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Bracknell and its migrants

twenty-one years of new town growth

Audrey A Ogilvy

Department of the Environment

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Bracknell and its migrants: twenty-one years of new town growth

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Foreword

The formal involvement of the Building Research Establishment in planning research was marked by the formation of the Urban Planning Division in 1966. Among the early research programmes mounted by the Division were studies of the growth of population, employment and housing in new towns. Later, with the formation of the Department of the Environment in 1970, these studies were brought into closer association with the development of new towns policy and have been continued on that basis. Even so, the interpretation and conclusions placed on the evidence are principally those of the authors who report the studies.

From the outset, it was apparent that to be of substantial value, research on new towns would have to go beyond straightforward comparisons of the progress made. Experience in a number of new towns would have to be explored in depth, involving an extensive research effort. Three new towns were selected as being sufficiently representative of the wide range of conditions under which the post-war programme of new town development has been undertaken. This report on Bracknell records and interprets the experience of one of the early designations in the London area, where conditions have been relatively prosperous. It charts the ways in which early expectations were modified in the light of changing conditions in the region and developments in government policy. Two further reports will deal with the experience of East Kilbride and Washington. Taken together, it is hoped that the three reports will provide a substantial extension to the understanding of the processes by which new towns have and can be developed. Out of this it may also be possible to contribute some insight into processes of urban growth generally.

J B Dick

Director, Building Research Establishment, 1975

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Introduction

The development of the new towns has been a story of change. Change was bound to come to the areas where the new settlements were sited; but this study concerns more than the physical transformation of a small market town with its countryside into the houses, factories and flats of a new town; it concerns the series of changes, social as well as physical, through which a new town passes during its development. The report is based on a study of one of the new towns in the London region; it traces the varying pattern of migration into and out of the newly built housing and shows how the town and its population developed, comparing this with the intentions of the new town planners.

The changes in development which are evident from this report are not a random process; they form a pattern which can be found, with variations in degree and duration, in many growing areas. The pattern is clear in the London new towns which have reached advanced stages of development and hold many lessons for later developments, indeed for any planning policy dealing with population movements or urban growth. The way in which these towns developed, the relationship between growth of population and employment, the effect of planning controls on migration of people and firms, such findings must be taken into account in any planning policy of this type, for this is the basis of fact on which planning should rest. Although policies drawn up in later years may be different, they must be based on an understanding of the reality of migration processes and economic forces.

The British new town enterprise has attracted great interest, although it is not the first example of its kind and history records earlier ventures at building towns on planned lines. The programme began shortly after the war when eight sites around London were designated for development; on these there now stand towns housing half a million people. More new towns followed, and there are at present 21 in England, two in Wales, six in Scotland and three in Northern Ireland, some at an advanced, some at an early stage of growth. The reputation of these towns has spread widely, and several nations have tried to follow the British example. Yet there is still extensive disagreement as to the nature of these new settlements. Both praise and condemnation have been given freely, for this is a sensitive issue; the new towns occupy a central position in planning thought, a position at which there is a conflict of opinion about the direction in which we should guide our urban pattern.

For many years research contributed little to new town policy and design; more recently some valuable work has appeared and knowledge about new towns is increasing. Research has some important questions to answer: how far has new town planning achieved its original purposes and what have been its consequences, both foreseen and unforeseen; what are the processes through which new towns develop and change, and how have the towns been affected by the social and economic pressures of their region?

In most studies of new towns, a cross-section of conditions has been taken at a single point in time. The present work set out to contribute a longer-term perspective; by studying growth over an extended period, relying not on a comparison of before-and-after situations but on a year-by-year analysis, it is possible to trace changes and link particular results with preceding policy and actions. This method shows also whether the present situation is part of a trend and the direction in which it is leading. Among the English new towns, the original eight of the London region are the most suitable for longitudinal research; their development spans more than a quarter of a century, and comparisons between them make it easier to distinguish features common to all from individual characteristics.

Since published statistics on new towns give only a general picture of development, a detailed study of one town was needed to show the underlying processes. After examination of the record systems of most of the towns, Bracknell was chosen because its records were complete; information dating back to the earliest years was still available in a well ordered system, and a pilot study confirmed that the records were consistent and yielded the required data. The study was based on a sample of tenants housed in each year from 1951 to 1968; the sample was stratified by year of moving to or leaving the town, with a variable sampling fraction to give an adequate number of cases, particularly in early years when tenants were few in number. (A description of the sampling procedure is given in the Appendix.) The total sample number was 3043 tenants and their households, representing people who moved into dwellings built by the Development Corporation for renting; soon after development began, these dwellings formed the largest part of accommodation within the designated area. The growth of Bracknell is particularly interesting because it involved two developments, the first when the town was designated originally as a comparatively small new town, the second following the later decision to double its size, when its growth was more akin to that of an expanded town.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will give some guidance in the planning of further new towns or major additions to older towns, and in understanding the various stages of development and their associated problems. There are implications also for the future of policies designed to encourage the movement of certain groups of the population. The study contains findings of interest to sociologists, particularly those concerned with migration; there is an extensive body of knowledge about migration processes but little evidence about the effects on migration of specific planning controls. The work shows that many features of the 'normal' migration pattern still hold in the planned movement of population to new towns. A deeper understanding of these migration processes and the forces underlying them should assist in the development of planning policies.

The report begins with an outline of the planning and constructional background to the study – the development sequence and policies concerning housing, employment and selection of tenants. It then turns to the analysis of the sample, dealing first with inward migration of people and industry, secondly with outward migration, and finally with the net development which resulted mainly from these two streams of movement. For readers who need a quick guide to some of the main points in each chapter, a summary has been included at the beginning of the report.

Summary

This report is based on a longitudinal study of one of the London new towns. It traces the varying pattern of migration into and out of the town and shows how the town and its population developed, comparing this with the intentions of the new town planners. The work draws upon information from Development Corporation records about a sample of 3043 tenants and their households.

Stages of development Development of the town passed through four phases; these were observed with variations in degree and duration in all the London new towns. After a few years of preparation and initial construction came the major development phase in which house and factory building accelerated to its peak, taking the town half-way to its target; there was strong demand for factory sites by firms leaving London, and most of the new employment was concerned with light engineering and electrical goods. In the third phase, building work decelerated but there were changes in policy about private development and a major increase in designated area and intended population; office employers arrived and many factory extensions were built; jobs out-ran housing provision, causing a shortage of houses and labour, and a residential hinterland developed. In the fourth phase there was renewed building activity towards the town's new target. (Chapter 1)

The nomination system and new town firms Migration into the new town was controlled through a nomination system for allocating Development Corporation rented houses; this made most migration directly responsive to employers' needs. One-quarter of tenancies were allocated to workers in firms initially settling into the new town, but a greater number of tenancies (almost one-third) went to workers recruited subsequently by these firms. Firms experienced a high labour turnover before the move and most increased their work-forces at the time of moving; when they first settled into the new town some two-thirds of the people they employed obtained Development Corporation tenancies. Expansion in employment made the heaviest demands on housing; although expanding firms obtained the largest share of houses, this did not match the growth in their work-forces. In later development phases an increasing share of tenancies was needed for groups not nominated by employers, for example married children and parents of tenants. The nomination system had little permanent influence in interrelating jobs and housing; just under half the tenants resident in 1966 were still working for the employers by whom they had been nominated. The kinship network, although not in the main recognised by the nomination system, was still able to play a considerable part in migration to the new town. (Chapter 2)

Socio-economic structure of inward migrants The nature of inward migration to the new town changed considerably over time. The social structure of the population intake responded to the employment situation through the skills required by new town employers. At first the town attracted above-average numbers of skilled and semi-skilled manual workers; later there were disproportionate numbers (compared with the regional average) of clerical workers and then of professional and semi-professional workers among migrants. Relatively few unskilled manual workers were housed in the new town except in the last few years when more unskilled people from the local area obtained tenancies through the special categories which did not require nomination by an employer. (Chapter 3)

Age structure of inward migrants The ages of migrants arriving in the town changed also. New town migration was selective of the younger adults within each social group and, over time, migrants became progressively more concentrated in the youngest adult groups; at first one-quarter of employed tenants arriving were aged 28 or less but by the late 1960s one-half were aged 29 or less. The change was reflected in the household composition of incoming migrants and a decline in mean household size. The trend was caused by demographic changes in the region and the change from an intake composed mainly of workers arriving with their firms to one consisting mainly of additional recruits for expanding firms; firms moving with their work-forces brought workers in older groups usually under-represented among migrants. (Chapter 4)

Geographical origin Greater London was the principal area from which tenants were drawn; but it declined in importance as a source of tenants as the town developed, accounting for over 80% of new tenants in the early 1950s but less than 50% in the 1960s. The combined moves of firms with their work-forces were responsible for the early importance of migration from London; once firms began to expand, their recruitment areas tended to shift away from London. London tenants were drawn mainly from western districts of the metropolis, particularly Middlesex suburbs such as Brentford and Chiswick, Heston and Isleworth, Southall, and Hayes and Harlington, areas outside the zone with the worst housing problems. Most manual workers and clerical workers were drawn from Greater London while employers, managers, professional and semi-professional workers came principally from outside London. (Chapter 5)

Previous housing Housing was the main motive that brought migrants to the new town, while employment was the principal influence that shaped the intake. The new town drew disproportionately from households in privately rented accommodation and from households which had not previously obtained separate accommodation (most had been sharing with other families). Through accepting numerous 'concealed' and newly formed households, a considerable part of new town housing had not released accommodation elsewhere although it reduced some overcrowding. One-third of tenants had come from accommodation that was generally adequate of its type; a further third had come from accommodation that was inadequate, and the remainder had moved from accommodation adequate in itself but rendered unsuitable by changing circumstances. Thirty per cent of tenants had been on the housing lists or were tenants of London authorities, but registration on lists was a poor guide to degree of housing need. It is difficult to assess the new town's contribution to relieving London's housing problems; the most direct assistance was through the housing of Greater Londoners living in inadequate accommodation and registered on council waiting lists; these households obtained 15% of new town tenancies. On the other hand, the new town accepted few households which were in no need at all, the intake being dominated generally by households in an intermediate degree of housing need. The contribution to housing problems was

greatest in early development stages after which the proportion of households accepted from inadequate accommodation declined and was overtaken by those moving because of a change in circumstances. (Chapter 6)

The Industrial Selection Scheme The Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS) played a substantial part in early growth years when 19% of tenants housed for new industry were recruited through the scheme; after 1956 its influence declined, and attempts to revive it in the late 1960s had only slight effect. Although the scheme was intended to provide the labour needed by new town firms (apart from their original workforces), only 10% were recruited in this way, expanding firms tending to recruit instead from outside Greater London. ISS tenants were concentrated within a more limited social and age range than were other tenants from Greater London, but were in a greater degree of housing need. Unskilled workers had an above-average chance of registering with the ISS, but a below-average chance of being moved through the scheme to the new town. (Chapter 7)

Outward migrants During development there was less variation in the types of migrants leaving the new town than there was among inward migrants. Outward migration from new town housing was selective of household heads in non-manual employment (particularly professional workers who were the most mobile), while those in manual work were under-represented among outgoing migrants. The rate at which people terminated their tenancies rose gradually from 4½ to 7% per annum. This increase in mobility was found within each social group and was most evident among the younger households. (Chapter 8)

Reasons for departure and destinations The principal reason for ending a tenancy was to buy a house, in most cases outside the new town. Employment reasons also were numerous and adjustment difficulties (a compound of social and financial problems) were important during early years. There were two phases of outward migration. In the first, adjustment difficulties were the most numerous recorded reason for leaving; many of those leaving returned to London; more foremen and unskilled workers left then than in later years, the former mainly because they 'could not settle', the latter more often in financial difficulties. After a few years, the wider range of jobs and rents, improvements in facilities and a change in the intake towards higher-earning groups combined to end this phase. In the second phase, the termination rate rose owing, firstly, to the higher mobility of people recruited from distant areas by expanding firms and, secondly, to the rising tide of home ownership; the Corporation's decision to sell houses to sitting tenants did not satisfy more than part of the demand which caused increasing numbers of tenants to leave and buy houses in the new town's hinterland. (Chapter 9)

Population turnover and natural increase Population turnover in the new town was no higher than the national average; the total mobility rate (including internal transfers) rose from 7½ to 10% per annum. However, the cumulative effect was considerable; at the end of 1968 34% of those housed since 1951 no longer held tenancies. In all social groups turnover was highest among new arrivals, with above-average mobility from the 2nd to the 5th years of tenancy, and the peak of terminations in the 3rd year. The rate at which each social group retained tenancies varied greatly; 6 years after tenancies began, 80% of manual workers were still present, and 60% of clerical workers but only 26% of professional employees. During development, the intake became progressively more mobile; of households housed in the early years three in four were still present 10 years later, but of those housed in the late 1960s only one in three are likely to be present 10 years later unless there are changes in the housing situation. Natural increase accounted for a much smaller part (11–18%) of population gain in the new town than did migration; 12% of households resident in 1966 had contracted since becoming tenants, while 33% had expanded. (Chapter 10)

Growth of population in the town and its neighbourhoods Inward migration was the dominant influence on the town's population during the first decade and outward migration of greater importance later. Over time the growing population tended towards a more 'normal' age structure although there was increasing disparity between ages of tenants in different social groups and different neighbourhoods. The social composition of neighbourhoods varied, earlier ones containing more manual workers. After the completion of each neighbourhood, the proportion of manual workers holding tenancies rose owing to the withdrawal of non-manual groups; also, residents who had moved from London and from distant areas tended to be replaced by households with local origins who were less likely to terminate their tenancies. While some of these changes over time tended towards a more 'normal' population or towards a 'better social balance', others diverged from it; the picture is complex and depends on whether the town is considered as a whole or as a set of neighbourhoods. (Chapter 11)

Changes in growth 1951–1972 The new town's growth had been strongly influenced by social, economic and technological trends; five of particular importance were the migration of growth industries and their subsequent expansion, population growth combined with earlier household formation, changes in the housing situation within and outside Greater London, new attitudes to owner- occupation, and increases in daily mobility. These factors affected all development in the South-East region, and evidence suggests that the principal changes traced at Bracknell occurred in all the London new towns. In the 1950s and early 1960s the development of the new towns was distinctly different from that in surrounding areas, while their later growth tended to resemble what was happening generally throughout the region; their function had become wider; no longer solely overspill towns making a contribution to London's housing problems, they acted also as growth centres in a region of growth centres. (Chapter 12)

Chapter 1 The development of Bracknell as a new town

The London new towns came into official existence shortly after the Second World War when the government designated eight sites for development. The idea of building new towns had been discussed for many years; most writers trace the formation of the new town idea back to Ebenezer Howard and his pioneer garden city movement or even earlier to the ideas of Buckingham and others [1,2,3]. Between the wars the idea gained increasing support as a constructive and attractive solution to the congestion and excessive growth of large cities of the time. The new town policy was shaped by several inquiries, the most famous being those of the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt committees[4]; and Abercrombie included new towns in his proposals for replanning Greater London[5]. After the war the new government translated the idea with great speed into official action; it set up the Reith Committee to advise on how new towns should be promoted[6] and, within a few months of the New Towns Act of 1946, had designated the first site. All eight new towns around London were started on their courses in less than 3 years, beginning with Stevenage and concluding with Bracknell.

The purpose of new town planning was stated clearly. The original objectives were of two types. First were the regional purposes; the towns were to be 'overspill' towns, the agents of planned decentralisation from London; they were to draw surplus population and employment from overcrowded areas of London, thus providing better living and working conditions for Londoners and helping to prevent peripheral spread of the metropolis. The Green Belt around London would prevent the addition of further suburban rings, while the new towns set up beyond the Green Belt, together with some existing towns which were to be enlarged, would accept the excess population of Londoners. The second group of objectives concerned social purposes. The towns were seen as instruments of social reform; they represented a step forward from the type of 'out-county' dormitory estates which the London County Council had built previously to provide for people on its housing lists, and which were seen to have many disadvantages. The new towns were to be examples of 'good' social as well as physical planning; they were based on social policies using concepts such as 'social balance' and 'self-containedness', according to which both the size and nature of new towns were to be controlled.

The Greater London Plan of 1944 suggested that one of the new towns should be built at White Waltham in Berkshire, but the Minister of Town and Country Planning chose Bracknell, some 8 km (5 miles) further south. Bracknell was then a small market town with about 5000 inhabitants. It lies 45 km (28 miles) west of London (see Figure 1), with Reading and Slough as its nearest large towns, both at a distance of about 16 km (10 miles).

On 17 June 1949 an official order designated an area of 753 hectares (1860 acres) as the site of a new town at Bracknell. The draft order published originally had proposed 1062 hectares (2623 acres) for development but strong opposition caused the Minister to exclude nearly 324 hectares (800 acres) of agricultural land. Bracknell was not the scene of the legal battles fought by new town opponents at Stevenage (whose case reached the House of Lords[7]), Crawley, Hemel Hempstead and Harlow. Inevitably there was opposition at Bracknell from some residents and others whose interests were threatened, but this was not pursued through the courts because of the lack of success of legal actions elsewhere. Some of those who could not accept the change left the area; but not all moved and, even today, letters and comment in the local papers show that a few residents still regret the change. (The census results suggest that about four-fifths of the population resident before designation were no longer present in 1961 – a higher removal rate than that in older towns. The manner in which the census results are tabulated makes it impossible to quantify the difference precisely, but figures for new towns and for older towns are sufficiently consistent to confirm the higher rates of out-migration among the original populations of new town areas.)

In fairness it should be pointed out that there are two sides to the coin of development schemes: impact upon the old community as well as growth of the new one. Ideally this study should start with the movements of original inhabitants from the first announcement of designation. However, no information about this at Bracknell can be traced now and there is little knowledge to be gained from other studies. Paradoxically it seems that redevelopment schemes in large urban areas focus the spotlight of research upon the old community or its interests; but, when the planning task is a new town, research has concerned itself more with the interests of the new arrivals, even though the way of life of the existing inhabitants could change as much as for people in a redevelopment area.

After confirming the designation order, the Minister appointed a Development Corporation to carry out the work. The Corporation would be a semi-independent body, subject to general ministerial control over planning, building and finance; funds for development would be provided by the Government as loans repayable with interest over 60 years. (The powers and work of Development Corporations and an account of the establishment of the new towns are given in reference 8, and Schaffer[9] describes the progress of the new towns to the end of 1969.) In the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the Development Corporation was appointed, the town has passed through a sequence of phases; these have occurred with variations in degree and duration in all the London new towns. Building activity in each phase is illustrated in Figure 2 which plots the annual rate at which the basic components of the town (houses, factory and office space) were built.

Four phases stand out. The first consisted of preparation and initial development. In the second phase, building activity accelerated to its peak; houses and factories were built at a rapid rate over 5 years, taking the town past the half-way point in its planned programme. The third phase was more prolonged; building work decelerated over 8 years while the dwellings and factories needed to complete the original plan were added; but some major changes both in policy and the town's situation occurred at this time, in particular the decision to double the size of the town. In the fourth phase there was a second acceleration of activity as construction began in the new extension area added to take the town to its increased target. The main characteristics of these phases relate to many features of growth described in the following chapters.

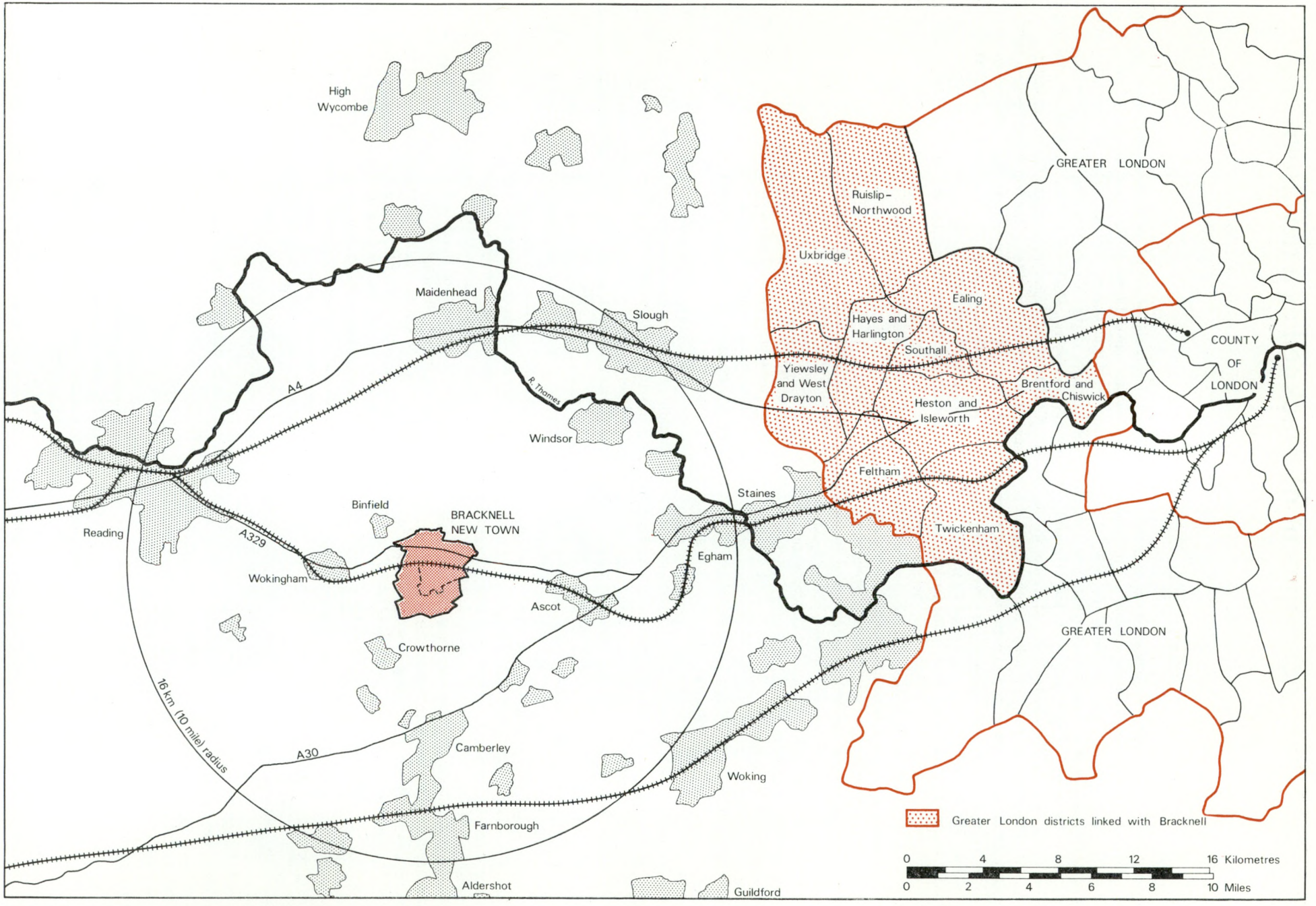


Figure 1 The location of Bracknell New Town

Phase 1 From designation to initial development, 1949–1953

To illustrate the town's original goal, one cannot do better than quote the Development Corporation's words in its first annual report[10]: 'The task before the Corporation is to build up a self-contained country town combining the amenities of town life with the advantages of the country. Instead of the isolation and congestion of a big city or the daily rush to London in the morning and back in the evening to home and family, the residents of Bracknell will have home, work and friends, with facilities for shopping, education and social and cultural needs all within easy reach, and with opportunities for open-air recreation in the countryside around them. The town is to be designed as a balanced and complete community and not as a dormitory of London. It will have its full quota of industry and there will be a generous allowance of open space for both recreation and amenity purposes. Increasing numbers of the population of the congested areas of Greater London will thus achieve the homes and opportunities for home life which are their right.'

The target for the town was set at 25 000 persons, an increase of 20 000 over the resident population. Uncertainty persisted for some years as to whether the boundaries might be extended to make up for the land excluded. As a result, the Master Plan was not finalised until 5 years after designation but the delay did not prevent construction from beginning. The first house was completed in August 1951, 2 years 2 months after the designation order; this was a shorter period than in the first new towns whose work was held up by legal action and problems with building licences and supplies, and virtually halted by the economic crisis of 1948. Twenty-five houses were completed at Bracknell in 1951 and between 100 and 200 in each of the next 2 years. As plans were approved, contracts let and labour assembled, the building programme began to gather momentum.

One goal of new town development is that growth of housing and employment should be co-ordinated. The London new towns found this difficult to achieve at first, for the arrival of firms in the early years tended to lag behind housing. Even when a Development Corporation had found an industrialist willing to move to a new town site, the factory could not be constructed until the Board of Trade issued an industrial development certificate. The Board was responsible for securing the 'proper' distribution of industry in the country as a whole; its brief to move firms to areas with high unemployment tended to conflict with the new towns' task of settling firms in areas close to the metropolis. After the new towns had experienced difficulty in obtaining industrial development certificates, a 'judicious amount of pressure' was applied to adjust the situation on their behalf[11]; a later study[12] shows 1951 as a turning point in which regional policy was less vigorously applied and firms moving in the South-East and East Anglian regions began to out-number firms moving to development areas.

Bracknell, coming late to the field, gained in this respect from the efforts of the earlier Corporations; the time-lapse between arrival of tenants and arrival of the first industry was short. The first new factory to move from London went into production in August 1952, and an extension to the factory was authorised immediately. At the end of 1953, as the town entered its major development phase, the Corporation expressed itself satisfied with the industrial situation. Just over 6968 m^2 (75 000 ft^2) of factory space was occupied and 332 houses had been built. Work was in hand on further buildings and all the houses due to be built for industrial employees by the middle of 1955 were allocated to incoming firms. The period of industrial uncertainty at Bracknell had been very brief.

Phase 2 Major development of housing and industry, 1954–1958

During these 5 years houses and factories were constructed rapidly and building activity reached its peak. The new town was working towards a comparatively small population target and the estimated number of new houses required was 5700[13], considerably less than the 11 000–16 000 required at Hemel Hempstead, Crawley, Stevenage and Harlow. There was no need therefore for Bracknell to achieve a very high rate of annual completions and the building rate levelled off at about 700 dwellings and 18 500 m^2 (200 000 ft^2) of factory space per annum (see Figure 2). The Development Corporation was aware of the advantages of a moderate growth-rate: 'The rate of actual building is now approaching its maximum as any speeding up must result in an undesirably increased rate of movement of population into the town. In the opinion of the Corporation the too rapid influx of new population would lead to social indigestion with long-term effects on the community. The Corporation are of the opinion that, at this stage of development, Bracknell cannot absorb smoothly a larger increase in its population than 2500 persons per annum' (page 84 of Fourth Annual Report[14]). The importance of this point has tended sometimes to be overlooked. Bracknell escaped the major problems of 'age-bulges' which result from a peak influx of migrants compressed into a few years of rapid growth, although slow growth brings other problems such as the extended time-period that must elapse before a town can support large-scale commercial and social facilities.

1) The arrival of industry

The industrial base was established at this time; within a short while, and after a few temporary set-backs, demand from firms willing and able to move to the town exceeded space available. At first the Corporation had spoken of its efforts to see that the arrival of industry should keep pace with house-building, but in 1954 the position was reversed; house-building could scarcely keep up with the demand from industry. Three years later the Corporation stated[15]: 'Enquiries from industry wishing to move to Bracknell continue to be received, but taking into account factories constructed, under construction and under negotiation, employment in manufacturing industry is already virtually assured for 5200 persons, and if industry already established continues to expand as it has done over the past few years, little additional industry can be accepted, since the industrial employment likely to be required in a self-contained town of 25 000 is 6000'. Thus, in only its 8th year of work the town was within sight of its target for industrial jobs although the housing programme had not yet reached the half-way point.

