officer as Chief Technical Adviser. The powers of the Urban District Council's Housing Committee were delegated to the Joint Management Committee in so far as they were related to the 'overspill houses'.

The role of the County Council has been an important one and was aimed at overcoming the problems which could not be satisfactorily overcome by the District Council. The financial arrangements are discussed in Chapter 6; in essence they ensured that Worsley's rate burden was not increased as a result of town development. The County has also provided technical assistance. Apart from their inability to attract qualified technical staff (because of the general shortage and also the relatively temporary nature of the work involved in the expansion scheme) the Urban District Council could not afford to pay the salaries necessary to attract staff of the required calibre. But, the County Council (anticipating schemes of a similar nature to Worsley elsewhere in the County) built up a highly qualified technical staff available to assist any County District, undertaking an 'overspill scheme'. This 'Development Team' worked under the direct control and supervision of the County Planning Officer. Thus assured of an adequate technical staff, the Joint Management Committee were able to plan the acquisition and preparation of sites for development.

Financial administration remained under the control of the Urban District Council who paid all the expenses incurred by the Joint Management Committee (subject to re-imbursement by the County as provided for under the financial agreement).

The Committee submitted each year, to the three participating Councils, a Statement of Policy and an estimate of income and expenditure for the following financial year. These required the approval of the County Council and the Urban District Council. No expenditure which was not in accordance with the approved estimates (or supplementary estimate) could be incurred.

The policy statement dealt with:

- (a) The amount of land to be acquired by the Council.
- (b) The amount of land proposed to be developed together with general particulars of the development proposed and the methods by which it was proposed to carry it out.
- (c) The policy to be adopted in the allocation of land or buildings, and the allocation of houses to tenants; also the policy relating to leases, agreements, rentals and other dealings in land.

The Development Team was responsible for :

- (i) Site surveys.
- (ii) Preparation of layout plans and the advance preparation of sites including layout plans for roads and sewers, and the preparation of contract documents for road and sewer contracts.
- (iii) All other work of an engineering nature.

All site works were under the supervision of the District Council's Engineer.

Much of the work of the Joint Management Committee, especially that of an urgent nature was delegated to an 'Emergency Sub-Committee'. This speeded up the work of the Committee considerably, especially in matters which fell within the provisions of the Policy Statement. A Designs Sub-Committee was also set up to deal with the types and capacity of houses to be built. Two private Architectural practices were retained to design the houses. These worked in close liaison with the Chief Technical Adviser's Architectural Staff and the Urban District Council's Engineer.

Appendix E : Authorities, government departments, organisations etc. with whom an expanding town has to consult

Authority etc.	Subject
Local Authorities	
County Council	Planning, education, highways. Local health, Child care, Youth and welfare services. Fire, Ambulance, Justice and Police Services.
Authorities of adjoining areas	Public relations and according to circumstances.
Parish councils.	Public relations and according to circumstances.
Water, River, Drainage Boards	Water supplies etc.
Exporting authority	All aspects of expansion.
Government Departments	
Ministry of Housing and Local Government	Planning, housing etc.
{ Regional Office of the Ministry of Labour Local Employment Exchange }	Recruitment of labour from the exporting area. Industrial selection schemes
Divisional Road Engineer (Ministry of Transport)	Highways.
Valuation Office (Inland Revenue)	Land acquisitions and disposals.
{ Regional Hospital Board (Ministry of Health) Local Hospital Board of Management (Ministry of Health) }	Hospital services and facilities.
The Executive Council (Ministry of Health)	General medical services.
The Local Medical Committee (Ministry of Health)	Doctor's Surgeries.
Local offices of the Ministry of Social Security	Additional population.
Probation Officer (Home Office)	Additional population.
Telephone Manager (G.P.O.)	Telephone boxes etc.
Head Postmaster or Regional Director (G.P.O.) (as appropriate)	Postal facilities.
Regional Controller (Board of Trade)	Industrial development.