The influx of industry and subsequent expansion was experienced by all the London new towns at that time; Peter Self, for example, wrote of an 'industrial boom' affecting the new towns[16]. There was considerable movement of industry to all parts of the South-East region around London, to towns

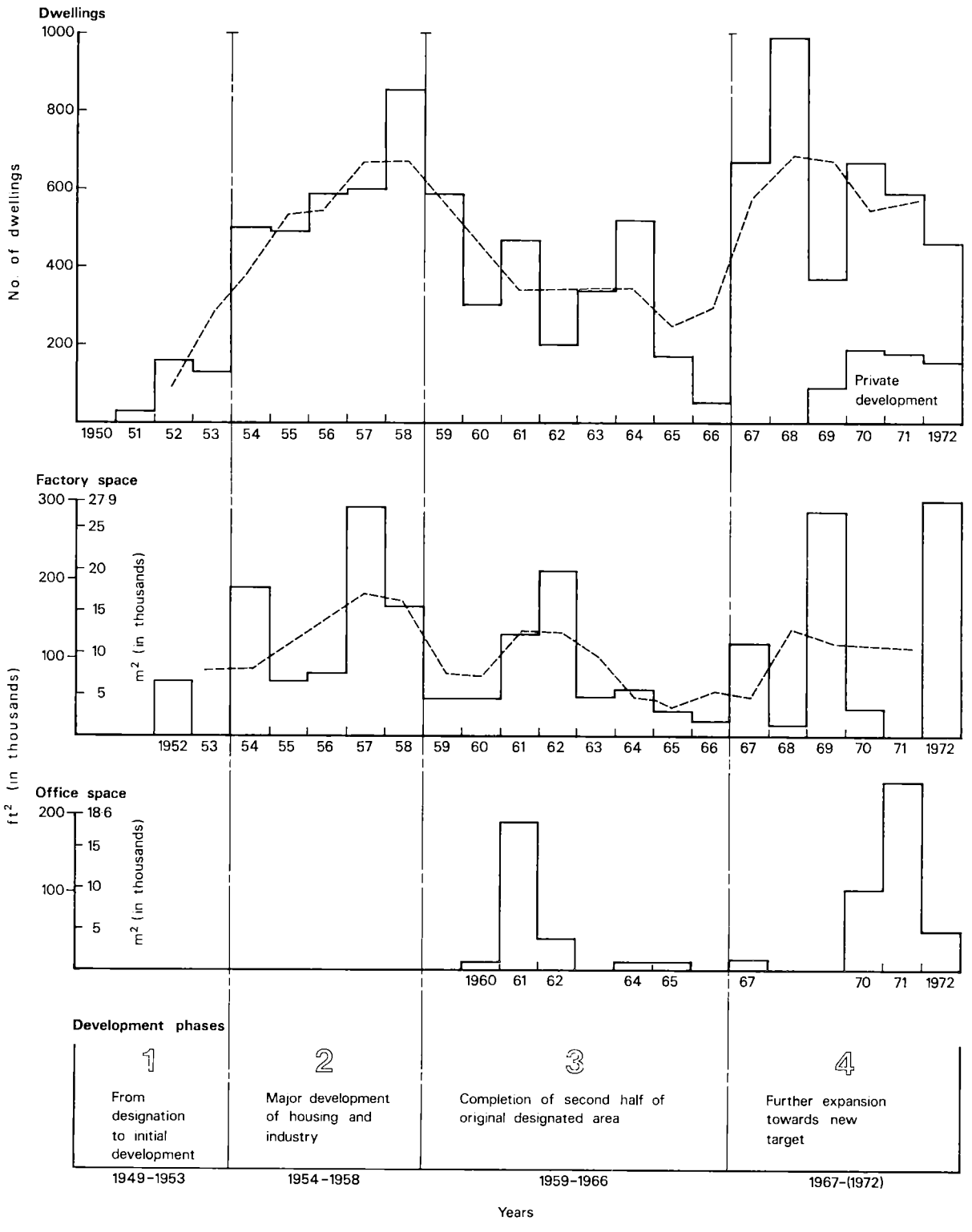


Figure 2 The construction of Bracknell New Town: dwellings, factory space and office space completed each year under the auspices of the Development Corporation. Source: Reports of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and of the Department of the Environment. The dashed line indicates the 3-year moving average.

both new and old, and the movement of firms from the north-western sector of London was particularly evident. A study by Keeble[17] showed that migration of manufacturing industry from north-west London after the war was greater than had been generally recognised; almost three-quarters of the firms moved to towns unaffected by new or expanded town legislation. Bracknell lies in the path of this westward migration and was able to benefit from it. The tendency for industry to move outwards along centrifugal lines was encouraged further by the government's policy of the Linked Borough Scheme.

The Linked Borough Scheme

The scheme was set up in the early days of new towns to secure the simultaneous transfer of population and industry from London and to avoid 'undesirable competition' for accommodation in reception towns. It accepted that people tend to move out along radial lines of communication. Accordingly, Greater London outside London County was divided into five sectors; each was believed to contain a representative cross-section of London industry and labour, and was linked with appropriate new and expanded towns. A new town was expected to draw industry and people principally from its linked areas or from the County of London itself although, subject to Board of Trade approval, it could accept firms from any part of Greater London.

Bracknell was linked with ten authorities in Middlesex[18] (shown on Figure 1): Brentford and Chiswick, Ealing, Feltham, Hayes and Harlington, Heston and Isleworth, Ruislip–Northwood, Southall, Twickenham, Uxbridge, and Yiewsley and West Drayton.

The Development Corporation reported in early years that it had been obliged to accept any Greater London firms which could get industrial development certificates and building licences rather than firms from the linked areas alone. Yet analysis of the origins of Bracknell firms shows that the radial migration tendency is clear. Most firms came from inner London (central areas, Paddington, Fulham, Battersea, Brixton and Southwark) and from western parts of outer London (Acton, Ealing, Brentford and Chiswick, Heston and Isleworth, and Richmond). The linkage system probably reinforced the radial tendency although it seems that Bracknell would have attracted firms from these areas even in the absence of the scheme.

Type of firms

New town firms tend to be concentrated within a few industries, in particular light engineering and electrical goods. Bracknell was no exception. Dunning[19] has shown that 49% of Bracknell's labour force in 1957–1958 was employed in the category of 'non-electrical engineering and vehicles' and a further 28% in 'electrical engineering, industrial and precision instruments'. The types of manufacture listed for the 21 firms accepted into Bracknell by the end of 1958 illustrate this: jig and tool makers, makers of electronic ground and air equipment, aircraft components, petrol pump and flow meters, precision ball-bearings, research and development and aircraft instruments, electrical equipment and so on.

Some firms built their own factories on land leased from the Corporation; others leased factories constructed and owned by the Corporation, either purpose-built for a particular firm or a standard-type construction. New town corporations generally find the second arrangement more profitable, but consider that the first encourages industrial stability because firms owning their own premises are more likely to remain in the town. At Bracknell the Corporation decided on a more or less 50–50 result to get a balance of advantages.

After moving in, many of the firms expanded, particularly those in the electrical and electronics industry which was noted for growth at that time. A major report[20] on planning in the region commented: 'Because this group of industries (engineering and electrical goods) is the most mobile, as well as the fastest growing, it is particularly strongly represented in the new towns, where the experience of individual firms highlights the importance of expansion as a spur to relocation, and emphasises the rapidity of employment growth in the early years after relocation, as well as the continuance of growth at above average rates for many years' (see also reference 21). The report drew upon a Ministry of Technology inquiry which demonstrated that the most important factor inducing a South-East firm to move was desire to expand output. This finding emerged also from an earlier study of industrial moves from London[22], and there seems little doubt that this was the paramount reason for industrial moves to Bracknell.

2) Housing development

During the 5 years of major growth, house-building accelerated to its maximum rate. Plans of the town show it divided into four residential areas, or neighbourhoods. One of these, Priestwood, is larger than the others and is often treated as two neighbourhoods, giving a total of five (see Figure 3). Building of the town proceeded generally from north-west to south-east. Work began in Priestwood 1, then in Priestwood 2, after which the building force moved into Easthampstead and Bullbrook. At the end of 1958 the housing programme had just passed its half-way mark; Priestwood 1 and 2 neighbourhoods were complete, with approximately 1000 dwellings in each, while about two-thirds of the dwellings in Easthampstead had been completed, and about one-quarter of those in Bullbrook.

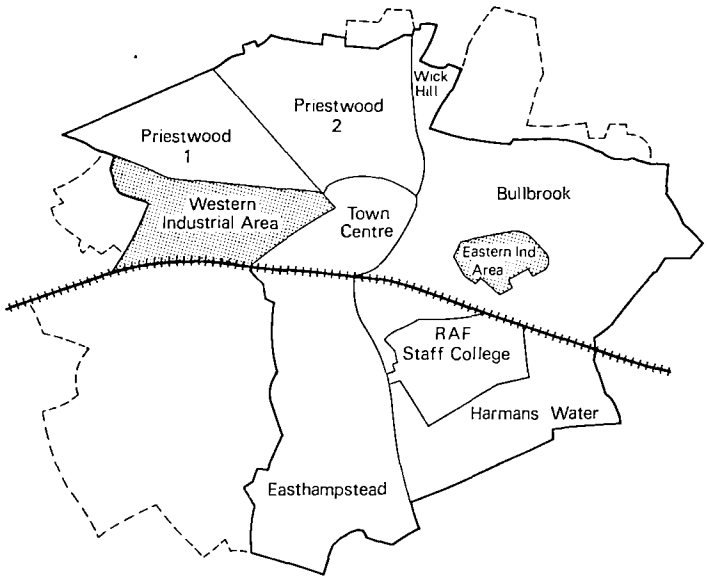
House designs were changed constantly to give a varied appearance to the townscape, but there was little variation in the proportions of basic house types built, ie in the proportions with two, three or four bedrooms, and the ratio of weekly rented to monthly rented property. The Reith Committee had advised that 'dwellings of all classes must be built in due proportions' to secure a true social balance in the new towns, and the Bracknell Corporation set out in early reports the housing which it felt was required for a 'properly balanced community':

Standard	*Specification*	*Proportion planned*
I	Minimum standard considered desirable in a new town; weekly rented	75%
II	Houses with slightly larger rooms and better finish; semi-detached; monthly rented	12½%
III	Detached houses with garages on 0·1–0·2 hectare (¼–½ acre) of land	10%
IV	Detached houses of up to 186 m² (2000 ft²) floor area with up to 0·4 hectare (1 acre) of land	2½%

The old town already contained sufficient of the fourth type of dwelling and the Corporation hoped that the third type would be built by private builders, leaving the Corporation to concentrate on providing Standard I and II property.

Each neighbourhood contained a 'monthly rented area'; the higher standard houses were grouped together in four to six small roads, frequently on the outskirts of neighbourhoods

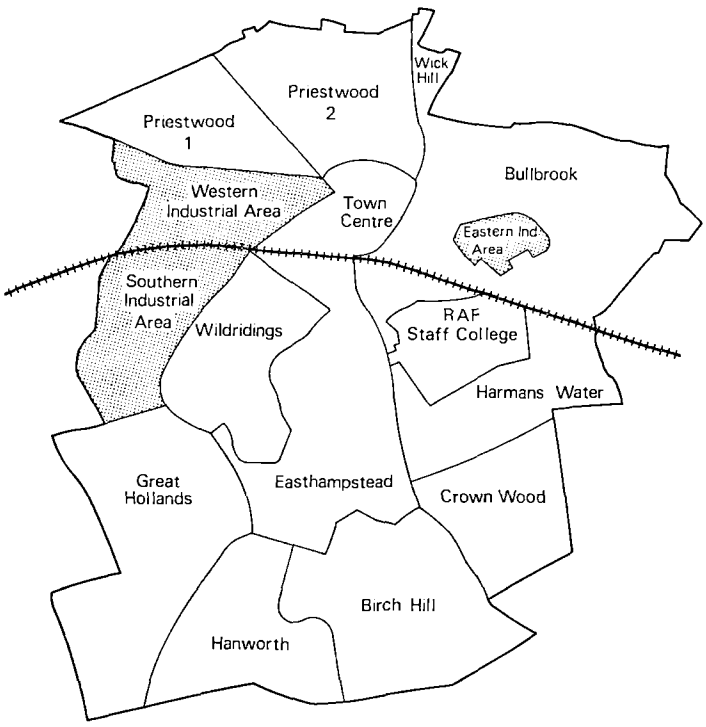
The original designated area, June 1949 (753 hectares; 1860 acres)



Area included in the first Draft Designation Order but excluded when the new town was designated finally

N

The designated area including the extension area added in 1961 and 1962 (1334 hectares; 3296 acres)



0 1 2 3 Kilometres

0 1/2 1 1 1/2 2 Miles

Figure 3 Bracknell's designated area and neighbourhoods

and adjacent to owner-occupied housing. (Early experiments in other new towns at intermingling high-standard houses individually with ordinary houses had been discontinued since this was found to please no-one.)

The most numerous house type was the three-bedroomed weekly rented house, accounting for about six of every ten dwellings built. Its smaller version with two bedrooms accounted for a further two in ten, but the larger type with four bedrooms accounted for less than one in ten. Monthly rented houses also were mainly of three bedrooms, with a smaller number having four bedrooms. The remaining dwellings were flats and old persons' bungalows. The Corporation made land available at Wick Hill to the north of the town for Standard III houses for owner-occupiers and sold some Standard II houses in Priestwood and Bullbrook. But sales were not extensive; at the close of 1958 just over 100 Development Corporation houses had been sold, about 3% of the housing output at that date.

Rents and rising costs

Rising costs made great difficulties for all new towns. As early as its second year the Bracknell Corporation remarked on the increasing costs of labour and materials, and each year the rents for newly built houses were set at a level higher than those for earlier dwellings. After a few years, rents of all houses were pooled to try to reduce the differences, but increases for new houses continued. (Pooling of rents was a common practice among local authorities whose stock of pre-war houses enabled them to hold rents at a level generally lower than in new towns.)

The differences that remained between rents of newly completed and earlier houses are important. Since the town was developed mainly neighbourhood by neighbourhood, rents varied from one to another, the later ones tending to be the most expensive. The Corporation recognised rent differentials as a means of offering housing to a wide range of income groups, accommodating the lower paid in earlier houses. The effects on the social structure of neighbourhoods will be shown later.

3) Selection of tenants: the Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS)

The selection of tenants for new town houses was (and still is) one of the most difficult parts of new town policy (see reference 23 for other studies dealing with this). The needs of new towns and those of London housing authorities were difficult to reconcile; the former, concerned with building a self-contained town in which tenants could find work, were interested mainly in employment suitability; the latter, concerned with reducing the length of their housing lists, were interested mainly in housing need. Although the requirements of new town employers for suitable labour were given high priority, various methods were used to take account of housing need when deciding tenancy allocations, the principal method being the Industrial Selection Scheme.

The policy accepted that firms moving to new towns should take part of their work-forces with them and these employees must be accommodated, regardless of their housing need. The balance of the labour force was to be recruited through the ISS. The original intention was that this would be from 'linked areas' only, but, when this proved impractical, recruitment was extended in 1953 to cover any area in London.

When an employer with an allocation of new town houses had a vacancy he notified the local employment exchange. The exchange asked for nominations of people with the required qualifications from London local authorities who maintained separate lists of persons willing to move to a new town. The persons nominated were interviewed by the employer and the successful applicant referred to the Development Corporation for a house. The statutory rate fund contribution for housing allocated under the scheme was paid by the nominating local authority.

Various alterations were made to the scheme over the years to try to improve it, but none could remove one of the factors which severely limited its usefulness: the disparity between the skills required most urgently by new town employers and the occupations of people on London housing lists. As a result many houses had to be allocated to employees who were not recruited through the ISS. (Chapter 7 shows some results of the scheme at Bracknell.)

Not all houses could be allocated to industrial employees; there were several other categories with a recognised right to new town housing. These included persons whose houses were demolished because of development work, though they were few in number under the original plans for a comparatively small new town. Workers had to be housed for services in the town – gas and electricity workers, police, shopkeepers, teachers and the Corporation's staff; few of these were recruited from London. Towards the end of the 1950s when the need for special accommodation for the elderly attracted national attention, an increased number of old persons' dwellings was built for retired Londoners who were the parents of tenants; demand for this accommodation was so great that in a short while the waiting list was closed.

By the end of 1958 the town had passed its half-way mark in terms of building programme and population increase; 3354 dwellings and just under 84 000 m^2 (900 000 ft^2) of factory space had been built; about 3500 people were employed in the 21 new factories in the two industrial areas, and the population exceeded 16 000. The north-western neighbourhoods of the town were complete, although the rise in car ownership was making it necessary to build more garages there, and development of the town centre was under way. The town was at a turning point; house and factory building began its deceleration over the next few years but changes took place which were to alter the course of the town's growth.

Phase 3 Completion of the second half of the original designated area, 1959–1966

1) Major policy changes

The two most important alterations to policy at this time concerned town size and private development.

Expansion of the town

As the London new towns reached the half-way stage in their development, there were discussions about the point at which Corporations should cease building and the ultimate population which could be accommodated on each site. In most cases this resulted in a decision to raise the final population target of each town by a small proportion, without increasing the site area. At Bracknell the change was more radical; the designated area was greatly extended (by 577 hectares (1426 acres) to the south and south-west of the site – see Figure 3) and the target population was more than doubled, from 25 000 to 60 000 people. This brought it within the range of sizes for which most of the London new towns were being built.

There were many advantages to be gained from expansion. The Corporation had invited the Minister in June 1957 to consider the possibility, saying[24] that it believed expansion would be desirable 'socially and financially'; it would ensure the 'proper fructification of an investment of many millions', other new towns having shown how rapidly values appreciate for shops and offices in their town centres. Larger commercial organisations would be drawn to the town and, since the proposal would result in higher rateable values, it was supported by the local authority – Easthampstead Rural District Council. A public inquiry into objections took place in February 1961 and the two Variation Orders needed were made in September 1961 and October 1962.

The change involved extensive re-planning for new neighbourhoods had to be designed and major alterations made to the town centre. While the new Master Plan was prepared, completion of the original neighbourhoods could proceed according to the original design.

House sales

A second major change in new town policy arose from the increasing pressure for owner-occupation and private development. In early years few voices had questioned the precept that new towns should be built with public money and most land ownership should remain in the hands of a public authority, but in the 1960s the position altered. Private enterprise building, at a low level of activity after the war, began to revive rapidly in 1953, and by the 1960s had overtaken and was well ahead of the public sector. (Public sector completions remained at a relatively constant level, generally between 90 000 and 160 000 dwellings per annum (although over 200 000 in 1953 and 1954). Private sector completions rose from 20 000 per annum in 1951, and in 1960–1968 were in the 160 000–200 000 per annum range[25].) Policies which had seemed right in the economic atmosphere of immediate post-war years were increasingly questioned; seeing the prospect of a profitable rate of return on investment, private enterprise pressed for a greater share in new town development.

In early years the Bracknell Corporation had found little demand for houses to buy; in 1958, for example, some houses built for sale had to be let instead. When the demand increased, the Corporation was reluctant at first to sell houses which had been built for letting[26]: 'There have been many applications from Corporation tenants to purchase the houses in which they live. There are, however, objections to indiscriminate 'pepper-pot' sales and the Corporation has considered it better that owner-occupied houses should be grouped together, and has not therefore been willing to sell other than those built for the purpose.' Its policy changed, however, as a result of the growing pressure for a different tenure balance in new towns. Various pressure groups joined the debate and criticised the contrast between the small proportion of owner-occupation in new towns and the general trend elsewhere towards a 'property-owning democracy'. Eventually a new target of 50% owner-occupation was set for the later new towns, while the earlier ones were encouraged to sell some of their rented houses in order to achieve ultimately something like a 50–50 balance. (The various points of view are described by Cullingworth and Karn in their study which was commissioned by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to examine alternatives for the future ownership and management of new town housing[27].)

In March 1964 the Bracknell Corporation stated the new policy it had adopted[28]: 'The Corporation has decided that in future . . . a considerable number of houses of all types could be sold to present occupiers if they wished. Sales will in all cases be at market value and subject to a right of pre-emption by the Corporation for a period of 15 years and to restrictive covenants designed to preserve local amenities.' The Corporation offered mortgages of up to 90% of the purchase price.

The offer to sell to sitting tenants aroused interest but, as in other towns, few of the enquiries resulted in sales. The main reason for dropping out was financial; tenants found the current price and interest rates too high. Among tenants paying lower rents the drop-out rate was greater; by the end of 1966 173 applications to buy Standard II (monthly rented) houses resulted in 61 (35%) completed sales, whereas 108 applications to buy Standard I (weekly rented) houses resulted in only 10 (9%) completed sales. Development Corporation houses, which had been built comparatively recently and to similar standards, varied little in price and tenants seeking older and cheaper houses could find them in local villages and towns.

Bracknell, like most Corporations, continued to prefer build-for sale rather than selling existing rented accommodation, and most sales were of the former type; of 329 houses sold by the end of 1966, 258 were built for sale and only 71 for renting. The number sold represented 5–6% of the Corporation's housing output, an increase from the 3% reported in 1958. The change of policy towards private ownership of property therefore did not cause immediate changes in neighbourhoods already built; rather, its influence was to be greater in new developments being planned – at Bracknell, in the extension area.

2) Completion of housing in the original designated area

The house-building programme decelerated gradually, reaching its lowest point in 1966 when only 65 dwellings were completed. Easthampstead and Bullbrook neighbourhoods were finished, and construction in Harmans Water both began and ended during this phase. The development of Harmans Water had been delayed because of problems over natural features of the site and the need to rehouse its existing inhabitants. Seventy properties had to be acquired and 13 compulsory purchase orders were needed; it was difficult to find satisfactory alternative accommodation for the occupants, many of whom kept chickens and bred dogs as part of their livelihood. A

great many trees were cleared and the water table lowered; in the long run, however, the wooded nature of the site proved an asset, for the forest trees that were retained helped to make the area a showpiece of the town. Osborn and Whittick[3] describe Harmans Water as the most delightful neighbourhood in Bracknell, having the appearance of an estate in a wood.

More flats were built during this second half of the construction programme. The Corporation decided that flats, although incompatible with the garden city ideal, were needed for two reasons: first, aesthetic, to provide 'a welcome contrast in height to the architecture of the neighbourhoods'; secondly, social, to cater for single-person and childless households and to contribute to 'social balance' by housing the higher-income groups attracted by office employment. A few flats were interspersed with housing from the start, but at this stage some three- and six-storey blocks were added to the earlier neighbourhoods, and in Harmans Water two-bedroomed flats were substituted for two-bedroomed houses.

In addition, to house some people from high-income groups and in line with the architectural fashion of the times which added high-rise buildings to many towns, most new towns have provided at least one tower-block. In Bracknell a 17-storey point block was completed in 1963 in Easthampstead. Its rents reflected the expense of high-rise construction and eligibility for a tenancy depended on ability to pay the rent, regardless of place of work or geographical origin.

Table 1 shows the distribution of Corporation rented houses when the original designated area was completed. Each neighbourhood contained a similar distribution of types although Harmans Water had more weekly rented flats and fewer two-bedroomed houses.

Table 1 Bracknell Development Corporation dwellings built for renting, 1951–1966 (%)

Type of dwelling	Standard I (weekly rented)	Standard II (monthly rented)	Both
Houses			
2-bedroomed	13	–	13
3-bedroomed	55	10	65
4-bedroomed	6	1	7
Sub-total	74	11	85
Flats (mainly 1- or 2-bedroomed)	4	6	10
Old persons' dwellings	5	–	5
Total	83	17	100
(*n*)*			(1249)

*n=number in sample.

3) Changes in tenant selection

As the town neared completion of its first target, alterations were made to the nomination rules in an attempt to contribute more to solving London's housing problems. The Minister of Housing and Local Government had expressed his concern that the new towns' performances in providing for Londoners in housing need were 'not as good as they should be'. The Bracknell Corporation stated its quandary; the expansion of industry had created a chronic shortage of houses[29]: 'Industrialists are disinclined to sacrifice precious houses to unskilled in preference to skilled labour, and much of the labour on the Greater London housing lists is unskilled or semi-skilled. Furthermore it is becoming more and more difficult to recruit skilled labour in London even with the offer of housing and Corporations are then obliged to accept key workers from elsewhere.' Few of the new industries in Bracknell employed large numbers of unskilled men and the Corporation pointed out that many Londoners housed, who were neither council tenants nor on housing lists, had been in housing need.

To give greater priority to housing Londoners in need, two changes were made to the selection procedure. First, pressure was brought to bear upon employers to use the ISS for recruiting workers; the Corporation would house without question only workers engaged through the ISS or who were tenants or on the housing list of London authorities; other persons nominated would be housed only if the Ministry of Labour certified that the employer had tried and failed to obtain a worker through the ISS. Secondly, through a 'special housing allocation', the Corporation reserved a proportion of houses for Londoners on housing lists who were in unskilled work. These people did not need to be nominated by an employer; thus firms were not asked to use their quotas of housing for unskilled men. The first change in procedure came into operation in the second half of 1965, the special housing allocation not till 2 years later. The latter scheme operated for 2 years, during which time 35 families were housed; the Corporation reported that it was a cumbersome system, producing poor results.

Two other changes came into effect during this stage. The Corporation recognised the needs of the town's own second generation and, from the start of the 1960s, allocated small proportions of houses to tenants' married children. The Corporation agreed also to allocate a number of houses each year to people nominated by the local Rural District Council, rather than make available land on which the Council could build. Both changes had the opposite effect of those described above in that they increased the allocation to non-Londoners.

4) Growth of employment

Although housing development in the second half of the construction programme was generally similar to that in the first half, this was not true of developments in employment. The construction of factory space continued (like housing, at a lower level than previously – see Figure 2), but most of it consisted of extensions for firms which had arrived earlier. Thus, in the 5 years of major growth, 20 new firms had moved in and 15 extensions to factories were built; but in the following 8 years, 25 extensions were built and only seven firms moved in, of which two were replacements for firms which had left. The emphasis in industrial building had shifted from new factories to the expansion of premises.

The reduced number of new industrial firms accepted was due to a shortage not of applicants nor of industrial land (in 1961 there were still 10 hectares (25 acres) available) but of houses; most of the houses programmed to complete the original designated area were required for firms already in the town or for the newly arrived office organisations. A few buildings for service industry (a laundry, garages, distribution and maintenance depots and workshops) were completed, but in this case also allocation of sites was reduced to a minimum to ease pressure on housing.

The arrival of offices

A distinctive feature of this phase of growth in Bracknell, as in most of the London new towns, was the construction of

office blocks. At Bracknell three major office organisations moved into the town in 1961–1962, bringing with them over 1000 office jobs. The first to arrive was the headquarters of the Meteorological Office, tranferring from London and Dunstable, closely followed by the head offices of two commercial concerns moving from central London. Other businesses took over smaller offices.

The Corporation welcomed the increasing interest that office organisations were taking in the town, since this would help to balance the employment structure. However, it also posed a housing problem because completion of the target was in sight and there were many workers to be housed for expanding industry. Even before the main office blocks were complete, the Corporation reported that, for housing reasons, it had turned away enquiries from further firms wishing to move out of central London. It is interesting to note that there was a general movement of office work out of central London during this period. Between 1961 and 1966 the number of jobs in central London fell, reversing the previous trend, but numbers in the rest of London and the South-East rose. The team studying planning in the South-East region concluded that routine clerical work was being decentralised[20]; pressure on space or inadequate premises was the reason most likely to stimulate a move. As with industrial moves, it seems that Bracknell provided one suitable outlet for a migration under way, seeking suitable sites for relocation. The Location of Offices Bureau, set up by the Minister of Housing and Local Government in April 1963 to encourage decentralisation of office employment from London, noted in its first annual report[30] that it was 'pushing on a door which was already partly open'.

Housing and labour shortage

Symptoms of a housing shortage first appeared during this phase. In 1962 the Corporation reported that for the first time it had imposed a waiting period for houses because of factors outside its control, including the rapid expansion of new industries. In spite of hopes that the situation would be rectified soon, the housing shortage has remained a feature of the Bracknell situation more or less ever since. The same is true of a closely related aspect – labour shortage; firms unable to offer housing to prospective employees found it difficult to attract labour. Since designation there had been virtually no unemployment in the town but the number of unfilled vacancies on the books of the Bracknell Employment Exchange had risen steadily. Between 1954 and 1958, unfilled vacancies rose from 194 to 253 (a mean increase of 15 per annum). Between 1959 and 1966 the annual increase was much steeper; by 1966 there were 737 vacancies registered (a mean increase of 61 per annum). A high ratio of unfilled vacancies to unemployed persons was typical of the zone around London in which the new town was situated, where almost all towns experienced serious housing and labour shortages during the 1960s.

5) The developing hinterland

A further characteristic of the town's growth in the 1960s was the extension of Bracknell's influence into surrounding areas. The Corporation, aware since early years of the pressure there would be to develop the land around its borders, had arranged with the planning authority for a Green Belt around the designated area to a depth of 4·8 km (3 miles); in this belt only agricultural development would be permitted except within small areas in the villages. Nevertheless, despite protection of the immediate borders, considerable development did take place. Between 1951 and 1961 there was an increase of 5000 people in the rural district area outside the new town; between 1961 and 1966 the annual increase was even greater, 4000 persons in 5 years. This was not entirely due to Bracknell's influence; every town in the vicinity was expanding, and everywhere within commuting range of those towns and of London was under heavy pressure for housing development. The focus of interest upon the 'planned' growth of 21 000 persons in Bracknell in 1951–1966 should not obscure the similar process under way in other areas; for example there were 83% increases in each of the four districts nearby: Wokingham Rural District (an increase of 30 000 persons), Bradfield Rural District (16 000), Wokingham Municipal Borough (7000), and Frimley and Camberley Urban District (17 000); the population of Reading rose by 12 000 (11%), that of Slough by 14 000 (22%) and that of Maidenhead by 14 000 (52%).

Yet at least part of the development around Bracknell stemmed directly from the new town. The growing difficulty in finding accommodation within the designated area led people to seek it in nearby areas; the arrival of office firms brought clerical and professional staff, some of whom preferred to live outside the town; and the trend towards owner-occupation caused many tenants to buy houses in neighbouring villages, while people from these villages took jobs in the new town. The 1961 Census showed that 3550 people travelled into Bracknell each day to work; by 1966 their numbers had increased to 5800 while 2800 residents travelled elsewhere to work. In 1961 35% of jobs in the new town were filled by people resident outside; in 1966, 40%. The Corporation recognised the process under way and commented[31]: 'The idea of a new town as a self-contained and separate entity is giving way to the newer and socially more healthy concept of a new town as the centre of a wider district.' Another paper associated with this study has shown that in the 1960s all the London new towns developed hinterlands upon which they relied for residential space, and these hinterlands tended to be displaced away from London[32]. The maps in Figure 4 show work–travel movements to and from Bracknell in 1966. The areas closest to the new town (Easthampstead and Windsor rural districts, Wokingham town and rural district) were the main source of outside labour; outward movement was less extensive, most of it going to the local districts or to towns at a 16–18 km (10–11 mile) radius.

The original plan completed

By the end of 1966 the small new town planned in Berkshire had come into existence. In terms of housing and population the original plan had been realised; about 6000 dwellings had been completed by the Development Corporation (compared with the early estimate that 5700 would be needed); and the population had reached approximately 25 000, the intended size. (The Corporation estimated it as 26 400 in March 1966; the April 1966 Sample Census returned a figure of 23 700.) The development had taken 16 years to accomplish, only just exceeding the original estimate that new towns could be constructed in 10–15 years.

One factor diverged noticeably from first expectations; there was a large surplus of jobs in the town. The Corporation had sought to provide 6000 industrial jobs but firms on the two industrial estates now employed approximately 8000 people. Total employment in the town numbered 14 540 according to the 1966 Sample Census, but there were only 11 540 employed residents, which meant that the town held 126 jobs for every 100 employed people. This was the highest job ratio in any of the London new towns.

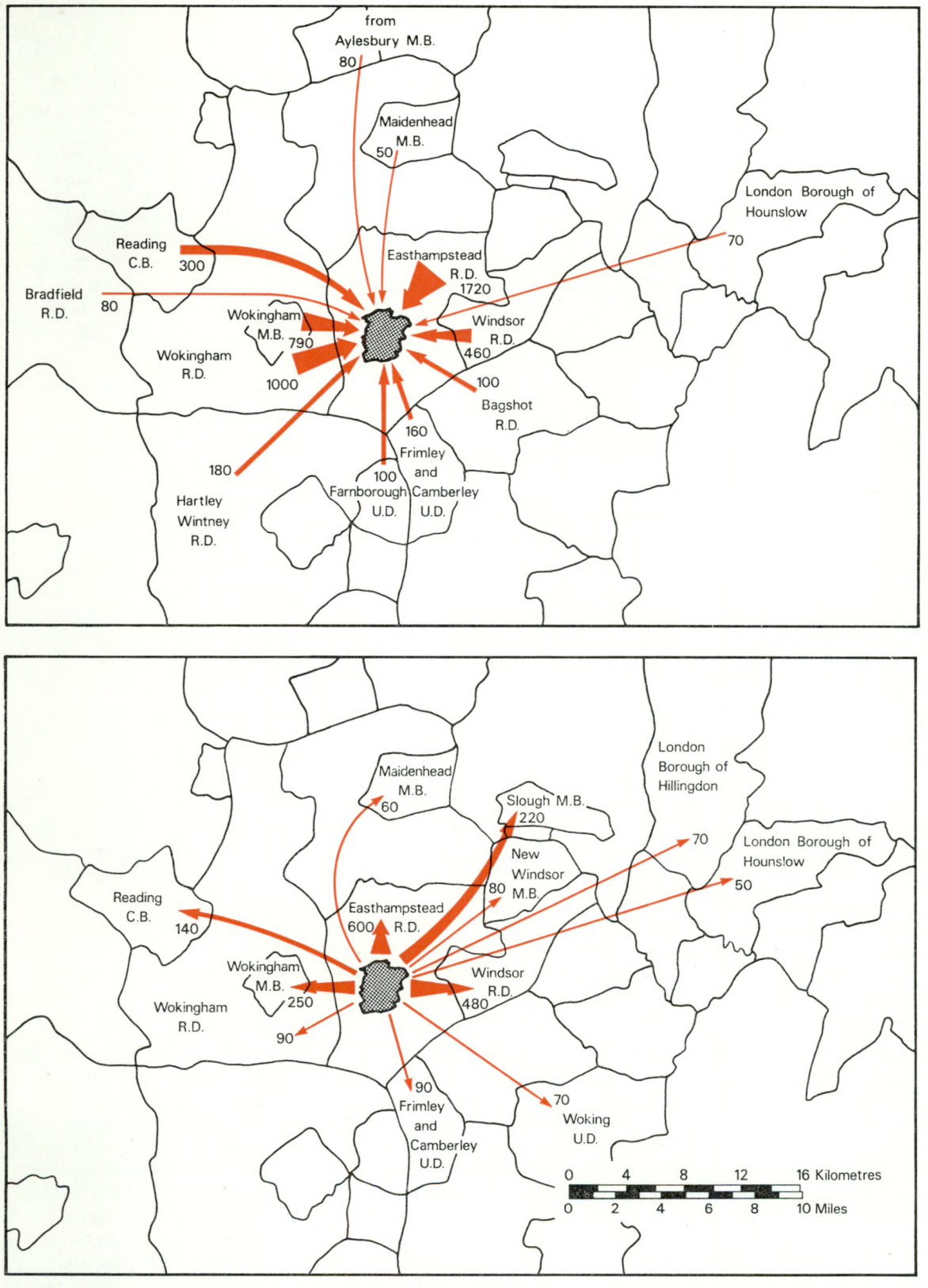


Figure 4 Work–travel movements to and from Bracknell New Town, 1966. Areas named are those where 50 or more movements to or from Bracknell were recorded. Source: *Sample Census 1966, England and Wales, Workplace and Transport Tables*

With 3000 fewer jobs in the town, the job ratio would have been balanced. The excess number of manufacturing industry jobs points to expansion in industry as one cause of the town's housing and labour shortage. Besides the growth of 8000 jobs in manufacturing industry and 1000 in major offices, there had been an increase since 1951 of just over 3000 jobs in services.

The job surplus made it necessary for the town to attract workers each day from outside. This, in addition to other factors such as the tendency for tenants to buy houses in nearby districts, and increasing car ownership which made it easier for people to seek jobs in a wide range of towns, meant that strong links had developed between the new town and its surrounding areas.

Phase 4 Further expansion towards the new target, 1967 onwards

This fourth phase, that of renewed development, occurred not only in Bracknell but also in other London new towns after their targets had been raised; construction work increased as they began to build for the larger populations which they accommodated mainly through an increase in density within their designated areas. At Bracknell the first houses and factory in the extension area were completed in 1967, 5 years after its designation. This was twice the time-lapse in the 1950s when the first house was completed within 2½ years of designation. However, on this occasion there was no need to build up a new labour force and construction work accelerated immediately to a rapid rate.

1) Housing in the extension area

Housing development began in Wildridings neighbourhood, then in Great Hollands and, by 1972, a start had been made on Hanworth. Work began very rapidly with nearly 700 completions in 1967 and almost 1000 the following year. This was a faster pace than the Corporation wished; it arose from the decision to build a major factory extension so that one of the town's firms could transfer an additional branch from London. The decision meant that 3·6 hectares (9 acres) of commercial and residential land in the first designated area had to be compulsorily purchased and cleared, and 750 houses injected into the Corporation's normal housing programme.

The sudden acceleration of housing output brought problems. The Corporation reported in 1970: 'Residents of the new outlying neighbourhood of Great Hollands complained over delay in the provision of primary schools, shops (especially a chemist) and public telephones. Such a lack or shortage of facilities in the neighbourhood, coupled with inadequate bus services, has not been evident since the early days of Bracknell's development and it is hoped that it will not be felt again. In this case it arose from enforced acceleration of house-building in exceptional circumstances' (page 76 of Twentieth Annual Report[33]). Residents had waited more than 2 years for facilities. This late appearance in Bracknell of difficulties which were common in faster-growing towns illustrates one of the pitfalls of rapid growth.

Visually, the distinction between new and older housing areas is clear; house designs in the extension area tend to be more 'modern' in appearance compared with the more conventional style of earlier designs. Densities are higher in the later neighbourhoods (mainly 27–32 houses/hectare (11–13 houses/acre) compared with 20–25 houses/hectare (8–10 houses/acre) in earlier neighbourhoods). There are differences too in layout; the new neighbourhoods are based in varying degrees on the 'Radburn' principle of segregating traffic from pedestrians. Most new towns introduced this type of scheme in their later estates.

Rents and rebate schemes

Houses in the extension area were more expensive than those in older areas. This was attributed not only to the continuing rise in building costs and interest rates, but also to the costs of the Radburn-type layout and higher (Parker Morris) standards, including the provision of central heating. In 1968, for instance, the rent for a typical three-bedroomed house in the new area was £4·50 a week (including a garage but excluding rates), whereas in the older areas it was £2·50. To prevent the differences becoming excessive, rents of older properties were increased. This was particularly necessary to correct one anomaly arising from the history of development; rents of new ordinary-standard houses rose above those of better-standard houses in the older areas; the latter had to be raised to maintain their relative value.

When a rent rebate scheme was introduced in 1967, the Corporation recognised the division of the town into a 'cheaper' and a 'more expensive' part and introduced two separate schemes. In older areas of the town, the scheme allowed a rebate for an assessed weekly income of £15 or less, with a maximum rebate of £1 a week, giving a minimum rent of 75 pence a week. In the extension area, eligibility for rebate required a weekly income of £20 or less, the maximum rebate being £1·50 per week, giving a minimum rent of £2 a week. Thus, even with these rebates, the cheapest rents were still to be found in older areas.

Housing for sale

A further difference in the extension area is the larger proportion of owner-occupied housing, following the new policy adopted in the 1960s. Not only did the Corporation itself build more houses for sale (in Great Hollands the intention was to offer most Standard II houses for sale) but private developers were leased Corporation land on which to build. The first private houses built under this arrangement were completed in 1969 (see Figure 2). The Corporation reported little difficulty in getting developers to undertake the work, although there were problems later over competition between developers and the Corporation for building labour. Some of the larger private-enterprise firms were taking an increasing interest in new towns, an interest which, in the changed climate of opinion, was accepted as 'a fruitful partnership'. A certain amount of private house-building was completed also in older parts of the town on sites not owned by the Corporation. In the 6 years March 1967–1973, houses built by the Corporation increased by 3289, houses built by private firms on Corporation land by 755, and by private firms on other land by 485. Thus private enterprise had undertaken 27% of house construction during this stage of growth.

The second scheme for increasing owner-occupation in the town through sales to sitting tenants continued. Sales were few until interest was revived in 1970 by the introduction of 100% mortgages, and in 1971 by concessionary prices to sitting tenants of 20% off market value with vacant possession. (The concession was linked to a requirement to pay back a diminishing amount of the discount if the house was resold within 5 years.) At the end of March 1973 over 1000 dwellings had been sold under the scheme. The Corporation's annual report at that time also shows that 882 of their total of 9205 dwellings had been built for sale, an increase over the proportions in earlier years.

In the designated area as a whole, owner-occupation was about one-third of the total. Houses built by the Corporation represented 75% of all dwellings, and those built by private firms in recent years represented 10%. The rest of the property had stood since before designation; there were over 300 council houses owned by the Rural District Council (3%) and about 1500 (12%) privately owned houses left out of the 2000 dwellings originally in the area (nearly 500 had been demolished); most of these private houses were owner-occupied.

2) Incoming population

The arrival of private developers to undertake housing work

caused some decline in the Corporation's control over incoming population; privately built houses could not be reserved for people nominated by new town employers; a precedent for this existed in the higher-rent flats. The Corporation had no control over sales of houses built on land it did not own, and these houses were sold to all-comers. However, for privately built houses on Corporation land, the developers were asked to give priority to 'qualified purchasers'; this signified existing Corporation tenants or people from London who were employed or were taking up employment in Bracknell. In 1970 the Corporation reported that 91 (55%) of the 163 privately built houses sold that year had gone to 'qualified applicants'. No figures are given for other years.

At first sight the introduction of private building suggests that the relationship between employment and housing in the town would be weakened. Yet it is probable that most people who purchased houses were employed in the town or nearby, and their occupations would be almost as closely related to local employment needs as those of people moving into higher-standard rented housing.

3) Industrial and commercial development

Unlike the early days of growth, there was no doubt about the eagerness of industry to occupy sites in the town; expansion of the well established base proved a strong attraction. In March 1970 the Corporation said that it could negotiate with no more industry at present since all the houses that remained to be built were needed to meet existing commitments. It noted also that the interest of investors extended beyond industrial premises: 'A marked feature was the considerable increase in investment in Bracknell of private and institutional funds to promote housing and industrial development and the building of shops and offices in the town centre' (page 73 of Twentieth Annual Report[33]). Of the first four factories built in the new Southern Industrial Area, only two were for firms new to the town; the others were new premises for firms established already in the older industrial estates.

Within the original designated area, only the town centre was the scene of major construction work at this time. It needed total replanning to serve the larger population, and this made it necessary to demolish more property than had been intended originally. The first major contract was completed in 1970, and work on road alterations and the provision of shopping, civic and commercial facilities was well advanced by the end of 1972. The centre included further office blocks and buildings connected with the computer industry which had moved into the town.

4) Housing and labour shortage

The increase in housing stock with development of the extension area had little effect on the prevailing housing shortage since employment continued to outpace housing. Many firms would not nominate a worker for a house until he had served a probationary period, to ensure that their housing quotas were not used for employees who subsequently proved unsatisfactory; even after nomination, employees had a further waiting period. Temporary accommodation in or near the town was scarce; some landlords had agreements with local firms to reserve their accommodation for those firms, in return for which they were promised a regular flow of reliable tenants; but this led to complaints that these firms were monopolising more than their fair share of housing and making life doubly difficult for others.

The housing problem increased at this time. In March 1973 the Corporation reported[34]: 'Nominees of firms are having to wait nearly a year before they can be housed. This is a longer period than has occurred at any time in the past.' The waiting period for second generation households was almost 3 years; for parents of tenants it was much longer. Industry in the town was booming and unfilled vacancies had risen to more than a thousand, compared with just over 700 in 1966. The rate at which unfilled vacancies rose between 1966 and 1973 (an average of 80 per annum) was half as high again as the increase in the previous phase.

The new town at the close of the study

By the end of 1972, Bracknell's population had reached 38 000, nearly two-thirds of the way to the new target of 60 000 which the Corporation plans to reach in the 1980s. There were about 20 000 people employed in the town and more than a thousand unfilled jobs. The town was still to some degree a work-centre drawing many workers from outside the designated area. Factory space covered 209 thousand m^2 ($2\frac{1}{4}$ million ft^2) of buildings, and there was nearly 23 thousand m^2 ($\frac{1}{4}$ million ft^2) of accommodation for service industry and almost 69 thousand m^2 ($\frac{3}{4}$ million ft^2) of office space.

To reach this point, the new town had passed through four phases since 1949, each with its distinctive characteristics, and the later years had brought radical changes in policy. Chief among these was the introduction of private development on a large scale with the related attempts to sell Corporation rented houses, and the escalation in thinking about new town size. In 1972 the possibility of a further expansion for Bracknell was suggested by the Secretary of State for the Environment as part of a plan to make more land available for private development in the South-East region. Similar expansions were suggested for Stevenage and Harlow. The feasibility of adding 809–1012 hectares (2000–2500 acres) of land to the designated area and of increasing the target population from 60 000 to 100 000 was explored. The suggestion aroused opposition in nearby villages and was withdrawn in January 1974 in favour of a limited expansion to cater for 'local needs'; this is still under discussion.

Bracknell lies within one of the areas recommended for major growth in the 1970 'Strategic Plan for the South-East' – the Reading–Wokingham–Aldershot–Basingstoke area. Decisions on this are inter-linked with the future of Bracknell. However, unless there are major changes, Bracknell will have a fifth and final stage of development in its history as a new town, when growth is reduced to a minimum and only a small amount of housing is built each year to cater mainly for local need or the town's own natural increase. Four of the London new towns are now in this phase and their varied experience shows that growth may be as difficult to slow down as it was to start.

Chapter 2 The nomination system and growth of new town firms

This chapter, the first dealing with analysis of the new town records, begins with inward migration since this has a major influence on the growth of a new settlement. Migration into the London new towns is particularly interesting because of the controls placed on it. To see that public housing in the towns was occupied satisfactorily, a nomination system was set up to control allocation of tenancies. To qualify for a tenancy an applicant must be nominated by an employer – principally a firm originating from London. Each year new town employers were allocated a quota of houses to which they could nominate workers; the people nominated would be housed if the Development Corporation was satisfied that they would make suitable tenants and fulfilled conditions about geographical origin and housing need. Thus the system was designed to ensure that most people moving into new town houses would have jobs in the town, would be drawn from the London area and, as far as possible, from London housing lists. This chapter shows how the Corporation's housing was allocated and the new housing demands that arose as the town grew.

As planned, the largest number of houses was allocated to manufacturing industries which moved to Bracknell from London. Less expected, however, was the share of this housing which went not to firms in the process of moving into the town but to firms subsequently expanding their activities. The workers nominated for each industry were divided into those housed when the firm first arrived and those housed later when the firm expanded or needed replacement workers. (The definition 'workers housed when the firm first arrived' means people who were housed up to 12 months after the month in which the firm occupied its new premises. An exception was made for a large firm whose move into different buildings was spread over a year; in this case the definition was extended to cover employees housed up to 24 months after the first move.) The division shows the importance of industrial growth after arrival (see Table 2); more than 5400 tenants were housed between 1951 and 1968 for new manufacturing industries; less than half of these (44%, approximately 2400) were housed when their firms first moved in, but a greater number (56%, some 3000 tenants) were nominated

Table 2 Nominations of tenants housed during each phase of development

Tenants nominated by:	Initial development 1951–1953 (%)	Major growth 1954–1958 (%)	Completion of the second half 1959–1966 (%)	Further expansion 1967–1968 (%)	All years 1951–1968 %	All years 1951–1968 Nos to nearest 100
New industry						
New firms	55·2	56·1	7·3	6·9	24·0	2400
Later nominations	6·8	21·4	38·4	31·6	30·7	3000
Sub-total	62·0	77·5	45·7	38·5	54·7	5400
New offices	—	0·4	13·5	2·3	6·8	700
Existing industry and small businesses	7·4	4·6	2·6	1·1	3·1	300
Services						
Development Corporation staff	11·5	3·4	4·0	3·3	3·9	400
Development Corporation depot	0·9	1·1	1·0	3·3	1·5	100
Local services	7·7	2·4	4·1	5·0	3·9	400
Teachers	1·9	1·8	3·9	2·5	2·9	300
Shops	—	0·9	1·7	2·8	1·6	200
Professional and administrative	0·9	0·7	1·1	1·8	1·1	100
Building workers	4·6	1·0	0·3	0·3	0·7	100
Road Research Laboratory	—	—	1·7	3·3	1·5	100
Sub-total	27·5	11·3	17·7	22·3	17·1	1700
Special categories (not nominated by an employer)						
Married children	—	0·8	5·1	9·4	4·5	400
Parents of tenants	0·6	2·3	5·1	5·4	4·1	400
Rural District Council	—	0·0	2·2	7·1	2·4	200
Displaced persons	2·2	1·3	1·4	5·9	2·3	200
High-rent flats	—	—	3·2	4·1	2·2	200
Mutual exchange	0·3	0·9	3·0	2·6	2·1	200
Special housing allocation	—	—	—	1·3	0·2	<100
Other	—	0·9	0·5	—	0·5	100
Sub-total	3·1	6·2	20·5	35·8	18·3	1800
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	9900
(*n*)	(323)	(1140)	(1188)	(392)	(3043)	

later. In fact, these 3000 additional industrial nominees comprised the largest single group of tenants housed.

Tenants housed for office organisations accounted for 7% of all nominations over the years, and a further 3% went to industries or small businesses which had been established before designation. The remaining allocations were divided between two groups. One consisted of people nominated by employers providing services in the town – the Corporation itself, building firms, transport, gas and electricity undertakings, the Post Office, police force, schoolteachers, shopkeepers, doctors and so on. (The Road Research Laboratory was included in this group because it occupied land just outside the designated area and could not be defined as a new town firm.)

The final group of allocations consisted of special categories who did not need to be nominated by an employer. The two largest categories comprised the new town's second and older generations – married children of tenants, and tenants' parents. Four further categories with 2% of total allocations each were: people nominated by the Rural District Council (most were from their housing list), people whose homes had been demolished to make way for development, people moving into high-rent flats, and those making mutual exchanges with Bracknell tenants. Although these tenants were not sponsored by new town employers, some of them (such as married children of tenants) were required to have a job in or near the town as a condition for housing and most of the rest were in paid employment. People nominated in this way therefore were not entirely free from the influence of employment in the area.

The first four columns of Table 2 summarise housing allocations in each phase of development, and Figure 5 amplifies this, showing variations from year to year. The total number of nominations each year varied less than changes in the building programme might lead one to expect. This was due to the tenancy turnover rate which made earlier houses available for re-letting and kept up numbers of new tenancies even when house completions declined.

Owing to the early arrival of the first factories during the initial development phase, the Corporation was able to let almost two-thirds of available houses to these firms' employees. The remaining houses were let to people working in various services, Corporation staff, building workers and people employed by existing firms. (In other new towns where arrival of the first firms was more delayed, these groups obtained almost all the early houses.)

In the major growth phase, while the industrial base was established, nearly four out of every five houses were allocated to new industries; most of the tenants were workers arriving with their firms although, as each year passed, there was an increase in tenants who were new recruits for expanding firms.

In the third phase, when the main industrial movement into the town had ceased, industry continued to claim the lion's share of nominations – this time for the additional recruits for expanding industry who accounted for nearly two-fifths

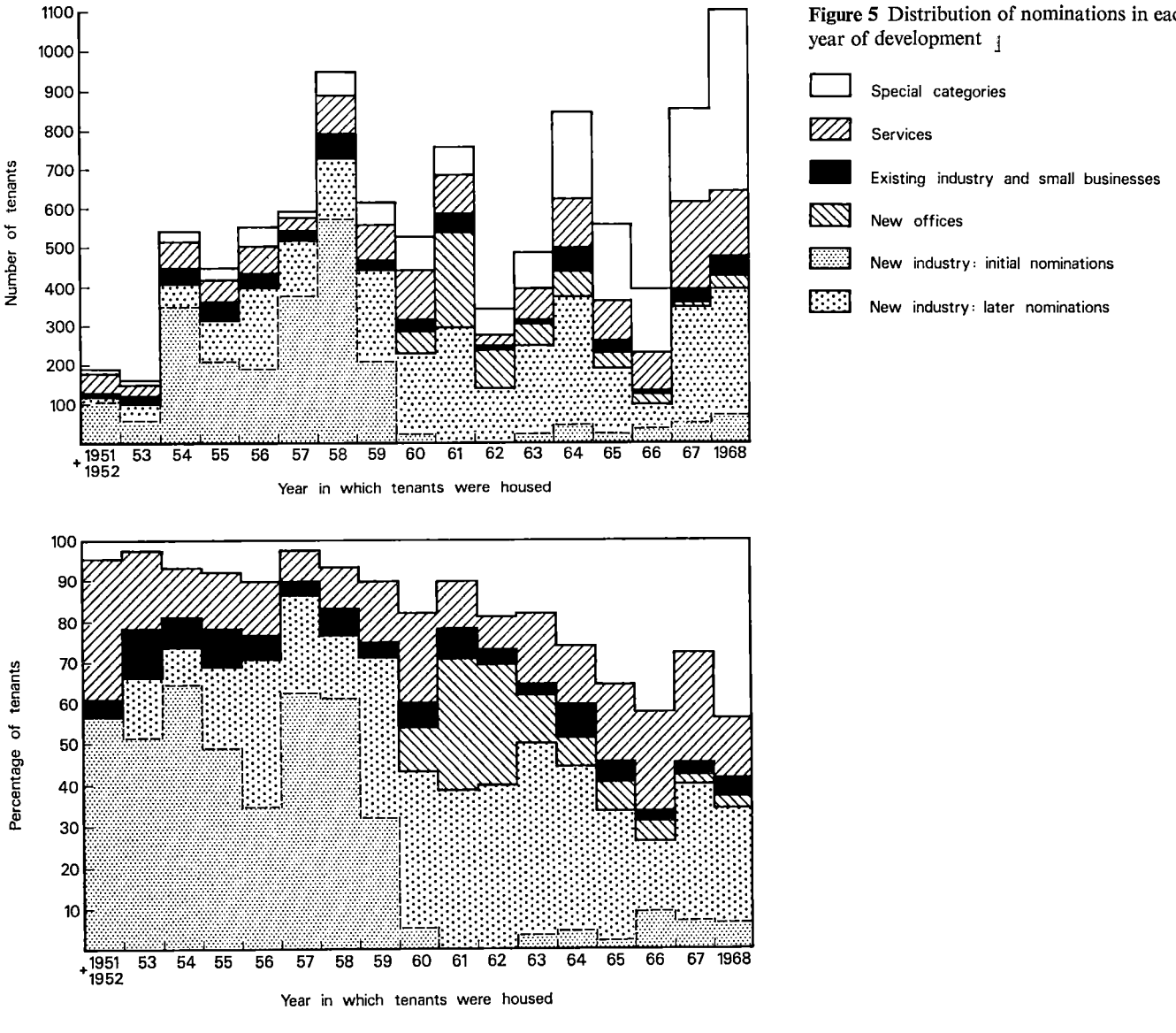


Figure 5 Distribution of nominations in each year of development

of new tenants. Two other features of this phase were allocations to office employees, accounting for almost one-third of nominations in 1961 and 1962; and the rapid rise in the special categories, particularly married children and parents of tenants, people making mutual exchanges with Bracknell tenants (usually from a council flat in London), and people moving into high-rent flats or housed for the local council. In 1965 the special categories equalled industrial nominations and in 1966 out-numbered them. Some of the service categories also increased, particularly schoolteachers and employees of local shops and service industries, a recognition of the growth of tertiary industries (public utilities, distributive trades, professional services, etc) which tend to develop after secondary industries.

One would expect non-industrial allocations to increase at this stage. As a new town completes its plan, less housing should be required for manufacturing firms and more should be available for 'finishing touches' to the population; for example, catering for older and younger generations, service industries, aid to local housing lists and even assisting the 'social balance' by providing for groups previously deficient in numbers. To some extent this occurred in Bracknell, although expansion in industry continued to claim a substantial share of available houses.

The fourth phase, the start of the second development, bore no resemblance to the start made 15 years earlier. Industrial nominations played a much smaller part, accounting for two out of every five new tenants; most of these were employees of firms already in the town. The distinctive feature of this phase was that the largest share of housing, even exceeding allocations to expanding industry, was needed for the special categories. Principal among these were married children and parents of tenants, people from the local council's list and households displaced by development. Some categories for which tenants had been nominated in the earliest years had virtually disappeared from the lists; in particular, employees of pre-designation firms and building workers. Other new ones appeared, such as the 'special housing allocation' designed to assist unskilled Londoners.

Thus the nomination system responded to changes in housing needs during the town's development, with incoming industry obtaining the largest share of available tenancies in the first two phases, the requirements of expanding firms predominating during the third phase, and the needs of special categories during the fourth. The direct influence of employers on the tenant intake declined in later years; yet, though the special category tenants were not nominated directly by employers, most of them needed work in or near the town; in this way the intake became 'employment selected' rather than 'employer selected'.

Industrial nominations

The numbers housed for each firm in its initial housing period (up to 12 months after occupation of the premises) varied from 20 or fewer employees for the smallest firms to over 100 for larger firms and several hundred for the largest. Most firms did not get Corporation housing for all their workers. Comparing the figures for housed employees with those for initial work-forces (although the latter records are not complete), it seems that rented houses were provided for just under two-thirds of the initial employees of industrial firms. For office organisations the proportion was much lower; about one-quarter of their initial employees became tenants. The high proportion of white-collar workers employed by offices accounts for this difference; these workers were the most likely to seek housing outside the public sector.

The shortfall in housing for initial work-forces gives some measure of the effect on the locality caused by the arrival of firms. In general for every 100 industrial employees housed by the Corporation, 50 further workers were not housed, except possibly as secondary earners in other households. Some of the extra workers were recruited from existing inhabitants, but in a small market town the labour supply was limited. Some were recruited from local towns and travelled in daily. Some original employees found accommodation in the vicinity or commuted from their old addresses. Some new recruits moved to the area from elsewhere and found accommodation for themselves. In a variety of ways the establishment of each firm brought an increased demand for housing and transport facilities in the town and nearby areas.