Authority etc.	Subject
Public Services	
Area Gas Board	Gas supply.
Area Electricity Board	Electricity supply.
Local Bus Companies	Bus Services.
Local Water Company	Water Supply.
British Railways Regional Office	Railways, passenger and freight services.
National Voluntary Organisations	
National Council of Social Service	Setting up of local council of social service.
National Playing Fields Associations	Assistance towards provision of playing fields.
Breweries	Provision and location of new public houses.
Regional Sports Council	Sports facilities. Availability and Planning.
Area Interdenominational Committees of the Churches	Provision of and location of new churches.
Local Voluntary Organisations etc.	
Chamber of Commerce	
Chamber of Trade	
Trades Council	
Association of local industrialists	
Local Council of Social Service	
Local Council of Churches	
Women's Royal Voluntary Service	
Citizen's Advice Bureau	
Towns Womens' Guild	
Womens' Institute	
Workers Educational Association	
Ratepayers' Association	
Residents' Associations	
Local Newspaper	
Local Youth Organisations	
Girl Guides' Association	
Boy Scouts' Association	
Sports Clubs	
Interests (Drama, music, photography etc.) Clubs	
British Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Service	

Appendix F : Report on the financial position of families after moving from Liverpool to Winsford

A study was made by the Urban District Council of the different items of expenditure that might be incurred by a family moving from Liverpool to Winsford. It was decided to interview several tenants who had moved to Winsford within the previous three months and all of whom had obtained a job in Winsford before taking up their tenancies. A questionnaire was prepared and interviews arranged.

Six families who had recently taken up residence on the Grange Estate, were selected on the basis of their accommodation in Liverpool; before moving to

Winsford their accommodation were as follows :

One occupied a Liverpool Corporation dwelling.

One occupied a private rented property.

Two occupied rented rooms.

Two were living with in-laws.

For those who had their own accommodation in Liverpool a straight statement of expenditure could easily be obtained but for those who were not householders previously, it was agreed that the setting up of a home for the first time must necessarily result in additional expenditure irrespective of whether they had been housed in Winsford or Liverpool and it was felt that such expenditure which would be common at Liverpool and Winsford should be disregarded.

The results of these enquiries which are set out in the following pages are summarised in the Summary Table. The following comments can be made.

Weekly Income: Five of the six families suffered a reduction in earnings on moving to their new jobs by amounts varying from £2 5s. 0d. to £6 12s. 8d. net per week. The exception is Family No. 4 where the husband was unemployed before moving and because of this factor, it might be safer to ignore this particular case in attempting to draw comparisons. Incidentally, this is the only case where the wife has taken up employment in Winsford.

Weekly Deductions: Because of their lower earnings, all except No. 4 pay less income tax but in three cases this saving is partly or wholly offset by a payment for protective clothing.

Weekly Outgoings: A quick glance shows that all are incurring heavier expenses since moving and some of the differences between the expenditure at Liverpool and that at Winsford are high. In two cases, the amount spent on food and clothing is more and two are spending less on entertainment. It is fairly safe to assume that an adjustment in the family budgeting has been forced on these families because of the quite substantial drop in earnings.

Only two are paying a similar amount in rent and rates although it must be

accepted that only No. 3 was a tenant of a municipal dwelling previously and the remainder could reasonably have expected an increase irrespective of whether they were re-housed by Liverpool or Winsford. It is interesting, however, to draw a comparison between the rents which would be payable for houses now being erected at Liverpool (Cantril Farm Development) and Winsford (Crook Lane Development). An attempt has been made at this by using Family Nos. 2 and 3 and applying the current maximum rents and the current rent rebate schemes. In both examples, although the husband's earnings has gone down considerably since moving to Winsford, the rent which he would pay at Crook Lane is not a great deal less than that which he would have paid if he had remained in his higher paid job in Liverpool and had been housed in a new dwelling there.

Surplus Cash: Before moving to Winsford, five out of the six families had various amounts of surplus cash after meeting their weekly commitments, varying from £2 0s. 0d. to £6 12s. 5d. per week. This cash was used for holidays and other incidental expenses. The returns show that these amounts are no longer available, because of reduced income.

Visits to Liverpool: This has not been included in Part VII because of the variation between the families in the frequency of visits and the mode of transport. Nevertheless, as all families will wish to visit relatives and friends it must be regarded as an additional financial problem for them.