Expansion at the time of the move

Most firms expanded their work-forces by between one-tenth and one-quarter at the time of the move. This was calculated from information about number of employees housed who had worked at the previous place of employment. New town employers generally say that three-quarters or more of their work-forces decide to move to new towns with the firms. A commercial organisation which moved its head office to Bracknell reported the figure as 80% of the original staff[35] and the Development Corporation said it was 70–80% in industrial firms[36]. Similar figures appear elsewhere; Crawley Development Corporation, for example, said that 'up to 80–90%' of employees moved with London industries[37].

In the Bracknell sample 'original employees' (those who had worked at the previous work-place) could be distinguished from 'new employees' (those who began work after the move). In manufacturing firms, 63% of all the workers housed in each firm's initial housing period were original employees; the figure varied from one firm to another, but was mainly in the 53–73% range. A slightly simplified calculation shows that if these 63% original workers comprised 70–80% of the work-force before the move, the work-force had expanded by 11–27% at the time of the move. This is not an unrealistic figure, and is supported both by the evidence that most firms move to new towns in order to expand, and by the far greater expansion that follows.

A great many of the original employees had joined their firms only a short while before the move (see Table 3). The date on which each work-force was first told that the firm intended to move is unknown, but it is likely that most of those who joined in the preceding 12 months knew that the move was planned and were willing to go. Some of them may have filled vacancies left by other workers who did not want to move and had found new jobs. A turnover of this type, in which workers unwilling to move were replaced by those wishing to do so, could account for the high figure of 70–80% of work-forces accompanying firms.

Growth of firms after arrival in the town

The previous chapter reported that firms which moved to Bracknell (and other London new towns) were concentrated

Table 3 Length of service of original employees housed for industrial firms, 1952–1968 (original employees are those employed at the firm's previous work-place)

Began work with the firm:	%
More than 1 year before the move	54·7
In the 12 months preceding the move	34·1
Not known	11·2
Total	100·0
(*n*)	(609)

mainly in the light engineering and electrical goods group, and that this industrial grouping throughout the country was noted for growth in the post-war years. A comparison of the size of firms which moved to Bracknell with the national figures (Table 4) shows that the new town had drawn disproportionately from medium-size firms with between 100 and 500 employees; almost half the firms moving into the town were in this range, compared with less than a quarter in the country as a whole. The table also shows the subsequent expansion that took place, with the proportion of small firms declining further while the proportion in the medium-size range increased until it was nearly three times the national figure, and the proportion of large firms rose also.

Mean size of firm in the new town increased from 162 expected employees to 169 recorded about 1 year after completion of the move, and to 265 and 372 after 6 and 10 years respectively. This was a tremendous growth rate; the average work-force more than doubled within 10 years. In the following 5 years, mean size of firm increased still further but, owing to the departure of two firms whose premises were taken over by existing organisations, the total work-force remained constant. There was great variation among individual firms; some (mainly concerned with electronics) expanded twofold or even threefold or more within a few years. These firms tend to dominate the figures for growth, yet one should not overlook the fact that some firms maintained a constant size or expanded only moderately – to less than twice the original size. Expansion was the most prevalent trend in the new town, but in its most extreme form it did not involve more than a minority of firms. The existence of more stable firms is interesting because they show that development of the new town could have proceeded along different lines if the town had not proved so attractive to the growth industries and had accommodated instead more of the other types of firms prepared to move at that time.

The growth in manufacturing industry firms once settled into the new town's industrial estates was a feature common to all London's new towns. It can be traced through employment figures (as in this study), or through site densities. A study by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government using 1966 data for 173 firms in Basildon, Crawley and Stevenage found that the plot ratio (ratio of floor area of buildings to area of the site) rose with age of firm as further extensions were added; firms increased their floor-space by more than one-third in the 10–15 years following their arrival and more than doubled their site densities (number of workers per acre). The report found wide variation between firms (some firms never expanded beyond their first buildings) and it noted that the increase tended to level off later as fully developed industrial estates reached a saturation point at which growth ceased[38].

Increase in housing allocations to firms

A similar type of analysis was made for housing allocations to see how growth in employment compared with housing

Table 4 Initial size and expansion of manufacturing industry firms which moved to Bracknell, 1952–1959 (%)

Size of firm (number of employees)	Expected initial employment	Employment in the years following each firm's arrival				Size of manufacturing establishments in Great Britain, June 1961*
		Year 1	Year 6	Year 10	Year 15	
Small (11–99)	48	52	33	30	21	72·5
Medium (100–499)	48	43	52	55	63	22·2
Large (500 or more)	4	5	15	15	16	5·3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100·0
No of firms†	21	21	21	20	19	
No of employees (to nearest 100)	3400	3600	5600	7400	7400	
Mean no of employees per firm	162	169	265	372	389	
Employees per 100 expected initially	100	104	163	218	217	

*Source: Central Statistical Office, *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, Number 104, Table 142. London, HMSO, 1967.

†The decline in number of firms is due to two firms which left the town and whose premises were taken over by existing firms. Three other firms which left were replaced by new firms of comparable size which are included in the table. Other firms which arrived after 1959 were few and have been excluded since it is not yet possible to trace their growth over 15 years.

Table 5 Number of employees housed for manufacturing industry firms which moved to Bracknell during 1952–1959, expressed as a proportion of the initial work-force housed

	Employees housed		Employees who terminated tenancies		Net number of employees housed
During initial housing period for each firm	100		2·6		97·4
During subsequent years:					
Year 1	25·8		4·4		118·8
2	13·5		6·8		125·5
3	11·2		6·5		130·2
4	9·7	12·1 per annum	4·9	6·5 per annum	135·0
5	10·9		7·3		138·6
6	15·1		7·0		146·7
7	7·1		9·4		144·4
8	6·8		7·4		143·8
9	17·3		7·3		153·8
10	5·7		8·5		151·0
11	4·6	7·2 per annum	8·2	7·2 per annum	147·4
12	3·8		8·4		142·8
13	13·8		10·4		146·2
14	5·4		1·1		150·5
15	0·0		4·3		146·2
Total	250·7		104·5		

allotted to each firm. In Table 5 the numbers of employees housed for each firm in succeeding years have been aggregated and expressed as a proportion of the initial work-force housed. The greatest increase in housing allocations came in the 1st year after each firm's initial settling-in period; on average a further 26 employees were housed for each 100 housed already. In the following 5 years, an average of 12 further employees per annum were housed and in the next 9 years another 7 per annum, giving in 15 years a total of 151 additional employees.

Employees who ended their tenancies must be taken into account to get the net figure. The turnover rate remained almost constant at 5–6% per annum, with approximately seven employees leaving the town each year. In the early growth years this was only half the rate at which new employees were being housed, and the number of houses occupied rose rapidly, reaching 147 by the 6th year. Thereafter new employees and those terminating tenancies were generally in balance and the net figure remained around the 150 level, representing a 50% increase over the houses initially allocated to these firms.

A comparison of these figures with those for employment growth demonstrates one of the reasons for the town's housing shortage. The number of employees housed for industrial firms rose by 50% by the time 6 years had elapsed since the firms settled in, and this increase was nearly parallel to that in employment (a 63% increase over the same period – see last line of Table 4). But in following years the continued growth in employment was no longer matched by increased allocations of housing. While the number housed levelled off at a generally constant figure, employment continued to grow by about 8% per annum, only levelling off between the 10th and 15th years of development. By this time employment was more than double the original figure, while the increase in housing allocations was only 50% higher than the original level. The imbalance would have become evident some 7 years after firms arrived. Most of the firms listed moved into their new premises between 1954 and 1957; 7 years later would be in the period 1961–1964 and this coincides with the Corporation's statement in March 1962 that, for the first time, it had been obliged to impose a waiting period for houses (see page 14). The housing programme was declining at that time for there was little development within the original boundaries to be completed. In addition, new employers – office organisations employing some 1500 people – were arriving in the town; only about a quarter of their employees were allocated Corporation tenancies and the influx of their workers increased the general demand for all types of housing in the area.

The imbalance between housing and work-forces

The increases in tenancies for industrial firms arriving in 1952–1959 and the increases in their work-forces can be translated into approximate numbers of houses:

Initial work-force =3400	Tenancies for these firms =2100 (62%)
Work-force in 6th year =5600	Tenancies for these firms =3100 (56%)
Work-force in 10th year=7400	Tenancies for these firms =3200 (43%)
Work-force in 15th year=7400	Tenancies for these firms =3200 (43%)

To have kept pace with the growth of industrial employment between years 6 and 10, so that tenancies in year 10 still equalled 56% of the work-force, a further 1000 houses would have been required for industrial nominees; to have restored the allocation to the 62% level of the early years, 1500 houses would have been required. Thus excess industrial demand by year 10 (which most firms reached during 1964–1967) would have called for the equivalent of at least one complete new neighbourhood in the extension area to be made available entirely for employees of existing firms.

However, when the extension area was opened up, a third (Southern) Industrial Area was developed and new firms accepted. In the first 2 years, 1967 and 1968, almost one-third of the tenancies (including re-lets) did go to employees of existing firms; the proportion was high owing to workers transferring to Bracknell with a further branch of one large firm; only 7% of allocations went to new firms in those 2 years. But in following years more new firms arrived and their overall level of employment has since begun to rise at an initial rate that is certainly not slower than that of the 1950s. (In the first seven organisations to move in, employment had risen by the 2nd year after their settling-in period to just over 140 jobs for every 100 introduced initially; this compares with an increase to 163 jobs by the 6th year for firms arriving in the 1950s.) Thus, while older firms have reached a more stable employment situation (some grew, some contracted and one left the town, yet the overall number of jobs remained constant at about 7500), there was a growth of industrial employment generally, due to expansion in the newer firms accepted since the extension area was opened. In 1973 these new firms employed nearly 2000 people and at this time the labour and housing shortage in the town intensified.

If the pattern of the earlier industrial development is repeated, the newer firms are likely to continue their expansion for some time to come, unless changes in the economic situation have a major effect on the South-East new towns. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government work on Stevenage, Crawley and Basildon referred to previously, pointed out that an influx of firms brought considerable potential for further growth: 'Industrial areas are sometimes regarded as being complete when the last site has been allocated but it is apparent that (assuming favourable economic conditions) growth in employment can be expected to continue for many years thereafter. A satisfactory balance between the phasing of the growth of industry (ie jobs) and housing (ie population) can be achieved only if this is understood and anticipated well in advance' (pages 15–16 of reference 38).

While aware of the unfair advantage that is conferred by hindsight, it would be wrong not to point to two ways in which the imbalance between housing and industrial jobs (the major part of employment in the town) could have been reduced. The principal one, an opportunity open to Bracknell but not to other London new towns, concerned the addition of the extension area, providing the town with a further large acreage of land. This could have been developed at first for residential purposes only, and the acceptance of new firms delayed until the balance had been improved. Against this it can be argued that the arrival of further firms brought more varied employment opportunities and reduced the dominance of the largest firms; but the gain was at the cost of increased problems of other kinds. The requirement to develop a new town of a certain size, with a balance between population and employment, necessarily imposes a limit on the scope of local employment.

The second possibility would have been to control either the type of firm accepted or firms' subsequent growth. Expansion of employment is difficult to control; a Development Corporation can influence firms' growth-rates only by indirect means and much employment is totally outside its control. A firm which has been denied planning permission to extend its premises may threaten to withdraw from the town altogether and this could cause serious dislocation in a town such as Bracknell whose small size makes it vulnerable to the decisions of large firms. A different policy concerning type of firm introduced seems more feasible. The acceptance of more firms which were likely to maintain a stable employment size or to expand only moderately, and fewer firms at the forefront of technological advance (mainly concerned with electronics, computers and research), would have achieved the result. Obviously there are difficulties here too. In the 1950s it was by no means certain that the expansion of certain industries would continue; but it seemed highly likely to do so and the choice of rapidly expanding firms for new towns was questioned by observers when there was yet time for a change in selection criteria (these observers' comments are quoted in Chapter 12, page 109). However, neither the introduction of less growth industry nor control of its expansion seem to offer as practical an opportunity as did the addition of the extension area and its initial development for residential purposes only.

Job changing by people nominated by their employers

The study produced evidence on a further point connected with the nomination system. The influence of employers on shaping the new town population was, by definition, impermanent. New towns were not to be 'company towns'; once housed, tenants were free to change their jobs and employers were free to hire or fire regardless of where their employees lived. As a result, accusations have been made about workers taking jobs with new town firms 'merely to get houses' and then reverting to their previous jobs as soon as they were in possession of tenancies.

It was possible to trace such changes for a sample of tenants housed during the town's first three development stages, to see whether those resident at the end of that time were still employed by the firms which nominated them. A previous study of all eight London new towns, using more general figures, concluded that, if the nomination system does have the effect of interrelating people and jobs more closely than in an old town (thus reducing the amount of work-travel to and from local areas), then the effect is not very great[39]. The 'normal' unplanned pattern of movement of people to jobs within reach of their homes seemed to re-establish itself in new town populations within a short while. The present study confirms this finding. Table 6 shows that a considerable amount of job mobility had taken place among the sample which was a representative cross-section of tenants resident in 1966. Only half the tenants were with their initial employers; almost equal proportions had changed to another employer in the town or to one outside. There was little difference between socio-economic or age groups in this respect, the main difference being between men and women tenants. The proportion of men and women who had transferred to another

Table 6 Change of employer by tenants resident in 1966 who were nominated originally by a Bracknell employer (%)

Tenant's change of employer	Men	Women	All	Duration of residence (years)				
				Under 2	2 to under 4	4 to under 6	6 to under 10	10 and over
No change	48·0	43·2	47·6	69·3	51·8	51·3	41·1	29·7
Change within Bracknell	18·3	17·3	18·2	6·4	14·2	16·0	23·3	26·8
Change to outside Bracknell	20·8	3·7	19·4	9·5	19·1	17·9	23·0	24·6
Retired/given up work	0·3	22·2	2·1	—	0·7	3·7	1·8	4·6
Not known	12·6	13·6	12·7	14·8	14·2	11·1	10·8	14·3
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(912)	(81)	(993)	(189)	(141)	(162)	(326)	(175)

employer in Bracknell was the same, while the proportion of men who had transferred to jobs outside the new town was counterbalanced by the proportion of women who had given up work for parental reasons. This left almost equal proportions (the difference was not statistically significant) of both men and women still remaining with their original employers. The loss of men to the town's employers as a whole was greater than that of women because there was a tendency for women to return to local work after their children reached school-age.

Job mobility was associated with duration of residence; even among tenants housed less than 12 months before the survey, more than one in nine had changed their employers and of those housed 1 to 2 years before the survey almost one in five. Rate of job mobility seemed greatest in the initial years of residence, thereafter reducing slowly (a finding which is echoed in the analysis of tenancy termination rates). Among those who had been new town tenants for 10 years or more, just under one-third were still with their original employers.

Not only had the links between individual firms and their nominees been loosened, but the overall link between all nominating employers and new town tenants had diminished; the substantial job mobility observed had not consisted merely of exchanges between employers; most firms had made a net loss of tenants, principally to jobs outside the town. The only Bracknell firms to have gained in numbers of tenants employed were medium-sized but rapidly expanding electronic and research firms, as well as local shops and services.

In few cases could loss of tenants to outside jobs represent a return to a previous employer, for most found their alternative opportunities in the area within 16 km (10 miles) of Bracknell, particularly Wokingham and Ascot, or in towns about 16 km (10 miles) away, especially Reading and Slough.

The greatest limitation on the long-term influence of the nomination system was the existence of so many alternative jobs within easy travelling distance. As the previous study[39] has shown, by use of a simple gravity model relating number of jobs to the square of the intervening distance, it is possible to predict with reasonable accuracy the number of employed persons who will take advantage of these various opportunities. The nomination system therefore has no permanent influence on a new town since the interrelationship between local people and jobs in and near the town seems to find its own level in a short while. However the system has other uses, for example in providing incoming firms with houses for their work-forces.

Migrants with relatives in the new town

Before leaving the nomination system, it is interesting to note a factor which is normally important in migration movements but which the nomination system did not recognise (apart from two special groups), even though it played a considerable part in population intake. This was the kinship network. Generally this has a strong influence on residential moves; many households move in order to live nearer to other members of their families. But it seemed that its influence would be weakened in the case of new town migration, with its nomination system laying strict emphasis on employment suitability and housing need.

In Harlow some contrary evidence emerged from a survey in 1963 which found that two-fifths of Development Corporation tenant households had relatives in other households in the town[40]. This appeared surprisingly high for a new industrially selected community only 16 years after designation; new towns are generally seen as settlements for nuclear families, contrasting with the complicated web of extended family relationships found in old urban areas. Although all new towns had housed two categories of tenant who, by definition, must have relatives in the town, ie married children and parents of existing tenants, the proportion of such households generally was less than a tenth of all allocations (8·6% at Bracknell by the end of 1968). However, Hemel Hempstead Development Corporation also had commented on 'the determination of some of those left behind in London to join their relatives in the new town'[41]; and in its last annual report the Corporation reaffirmed that 'in many cases whole clans have re-established themselves in the new surroundings'; it quoted one example of a large family housed as several households and said that 'examples of family unity on a smaller scale are numerous'[42].

Information on this point came to light in this study. Some of the tenants' records included notes that these people

already had relatives living in Bracknell. (Obviously the Housing Department found this information useful when applicants asked to be housed near relatives or stayed with them while awaiting housing; also it is possible that the existence of relatives who were satisfactory tenants was seen as an unofficial 'reference' for the new applicants.) One cannot be sure how complete this information is; other cases were probably omitted because the information was not on the file or was not noticed. Yet, as a minimum statement of the number of related migrants, it suggests that the Harlow figure is not unique to that town.

The number of related migrants

Altogether 533 cases of tenants who had relatives living in Bracknell when they first applied for housing were identified in the sample. Together with 410 parents of tenants housed and 442 married children of tenants, this accounts for 1385 tenants of the 9900 housed between 1951 and 1968, or 14·0%. Since the number of households to which these households were related must be an approximately equivalent number, more than a quarter of the households which moved to Bracknell were preceded or followed by a related household. Allowing (*a*) for cases in which the information was missing, (*b*) for households moving into other property in the town (the Harlow figure referred to relatives in the town as a whole), and (*c*) for the fact that related households tended to be in manually employed groups which had lower termination rates, it is highly probable that the proportion of households with relatives in the town in the 1960s was as high as the Harlow figure (38%). Contrary to the impression of a new town as a settlement cut off well-nigh irretrievably from its roots, some of the basic elements of the previous pattern were being reconstructed.

This conclusion was confirmed by further records which noted that tenants had enquired about housing for other people who wished to move to the town. One does not know whether the would-be migrants were able to obtain nomination eventually, yet the overwhelming impression was that each initial wave of migrants brought in its wake a considerable – and presumably partly unsatisfied – demand for a secondary wave of migration.

Channels through which related migrants made the move

A household which followed another unit in its family to the town generally did so by obtaining nomination from a new town employer. 'Related' migrants were more likely to obtain nomination by a firm existing prior to designation (14% of the people nominated by these firms were related migrants) or by a new firm recruiting later workers (7% were related migrants), than by a firm in the process of moving (only 3% of their nominees were related migrants).

Among the town's services which nominated above-average proportions of related tenants were the building trade, the Development Corporation's depot, garages, shops and some existing small businesses. In the special categories, nomination from the local council's housing list brought many local related tenants (a third and probably more had relatives in Bracknell, though rarely in Development Corporation property). More useful for related migrants from London were mutual exchanges of tenancies and acceptance as tenants for the more expensive flats; one-fifth or more of these tenants already had relatives in the town.

The greater likelihood of related tenants being nominated by firms settled in the town is reflected in the annual figures; the proportion of related tenants in the intake was lowest during the phases when new firms were moving in. Thus from 1953 to 1959 related tenants formed only 3·5% of all industrial nominations; between 1960 and 1966 the proportion rose to 7–8%, but with renewed intake of new firms for the extension area it fell again to 3%. Two-thirds of related migrants (other than married children or parents of tenants) were drawn from widely dispersed parts of Greater London, not confined to the main source areas for Bracknell industry. A further one-fifth came from within Bracknell, most being nominated by the local council. Related tenants were markedly concentrated in manual employment; 82% compared with 54% of all tenants were in manual occupations. The relationships involved were mainly those of the closest links in the family; excluding those housed as second or older generation households, where the relationship was that of parents and children, 46% were joining a brother or sister, 27% were joining parents or grandparents, 7% were joining parents and a brother or sister, and 15% were joining a son or daughter or both.

Other studies have shown that migration currents may be perpetuated by the links they create between areas, even areas separated by considerable distances. In this study, the kinship link appeared principally among migrants from Greater London to Bracknell; thus it strengthened the 'overspill' movement itself, and it is possible that, if its influence had not been weakened by the nomination system, it might have increased the number of Londoners in the intake in later stages of development.

Clearly the nomination system had a considerable influence on the new town's intake. Through control of tenancy allocations, the population intake was made directly responsive to the town's employment situation. In successive stages of development, different priorities of housing need emerged, initially for workers in incoming firms, to be overtaken later by the housing requirements of expanding firms, a demand which was only partially met by Development Corporation tenancies. Finally the special categories obtained the largest share of newly available housing, and the direct influence of employers on the tenant intake was reduced, although the general influence of employment remained. The nomination system served a useful purpose in guaranteeing to an incoming firm that a certain amount of housing would be available for its work-force; but the close interrelationship of jobs and housing that the system induced did not persist. The kinship network, not specifically recognised by the nomination system (apart from the housing of second and older generations), was able to play a considerable part in migration to the new town. The types of people who moved into the town through this nomination system are examined in the next chapters.

Chapter 3 Socio-economic characteristics of inward migrants

The population character of a new settlement in the early years depends mainly on its migrant intake. This chapter deals with the socio-economic characteristics of inward migrants, and the following chapter with their age structure and household composition. Two points about definitions should be clarified. The term 'inward migrants' is used here generally to mean all persons housed by the Development Corporation, including a few who moved from within the designated area. Some studies have limited the term 'migrants' to people who have crossed a local authority or new town boundary, but such a distinction is not used in this study which is concerned with the nature of the total population resident in Development Corporation housing. In fact, people from outside the boundaries formed more than 90% of all those housed, and the trends outlined in this report would be unaffected by any exclusion of local movers. The terms inward migrants and outward migrants are used in preference to immigrants or emigrants which demographers use to mean migrants across international borders.

A great deal is known already about migration differentials, ie the tendency for migration to be selective of certain groups of the population; the subject has a long history of research and an extensive background of literature. The search for universal differentials was abandoned many years ago when it was found that characteristics of migration streams were complex and diverse; they varied according to the structure of communities of origin and destination, distance covered and phase of the business cycle[43,44]. Of the various differentials examined in other studies (age, sex, marital status, intelligence, education, income, occupation, etc), only for the age variable can one make any general and unequivocal statement: mobility is greatest in the years of early adulthood and declines thereafter.

In the case of population movements to post-war new towns, two differentials are usually cited; it is generally assumed that migration has been selective of young families and of wage-earners in skilled manual work. This has been suggested by numerous social surveys[45-48] which have found these groups to be over-represented among new town residents when compared with the national population. Yet the populations of new towns are by no means identical, and this study shows that any general statement that a new town attracts disproportionately only the young and skilled is a gross over-simplification.

The overall pattern of change in socio-economic grouping is shown in Figure 6 which divides the tenants housed each year into those in manual employment and those in non-manual (sometimes called 'white-collar') employment, with a

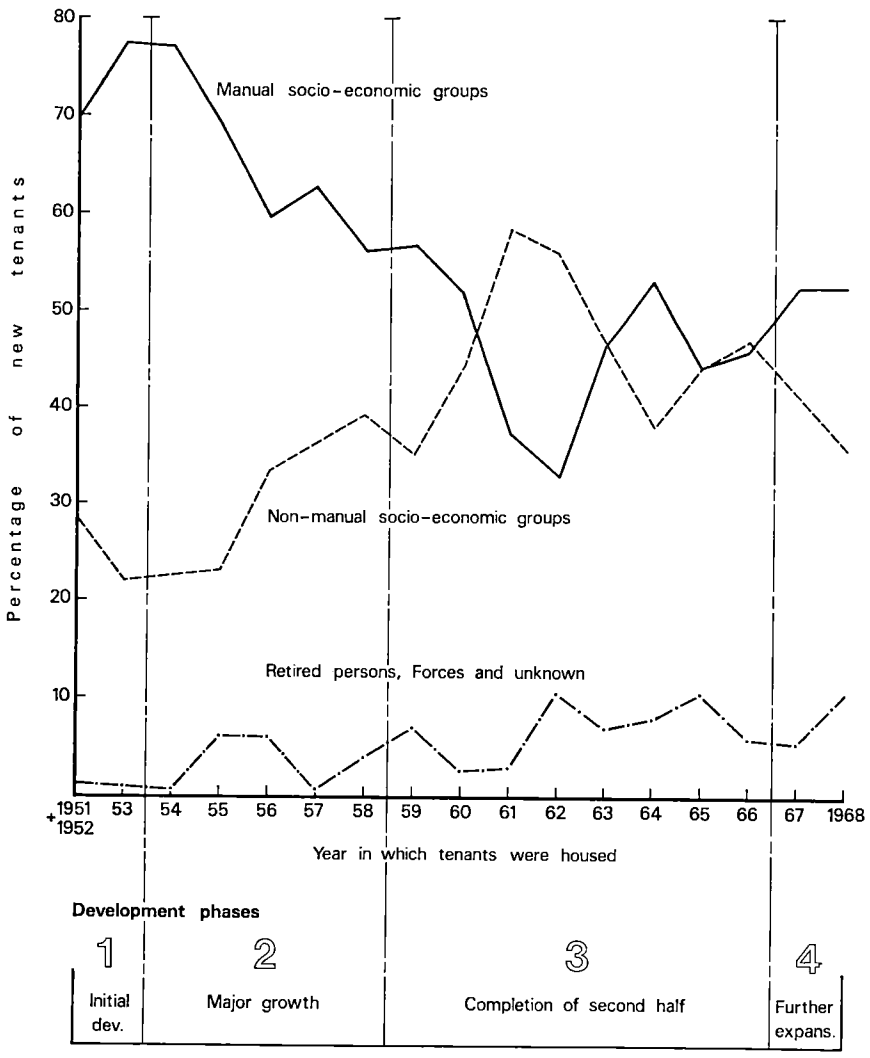


Figure 6 Socio-economic distribution of tenants housed each year

small residuary group, mainly of retired persons. The changes over time are striking and satisfy tests of statistical significance (these are given in the Appendix). In early years, about three-quarters of the new tenants housed each year were manual workers, but from 1954 the proportion declined steeply and steadily while the proportion of non-manual workers rose. The curves crossed and for 2 years non-manual workers arriving in the town out-numbered manual workers. From 1963 the position was again reversed and the two proportions became more evenly balanced, with manual workers tending to predominate. In the fourth stage of development, the percentage of manual workers rose again as the renewed population intake began; the rise, however, was only slight and it seems unlikely that, with so few nominations being allocated to new industries, the proportion of manual workers will reach again the high level obtained in the earliest years.

These changes over time were due principally to changes in employment in the town. Most incoming tenants were in manual occupations during the major growth phase when allocations to incoming industries predominated. Yet certain changes need further explanation; why, for example, did the proportion of manual workers decline from 77% to 56% between 1954 and 1958 while new industries were claiming three-quarters or more of each year's housing allocation?

Two factors were found to account for this. First there was a change in the nature of firms moving into the town. The first firms to arrive required houses mainly for foremen and employees in skilled and semi-skilled work; generally eight or nine of every ten houses allocated to these firms were occupied by manual workers. But within a year or two, some of the firms arriving brought higher proportions of non-manual workers; only six to seven of every ten houses allocated to them were occupied by people in manual jobs (generally in skilled trades), and the rest by office staff, professional and semi-professional employees. The process culminated in the arrival during the late 1950s of organisations concerned with research, design and development work in light engineering, electronics and computers; one half or more of their housing allocations went to people in white-collar jobs. A few factories with high proportions of manual workers continued to arrive, but the general trend was towards industry based on the latest advances in technology.

The second factor reinforced this trend; in most new town firms there was a tendency for the additional employees housed after each firm had settled in to include more non-manual workers than the original work-force housed. This may have represented a change in each firm's work-force (an increased amount of office work and increasing use of technical processes) and there is evidence of national trends in this direction at the time; or it may have been due to a higher turnover of white-collar workers; or, and this seems most likely, to a combination of both.

Together, the changing nature of newly arrived firms and the changing type of additional employees account for the rising proportion of white-collar workers arriving throughout the 1950s. The introduction of major office organisations accounts for the exceptional 2 years in which white-collar tenants arriving out-numbered those in manual work. The development of tertiary industries in the town in later growth stages would tend to attract more people in sales and service occupations; however, there was only a small increase in housing allocations for this group and, apart from the brief influx of office workers, the tenant intake remained most responsive to changes in manufacturing industry.

The socio-economic groups

To test whether the new town had drawn migrants disproportionately from certain groups, one must distinguish between male and female tenants in employment since the occupational distribution of each group in the general population is totally different.

Most tenants were men; of the 9900 tenancies begun over this period, only 11% (approximately 1100) were allotted to women and, since more women tenants were retired persons, an even lower proportion of tenancies allocated to employed persons (9%) went to women. The proportion of women tenants tended to be lowest (about 5%) in the years of early industrial growth, only rising higher when tenants were housed for two small clothing firms employing mainly female labour. The proportion rose to its highest point (about 20%) in 1961–1962 with the arrival of office staff. Since then, with a proportion of housing each year allocated to office staff and teachers, it has remained about the 12% level.

Figure 7 shows the detailed socio-economic distribution of male employed tenants housed each year and compares it with a regional figure taken from the 1966 Sample Census. Figure 8 gives the equivalent figures for female tenants; the smaller numbers in the sample account for the greater variation from year to year. (The South-East region, as defined in the 1966 Census, was selected for comparison since it encompasses the area from which 91% of Bracknell's migrants were drawn, yet excludes regions with dissimilar population and industrial structures. The 1966 Census figure is used as a basis for comparison throughout the new town's development, allowing for a degree of variation in earlier years; this involves a smaller margin of error than using non-comparable figures from earlier censuses).

Migration to Bracknell was selective of different social groups at different stages of the town's development. During the early build-up of industry, migration was strongly selective of skilled and semi-skilled workers, both men and women, but this diminished rapidly in the late 1950s, after which the new town attracted proportions of skilled men only slightly higher than the regional average. The second feature of this sequence occurred in the late 1950s and early 1960s when migration became selective of junior non-manual workers (mainly clerical), again both men and women. At first this was due to clerical staff being housed for industrial firms, but it reached a peak with the arrival of the head offices. The third group to be over-represented in the intake consisted of male professional employees and men and women in work classified as 'intermediate non-manual', ie such occupations as laboratory technicians, technical assistants and teachers. Beginning at the end of the 1950s with the arrival of firms engaged in research, design and development, these groups of professional and intermediate non-manual workers continued to be over-represented among migrants for the rest of the period studied; their numbers were augmented by the demand for teachers, the availability of flats with higher rents and the high rate of tenancy turnover in these groups. In the final 2 years, migration became selective again of skilled and semi-skilled workers, though considerably less so than in the first industrial

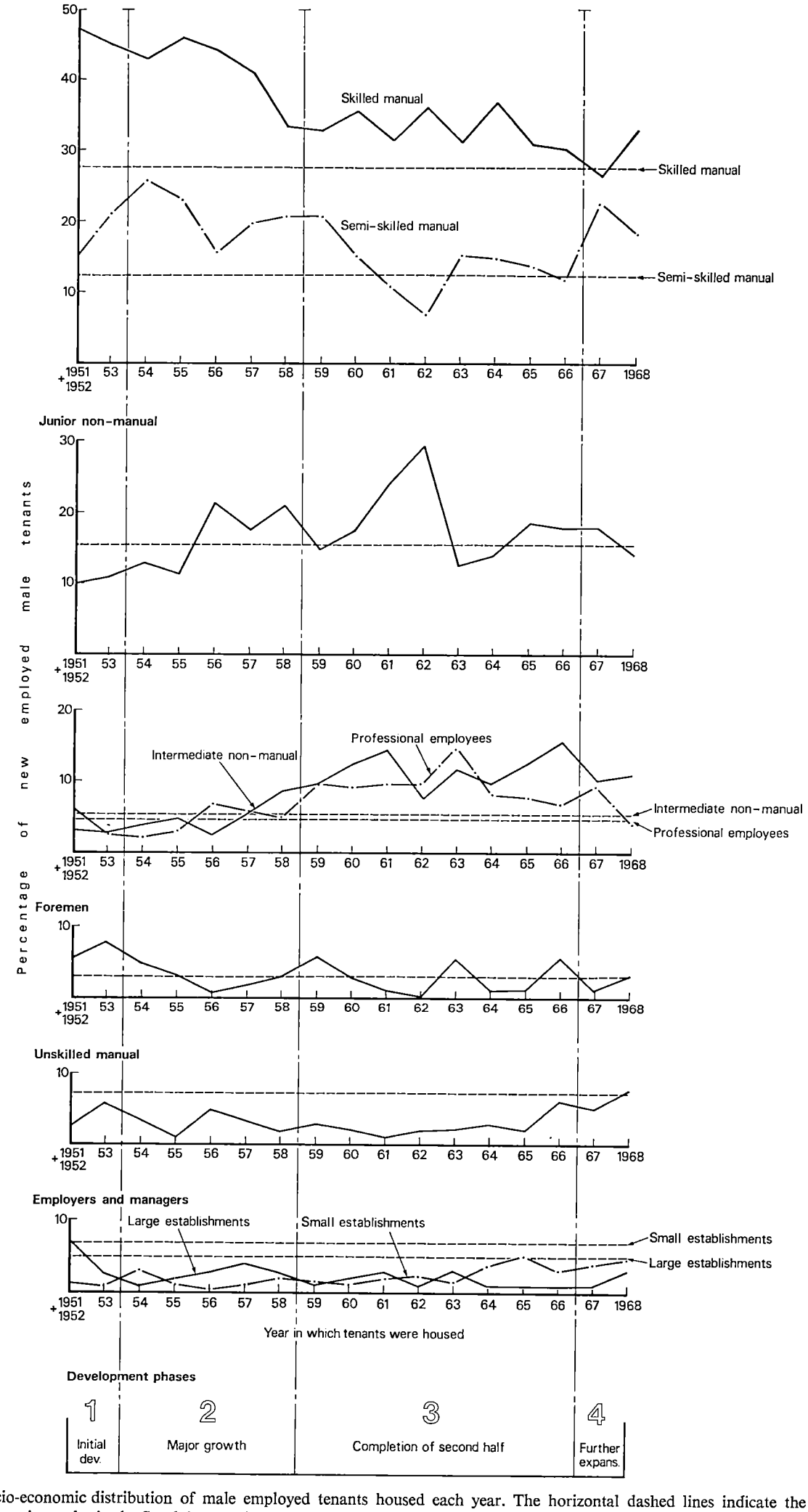


Figure 7 Socio-economic distribution of male employed tenants housed each year. The horizontal dashed lines indicate the figures for economically active males in the South-East region as recorded in the 1966 Sample Census

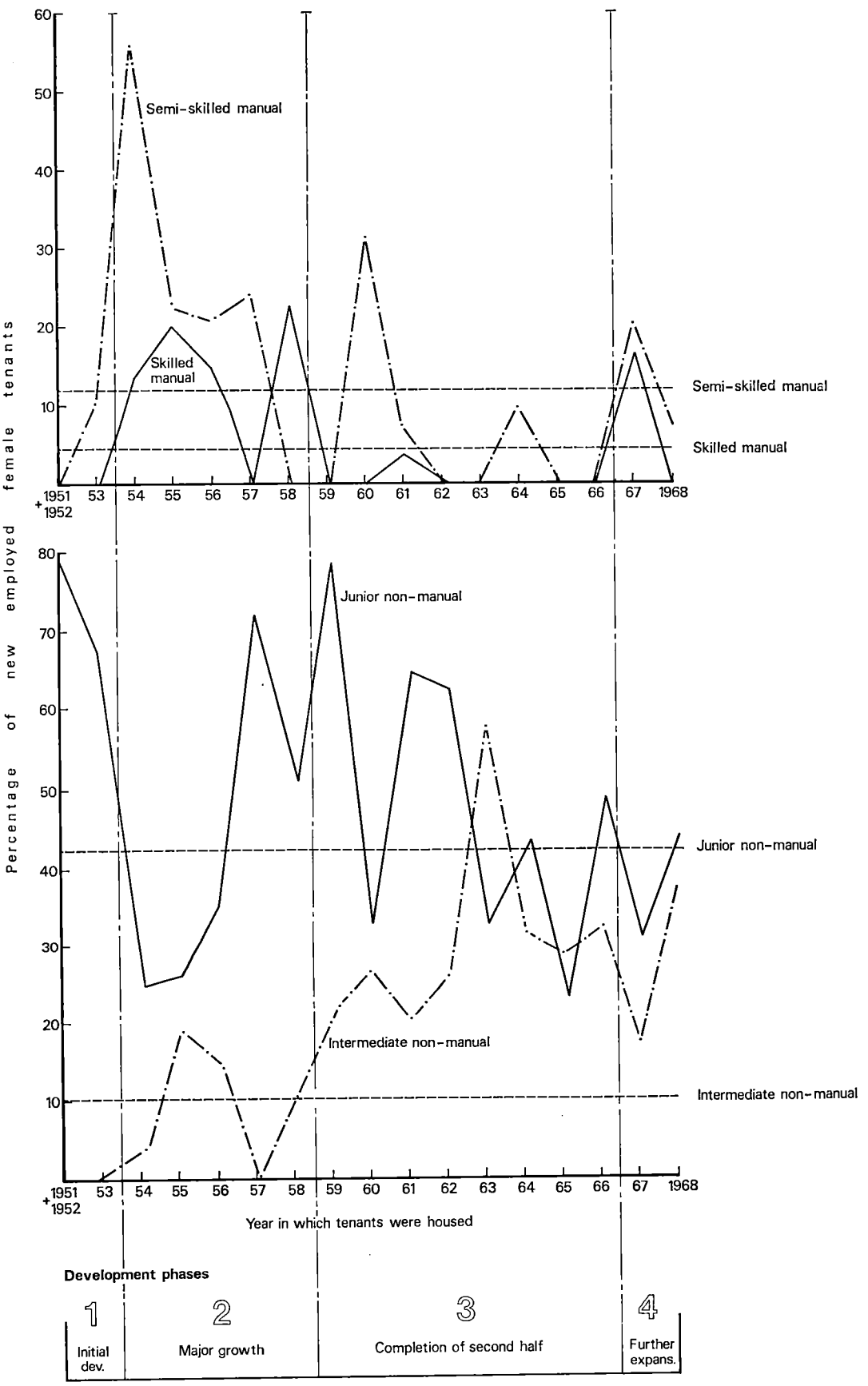


Figure 8 Socio-economic distribution of female employed tenants housed each year. The horizontal dashed lines indicate the figures for economically active females in the South-East region as recorded in the 1966 Sample Census

development. (The sequence of selection described here is statistically significant; the proportions of socio-economic groups during the years mentioned differ from the regional figure at the 5% confidence level.)

The proportion of foremen tenants was just above the regional average when the first 'key' workers (a term used by firms to signify their essential employees) were arriving, but thereafter just below it. Employers and managers were always under-represented in the new town's intake. The numbers of unskilled workers also were consistently below the regional average except in the last 3 years when the proportion was very close to the regional figure. The intake of unskilled workers in these later years was examined further to see whether the increase was due to attempts being made at that time to house unskilled Londoners; use of the Industrial Selection Scheme was enforced and a 'special housing allocation' introduced (see page 13). The figures show that the two schemes did increase numbers of unskilled Londoners arriving in those years; but the increase was insufficient to raise the proportion to the regional average; this was achieved mainly through an increase in unskilled persons housed from the local area through the special categories not requiring nomination by an employer, either as married children of Corporation tenants, people whose homes had been demolished or people who were from the Rural District Council's list.

This sequence of migration selection was primarily a response to employment in the town; inward migration tended to reflect the skills required by employers at each stage of the town's development. In later stages of growth, the decline in employers' direct influence on tenant selection caused no major changes in the characteristics of tenants housed. The occupational structure and social grouping of tenants housed through the special categories was broadly similar to that of industrial nominees, the principal difference being that categories drawn from the local area included groups such as unskilled manual workers who were rarely nominated by employers and tend, in any case, to be under-represented in longer distance moves.

On looking at national trends one is struck by the fact that changes which can be but dimly discerned in a table of national figures are clearly evident in Bracknell's growth. Industries at the forefront of growth and technological advance had been drawn to the town and the tenant intake was affected immediately by changes in the labour-force needed by those industries; the trends were magnified by the small size of the town and the shortage of older industries. Routh[49] has shown that most changes of this era were evident from the beginning of the century, and a Ministry of Labour study[50] showed that the process accelerated between 1951 and 1961; professional and technical occupations increased most, particularly scientists, engineers and technologists, with increases also in clerical occupations and in the managerial and executive group. All non-manual groups increased from 29 to 34% of all occupations; manual groups declined from 71 to 66%, this applying to unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers except those in skilled engineering work. These 'growth' occupations were strongly represented in the population intake of the new town.

Migrants in each phase of development

The socio-economic and occupational distributions of migrants to the town in each of its development phases are summarised in Table 7. As more than 90% of tenants were men, the 1966 Census distribution for employed males is used to give a general comparison with the socio-economic 'profile' in the region as a whole.

During initial development and the major growth period that followed, the town attracted high proportions of skilled and semi-skilled workers; the proportions were exceptionally high, forming 60% of the intake during those years, one and a half times as high as the regional figure. Undoubtedly it was this stage of development that gave rise to the general recognition that new towns have drawn disproportionately from these groups. Yet, in its next development phase, lasting for even longer than the major growth phase, the population intake differed most from the regional average in the high proportion of professional, semi-professional (ie intermediate non-manual) and clerical workers attracted; these groups formed 44% of the intake, more than one and a half times the regional figure.

The change occurred in other London new towns at that time. Kellaway[51] has shown that migrants to Corporation housing in Crawley, Harlow and Hemel Hempstead during 1966 included a similar excess of workers in these three white-collar groups, and he concluded that the attraction of above-average proportions of professional staff was probably due to the influx of science-based industry. (His figures refer to tenants arriving from outside the towns' borders. In 1966 these three towns were at stages of development similar to that of Bracknell.) Further evidence comes from a study of Crawley by Heraud[45], comparing migrants in 1948–1952 with those in 1957–1960. All the London new towns seem to have attracted disproportionate numbers of white-collar migrants during their later growth stages, yet there has been no general recognition of this. The explanation probably lies in the high mobility rates of these groups, described later; their rapid turnover meant that these groups were never over-represented among residents in the new town, and thus the fact that at one time they comprised an unusually large proportion of the intake tends to be overlooked. New town migration continues generally to be associated with the movement of manual workers.

In 1967–1968, at the start of the town's secondary development, the population intake reverted towards the earlier type, with an increase in the proportion of manual workers housed. The change, however, was not as marked as earlier ones. The population intake at this time was closer to the regional average than it had been previously.

The occupational classification also listed in Table 7 shows another side of the picture: the dominance throughout the town's growth, but especially in early stages, of engineering and allied trades, and the rising importance in later stages of professional, technical and clerical occupations.

These figures show how strongly the town's employment structure influenced the population intake. However, it would be misleading to portray employers as the *sole* arbiters of the town's social structure, for their influence was modified by other groups. The role of the Development Corporation was important in deciding how many employment concerns could be accepted, how many houses should be allocated to each firm and whether the firm's nominees should be housed. Behind the Corporation stood central government departments, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government pursuing objectives such as relief of London's housing lists,

Table 7 Socio-economic and occupational distribution of employed tenants housed during each phase of development (%)

	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968	South-East region* 1966
Socio-economic groups					
Employers and managers					
Large firms	5·6	2·6	2·0	1·7	4·8
Small firms	0·6	1·6	2·3	4·2	7·5
Professional employees	4·4	4·5	8·7	5·9	5·0
Intermediate non-manual	3·1	6·1	13·9	12·0	5·4
Junior non-manual	12·8	18·8	21·5	18·7	15·7
Other non-manual	—	—	—	—	1·3
Sub-total: all non-manual	26·5	33·6	48·5	42·5	39·7
Foremen	6·9	2·5	2·5	1·9	3·3
Skilled manual	43·9	38·6	30·4	28·8	27·8
Semi-skilled	17·4	21·3	13·6	20·1	12·5
Unskilled	4·4	2·6	2·3	5·6	7·2
Personal service	—	0·6	0·6	0·8	1·4
Other manual	0·3	—	0·5	—	5·7
Sub-total: all manual	72·9	65·6	49·8	57·2	57·9
Armed Forces	—	0·2	—	—	1·8
Not known	0·6	0·6	1·7	0·3	0·6
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Principal occupational groups					
Electrical and electronic workers	2·5	4·2	4·8	3·1	3·6
Engineering trades	48·9	44·2	29·4	21·2	13·6
Clothing workers	—	2·7	0·4	0·3	0·7
Labourers	4·0	2·5	2·2	5·9	5·9
Transport workers	2·8	0·7	4·9	6·4	8·7
Warehousemen	3·1	3·5	3·2	5·9	3·5
Clerical workers	7·8	9·2	14·3	14·0	9·4
Sales workers	4·0	2·1	3·5	5·6	8·8
Service, sport, etc	0·6	1·5	2·0	3·4	6·6
Administrators and managers	5·3	2·1	1·5	1·1	5·8
Professional and technical	11·2	19·6	26·1	20·1	11·4

*Economically active males; source: *Sample Census 1966, Great Britain, Economic Activity Tables.*

and the Board of Trade holding control of industrial development certificates and seeking a nationally balanced distribution of industry. Yet the authorities accepted that the new town must be securely established as a viable town and, to achieve this, it was essential to introduce and keep industries in the town. The Development Corporation and central government considered that only limited pressure could be brought to bear upon employers once they had moved into the town. Thus employment, particularly in manufacturing industry, was able to remain the major influence on the town's social structure.

Chapter 4 Ages and household composition of inward migrants

Changes in the age structure of the incoming population during the town's growth were as striking as changes in socio-economic structure. However the two patterns of change were quite different and need separate explanation. This chapter deals with three closely related aspects: tenants' ages, the size and type of their households, and sex and age distribution of the total incoming population.

Ages of incoming tenants

During the early years most tenants arriving in the town were in their 30s, but a gradual change took place as this group was replaced by tenants arriving in their 20s; the 30–39 group declined from 40% to 20% of incoming tenants while the 19–29 group rose from 30% to 50% (see Figure 9). The increase in the 19–29 group was due mainly to tenants arriving in their early 20s; those aged 25–29 continued at a generally constant proportion. Thus there was an increasing concentration of new tenants in the youngest adult age-groups. There were less extreme changes in other age-groups; numbers of tenants arriving in their 40s declined, while those in their 50s and 60s increased. (The confidence limits of these trends are dealt with in the Appendix.)

Table 8 summarises the age characteristics of tenants housed during each development phase and compares them with the 1966 Census figure for 'chief economic supporters' in the region. During initial development and major growth, the principal groups in the intake were tenants between 25 and 34; migration was strongly selective of these age-groups and, to a lesser extent, of people in their early 20s (except during initial development) and late 30s; the proportion of tenants aged 40–44 was near to the regional average, but those of 45 and over were under-represented among migrants. After 1958, during the second half of development, migration became more strongly selective of people aged 19–29 but less so of those aged 30–39; the approximate 'threshold' of selection had shifted from 45 to 40, people of 40 and over now being under-represented among migrants. In the fourth phase, with development of the extension area, the most numerous group comprised tenants aged 19–24, who accounted for one in four newcomers; a further shift in the threshold of selection had occurred, people of 35 and over now being under-represented among migrants.

Table 8 Age distribution of tenants housed during each phase of development (%)

Tenant's age (years)	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968	South-East region 1966*
19–24	4·0	9·8	16·0	25·2	5·2
25–29	25·1	22·5	26·7	20·7	7·5
30–34	21·4	22·5	16·3	12·5	8·5
35–39	17·0	16·2	10·9	7·9	9·3
40–44	10·8	11·9	9·2	6·1	10·1
45–49	8·7	7·6	5·6	6·4	9·7
50–54	3·1	2·3	4·9	5·4	10·7
55–59	0·3	1·9	3·0	4·6	10·9
60–64	1·2	0·7	2·0	3·1	9·5
65–69	0·3	1·2	2·4	3·8	6·7
70–74	0·3	0·6	1·7	2·3	5·2
75 and over	—	0·6	0·9	2·0	6·7
Not known	7·8	2·2	0·4	—	—
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(323)	(1140)	(1188)	(392)	

*Ages of chief economic supporters of households; source: *Sample Census 1966, Household Composition Tables.*

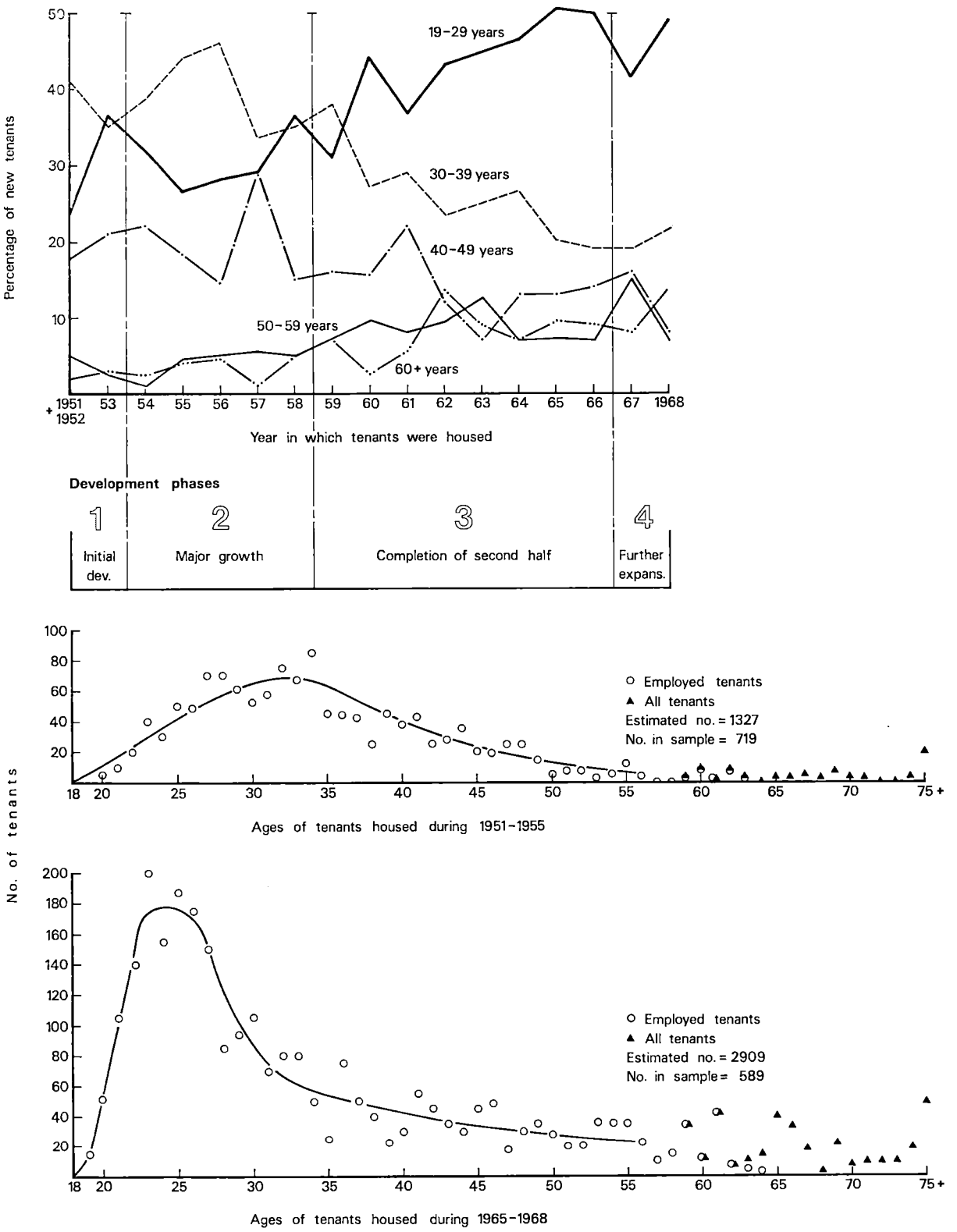


Figure 9 Age distribution of tenants housed each year

The increasing proportions of young migrants are illustrated further by changes in the median age (Table 9). For employed tenants the median fell by 4 years; the lower quartile fell similarly but the upper quartile remained unchanged until the last phase when the slow increase in numbers of tenants arriving in their 50s caused it to rise by 1 year. From a slight degree of positive skewness the distribution became very skewed; at first one-quarter of tenants were aged 28 or less, whereas by the late 1960s one-half were aged 29 or less. (The Development Corporation confirms that the median has fallen further since these figures were compiled.) The change is so striking that the frequency distributions for tenants housed in the first 5 and last 4 years studied are shown in Figure 9.

Ages of male and female tenants

The age distribution of female tenants differed from that of male tenants. Among women there were higher proportions at both extremes of the age-range: more in their early 20s and more in their 50s, 60s and 70s, giving a more even distribution of groups over 30 but with the still typical migrant concentration in the 20–29 groups. The age distributions of male and female tenants were compared separately with equivalent regional figures. This confirmed the results just described for all tenants; migration to the new town had been selective of young adult groups among both men and women, and had become more selective of the youngest groups over time.

Table 9 Median age (in years) of tenants housed during each phase of development

	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968	All years 1951–1968
All tenants					
Lower quartile	28	28	26	24	26
Median	33	33	31	31	32
Upper quartile	40	40	41	46	42
Employed tenants only					
Lower quartile	28	28	26	24	26
Median	33	33	31	29	31
Upper quartile	40	40	40	41	40

Ages of tenants in each socio-economic group

There were wide differences between the ages of tenants in each social group (see Table 10). Semi-professional migrants were the most youthful, more than half of them being less than 30 years old when housed. Professional and junior non-manual workers were the next youngest groups. The three main grades of manual workers came next in rank order, with an inverse relationship between skill and age at first tenancy; the higher the degree of skill, the greater the proportion housed in their 20s and 30s, and the lower the proportions housed in their 40s and 50s. Foremen and employers or managers in large organisations were the oldest groups, with employers or managers of small organisations occupying an intermediate position.

These differences extended over a wide range, from a median age of 29 to one of 40. They were due to two factors: first, differences in years of arrival (more manual workers moved in during earlier years when incoming tenants tended to be older), and secondly, differences in the age distribution of these social groups in the country as a whole. Census figures show variations which bear a general similarity to those among new town tenants. For example, among men of working age, professional employees formed the youngest group with intermediate and junior non-manual workers not far behind, and employers, managers and foremen were at the older end of the scale in the same order as among Bracknell tenants. The order for manual groups is somewhat different nationally, with skilled workers forming the second youngest group after professional employees, but the earlier date of arrival of manual tenants at Bracknell explains their older ages. Nationally, semi- and unskilled male household heads were older than skilled ones, as was the case among new town tenants.

Migration to the new town had been selective of the younger members within each social group. In each, the proportion of tenants in their 20s was between two and three times higher than the national average; the proportion of those in their 30s was also slightly above national proportions, whereas at 40 the position was reversed. Whatever their occupations, the likelihood of moving to the new town was greatest for the youngest adult members of the population.

The trend towards younger migrants during the town's growth also had occurred within all social groups. In each, the proportions arriving in their 20s and 30s had been reversed in rank order; those housed in their 20s and 50s had risen, those in their 30s and 40s had fallen. The process of change was common to all.

The increasing predominance of young adult migrants was found in other new towns as well. Cooke[52] obtained data on the ages of people housed in Crawley, Harlow and Stevenage in a number of different years, and found that ages had tended to fall in the 1950s and 1960s; and Moss[53] commented on evidence that there had been changes over time in Crawley

Table 10 Age distribution of tenants in each socio-economic group (%)

Socio-economic group	19–29 years	30–39 years	40–49 years	50+ years	Not known	Total	Lower quartile	Median	Upper quartile
Intermediate non-manual	51·2	26·5	14·7	7·3	0·3	100·0	25	29	38
Professional employees	47·8	33·5	10·4	5·3	3·0	100·0	25	30	36
Junior non-manual	45·8	27·1	14·6	10·2	2·3	100·0	26	30	40
Skilled manual	42·7	34·7	15·6	6·8	0·2	100·0	26	31	39
Semi-skilled manual	37·4	34·4	18·4	9·3	0·5	100·0	27	32	41
Unskilled manual	32·9	28·8	19·5	18·8	—	100·0	27	35	46
Employers and managers									
Small firms	32·3	24·8	36·3	4·8	1·8	100·0	28	37½	44
Large firms	15·9	28·9	38·8	13·1	3·3	100·0	33	40	44
Foremen	8·5	39·8	30·5	19·1	2·1	100·0	34	40	48
Retired persons							65	69	73

and Stevenage. Further new towns have confirmed that this has been their experience also. Clearly the trend was a general one.

The changing age structure of migrants: an explanation

While the changed social structure of migrants can be accounted for mainly by the build-up of employment in the town, change in the age structure has a more complex explanation. It resulted from a combination of factors; the employment situation in the town and demographic changes in the region were the two most important.

(i) The change from original work-forces to new employees

The age structure of migrants altered when the intake changed from one composed mainly of workers moving with their firms to one composed of additional recruits for expanding firms. The ages of the two types of workers differed, suggesting that a work-force making a combined move with a firm has an age structure atypical of migrants in general. To test this, three categories of workers were distinguished:

(i) original employees, ie those who had been employed at the firm's work-place before its move to Bracknell
(ii) new employees, ie those housed within 12 months of the firm's arrival in Bracknell but who had not worked at the previous work-place
(iii) later employees, ie those housed later, among whom new recruits were distinguished from employees transferring from other branches.