Lump Sum expenses: All the families paid for their removal except Family No. 4 where the removal expenses were paid by N.A.B. because of the husband's unemployment. All had extra household expenses ranging from £6 to £25 depending on what they had to buy and whether or not they had their own home previously; some of these outlays would possibly have been incurred if they had simply chosen to move house in Liverpool but one significant item appeared for Family No. 5 who had to expend £10 on two school uniforms.

These lump sum expenses are quite heavy and must make serious inroads into meagre savings.

Observations

1 Whilst it would be unwise to draw a general conclusion because of the limited sample obtained, the returns, nevertheless, do indicate the following facts:

- (a) There is no doubt that these families (No. 4 apart) are financially worse off since moving here. All have had to make some adjustments in their budgeting which are brought out in Part VII.
- (b) Wages in Winsford are not as high as those in Liverpool and this must inevitably lead to unsettled family conditions.

2 The cost of the physical removal is a particularly heavy outlay. We understand that Liverpool Corporation re-imburses the cost of removal for persons who are re-housed from Slum Clearance properties into a Liverpool Corporation dwelling.

Family No. 1—Lived with In-laws in Liverpool

Age of husband 28
 Age of wife 24
 Children—male 13 months

	Income			Expenditure		
	Liverpool		Winsford	Liverpool		Winsford
Basic wage	12	10	0	10	0	0
Gross wage	24	0	0	18	12	4
Wife's wage	—	—	—			
Part time earnings	—	—	—			
Childrens allowances	—	—	—			
Net wage	21	8	8	16	0	0
Deductions from wages						
Income tax	1	10	0	1	3	0
National insurance	13	8	13	8		
Graduated pension	7	8	7	8		
Superannuation	—	—	—			
Protective clothing	—	—	8	0		
Total	2	11	4	2	12	4
Total income	£21	8	8	16	0	0
Wife's housekeeping						
Food, clothing etc.	5	0	0	5	0	
Rent and rates	1	1	0	2	14	
H.P. payments	—	—	1	7		
Gas	—	—	12			
Electricity	8	0	8			
Fuel	10	0	1	9		
Insurance	7	3	7			
School meals	—	—	—			
Husband's expenses						
Travelling to work	—	—	9			
Entertainment	2	10	0	2	10	
Pocket money	5	0	0	1	2	
Surplus cash	6	12	5			
Total expenditure	£21	8	8	16	0	0

Additional expenses involved through coming to Winsford :

Removal expenses £11 0s. 0d.
 Extra household expenses £20 0s. 0d.
 Visits to Liverpool £5 8s. 6d.
 (9 by public transport)

Family No. 1, consisting of a husband, aged 28 years, a wife aged 24 years and a baby son of 13 months, arrived in Winsford on 16th April, 1966.

The husband was continuing with the same job as he had had in Liverpool but working for a firm in Winsford. As can be seen from the attached table the wage is much lower than it was in Liverpool, though the deductions are much the same as they were in Liverpool. As he is paid a lower wage his income tax is not as high as it was but against this he now has to pay 8/- per week for protective clothing, which he was not required to pay in Liverpool. The rent he now pays is much higher but he has no grumble to make in this respect. He now has to pay a 'bus fare to work, where he could cycle to work in Liverpool. He and his wife and child were sharing a house with his relatives in Liverpool, whereas he now has his own modern three bedroom house. His wife's one regret in this respect is that she now does not have relatives to mind the child, as she had in Liverpool, and she and her husband cannot now get out together. They now have H.P. payments to make, which they did not have in Liverpool but they do have some new furniture to show for this and they have no grumbles about this. Their entertainment expenses are about the same. They do not go out so often as they did, but they now go out with friends instead of each other and they say this costs more. They pay more for gas and electricity, but this is accounted for because they have more electric lights and they now pay for their own heating and cooking, which they did not do before.

In Liverpool they bought one bag of coal per week whereas in Winsford they have to buy two bags of smokeless fuel, which is much more expensive. The wife

claimed that if one shopped around, one could get provisions at the same price as Liverpool, but she was of the opinion that meat and clothing were more expensive here than in Liverpool. They have an added expensive outgoing in the shape of travel to Liverpool to visit relatives. The wife has made about six visits for days to visit her parents, while husband and wife have made three week-end visits. Here again it is more expensive to go by train, there being no direct 'bus service, for a week-end than it is to go for a day.