The results confirm the hypothesis, showing that the original work-force which moved with each firm tended to contain more older workers than did the employees who were newly recruited for work at Bracknell. Those recruited even later were further concentrated in the youngest age-groups (a measure mainly of the demographic changes which will be mentioned shortly). Table 11 shows the results for the eight largest firms which moved to the town. The overall change is interesting in that it corresponds generally to the trends for the total intake shown in Figure 9, the 20–29 group increasing from 30% and the 30–39 group declining from 40%, with the relative positions of the two groups being reversed.

Table 11 Age distribution of employees housed for the eight largest firms

Age of employees (years)	Arithmetic mean of proportions for each firm (%)		
	Original employees	New employees	Later recruits
20–24	7·6	7·1	12·1
25–29	22·0	29·0	34·1
30–34	26·4	29·3	20·1
35–39	12·4	12·0	15·4
40–49	25·1	18·1	15·8
50–59	6·5	4·5	2·5
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0

The atypical character of migration *with* a firm rather than to a new job is confirmed further by employees who were transferred from other branches of their organisations to the town in later years (and who have been excluded from the last column in Table 11). Their age distribution was generally similar to that of the 'original employees', one-third of them being in the age-range 40–59.

The original employees housed when a firm moved to the town probably represented a wider cross-section of the usual work-force, with particular emphasis on foremen and key workers, than did those employed later. Not all the original work-force moved with each firm, of course; and, among those who did, there were probably some who had accepted work knowing that the move was imminent. Yet the evidence suggests that people in age-groups normally under-represented among migrants were induced to move by the fact that their firm was moving. They were placed in a situation in which change was inevitable; they must choose between a change of town or a change of job. The wish to retain their jobs may have been sufficient motive, older workers being more reluctant to abandon the benefits of length of service and known work-mates; occupational mobility, like residential mobility, is highest in the youngest age-groups and declines with age. If new town housing was seen as an improvement upon their present accommodation, this proved an added incentive. Firms took great pains to retain key workers; together with the Corporation they arranged tours of the town and housing visits which, enlisting the help of group pressure, may have swayed many decisions.

It is interesting to look back to the Willesden study[54] carried out in 1946–1947 in which the Central Office of Information Social Survey was asked to gauge willingness to move to a new town. Among the many prognostications the authors made about the types of household which would move (many since proved to be correct), they reported that people were more willing to move if their present employers went than if new jobs were offered them in the town. A more personal glimpse of the complex feelings involved is given by Lewis's description of the move to Harlow of one of its first firms in 1951. Many and various opinions were expressed by the employees; interestingly, some who had seen the town and did not like what they saw, still 'decided to stick with the firm'[55].

The difference between these original employees and those who joined firms later marked a reversion of the migration stream towards the pattern more generally observed among migrants moving on their own. It is difficult to find satisfactory figures for comparison here, yet numerous surveys have shown that residential mobility rises to a peak in early adulthood; it is very high among newly independent households and young families with fewer-than-average children, and declines thereafter, with a slight increase in mobility at retirement ages. The pattern has been demonstrated in most western countries. It appears to account for the age distribution of new town migrants moving to new jobs (the 'new employees' and 'later recruits' of Table 11), leaving migrants moving with their firms as an exceptional case.

The change in *type* of firms moving into the town – the factor which greatly influenced the social structure of the intake – had less influence on age structure. The principal age difference in all types of firm remained that between original work-force and later employees. When major office organisations arrived in the 1960s, bringing numerous white-collar workers, the age distribution of the original office work-forces was very similar to that of industrial firms (indeed, in the Meteorological Office, with its Civil Service system encouraging long service, it was considerably older; one-half of those housed were 40 or over).

(ii) Increase in young households and the housing situation in the region

The second principal factor affecting age structure of migrants was population change in the region as a whole. This was accentuated by a third factor, the regional housing situation.

During this period there was a rapid growth of population in the South-East, particularly in the zone encircling Greater London in which the new towns were located. Not only did total population rise, but there was a steeper rise in number of households, since household formation took place at progressively younger ages. Mean age at marriage fell by 2–3 years between 1951 and 1968 (from 27 to 24 for bachelors, from 24 to 22 for spinsters)[56]. 'Headship rates', an index of household formation, rose considerably between 1951 and 1961, and again between 1961 and 1966; in fact, the rising rate of household formation in the 1960s greatly exceeded earlier forecasts.

Evidence of increasing proportions of young households can be found at both extremes of the housing situation. On one hand, the increase occurred among those in extreme distress, registered as 'homeless' families in London; the London County Council's inquiry in 1962 found that the proportion of homeless people who were in their 20s had risen in the late 1950s and early 1960s[57], though Greve's later study[58] found no evidence of further change up to 1966–1969. At the other extreme, the trend was evident among householders obtaining mortgages from building societies between 1966 and 1968; for example, borrowers became more concentrated in the under-25 age-group[59].

The rapid rise in young households in the region put great pressure on housing. This was aggravated by the declining supply of privately rented accommodation, the type of housing which young households have tended to use in early stages of their life-cycle. The shortage of accommodation for young households outside London increased at the same time as the housing situation in Greater London improved, particularly in areas which were the main source of new town tenants (this is described further in Chapter 6). With reduced incentive for Londoners possessing the skills needed in new towns to leave the metropolis, new town firms found it increasingly difficult to attract additional workers from London but were able to recruit from young households who found a new town tenancy a satisfactory solution to their housing problems. This situation brought to the town increasing numbers of households in the earliest stages of their life-cycle.

A further change during the town's growth was an increase in older tenants in the intake. Part of this was explained by the housing of retired parents of tenants, accounting for the rise in proportions aged 60 and over. But there was an increase also in tenants aged 50–59. This was due principally to two groups: first, employees of Civil Service organisations (the Meteorological Office and the nearby Road Research Laboratory) who were transferred to the town from posts elsewhere, and secondly, people housed under categories not requiring nomination by an employer, particularly as people displaced by development, from the local council list, or people who made mutual exchanges with Bracknell tenants. The change in these older age-groups, however, was slight compared with the main trend towards increasingly youthful tenants. It is worth outlining other features of this change – household characteristics and total migrant population – to see how the town's total population intake varied during development.

Household characteristics of incoming migrants

The youthful nature of Bracknell migrants is reflected in the distribution of household types shown in Table 12. The largest group of households were young married couples, the wives aged 20–29 (excluding newly married couples who were coded separately). Throughout development, these households formed an almost constant proportion of the intake; most of them were childless or had one child each, and these two types accounted for almost one in three households in each development phase. Since these households were the ones which most frequently expanded in size, the high rate of natural increase in the town was hardly surprising.

The increase in tenants in the youngest age-group (under 25) is reflected in increasing proportions of two household types. First, newly married couples (ie those housed within a month or two of marriage, for some of whom the new town dwelling was the household's first joint accommodation); these were mainly migrants from outside the town and were not married children of tenants, most of whom had occupied separate accommodation for a year or more while awaiting housing and were therefore coded as established households. Secondly, there was an increase in young, unrelated households; most consisted of one person only, aged 20–39. These two types accounted for less than 1% of the intake during initial development but 16% in the last phases.

The declining proportions of tenants in their 30s and 40s had their parallel in falling proportions of family households where the wives were aged 30–44. The change was marked, for these households formed more than 40% of the intake in the first phases, but less than 20% during the town's further expansion. Such households with one child or two children each were very numerous in the intake during early growth.

The other age-groups to increase over time – tenants in their 50s and 60s – were reflected in a slight increase in family households where the wives were aged 45–54, and a much steeper rise in the proportions of older households (married couples with the wives aged 55 or over) and unrelated (mostly single-person) households where the heads were 55 or over.

In Table 13 the Bracknell data have been re-grouped for comparison with the classification used in the 1966 Census. Migration to the new town had been strongly selective of one-family households, particularly those in early stages of their life-cycle, ie couples on their own or with one child and, to a lesser extent, those with two children. In the case of those with three children there is no significant difference, and those with four children were slightly under-represented among migrants. Extended and multi-family households were comparatively rare in the new town. Extended families – those including parents, children and other relatives – formed only 2·4% of the intake to the new town, and two-family households only 0·5%, a total of 2·9% which was less than one-third of the 9·5% in the South-East region. This resulted partly from the limited range of house-types built; Bracknell built nothing larger than a four-bedroomed house. But a more important factor was the tendency for migration to be associated with a process of household fission; a great many households became small and simple families by virtue of the move. Parents and their children of school-age or pre-school-age usually moved together, but other members rarely accompanied them. For two-family households this was normally the purpose of the move; couples sharing with an older generation moved in order to get homes of their own. For extended households, however, the situation was complex and many of the tenants' records told of a prolonged period of uncertainty as to whether another relation – usually an elderly person – would or would not move, and consequently

Table 12 Types of households housed during each phase of development (%)

Type of household	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968
Unrelated household, head aged under 55	0·3	2·9	8·7	6·9
Newly married couple	0·3	3·2	8·3	9·2
Married household: wife aged 20–29 or under				
0 children	17·0	16·9	15·2	14·8
1 child	16·7	14·6	14·0	15·1
2 children	7·1	6·5	8·3	6·4
3 or more children	1·6	0·9	2·2	2·8
Sub-total	42·4	38·9	39·6	39·0
Married household: wife aged 30–44				
0 children	5·9	8·6	3·4	3·1
1 child	18·3	11·3	7·3	1·8
2 children	14·5	15·2	8·8	6·6
3 or more children	6·8	7·2	5·5	7·9
Sub-total	45·5	42·3	25·1	19·4
Married household				
Wife aged 45–54	7·2	6·4	7·4	7·7
Wife aged 55 or over	1·6	3·1	5·5	8·7
Unrelated household, head aged 55 or over	0·3	1·3	3·1	5·6
One-parent family or two-family households	1·5	1·6	2·0	3·5
Not known	0·9	0·3	0·3	—
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(323)	(1140)	(1188)	(392)

what size of house would be required. Cullingworth has shown the practical problem that the process of fission raises for housing authorities attempting to export population; in East Ham he found that only half the dwellings from which people moved to new or expanded towns were totally vacated[60].

One-parent families rarely moved to the town because many such families have no wage earner to obtain nomination or, having only one adult whose earning capacity is strained by sole responsibilities for children, would be unable to meet new town costs of living.

Household size

When measured in terms of household size, the changing nature of the population intake appears as a decline in medium-sized households (of three or four persons) and an increase in small households (of one or two persons). Larger households, of five or more people, remained at a generally constant proportion of the intake throughout growth (see Table 14).

The increase in small households entering the town reflects the rise in single-person households, both young and elderly, and in newly married and retired couples. The decrease in units of three or four persons parallels the declining number of families in the 30–44 age-bracket, with one or two children each.

The increase in small households caused the mean household size of the intake to decline (Figure 10). The mean was particularly sensitive to the proportion of one-person units and fell sharply in 1956 and 1962 when newly completed flats were let to single-person households.

Table 13 Composition of households housed in Bracknell compared with private households in the South-East region (%)

Household composition	Households housed in Bracknell 1951–1968		The South-East region 1966*	
One family				
Married couple, no children, no others	33·2		24·0	
Married couple, no children, with others	0·6		2·7	
Married couple, with children, no others	52·8		40·2	
With 1 *child*		24·8		15·9
With 2 *children*		19·0		14·7
With 3 *children*		5·9		6·0
With 4 *or more children*		3·1		3·6
Married couple, with children, with others	1·8		3·9	
Lone parent, with children, no others	1·7		5·2	
Lone parent, with children, with others	—		1·2	
Sub-total for all one-family households	90·1		77·3	
Two families				
Direct descent	0·5		1·4	
Not direct descent	—		0·4	
Sub-total for all two-family households	0·5		1·7	
Three or more families	—		0·0	
No family				
1 person	8·6		16·1	
2 or more persons	0·6		4·9	
Sub-total for all no-family households	9·2		21·0	
Not known	0·2		—	
Total for all private households	100·0		100·0	

*Source: *Sample Census 1966, Household Composition Tables.*

Table 14 Size of households housed during each phase of development (%)

No of persons per household	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968	South-East region 1966*
1	0·6	3·9	11·3	11·2	16·1
2	27·9	32·1	34·6	40·3	31·5
3	37·5	29·4	24·0	22·7	20·8
4	22·0	24·5	20·2	13·8	17·8
5	9·3	7·0	5·9	7·4	8·3
6	1·8	2·3	2·8	3·6	3·5
7 or more	0·9	0·6	1·0	1·0	2·0
Not known	0·0	0·2	0·2	0·0	—
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Mean no	3·21	3·08	2·87	2·81	2·91

*Source: *Sample Census 1966, Household Composition Tables.*

Figure 10 Mean size of households housed each year

The total migrant population

As a final perspective on the trends, it is worth studying the age and sex structure of the total migrant population.

Age structure

Table 15 gives the age distribution in each development phase and Figure 11 shows annual variation in the time-series. The figures demonstrate the general features associated with the population of a newly settled area, the excess proportion of young adults and young children, but with variations in each growth stage.

The most marked change was the rising proportion of those aged 20–24, who increased from 5% to more than 20% of migrants, and the declining proportion of those aged 30–34, who fell from 15% to below 8%. The point at which the two curves cross, 1959, represents a watershed in terms of character of incoming population, besides marking a turning-point in many other aspects of the town's development. Older age-groups changed much as the previous analysis leads one to expect; adults in their late 30s and early and late 40s declined, whilst those in their 50s and over increased slowly. The 0–4 age-group remained at a consistently high level, running approximately parallel to adults of 25–29. Early school-age children moved roughly in parallel with adults aged 30–34, and children of 10–14 with adults aged 35–39, all declining in later years. The proportion of teenagers among migrants remained low.

Comparison with census figures for the region shows that two age-groups have been consistently over-represented among migrants: adults aged 25–29 and children aged 0–4. Teenagers and adults of 45 and over, including retired persons, were consistently under-represented. The two early phases were distinctive in that migration was then selective also of the 30–34, 5–9 and, to a lesser extent, 35–39 groups (males of 35–39 were over-represented among migrants but females were not, presumably because wives tend to be younger than their husbands). Contrasting with this, in later phases migration became increasingly selective of the 20–24 age-group.

Sex ratio

Studies both in England and overseas have shown that, in general, sex selection varies more than age selection, partly because of the sex-selective demand for labour; different kinds of towns attract varying proportions of males and females. New town migration has been subject to a process of industrial selection yet most incoming households were married couples. The ratio of males to females should be well balanced in such a population, as the figures confirm (Table 16): there were 999 females per 1000 males. In individual years there was variation from this figure, mainly due to the arrival of particular employers; females, for example, tended to predominate when large numbers of clerical staff were housed.

Greater variation, however, occurred within age-groups, as shown in Figure 12. Female migrants tend to be younger than male migrants, and this was so at Bracknell as far as adults of working age are concerned. Females heavily out-numbered males in the youngest adult group, 20–24, in which there were 1500 females per 1000 males; and males out-numbered females in the older groups from 25 to 49, this being explained by the tendency for wives to be younger than their husbands, and for single female migrants to be more concentrated in the youngest group than were single males. Similarly the greater number of females in the teenage, 15–19, group is due to a proportion of females arriving as young wives rather than as children with their families of origin. The retired persons' age-range shows similar features, with females out-numbering males by 1700 to 1000 in the youngest group, 60–64, but males being relatively more numerous (compared with the regional average) in older groups.

Table 15 Age distribution of the total population housed during each phase of development (%)

Ages of all persons housed (years)	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968	South-East region 1966*
0–4	15·4	14·5	15·6	15·3	8·2
5–9	11·6	10·2	7·6	6·6	7·2
10–14	5·6	5·7	5·2	4·4	6·4
15–19	2·5	3·2	4·0	5·8	7·6
20–24	6·9	9·9	15·5	21·6	6·9
25–29	15·7	15·0	16·9	12·1	6·2
30–34	13·9	14·5	9·7	7·5	6·0
35–39	9·2	9·5	6·4	5·1	6·3
40–44	5·9	6·6	5·7	4·2	6·7
45–49	4·4	4·0	3·5	3·5	6·3
50–54	1·8	1·4	2·7	3·5	6·8
55–59	0·3	1·2	1·9	2·8	6·7
60–64	0·5	0·6	1·4	1·8	5·8
65–69	0·4	1·0	1·5	2·5	4·6
70 and over	0·9	1·2	2·0	3·1	8·3
Not known	5·0	1·5	0·4	0·2	—
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

*Source: *Sample Census 1966, Great Britain, Summary Tables.*

Table 16 Ages and sex ratio of total population housed between 1951 and 1968

Age when first housed (years)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Both (%)	Sex ratio (no of females/ 1000 males)
0–4	7·4	7·8	15·1	1056
5–9	4·7	3·8	8·4	809
10–14	2·6	2·6	5·2	1032
15–19	1·8	2·2	4·0	1206
20–24	5·8	8·8	14·6	1528
25–29	8·2	7·1	15·3	858
30–34	6·0	5·0	11·0	840
35–39	4·0	3·2	7·3	793
40–44	3·2	2·5	5·7	796
45–49	2·1	1·6	3·7	777
50–54	1·2	1·2	2·4	964
55–59	0·9	0·9	1·8	1028
60–64	0·4	0·8	1·2	1711
65–69	0·6	0·8	1·5	1278
70 and over	0·7	1·2	1·9	1696
Not known	0·4	0·5	0·9	
Total	50·0	50·0	100·0	999

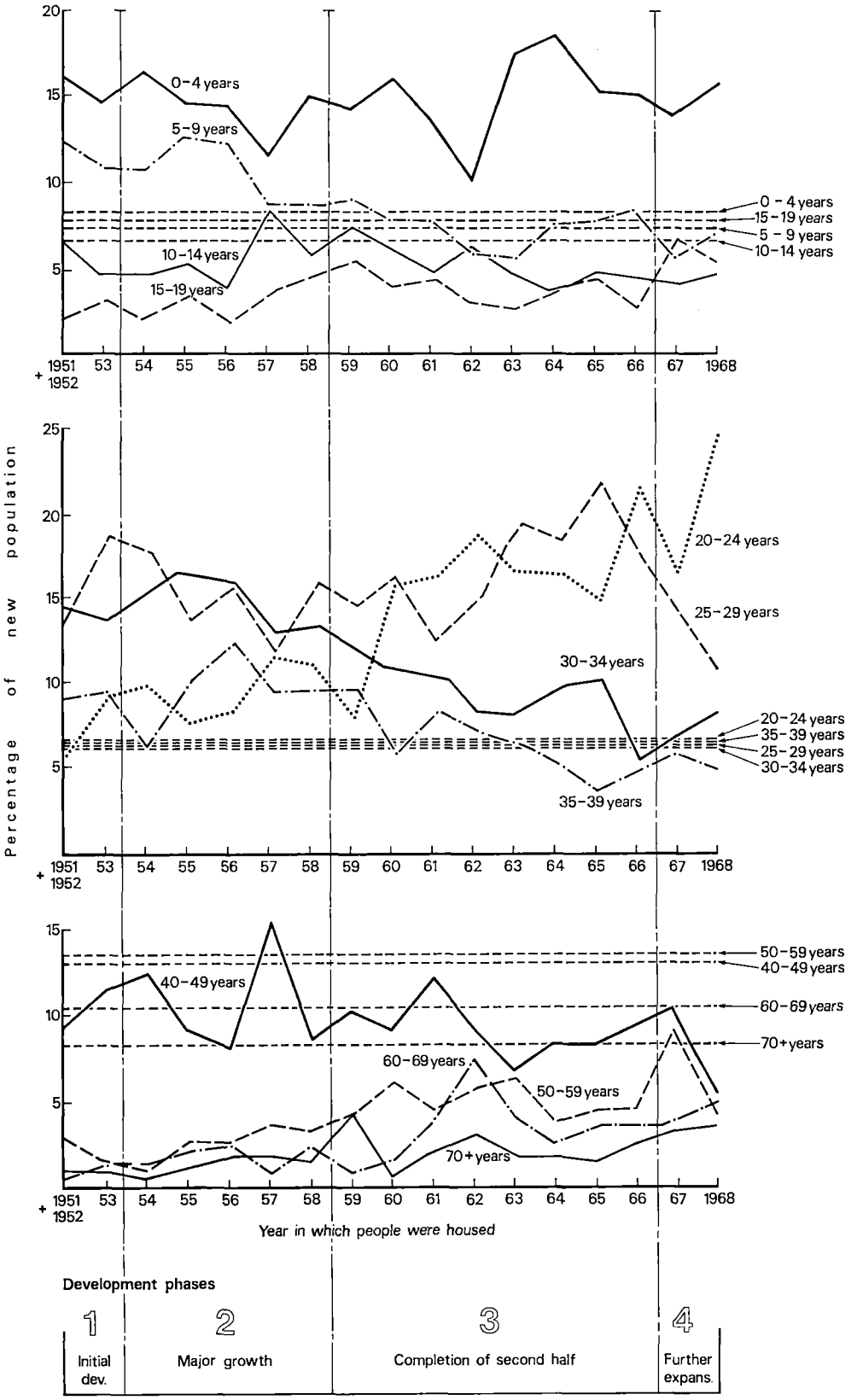


Figure 11 Age distribution of total population housed each year. The horizontal dashed lines indicate the ages of the population in the South-East region as recorded in the 1966 Sample Census

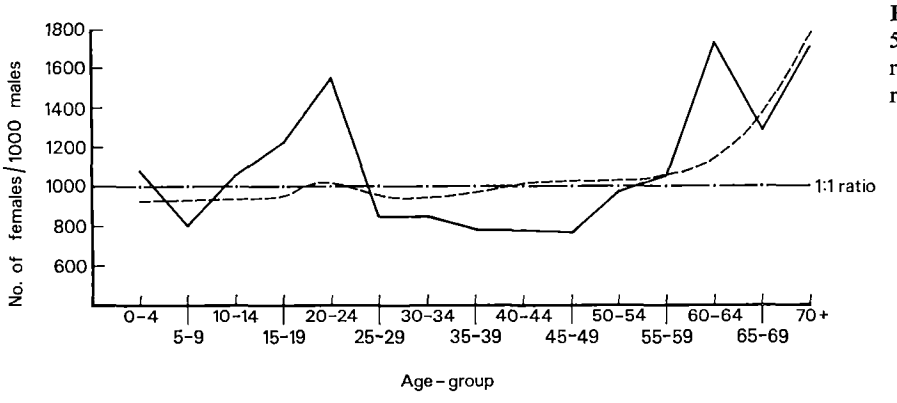


Figure 12 Sex ratio of new population in each 5-year age-group. The dashed line indicates sex ratio of population in the South-East region as recorded in the 1966 Sample Census

The changes studied in this chapter are different aspects of one trend; whether analysed in terms of tenants' ages, household types and sizes, or the age structure of all migrants, the trend was the same – towards an increasing predominance of young adult migrants, with smaller increases also in people arriving near or above retirement age. There are indications that the trend occurred in all the London new towns. Change in the age structure of migrants was as clear as that in social structure, but the two trends were quite independent of each other; age changes had occurred among migrants in all social groups. The explanation was found in a combination of factors; the change from an overspill to an expansion intake was important, as were demographic changes and the housing situation in the region, showing that the new town was unable to escape the influence of the zone in which it was built.

With age, as with social grouping, there were clear differences between population intake during earlier and later growth phases. In the case of social grouping, it seems that the earlier type of intake is that which most people regard as 'typical' of new towns, while the intake during the more extended second half of development, in which white-collar groups were over-represented, has not been generally recognised. With age, the opposite is true. It is the intake in the two later phases, with migration strongly selective of the youngest adults, that is seen as the normal new town pattern, while intake during the major growth phase has been generally overlooked. Yet it is of particular interest because migration to the new town at that time was selective of groups not generally found in migration movements, the primary factor in this being the combined movement of firms with their work-forces.

Chapter 5 Geographical origin of the new population

This chapter deals with the geographical areas from which the new town drew its population, ie its migration field. A great deal of research has been carried out into migration fields since Ravenstein first identified their principal features in 1885[61]. His careful and detailed work influenced succeeding investigations in several countries; many later studies used similar conceptual frameworks and have found that his 'laws', formulated from the movement of rural population into towns, still apply in a highly urbanised society. That most migrants move a short distance has been verified in almost every country and culture in the world. The general dependence of migration on distance has appeared so striking that social scientists have tried to express the association by mathematical formulae. Other studies have analysed the process of urban absorption showing how it operates through a series of migration stages from small to larger towns through the urban hierarchy; and how a large city tends to draw long-distance migrants to its central areas, and grows by a centrifugal movement of population to new suburbs on its periphery.

The objectives of overspill towns required that planning should suspend some of the 'normal' workings of migration movements; it would arrest further metropolitan spread (which otherwise would have added a new ring of development to the fringe of London), and would divert surplus population and industry to new and expanded towns or other regions. Thus migrants to the new towns were to come primarily from London; short-distance migration from neighbouring areas would be suppressed, as would long-distance migration from other regions, leaving medium-distance movement from the metropolis predominant.

The records showed that Bracknell did indeed draw most of its tenants from the London area; almost two-thirds of those housed during 1951–1968 had moved from Greater London, nearly equal proportions coming from the three main sectors – London County, the linked boroughs (this scheme was described on page 9) and other parts of the conurbation.

One-half of the remaining tenants were local movers. Of these, just over half came from addresses within the designated area; they were mainly married children of tenants, residents displaced by development work or households from the local council's waiting list. Tenants from the area around Bracknell were mainly people employed in schools, shops and services, for the Development Corporation and its depot, or tenants moving into the more expensive flats. Only 1·0% of tenants came from Reading and 0·6% from Slough, the two largest towns in the vicinity. The remaining 19% of tenants came from further afield, just over half from within the South-East region, with decreasing proportions from further away and only 1% from abroad.

Table 17 lists the areas in order of increasing mean distance from Bracknell. The last column, expressing number of tenants from each area as a proportion of its resident population, shows that migration to Bracknell conformed to a general observation: number of migrants drawn to a given centre of attraction tends to decline with distance from that centre. London appeared as an exception which will be mentioned shortly, but the general decline with distance is illustrated in Figure 13. It is difficult to determine for this comparison a satisfactory population base for Bracknell itself which grew from 5000 to over 30 000 during the period studied. Finally, the 1966 Census figure (just under 24 000) was used as for all other areas in the table although it could be argued that a smaller figure, representing some mid-point of earlier years, would be more representative. Use of a smaller figure would have raised the apparent proportion of migrants drawn from within the town even further. The point is not worth argument since the figure is high enough to demonstrate that the new town, like any other centre of inward migration, held the greatest attraction for those closest at hand. Although short-distance moves were minimised in the interests of Londoners, there were groups whose claims to a share of housing could not be overlooked without contravening basic tenets of social justice – that displaced persons should be offered rehousing – or ignoring the needs of a growing settlement – to house essential staff of shops and services, and at least some of the next generation.

Yet short-distance migration was suppressed to some extent; the proportion of tenants housed from the local area was relatively small. The situation varies between areas but studies of residential movements show short-distance moves generally to be of far greater magnitude. National figures confirm this; the 1966 Sample Census counted 4·7 million persons in England and Wales who had changed their usual address in the preceding year, of whom more than half had moved only within a local authority area.

Greater London appears in Table 17 as an exception: the proportion of tenants from there was higher than from the circle of nearby towns. This is not necessarily the effect of planning policy; such exceptions have been noted in other studies. An early example was Charles Booth's famous study *Life and labour of the people in London*, in which an analysis of 1881 Census data showed the usual inverse relationship between migration and distance among migrants to London; yet the large manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire exercised a 'disturbing influence': the proportion of migrants from that zone was greater than from the nearer zone. Later studies have confirmed that irregularities in the pattern, especially those due to large industrial centres, may occur without the intervention of planning policy. Only when the time variable is introduced (in the last section of this chapter) is it possible to assess how effective the overspill plans had been in giving preference to migrants from London.

Table 17 Geographical origin of all tenants housed between 1951 and 1968

Geographical origin	Tenants No	Tenants %	No of tenants/ 1000 people resident in each area in 1966
Bracknell	980	9·9	41·04
Towns and villages within approx 13 km (8 miles) radius	412	4·2	2·24
Towns at approx 13–19 km (8–12 miles) radius	376	3·8	0·70
Sub-total: all local areas	1768	17·9	
Linked boroughs	1953	19·6	*
Metropolitan boroughs	2219	22·4	
Rest of Greater London	2115	21·4	
Sub-total: all Greater London	6287	63·4	0·82
Rest of South-East region	949	9·6	0·12
South-West, West and East Midlands, East Anglia	428	4·3	0·03
Wales	41	0·4	0·02
North-West, North, Yorks and Humberside regions	218	2·2	0·01
Scotland	77	0·8	0·01
Further	127	1·3	
Sub-total: all distant areas	1840	18·6	
Not known	5	0·1	
Total	9900	100·0	

Bracknell's locality was divided into two: the circle of towns at a radius of about 16 km (10 miles) – Reading, Maidenhead, Slough, Staines, Woking, Farnborough, etc – and places within this circle, mainly small villages but including Wokingham. The 'regions' used are those defined by the Registrar General for the 1966 Sample Census.

*1966 figures for population in the original London boroughs are not available; the proportions of tenants drawn from each London borough are discussed later.

Tenants from Greater London districts

The numbers of tenants drawn from individual districts of London varied greatly. Because of the variation in size of districts, the number of tenants from each is best expressed as a proportion of the resident population, as in the last column of Table 17. Figure 14 shows the result; the population figure used is that from the 1961 Census which was the last to give figures for the original boroughs before they were amalgamated into fewer and larger units. (The change in local government boundaries in London was made in 1965; to maintain continuity in this study, the origin of tenants housed after 1965 continued to be coded in terms of the original boroughs.)

The area from which Bracknell attracted most tenants was a zone on the west side, mainly in the suburbs of Middlesex. Beginning in Acton and Chiswick, on the verge of inner London, and stretching westwards to the fringe suburbs of Feltham and West Drayton, this was the section of outer London nearest and most accessible to Bracknell. At its centre were the four districts of Brentford and Chiswick, Heston and Isleworth, Southall, and Hayes and Harlington, from each of which more than three tenants per 1000 residents had moved. Bordering these were six other areas from which more than two tenants per 1000 population had come – Acton, Ealing, Yiewsley and West Drayton, Feltham, and Twickenham, all in Middlesex, together with Richmond in Surrey. These ten areas comprised the main source of London tenants.

Two other areas from which more than two tenants per 1000 population moved were Battersea, in the County of London, and Penge in Kent. Their apparently random situations, separate from the main sector and from each other, provide the clue to the principal influence on origin of tenants – the location of employers who had moved to Bracknell. Firms moved from the vicinity of both areas, the latter firm in particular drawing substantial proportions of tenants from Camberwell and Beckenham as well.

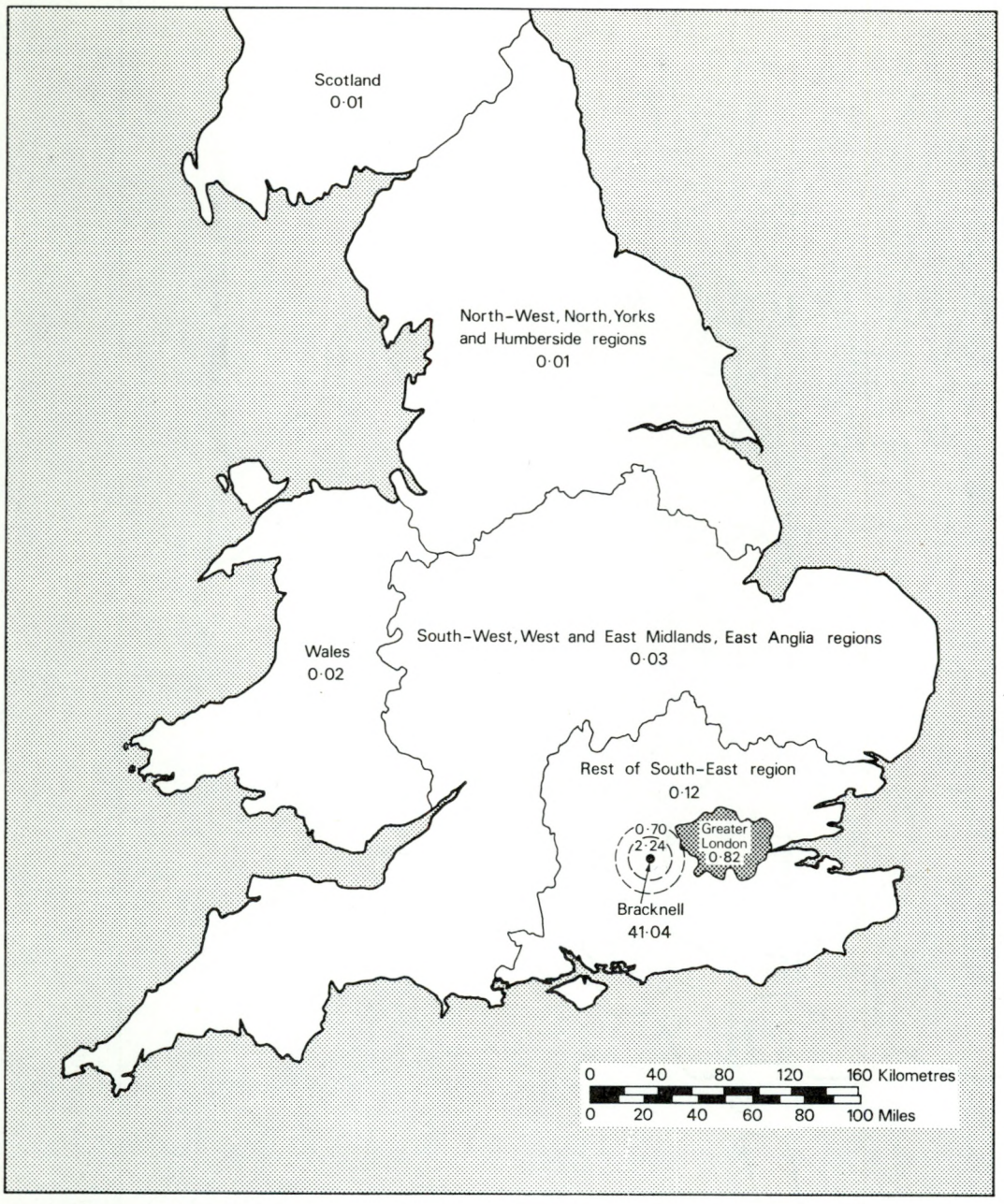


Figure 13 Number of Bracknell tenants originating from each area per 1000 resident population in 1966

The general picture is that London tenants were drawn from suburbs lying in an arc from the south to the west and north-west of London, outside the commercial heart of the metropolis yet, except where nearest to Bracknell, inside the outer suburban fringe. Few tenants were drawn from the Westminster–St Marylebone–Holborn–Finsbury districts in London's central area, together with the City of London itself which was unique in being the only London district from which no tenants in the sample had come.

Although the principal sector for Bracknell tenants bears some similarity to the 'linked areas' described earlier and shown in Figure 1, this is because the linkage system was based on the natural tendency for population and industry to move out along radial lines. Most Bracknell firms had come from western parts of outer London, ie the Middlesex area from which most tenants also moved, and other firms had moved from central and inner London, their employees being widely drawn from suburbs to the north, west and south. Of the 12 local authority areas which provided most Bracknell tenants, only eight were linked specifically with Bracknell; three were linked with other new towns – Acton (with Harlow and the Hertfordshire new towns), Richmond and Penge (with Crawley); Battersea, with the rest of London County, was linked with all the new towns. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government had defined five sectors for the scheme; Bracknell drew substantial proportions of tenants from areas within four of them, only omitting the north-east sector. A study by Roderick has shown that all the London new towns drew population from outside their officially linked areas[62]: he concluded that the official linkage system reinforced a natural trend of migration and probably brought it into sharper focus on individual new towns.

An important object of new town policy was the relief of housing need. It is useful therefore to ask whether the parts of Greater London from which most Bracknell migrants moved were those with the greatest housing problems (though ecological correlations of this sort must be treated with caution; tenants from areas with the greatest housing difficulties need not themselves be the worst housed). A study of the uneven distribution of housing conditions in London in 1961 was made by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College London. Local authorities were classified into ten groups, using census data on the physical equipment and extent of sharing of dwellings. A comparison of the map in

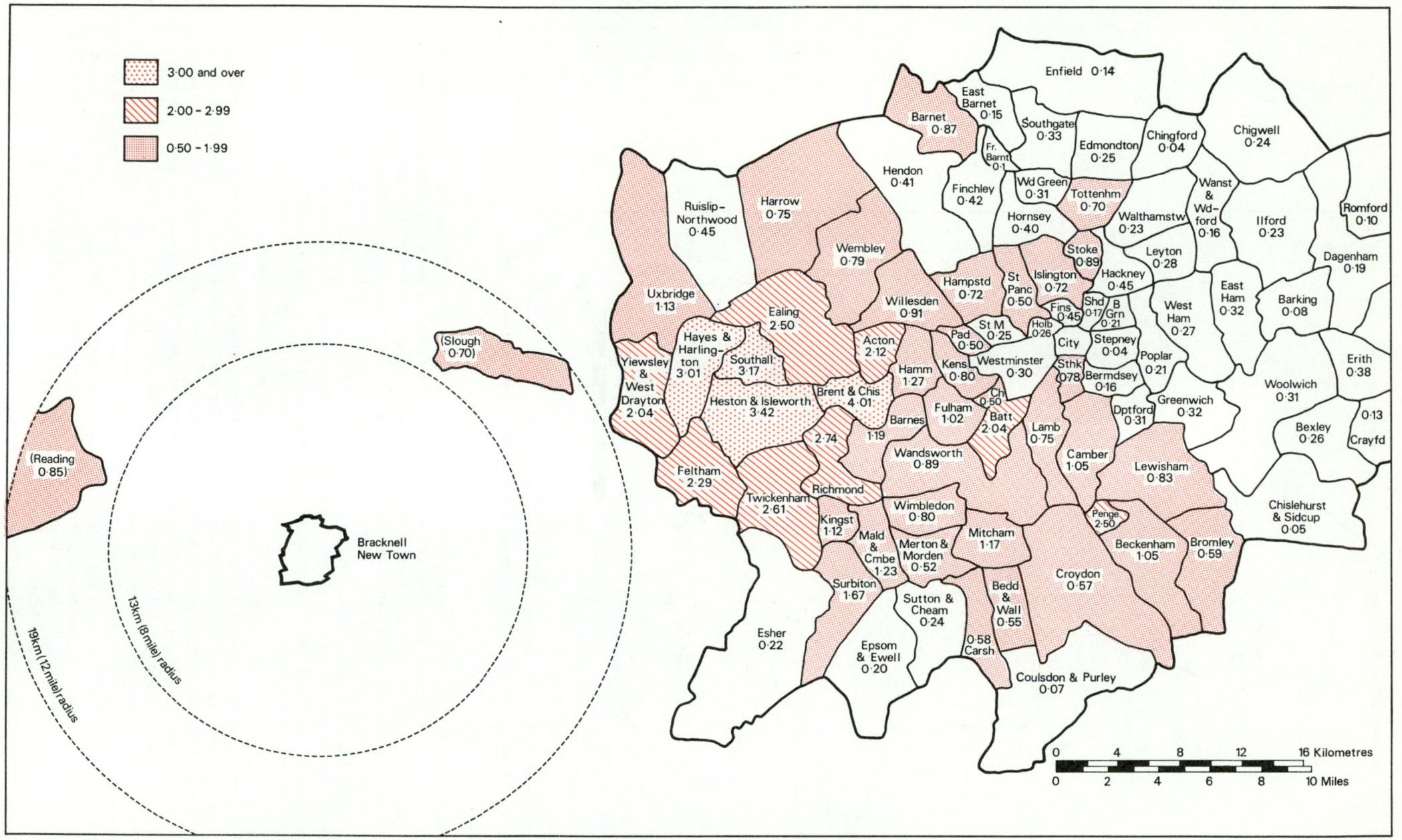


Figure 14 Number of Bracknell tenants from Greater London districts per 1000 resident population in 1961

that report[63] with Figure 14 shows that, judged in terms of direct help to areas of greatest difficulty, the new town was wide of the mark: the worst housing conditions were concentrated in central and inner rings of the conurbation whereas most new town migrants moved from areas further west.

Acton, verging on inner London, had housing conditions in Group IV ('fairly poorly' equipped dwellings and a 'fairly high' degree of sharing). From Acton, conditions improved with distance from the centre. Brentford and Chiswick (and Penge) were in Group V; Ealing, Southall, Heston and Richmond in Group VI; Hayes and Harlington in Group VII, with the fringe areas of Yiewsley, Twickenham and Feltham in the best groups. Only Battersea, separate from the main sector, was a source area with very bad housing conditions, classed as Group II. Thus Bracknell had drawn its London migrants mainly from areas which supplied the new town with most of its industry but where housing problems were only moderate. Nevertheless the attraction of migrants from these areas may have contributed indirect help to the inner areas' housing problems by creating space in the suburbs into which population from the inner areas could move.

The socio-economic groups: their geographical origin

There were marked differences between the socio-economic groups in terms of geographical origin, as Table 18 shows. Those with the most local origins were unskilled workers; almost two-fifths of them came from within Bracknell or its locality (most were married children of tenants, displaced persons or from the local council's list); the other three-fifths moved from London. Other manual groups were closely associated with London origins; approximately three-quarters had moved from Greater London, and (distinguishing these groups from unskilled workers) small proportions had been drawn from other parts of the region and outside the South-East altogether.

In only one white-collar grade were Londoners in a majority; these were clerical workers, of whom three-fifths came from London, particularly inner areas. The longest-range groups were professional and semi-professional employees, of whom almost half came from other parts of the South-East or other regions, and only one-third from London. Employers and managers occupied an intermediate position between clerical and professional workers; those involved with large firms were closest to professional employees in pattern of origin, those concerned with small organisations (mainly shopkeepers) had more local origins.

The mean distances moved by tenants of each group are shown in Table 19. Migrants from abroad were excluded to avoid distorting the results by a few cases of extreme distance; had they been included, differences would be even wider for most overseas migrants were in groups which had moved furthest; 3% and 4% of professional and semi-professional workers had arrived from abroad, but only 1% of junior non-manual workers and less than 1% of the manual groups.

Professional and semi-professional employees had moved twice the mean distance moved by skilled men who, in their turn, had moved one and a half times as far as unskilled men. This is a pattern observed elsewhere. Studies on both sides of the Atlantic have found a relationship between occupational status and distance migrated, showing that professionals migrate more and further than unskilled workers[64]. Migration to Bracknell was no exception; the average distances moved by

Table 18 Geographical origin of tenants in each socio-economic group (%)

Geographical origin	Socio-economic group								
	Employers and managers		Professional employees	Intermediate non-manual	Junior non-manual	Foremen	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled manual	Unskilled manual
	Large firms	Small firms							
Bracknell	7·0	12·4	4·1	5·3	7·1	8·5	8·6	8·9	24·0
19 km (12 miles) radius	10·7	20·8	11·5	13·6	8·0	13·1	5·9	4·6	14·0
Sub-total: all local	17·7	33·2	15·6	18·9	15·1	21·6	14·5	13·5	38·0
Linked boroughs	9·4	4·0	8·5	7·3	17·0	32·7	26·1	26·6	16·4
Metropolitan boroughs	17·8	8·8	9·1	12·1	25·2	20·8	26·1	25·9	22·3
Rest of Greater London	19·2	27·9	18·4	16·5	18·6	18·2	22·5	27·5	23·3
Sub-total: all Greater London	46·4	40·7	36·0	35·9	60·8	71·7	74·7	80·0	62·0
Rest of South-East	19·6	19·0	21·2	18·0	13·4	0·8	6·7	3·4	—
Outside South-East	16·3	7·1	26·4	27·2	10·7	5·9	4·1	3·1	—
Sub-total: all distant	35·9	26·1	47·6	45·2	24·1	6·7	10·8	6·5	—
Not known	—	—	0·8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

Table 19 Mean distance moved to Bracknell by tenants in each socio-economic group

	km	(miles)
Professional employees	87·2	(54·2)
Intermediate non-manual employees	84·1	(52·3)
Employers and managers: large firms	66·8	(41·5)
Junior non-manual employees	60·0	(37·3)
Skilled manual workers	42·2	(26·2)
Employers and managers: small firms	41·2	(25·6)
Foremen and supervisors	39·7	(24·7)
Semi-skilled manual workers	37·5	(23·3)
Unskilled manual workers	24·4	(15·8)

migrants were increased through the suppression of short-distance movements, but the general rank-ordering of the social groups was not affected.

An interesting point arising from this is that suppression of short-distance moves would affect the social groups unequally; most impact would be felt by that group containing the most short-distance movers, ie unskilled workers, and least by the longest-range group, professional employees. This would have the effect of increasing all points on the distance scale, those at the lowest end most, reducing the difference between highest and lowest values. That this happened at Bracknell is suggested by the relatively high values at the lowest end of the scale; a mean of 26 km (16 miles) for unskilled workers is unexpectedly high in view of the evidence that moves within local areas predominate, and for this group more than most.

This has a meaning beyond a mere juggling with figures. It suggests that migration to the new town diverged from the 'normal' pattern (the one that would have prevailed in the absence of planning controls) most for the least skilled members of the population. Considerably more of the unskilled men housed had moved over what was, in their view, a long distance (from London), and consequently were vulnerable to problems arising from the disruption of family and locality ties. The effect was generally less for more skilled workers, the distances moved being less exceptional, and for the most mobile group it was probably negligible. Long-distance moves form part of the ordinary pattern of professional people's lives, and studies have shown how such moves take place with little disturbance of ties of family and friendship[65].

The other side of the coin suggests a further point. The nomination rule concerning geographical origin diminished housing opportunities for people resident in the vicinity, the effect being greatest for households most limited to local movements – again, the least skilled group. If the new town had been a completely self-contained unit, housing all those employed therein, the local population in and around the area would have been unaffected. In reality, Bracknell's development brought a growth of employment beyond its housing capacity, raising the local population who were economically dependent on the town, and increasing pressure on all local housing. The shortage of Development Corporation houses during the 1960s was described earlier, and local authorities in the vicinity faced similar problems at that time. People least likely to move elsewhere yet most dependent on public housing, the least skilled, would be affected most. Only local residents with special qualifications, for example teachers and doctors, could obtain immediate Corporation housing.

The limited mobility of unskilled workers shows the difficulty of including this group in 'overspill' migrations. Bracknell, like all the London new towns, defended its record by pointing to the small number of unskilled jobs brought by London firms. Yet the general evidence that unskilled households tend to move only short distances demonstrates that there are deeper economic and social obstacles which cannot be overcome simply by providing suitable jobs in a new town. Migration to the new town had tended to give only indirect help to the social groups with the greatest housing problems in London, while development of the town tended to add to the housing problems of similar social groups resident near its site.

Migration streams

After studying the geographical origin of migrants in the principal social groups, the data were reversed to identify streams of migrants with similar social composition. Areas from which migrants of similar socio-economic distribution had moved were classed together; this produced ten zones. The nine in the South-East region are shown on Figure 15 and the characteristics of migrants from each zone are summarised in Table 20.

Five zones were identified in London. The first consisted of suburbs from which mainly manually employed tenants had come; generally three-quarters or more of the employed tenants from each of these areas were in manual work. The zone covered most of the main source of tenants and extended round London County on its north-west and south-west sides. Similar types of tenants had moved from another zone – areas in the east of London County.

The other three London zones were the source of slightly less industrial migration streams. Manual workers were still in a majority but there was an increased proportion of office staff, particularly from the west of London County where they accounted for one in four tenants. The areas grouped as 'non-manual suburbs' were those with at least one-third of tenants in non-manual work; the zone formed the outer ring of Greater London except where it was interrupted by industrial areas stretching to the periphery near Bracknell, and it included inner suburbs around Mitcham and Penge. The proportion of tenants in each non-manual group originating from the outer suburbs was higher than for any other part of London, except in respect of office staff, for whom west London County took the lead. Tenants from the last zone, areas furthest from Bracknell on the east side of the metropolis, were generally similar to those from west London County although they included fewer office staff and more semi-skilled workers. There were too few cases from these areas to distinguish between inner and outer boroughs.

This pattern of migration from London is related not only to the original location of firms which had moved to Bracknell, but also to the social geography of the capital, modified by the orientation of the new town. Greater London's social structure shows features of the three urban patterns formulated by the ecological school: concentric zones, radial sectors following transport lines and inner enclaves of high social status. This has been demonstrated by Westergaard[66] and of particular interest here is his map showing the residential distribution of social classes in London in 1951 when development in Bracknell began. This confirms the general difference between west and east sides of London County, the former containing a population in higher social classes; also the sector of 'working class or socially intermediate' districts in west Middlesex which stretch out to the conurbation boundary and interrupt the outer ring of higher status areas encircling the conurbation. The map of social distribution of tenants'

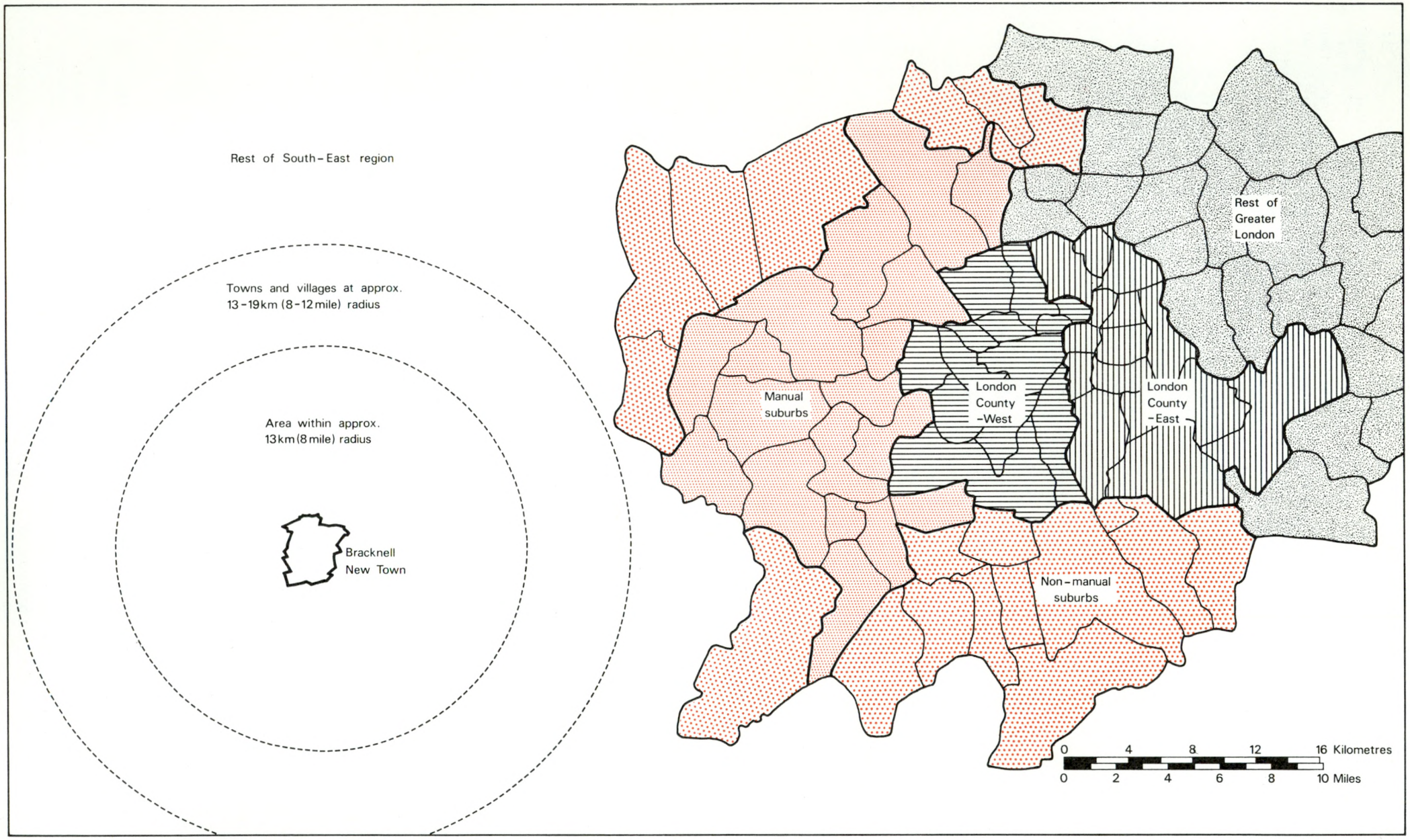


Figure 15 Zones of origin of Bracknell tenants with similar socio-economic characteristics

Table 20 Socio-economic distribution of tenants from each of ten zones of origin (%)

Socio-economic group	Manual suburbs	Non-manual suburbs	London County West	London County East	Rest of Greater London	Bracknell	Within 13 km (8 miles) radius	Towns at 13–19 km (8–12 miles) radius	Rest of South-East	Outside the South-East
Employers and managers										
Large firms	0·9	3·3	2·1	1·5	2·0	1·9	2·5	3·5	4·6	4·0
Small firms	1·1	3·5	1·5	0·1	3·2	3·5	5·0	7·3	4·7	1·8
Professional employees	2·9	7·7	3·6	1·4	6·0	3·2	7·8	11·1	14·4	18·8
Intermediate non-manual	5·0	8·7	7·3	3·5	8·1	6·5	19·3	27·0	19·7	31·0
Junior non-manual	15·2	22·4	25·2	18·8	18·2	16·5	24·0	14·0	27·1	22·5
Sub-total: all non-manual	25·1	45·6	39·7	25·3	37·5	31·6	48·6	62·9	70·5	78·1
Foremen	3·3	2·3	2·4	2·2	3·7	2·5	3·3	4·9	0·2	1·6
Skilled manual	44·3	31·3	35·4	45·3	27·4	33·1	27·6	19·9	22·7	14·6
Semi-skilled manual	24·7	15·7	18·0	24·4	30·0	18·1	12·3	7·0	6·1	5·7
Unskilled manual	2·6	5·1	3·3	2·8	1·4	8·7	6·5	4·0	—	—
Other	0·0	—	1·2	—	—	6·0	1·7	1·3	0·5	—
Sub-total: all manual	74·9	54·4	60·3	74·7	62·5	68·4	51·4	37·1	29·5	21·9
Total: all employed tenants	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(841)	(263)	(380)	(214)	(139)	(198)	(129)	(118)	(303)	(302)

origins, however, ceases to mirror that of residents in the east of the conurbation, outside the County. This is the effect of distance; beyond the centre of the metropolis, an increase in distance from Bracknell results in a diminishing representation of manual workers among migrants.

All the sectors outside London and outside Bracknell's immediate hinterland were predominantly sources of white-collar workers. Migrants who arrived from outside the South-East, with one-half in professional or semi-professional work and almost one-quarter in clerical grades, can be seen as the reverse of migrants from industrial London with one-half in skilled and one-quarter in semi-skilled manual work. Tenants from Bracknell and its hinterland were nearest in composition to those from the non-industrial parts of London, though there were more unskilled workers housed from local areas.

The migration streams converging on the new town can be divided into three principal types:

(i) mainly manually employed tenants: from industrial suburbs mainly in Middlesex, extending round the north-west and south-west sides of London County; also the eastern half of London County
(ii) mainly white-collar tenants: from outside London and outside Bracknell's hinterland
(iii) a mixture of tenants, with manual workers just predominating: from the western half of London County, outer suburbs of London, Bracknell and its hinterland.

Change in the migration field during the new town's growth

The final section of this chapter shows how the migration field altered over time. The greatest change – the declining importance of London as a source of tenants – is shown in Figure 16. When the first industries moved to Bracknell, almost the sole source of tenants was Greater London, a situation conforming to the generally accepted idea of an overspill situation. Yet it was short-lived, for the proportion of Londoners in each year's intake declined, never returning to such high levels again; during the 5 years of main factory and housing construction, the proportion of Londoners arriving fell by nearly 3% per annum, the difference being made up by an increase in tenants from distant areas. The migration field at the beginning of the phase (in 1954) was unusual in that medium-distance migrants (Londoners) predominated while short-distance migrants formed an exceedingly small proportion of the whole; certainly population within the designated area was small at that time, yet together with the populations of surrounding areas, including Reading and Slough, one would have expected more migrants to be drawn from near at hand if houses had not been reserved for Londoners. By 1958 the migration field had become even more extended in that short-distance migrants, still forming a small proportion, were now out-numbered also by long-distance migrants; only 8% of tenants originated from local areas but more than twice as many came from outside London and Bracknell's hinterland.

Over the next 8 years, in the second half of the town's development, change accelerated but brought the migration field nearer to the usual pattern. The proportion of Londoners in the intake fell further (by 4% per annum), and there was an increase in tenants from local areas due to the allocation of housing to local needs. By the end of this period, when the original town plan had been completed, migrants from local areas, accounting for nearly one-third of the intake, out-numbered those from distant areas.