This family are very happy in Winsford and are prepared to wait and see what happens money-wise over the next few months. If there is no improvement the husband intends looking for a better paid job in this area.

Family No. 2—Tenant of a Private Property in Liverpool

Age of husband 31
 Age of wife 26
 Children 2 boys aged 8 and 7.

	Income			Expenditure		
	Liverpool		Winsford	Liverpool		Winsford
Basic wage	15	10	0	12	0	0
Gross wage (inc. overtime)	20	0	0	15	0	0
Wife's wage	—	—	—			
Part time earnings	—	—	—			
Childrens allowances	8	0	8	0		
Net wage	17	13	8	13	1	8
Deductions from gross wage						
Income tax	1	5	0	17	0	
National insurance	13	8	13	8		
Graduated pension	7	8	7	8		
Superannuation	—	—	—			
Protective Clothing	—	—	—			
Total deductions	2	6	4	1	18	4
Total income	£18	1	8	13	9	8
Wife's housekeeping						
Food, clothing etc.	5	0	0	4	0	
Rent and rates	1	3	0	2	12	
H.P. payments	3	0	0	3	7	
Gas	6	0	12			
Electricity	8	0	8			
Fuel	9	6	14			
Insurance	8	0	8			
School Meals	5	0	10			
Husband's expenses						
Travelling to work	—	—	9			
Entertainment	1	0	0			
Pocket money	3	0	0	8		
Surplus cash	3	2	2			
Total expenditure	£18	1	8	13	9	8

Additional expenses involved through coming to Winsford :

Removal expenses £13 10s. 0d.
 Extra household expenses £6 0s. 0d.
 Visits to Liverpool £2 10s. 0d.

6 by private car

Family No. 2 consisting of a husband, aged 31, a wife aged 26 and two sons aged 7 and 8 years, arrived in Winsford on 27th June, 1966, and have not really had time to settle down yet. The husband obtained a job, which was new to him, with a firm in Winsford. They had their own rented, old property house in Liverpool. Here again the wage is much lower though the deductions are slightly lower as he does not pay as much income tax as he did before coming here. He does not have to pay anything for protective clothing. He also has travelling expenses to work as he travels in his own private car. Works transport was laid on free in Liverpool. The rent he now pays is also much higher, but here again they have no grumbles as they have a much better house than they had in Liverpool. They do not have any H.P. payments for furniture but they are renting a T.V. set and are paying heavily for the car at present. They were "all electric" in Liverpool and in Winsford they have gas in addition which costs a little more each week.

In addition to this they also have to buy smokeless fuel as oppsed to coal in Liverpool, and this again is more expensive. The two boys went to a special school in Liverpool and were able to obtain school meals at half price, whereas this is not possible in Winsford. They also have made a number of visits to Liverpool, since coming to Winsford, for business reasons as well as to visit relatives, but this they can do fairly cheaply in the mini car, which they own at present. Their entertainment expenses are about the same, as they do not go out very much. The figure quoted includes cigarettes, which the wife only, smokes. The wife is of the opinion that all manner of foodstuffs are dearer here than in Liverpool, but she has not as yet found all the shops. The family is also very happy in Winsford, but it will be some months before they are prepared to say that they will settle in Winsford for good.

Family No. 3—Tenant of a Liverpool Corporation Flat

Age of husband 33
 Age of wife 30
 Children 2 girls aged 8 and 2
 2 boys aged 8 and 5

	Income			Expenditure		
	Liverpool		Winsford	Liverpool		Winsford
Basic wage	15	10	0	11	9	0
Gross wage	23	0	0	15	16	0
Wife's wage	—		—			
Part time earnings	—		—			
Children's allowances	1	8	0	1	8	0
Net wage	20	16	10	14	13	2
Deductions from wages						
Income tax	12	0	—			
National insurance	16	0	13	8		
Graduated pension	7	8	7	8		
Superannuation	7	6	—			
Protective clothing	—		1	6		
Total	2	3	2	1	2	10
Total income	£22	4	10	16	1	2
Wife's housekeeping						
Food, clothing etc.	5	10	0	6	10	0
Rent and rates	2	15	4	2	14	10
H.P. payments	18	0	1	6	0	
Gas	—		1	0	0	
Electricity	10	0	10	0		
Fuel	10	0	—			
Insurance	16	3	16	3		
School meals	15	0	15	0		
Husband's expenses						
Travelling to work	—		7	6		
Entertainment	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pocket money	3	0	0	1	1	7
Surplus cash	6	10	3	—		
Total expenditure	£22	4	10	16	1	2

Additional expenses involved through coming to Winsford :

Removal expenses £13 10s. 0d.

Extra household expenses £20 0d. 0d.

Visits to Liverpool £1 0s. 0d.

1 visit in friend's car

Family No. 3, consists of husband aged 33, wife aged 30, twins aged 8 and a girl aged 2 and a boy aged 5 years, arrived in Winsford on 9th May, 1966. The husband started work with a new firm on the Industrial Estate but could not obtain the same type of job as he had in Liverpool. Here also the wage is substantially smaller than he had in Liverpool and deductions are smaller because of the lower wage, he does not now pay any income tax and he does not pay superannuation, as he did in Liverpool. He does however, have to pay a small sum each week for protective clothing, which he did not have to pay in his old job. He now has to pay 'bus fare to work, whereas in Liverpool he lived a short distance from his place of employment and could walk to work. They now have a three bed-roomed house as opposed to a three bed-roomed flat in Liverpool and he does pay a few coppers less rent in Winsford but has a rebate 6/-.

Their H.P. commitments have risen slightly since coming to Winsford but they do have some new furniture and carpets to show for this. Their entertainment expenses are the same as, with the family that they have, they do not go out any more here than they did in Liverpool. They pay more for gas than they did in Liverpool but this is accounted for by the fact that they have a gas fire here that they did not have in Liverpool but of course they do not now buy fuel. The wife claims that groceries and clothing are more expensive than in Liverpool and is willing to name individual items if this is required. They have only made one visit to their old home since coming here and this only cost them £1 for petrol as a friend took them in his car. The wife has a larger housekeeping allowance than she had in Liverpool, but out of this she has to pay the rent, which she did not do in Liverpool. This family is very happy in Winsford and are here to stay for good.

Family No. 4—Occupied rented rooms in Liverpool

Age of husband 28
 Age of wife 28
 Children 2 girls aged 3 and 1

	Income		Expenditure	
	Liverpool	Winsford	Liverpool	Winsford
Basic wage (unemployed)	5 17 0	13 0 0	Wife's housekeeping	
Gross wage	5 17 0	15 0 0	Food, clothing etc.	3 6 0 5 0 0
Wife's wage	—	9 18 0	Rent and rates	3 0 0 3 0 10
Part time earnings	3 0 0	—	H.P. payments	1 0 0 1 0 0
Childrens allowances	8 0	8 0	Gas	— 10 0
Net wage	5 17 0	13 8 8	Electricity	— 10 0
Deductions from gross wage			Fuel	9 0 1 9 0
Income tax	—	10 0	Insurance	— 7 6
National insurance	—	13 8	School meals	— —
Graduated pension	—	7 8	Husband's expenses	
Superannuation	—	—	Travelling to work	— 8 0
Protective Clothing	—	—	Entertainment	1 10 0 2 10 0
			Pocket money	— 3 0 0
			Wife's expenses	
			Travelling to work	— 9 0
			Child minder's fee	— 3 0 0
Total deductions	—	1 11 4	Surplus cash	— 2 10 4
Total income	£9 5 0	23 14 8	Total expenditure	£9 5 0 23 14 8

Additional expenses involved through coming to Winsford :

Removal expenses £15 0s. 0d.

Extra household expenses

Cooker and Fittings £8 0s. 0d.

Curtains £10 0s. 0d.

Visits to Liverpool None

Family No. 4, consists of husband aged 28, wife aged 28, a daughter aged 3 and another daughter aged 12 months, arrived in Winsford on 14th May, 1966. The husband started work with an established firm on the Industrial Estate but in an entirely different job to what he had been used to. In actual fact he had been unemployed prior to coming to Winsford but he claims he could earn anything up to £40 per week when he was working. His present wage is far below this and he has no extra deductions from his pay. He is not now able to make any 'pin money' like he could in Liverpool where he carried out motor cycle repairs at his home. On the other hand his wife is working in Winsford and she was not working in Liverpool but out of her wage she must pay £3 per week to a woman who looks after her two children during the day. His travelling expenses are about the same as they would have been when he was working as he goes to work on his motor-cycle but his wife has to pay 9/- per week bus fares out of her wages. They now have a three bedroomed house for which they pay a few coppers more than they paid for a single rented room in Liverpool. They are still paying the same H.P. payments which is for the husband's motor cycle.

They pay fire insurance for their home, that they did not pay in Liverpool. Entertainment expenses are higher as they go out together in Winsford whereas in Liverpool the wife did not go out very much at all. They have not made any

visits to Liverpool since coming to Winsford. In this case also they now pay for their own gas and electricity whereas in Liverpool it was included in the rent. They also have to purchase smokeless fuel which is much more expensive than the coal that they burned in Liverpool. The only unusual expense that they have here as opposed to Liverpool is the cost of travelling from Winsford to Chester Royal Infirmary where they have to take their little girl from time to time for treatment. They took her to hospital in Liverpool, which was near their home.

Family No. 5—Lived with In-laws in Liverpool

Age of Husband 40
 Age of wife 36
 Children 2 girls aged 14 and 12
 1 boy aged 1½

	Income			Expenditure		
	Liverpool		Winsford	Liverpool		Winsford
Basic wage	14	0	0	10	0	0
Gross wage	26	0	0	18	12	4
Wife's wage	—	—	—			
Part time earnings	—	—	—			
Childrens allowances	18	0	18	0		
Net wage	23	18	8	17	6	0
Deductions from wages						
Income tax	1	0	0			
National insurance	13	8	13	8		
Graduated pension	7	8	7	8		
Superannuation	—	—	—			
Protective clothing	—	—	5	0		
Total deductions	2	1	4	1	6	4
Total income	24	16	8	18	4	0
Wife's housekeeping						
Food, clothing etc.	10	0	0	10	0	0
Rent and rates	1	5	6	2	12	10
H.P. payments	15	0	15	0		
Gas	10	0	10	0		
Electricity	5	0	5	0		
Fuel	1	0	0	1	9	0
Insurance	6	6	8	0		
School meals	—	—	—			
Husband's expenses						
Travelling to work	7	6	9	0		
Entertainment	2	0	0	10	0	
Pocket money	3	7	2	1	5	2
Surplus cash	5	0	0			
Total expenditure	24	16	8	18	4	0

Additional expenses involved through coming to Winsford :

Removal expenses £12 0s. 0d.
 Extra household expenses £10 0s. 0d.
 £10 0s. 0d. (2 school uniforms)
 Visits to Liverpool £8 2s. 0d.
 6 visits by train

Family No. 5 consists of husband aged 40, wife aged 36, girl aged 14, girl aged 12 and a boy aged 20 months, came to Winsford three months ago. The husband started work with a Winsford firm after being employed in similar work with Fords of Liverpool. The wage is much smaller than he made in Liverpool and here again this affects the deductions from his wages. He does not now pay any income tax but here again he is obliged to pay weekly for protective clothing. His travelling expenses are about the same as he travels by 'bus to work and had to do this in Liverpool. They now have a three bedroomed house as oppsed to sharing a house with an in-law in Liverpool but pay about double the rent. Their H.P. payments have not changed but there is a slight increase in Fire Insurance. Their entertainment expenses are smaller here than in Liverpool as husband and wife used to go out a lot together but as they have no one here to mind the children the wife stays at home. They have made six visits to Liverpool, since coming here, to visit elderly relatives and this is quite an item with the family they have to take with them. Gas and electricity are about the same but again the cost of smokeless fuel against coal raises their fuel bill.

Age of husband	21
Age of wife	20
Children	Girl 6 weeks

Additional expenses involved through coming to Winsford :

Removal expenses	£7 0s. 0d.
Extra household expenses	£25 0s. 0d.
Visits to Liverpool	£4 4s. 2d.
10 visits	

Family No. 6 consists of husband aged 21, wife aged 20 and a baby of six weeks, came to Winsford early in March of this year. The husband started work with a new firm in Winsford in a new type of employment for him. His wage is lower than in Liverpool but not to such an extent as some of the others, possibly because of his age? Deductions are again down mainly because of his paying less income tax. He does not have to pay for protective clothing. His travelling expenses are similar to what he paid in Liverpool as he still has to travel by 'bus. They now have a two bedroomed house as opposed to a rented room in Liverpool and are now only paying 12/9d. more than they did in Liverpool for much superior accommodation. Their outgoings have gone up slightly in the past six weeks, since the baby was born. H.P. payments have also risen slightly but they do have new furniture to show for this. Entertainment expenses have gone down quite a lot as they now go out very rarely after the birth of the child. They pay more for gas, electricity and fuel, but have more amenities and burn smokeless fuel.

Summary of Family Case Reports indicating :

1. Effect on income of families moving to Winsford, and
2. Adjustment in family budget to meet the new circumstances.

1 Variations in weekly income																						
No. 1						No. 2			No. 3			No. 4			No. 5			No. 6				
£. s. d.						£. s. d.			£. s. d.			£. s. d.			£. s. d.			£. s. d.				
Husband's basic wage						2 10 0 L			3 10 0 L			4 1 0 L			Unemployed in Liverpool			4 0 0 L			2 0 0 L	
Husband's gross wage (inc. overtime)						5 7 8 L			5 0 0 L			7 4 0 L			Unemployed in Liverpool			7 7 8 L			3 0 0 L	
Wife's wage (sum brought home)						—			—			—			9 18 0 M			—			—	
Part time earnings						—			—			—			3 0 0 L			—			—	
Family allowances						—			—			—			—			—			—	
Weekly deductions from wages :																						
Income tax						7 0 L			8 0 L			12 0 L			10 0 M			1 0 0 L			15 0 L	
National insurance						—			—			2 4 L			13 8 M			—			—	
Graduated pension						—			—			—			7 8 M			—			—	
Superannuation						—			—			7 6 L			—			—			—	
Protective clothing						8 0 M			—			1 6 M			—			5 0 M			—	
Variations in family's net income						5 8 8 L			4 12 0 L			6 3 8 L			14 9 8 M			6 12 8 L			2 5 0 L	

2 Adjustment in family budget

	Spending			Spending			Spending			Spending			Spending			Spending		
	More	Less	s. d.	More	Less	s. d.	More	Less	s. d.	More	Less	s. d.	More	Less	s. d.	More	Less	s. d.
Wife's housekeeping expenses																		
Food, clothing, etc.	—	—	—	—	20	0	20	0	—	34	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rent and rates	33	10	—	29	0	—	—	—	6	10	—	—	27	4	—	12	9	—
Hire purchase payments	27	8	—	7	6	—	8	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	6	—
Gas	12	0	—	6	0	—	20	0	—	10	0	—	—	—	—	7	0	—
Electricity	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	0	—	—	—	—	6	0	—

Fuel	19 0	—	5 0	—	—	10 0	20 0	—	9 0	—	5 6	—
Insurance	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 6	—	1 6	—	4 0	—
School meals	—	—	5 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Husband's expenses												
Travelling to work	9 0	—	9 8	—	7 6	—	8 0	—	1 6	—	1 0	—
Entertainment	—	—	—	20 0	—	—	20 0	—	—	30 0	—	30 0
Pocket money	—	77 9	—	52 0	—	38 5	60 0	—	—	42 0	—	19 9
Working wife's expenses												
Travelling to work	—	—	—	—	—	—	9 0	—	—	—	—	—
Child minders fee	—	—	—	—	—	—	60 0	—	—	—	—	—
Cash left over for holidays and other incidentals	—	132 5	—	62 2	—	130 3	50 4	—	—	100 0	—	40 0
Totals:	5 1 6 10 10 2	3 2 2 7 14 2	2 15 6 8 19 2	14 9 8	—	1 19 4	8 12 0	2 4 9 4 9 9	—	—	—	—
Decrease in net wage	£5 8 8	£4 12 0	£6 3 8						£6 12 8		£2 5 0	
Increase in net wage							£14 9 8					

3 Additional lump sum expenses

Removal	£11 0 0	£13 10 0	£13 10 0	Paid by N.A.B.	£12 0 0	£7 0 0
Household expenses	£20 0 0	£6 0 0	£20 0 0	£18 0 0	£20 0 0	£25 0 0

Note: L = Less than in Liverpool
M = More than in Liverpool



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