In the fourth phase, as further industries arrived from London, the proportion of Londoners rose slightly. Many people were still housed from local areas, the increase in Londoners being balanced by a decline in long-distance arrivals. One should note that the falling proportion of long-distance migrants in later years of development refers only to

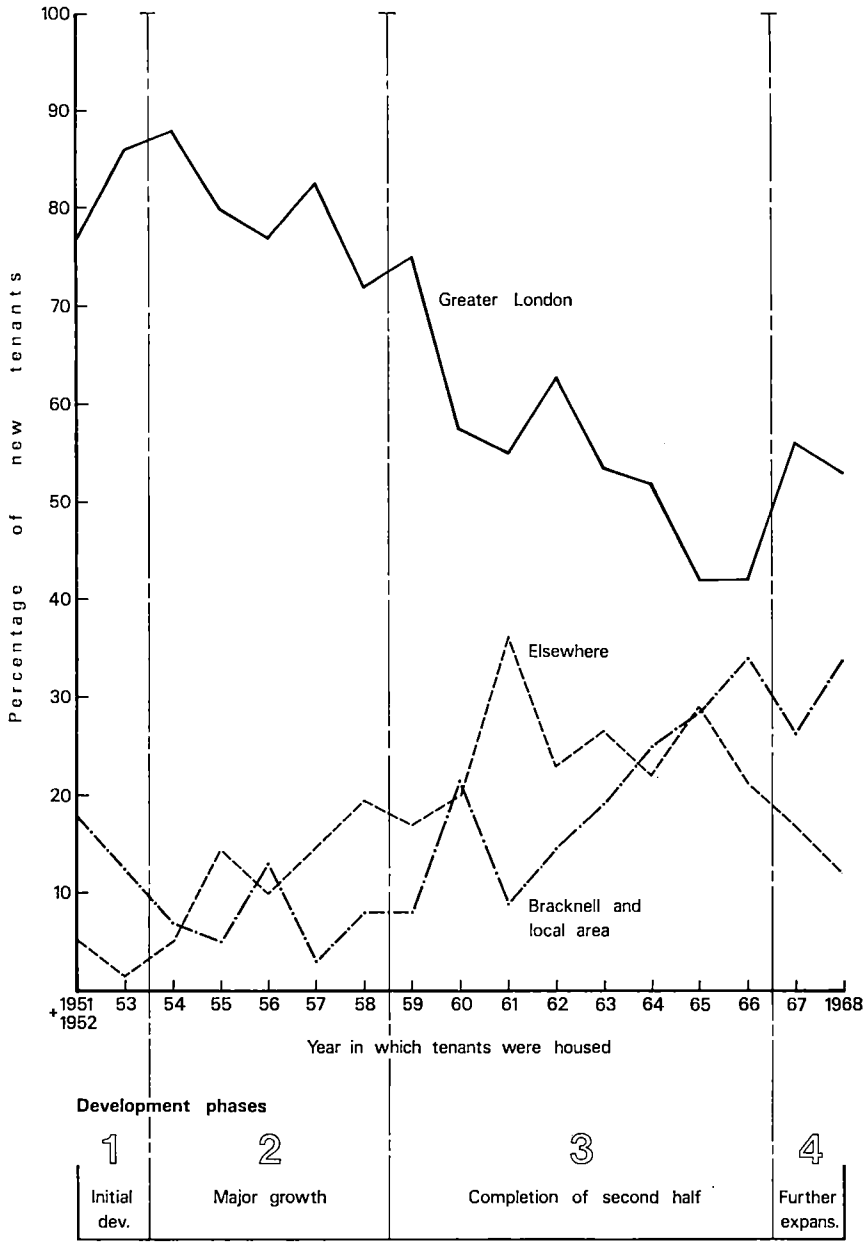


Figure 16 Geographical origin of tenants housed each year

tenants housed by the Corporation; the growth of jobs and the evidence of housing problems in the new town suggest that migrants continued to be drawn to the area but were obliged to seek other accommodation in the locality. Table 21 summarises the changes, showing the origins of tenants during each of the development phases. The figures confirm the change shown in previous chapters from an intake dominated by manual workers to one distinctive for its high proportion of white-collar workers. In terms of geographical origin, the change was from an intake composed mainly of Londoners (accounting for 80% of migrants) to one in which Londoners accounted for just over half the intake, while one-quarter of migrants were drawn from distant areas; these distant areas were mainly a source of white-collar workers. In the fourth growth phase the principal feature was the increased proportion of people from local areas.

Changes in recruitment by expanding firms

The explanation for these changes lies in the interaction between planning policy and employment development. An overspill channel from London was forged initially by the movement of industries with their work-forces, but this channel diminished in importance as expanding firms obtained a larger share of housing allocations, for the new workers recruited tended to be drawn from outside London. Even firms which remained stable in size showed a tendency to recruit a few more of their subsequent employees from outside the metropolis, but change was most marked in firms with the highest growth rates; since these tended to be larger firms, the effect on the migration field was pronounced.

Table 22 illustrates the tendency by grouping together first, three firms which nominated mainly semi-skilled workers and which did not expand greatly (subsequent nominations being 10% less than original ones), secondly, three firms in which skilled workers predominated and which tended to expand slightly more (subsequent nominations being 8% higher), and thirdly, three major growth firms in the electronics and light engineering field, whose subsequent nominations were more than double those of earlier years although their years of arrival were generally later. (The largest firm of all in Bracknell is not included in these examples since its sheer size tends to overshadow changes in smaller firms, but its experience confirms the trend described here.)

While the proportion of tenants housed from London fell by only 2% in the first group (not a statistically significant change) and 7% in the second, in the third it fell by 27%. The change in recruitment was evident both for manual and non-manual workers, the decline in Londoners among the latter being slightly greater.

Table 21 Geographical origin of tenants housed during each phase of development (%)

Geographical origin	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968
Bracknell	4·0	4·0	10·5	18·9
19 km (12 miles) radius	12·4	3·4	8·9	12·3
Sub-total: all local	16·4	7·4	19·4	31·2
Linked boroughs	47·0	27·0	15·9	12·5
Metropolitan boroughs	16·1	25·8	20·4	22·7
Rest of Greater London	17·1	26·3	19·2	19·4
Sub-total: all Greater London	80·2	79·1	55·5	54·6
Rest of South-East	0·9	7·3	12·9	7·1
Outside South-East	2·5	6·2	12·1	7·1
Sub-total: all distant	3·4	13·5	25·0	14·2
Not known	—	—	0·1	—
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(323)	(1140)	(1188)	(392)

Table 22 Changes in the recruitment areas of nine firms

Firms	Employees	Original nominations*			Later nominations		
		No of tenants	%	% from Greater London	No of tenants	%	% from Greater London
Three firms employing mainly semi-skilled workers	Manual	197	86·0	100·0	165	80·5	100·0
	Non-manual	32	14·0	96·8	40	19·5	87·5
	All	299	100·0	99·6	205	100·0	97·6
		(*n*=106)			(*n*=50)		
Three firms employing mainly skilled workers	Manual	371	78·8	98·1	378	74·6	92·3
	Non-manual	100	21·2	91·0	129	25·4	83·0
	All	471	100·0	96·6	507	100·0	89·9
		(*n*=233)			(*n*=133)		
Three expanding electronic and light engineering firms	Manual	279	70·8	93·2	486	58·6	68·9
	Non-manual	115	29·2	74·8	343	41·4	48·4
	All	394	100·0	87·8	829	100·0	60·4
		(*n*=159)			(*n*=250)		

*Original nominations=tenants housed in the year preceding the firm's move to Bracknell, the year of the move and the following year.

The principal agents for bringing Londoners to the town were firms moving with their work-forces; once settled in the town, however, firms which began to grow ceased to be such useful agents of overspill, their recruitment areas shifting away from London and increasing the channel of long-distance migrants. The effect of their expansion on the migration field was twofold; not only did the growth firms themselves become magnets for migrants from further afield, but their increased consumption of housing reduced the chances for other firms to move with their work-forces from London. This trend underlies the extension of the migration field during the town's major growth phase. The change took place despite the Industrial Selection Scheme and the exhortations of the Development Corporation and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Firms unable to secure essential employees from London could find applicants only further afield and, in the interests of the town's economic viability, these tenants were housed.

Residential distribution of employees housed for firms

The geographical origin of employees housed for each firm was studied to see whether any general pattern could be found to explain why some firms drew tenants from wider areas than did others. Two factors were associated with the distribution of workers housed when the firm first moved, and two factors with the distribution of workers housed later.

Employees housed at the time of the move:

(i) origin of the firm: those from central metropolitan areas had more dispersed work-forces than those from outside the centre

(ii) occupation and sex of employees: semi-skilled workers tended to be concentrated nearer to their places of work, non-manual workers were more dispersed; women lived nearer to their work than did men. (These observations are in line with the findings of studies concerned with work journeys.)

Employees housed later:

(i) changes in size of firm and type of additional employees housed: expansion and an increase in proportion of white-collar workers housed widened the firm's recruitment area

(ii) organisational links.

The last factor introduced an unpredictable element. Few Bracknell firms were without links elsewhere – with parent or associate companies, head offices, other branches, etc, both in England and abroad. The change in size and ownership of companies that had taken place nationally since the war was a process that did not by-pass new towns; many firms which moved to Bracknell as small, independent units had since been merged with others; sometimes several changes had taken place and control had passed elsewhere. Links often resulted in the transfer of staff, thus perpetuating existing channels of migrants or opening new channels. One firm continued to draw a concentration of Londoners from its 'home' borough where another branch remained, while other firms which had severed all connections with their original sites thereafter recruited from widely scattered parts of London. Government organisations or very large and multi-structured companies frequently tranferred staff from many parts of the country and abroad. Such links acted as a further constraint upon the ability of firms to draw their additional workers from the population registered on the housing lists of London.

The influence of planning policy on the origin of the new town's population

Bracknell's migration field had features frequently observed elsewhere: the general pattern of migrant attraction, with the proportion of migrants drawn from each zone declining with distance, differences between social groups in distance and areas of origin, the existence of migration currents of diverse social composition, extension of the migration field during a period of economic expansion – all have been traced previously in studies both in England and abroad.

The question remains as to what influence had been exerted on Bracknell's migration field by planning policy with its deliberate aim of encouraging migration from London and discouraging it from elsewhere. Undoubtedly short-distance migration from areas nearer at hand than London was suppressed during the first two development phases; at that time, the number of migrants drawn from London was greater than would have been expected from a simple calculation of resident population and intervening distance. The disturbing effect that large cities may have on such gradients has been noted, but the proportion of Londoners among early migrants was still exceptionally high. This was 'overspill' in the generally accepted sense of migration from a crowded conurbation to a new town. The *content* of the migration stream did not fulfil expectations so well; it was selective of skilled and semi-skilled workers and gave little direct help to groups in greatest need. But the new town was being populated principally by Londoners; requirements of geographical origin were met.

However, with each year that passed, this feature became less pronounced: first, economic expansion drew migrants from further afield; then came an increase in short-distance movers with the growth of local need. The change shows that the theory of overspill was translated into practice most effectively when an appropriate mechanism existed – the integrated movement of London firms with their work-forces. This industrial mobility was directly responsible for the high proportion of Londoners in the early intake. Once industrial growth had overtaken the arrival of new firms as an influence on tenant intake, planning policy could not prevent the town turning from the metropolis and seeking an increasing part of its population intake elsewhere. Even the powerful controls of the nomination system could not halt the process.

The trend was evident in all the London new towns. Roderick has reported that 62·8% of all tenancies in the eight London new towns by the end of 1968 had been allocated to Londoners (compared with 63·4% in Bracknell); and that the proportion of Londoners housed was much higher in earlier years (79% in 1952, 77% in 1957 and 44% in 1966–1968)[62]. This study has shown how the new town's function as an economic unit influenced the migration intake; not only the type of migrants but the distribution of areas from which they came responded to the employment situation in the town. Economic expansion was achieved, but at some cost to a number of the objectives of 'overspill' policy.

Chapter 6 Previous housing of the new population

The question that lies at the heart of overspill planning is housing. This was the main factor in attracting population to the London new towns; thus housing formed the principal 'magnet'* while employment shaped the intake, particularly the type of people attracted and the distribution of geographical areas from which they were drawn. Yet some people have accused the new towns of doing little to ease the housing problems of London authorities. This study can shed some light on the paradox; however, one must remember the limitations of the information and make reservations about interpreting it.

The information and its coding

Most tenants' records contained some description of accommodation inhabited at the time of applying for new town housing. Each tenant was asked on his application form whether his present accommodation was rented, whether it was council property, whether he was on a housing list and, finally: 'If you are urgently in need of re-housing, please state the reasons'. Some left this space blank; this did not necessarily indicate absence of need, for other information on the files showed that some of these families had major housing problems. Other tenants answered in terms of excessive travelling to and from Bracknell while awaiting housing. Others emphasised the inadequacy of their present accommodation; yet statements that they were 'overcrowded', 'about to be evicted' or 'in unhealthy rooms' could have been exaggerated in the hope of obtaining new town housing as soon as possible. Such information on its own was not reliable. Used in conjunction with notes taken by Housing Assistants, however, it proved more enlightening. These notes were generally based on visits to households in their old accommodation, usually in London, to assess whether the households were likely to prove satisfactory tenants; in other cases the notes were derived from interviews with applicants. The content and detail of the total information varied greatly but the pilot study had suggested that it would be sufficient to use and, after several attempts at coding, lists of categories were devised.

Two of the three sets of codings did not pose great problems and the information seems reliable. The first concerns housing lists – whether tenants were on local authority lists or already tenants of other authorities; only 0·7% of the sample could not be coded. The second concerns previous type of accommodation; this could be coded by tenure and type (house/flat/rooms); 7·4% of the total sample could not be given a coding. The third coding was the most difficult and the results must be used with caution for they are the least precise of the three and the most controversial. This coding concerns the adequacy of each household's previous accommodation and hence, by inference, the household's degree of housing need. The definition of 'housing need' has exercised quite a few research workers over the years and the concept has caused considerable argument between politicians, housing officials, sociologists and voluntary organisations. Without wishing to get involved in this conflict, it was nevertheless obvious that relevant information was available in the Bracknell data. For instance it was clear that a young couple who had moved from a well furnished four-roomed flat, with the declared aim of taking up work with a Bracknell firm, were not in urgent housing need; while another couple moving from a flat described as 'damp, decaying and lacking all modern facilities except a cold-water tap' were indeed in need. To ignore this information because of the difficulty of coding incomplete data, containing subjective statements, was to miss the opportunity of contributing to a debate generally lacking in facts. Housing need has frequently been equated with registration on a housing list; this study shows that the association is a poor one. Uncertainty was allayed by the tabulations which show a great deal of internal consistency and correlate well with other data. With a final caveat, therefore, about the need to allow for a margin of error in the results, this section describes the previous housing from which the new town's population had moved.

*The concept of magnets was used by Ebenezer Howard[1] to describe the attractive forces inducing people to leave the land and crowd into cities. He outlined two magnets of 'town life' and 'country life' and suggested that a third, the 'town–country magnet', would combine the advantages of the other two; this was to be his Garden City. His list of its attractions ranged from 'pure air and water' to 'field for enterprise' and 'flow of capital'; it included 'bright homes and gardens', a factor which has proved very important in the growth of new towns, although others such as 'low rents' and 'high wages' are not generally associated with new towns; tenants usually find the wages lower than those in large cities, and the rents higher than those they have paid previously for less satisfactory accommodation.

Previous accommodation, its adequacy and registration on housing lists

The single biggest source of new town households was the privately rented sector, from which two in five tenants had moved; most of them came from flats (see Table 23). Since such accommodation is the usual starting point for new households at early stages of the life-cycle, it is not surprising, in view of the youthful nature of tenants, that this should be the main source. Since the war, the sector has been shrinking; this has happened in London[67] as well as in other towns[68] and the country generally. Nevertheless, in 1961 privately rented accommodation in London still housed 42% of all households in the conurbation. Outside London the proportion was much lower, the difference being made up by owner-occupied property; for example, in the County of Berkshire, including Reading County Borough, in 1966 the proportion of privately rented dwellings was only 14%[69]. Thus new town tenants were drawn disproportionately from the privately rented sector; of households which had moved from known separate accommodation, 61% had come from privately rented property.

The next most numerous group of households was of those without previous separate accommodation. Most were married

couples who had been living with other households, normally the tenant's parents or in-laws. There were also considerable numbers of new households, most formed by marriage, previously living with their families of origin. Together with small percentages of single people who had lived as lodgers, and previously 'homeless' married couples (those in which husband and wife were obliged to live separately, or in temporary hostels), this group represented an 'expansion' factor: households whose migration to the new town had not released accommodation elsewhere. They accounted for more than a quarter of the total intake.

The presence of 'concealed' households, potentially separate units living as part of larger households, has greatly complicated such exercises as the calculation of future housing requirements. The Milner Holland Committee, reviewing estimates made by the Government Social Survey in 1960, the Rowntree Trust Housing Study in 1962 and the national census of 1961, concluded: 'In sum, all we can say about 'concealed' households in Greater London is that their number, according to the estimates available, probably lies in the range between 45 000 and 80 000' (page 101 of the report[67]). This suggests that about 2–3% of all households in the conurbation contained such a 'concealed' household; the proportion outside London would be much lower. The new town, therefore, had drawn its intake from this group even more disproportionately than from the privately rented sector. The two are, of course, closely related; both among 'concealed' households and those in privately rented accommodation are found the most youthful and mobile households.

A study in East Ham found that only 54% of dwellings from which people had moved in 1959 to new towns were wholly vacated[70]. The Bracknell figures suggest a similar figure. About two-thirds of Greater London dwellings from which households had moved to Bracknell may have been vacated; but some records mentioned that members of the original households were remaining in the old houses and, if such cases of household fission were numerous, it is possible that the proportion of wholly vacated dwellings may indeed have been reduced as low as one-half.

The remaining one-third of households moved from a variety of accommodation. Tenants of local authorities formed only 9% of the intake, although council dwellings contained about 18% of households in Greater London and not very different proportions elsewhere. Migration to the new town had not been selective of such households. This was even more noticeable in the case of previous owner-occupiers who formed only 8% of tenants although people in their own property accounted for more than a third of households in Greater London (37% in 1961) and about a half elsewhere. Council housing and owner-occupied housing tend to form terminal points in the housing system, there being much less movement from or between them than there is from furnished to unfurnished accommodation in the privately rented sector and from that sector into council or owner-occupied housing.

Registration on housing lists

Contrasting with the picture of a migration dominated by newly independent households and households from privately rented accommodation, which suggests the principal motive of most migrants to be the search for housing, is the much smaller proportion of tenants who were on housing lists (see Table 23). Only 23% were on London lists; even with a further 7% who were London tenants and 8% who were tenants in other areas, the fact remains that more than 60% of those housed were neither on lists nor tenants of councils. One would not expect all tenants to have previously been on

Table 23 Previous accommodation of all households housed between 1951 and 1968, and registration on housing lists (%)

Previous accommodation: type and tenure

Tenants in privately rented property:

	House	Flat	Rooms	Unspecified	All
Furnished	0·6	5·4	4·3		10·3
Unfurnished	2·5	8·5	1·9		12·9
Unspecified	4·5	8·8	1·9	1·4	16·6
Total	7·6	22·7	8·1	1·4	39·8

Tenants of local authority		9·3
Tenants of other development corporations		1·6
Tenants in tied property		3·1
Caravan or temporary accommodation such as huts		1·7
Armed Service or Government accommodation		1·9
Owner-occupiers of permanent property		7·8
Households with no previous separate accommodation:		
Couples with or without children living-in with related households	15·6	
Homeless couples: living separately for lack of accommodation or in welfare property	1·8	27·4
New households – most formed by marriage, including people housed as married children of tenants	8·3	
One-person households previously in lodgings	1·7	
Not known		7·4
Total		100·0

Registration on housing lists

Registered with London local authorities:		
On housing list	22·9	
Tenants of permanent local authority property	5·5	29·6
Tenants of requisitioned or temporary local authority property	1·2	
Registered in other areas: on housing lists or tenants of:		
Local authorities round Bracknell (principally East-hampstead RDC)	3·4	
Other local authorities and development corporations in the South-East region	3·2	8·3
Local authorities and development corporations outside the South-East region	1·7	
Neither on a housing list nor tenants of local authority or development corporation		61·4
Not known		0·7
Total		100·0
		(n=3043)

housing lists; such categories as displaced persons or married children of tenants were most unlikely to be registered on lists. Yet, even taking such cases into account, the proportion seems high.

One explanation emerged during the data extraction. There were numerous households which had sought to register on London lists but were not accepted. The following selection of answers to the question 'Are you on a housing list?' illustrates the problem: 'No – list closed'; 'was on LCC list but was taken off' (resident at Deptford); 'Housing list closed'; 'Application made but informed 'hopeless' '; 'Application refused due to not being resident in Ealing 7 years'; 'Applied at Wembley – housing list closed'; 'Twickenham would not accept us' (11 people in two bedrooms); 'No, as position is hopeless' (Southall); 'Heston and Isleworth will not take any more names on housing list'; 'Richmond will not accept – we have no children'; 'Was on LCC list but recently struck off owing to overcrowding of list'. One must conclude from such comments that the length of a council housing list is an unsatisfactory guide to housing problems in its area, and similarly that the number of people taken by a new town from a housing list is an unsatisfactory measure of the actual relief of housing need afforded.

Adequacy of previous accommodation

The results of this coding are listed in Table 24 in approximate rank order from least to greatest need. The first observation is that the group apparently not in immediate need has been reduced from the 61% level of those not on housing lists (nor local authority tenants) to the one-third level. Tenants had been drawn in almost equal proportions from accommodation that was generally adequate, that was rendered unsuitable by changing circumstances, or that was inadequate *per se*.

In identifying households with adequate previous accommodation, dissatisfaction with tenure and type was specifically ignored; people who wished to obtain houses instead of flats (this was a common desire among those moving from the privately rented sector as well as those from London council property) were included in this coding unless there was evidence of changing circumstances, or absence of essential amenities. A few cases of caravan dwellers without children in apparently well appointed caravans were also coded as 'adequately accommodated', though most caravan dwellers (seven out of eight) were in the other groups.

The adjective 'adequate' was purposely chosen to describe this group's housing rather than 'satisfactory' which suggests a state of affairs nearer perfection. It was obvious that not all households in this group regarded their previous housing as satisfactory; some stated explicitly that they found it unsuitable; less than half had reached what are generally regarded as the terminal points of the housing system (council or owner-occupied property); most were young couples in privately rented flats who wished to move into houses and start families.

However, there were a few for whom it was clear that their interest in moving to Bracknell was purely that of employment; a few owner-occupiers stated that they were moving for job-purposes only and wished to rent a Corporation house while considering whether to purchase locally. On the other hand, some owner-occupiers had found mortgage repayments too high, had let part of their houses and wished to switch to cheaper, rented housing. It is impossible to estimate how many of the 'adequately' accommodated group had been attracted primarily by housing and how many by jobs. It is clear that some degree of housing need existed in this group,

Table 24 Adequacy of previous accommodation of all households housed between 1951 and 1968 (%)

Previous accommodation apparently adequate of its type		
No obvious housing need apart from dissatisfaction with tenure and type; also need to move apparently due mainly to acceptance of job in Bracknell; includes single-person households previously living at home		33·1
Previous accommodation adequate in itself but rendered unsuitable by changing circumstances		
Displaced by the new town's development	2·2	
Households in tied or service property who must leave	3·2	
Miscellaneous circumstances not included elsewhere: households returning from overseas; single adults left by households moving elsewhere; grown-up children who must leave to provide space for rest of family	2·8	
Changes in the household:		
Marriage (principally): also divorce, additional adults joining the household	8·8	
Birth of children or (less frequently) growing children making accommodation unsuitable	2·9	
Ageing or retirement; elderly people needing to move near to married children or needing accommodation without stairs	4·1	
Health (other than ageing): illness or disability necessitating leaving London or the previous address	1·0	
Tenants given notice to leave: under threat of eviction, notice to quit, refusal to renew lease, illegal tenants	3·8	
Sub-total		28·8
Previous accommodation inadequate (further description in the text)		
Moderately unsatisfactory accommodation; some amenities lacking or shared	9·2	
Married couples with or without children, living-in with related households*	12·3	
Very unsatisfactory accommodation:		
In need of major repairs, damp, condemned, gross lack of amenities	4·1	
Overcrowded	6·2	
Households in welfare hostels or split up by lack of joint accommodation (before the wage-earner's move to Bracknell)	1·8	
Sub-total		33·6
Insufficient information		4·5
Total		100·0 (n=3043)

*The proportion included in this coding is less than that shown in Table 23 for 'couples living-in with related households' since those in very unsatisfactory accommodation or who were illegal tenants under notice to leave, etc, were coded under those headings.

that it was generally less than in other groups, and employment reasons for moving were greater in this group than in others.

At the other extreme were tenants who had moved from definitely inadequate accommodation. The descriptions rarely listed all amenities available to each household; thus it was not possible to draw up categories on a precise basis such as exclusive use of wc, bath, availability of hot water supply, etc; nor could an exact definition of overcrowding be used. The following examples are typical of cases coded under each heading (the descriptions quoted are those recorded by Housing Assistants, not by the applicants).

Moderately unsatisfactory:

Couple with young child living in two rooms – 'unsuitable'

Old cottage, sufficient rooms but no bathroom

Couple living in bedroom, living-room and kitchen (no sink), sharing bathroom and wc

A 'well-kept' flat in a mid-nineteenth century block described as 'filthy'

Two 'well-kept' rooms on top floor of a 'very squalid' house (couple with child)

Many households with sufficient rooms but sharing bathroom, wc or kitchen

Very unsatisfactory:

'Very poor' old property, about to be demolished; roof leaks, share kitchen (couple with child)

Two partly furnished rooms – 'very poor and cramped condition'; share wc etc (couple with child)

Furnished bed-sitting room; tiny kitchen; share bathroom with four families

Two basement-rooms and scullery; no bath; doctor's warning about damage to children's health (couple with two children)

One furnished room; 'very poor and inconvenient accommodation which Mrs X does her best with' (couple with two children)

Many households in 'badly converted' accommodation with cookers or baths on landing, or wc in kitchen

One room and kitchenette; no running water – it must be carried upstairs (couple with child)

Overcrowded:

Four people living in two rooms

Two large rooms – couple with five children

Seven people sleeping in three bedrooms, and baby expected

One-bed flat – 'insufficient' (couple with two children)

'Very crowded' (couple with three children)

Two unfurnished rooms – 'very overcrowded' (couple with two children)

One room and scullery – 'crowded' (couple with one child)

The three categories of those from very unsatisfactory or overcrowded accommodation, or the most extreme cases of 'homelessness', were generally in greatest need. They accounted for only 12% of the total sample. Yet there were further cases of real and urgent need in other groups, particularly those sharing with other households. The Milner Holland Committee recognised the unhappy situation of young families obliged to 'live-in' with relations; the lack of privacy for these families, the Committee pointed out, is often more damaging than that suffered by other families sharing amenities. Descriptions of relationships between generations strained beyond breaking point and urgent pleas for release on many Bracknell application forms bear this out. Some of these households had previously lived in separate accommodation which they were forced to leave, usually when children arrived, and had been taken in by their parents as a last resort.

Housing need was generally greatest in the third group (people from inadequate accommodation), especially in its last three or four categories. Also, housing reasons for moving to the new town predominated although, such is the nature of mankind which defies logic based on a summation of material needs, some households in very sub-standard accommodation made it clear that they were moving to Bracknell purely for employment reasons. Further instances to shake the confidence of the housing reformer were found when analysing terminations; some households from conditions of the worst kind had shortly returned to the same areas, presumably to the same conditions.

Between these two groups the third remained – households on the move because of some change in circumstances. The most numerous category was of households formed by marriage; together with households in accommodation unsuitable for their growing families, they formed 12% of the sample, equal to the numbers from the worst situations. Degree of housing need varied; some households appeared to be in desperate straits and unable to find alternative homes; in other cases it was impossible to say whether a household could have found another home in the same area. It is reasonable to assume that degree of housing need generally in this group was intermediate between the other two, and that housing reasons for moving predominated, although there were probably some people moving purely for employment reasons.

Relief of housing need

Housing need was greatest among households which had no joint accommodation, had shared accommodation or were from privately rented property. Table 25 shows that, of those with their own separate accommodation, need was most evident among people from privately rented rooms, flats and houses (in that order); those in unfurnished property were in less satisfactory circumstances than those in furnished property, although unspecified cases make the extent of the difference uncertain. The fact that new town households in greatest need had come from *unfurnished* accommodation in London seems at first sight to conflict with the findings of the Milner Holland Committee which reported that housing hardship in London was heavily concentrated in *furnished* accommodation (pages 90–91 of the report[67]). The two statements can be reconciled, however, by the proposition that the new town had attracted few households from the worst conditions in London but more of those from less severe conditions. Such a conclusion could not be supported by this comparison alone, but it is confirmed by other findings; the new town had attracted few of those with the lowest incomes among the employed (unskilled workers), few of the household types frequently in economic difficulties (large or one-parent families), and few migrants to London from overseas – all groups with the worst housing problems in London.

Table 25 Adequacy of previous accommodation of households which had moved from their own separate accommodation (%)

Previous accommodation	Adequacy of previous accommodation: Adequate of its type	Unsuitable because of change	Inadequate: Moderately	Inadequate: Very	Insufficient information	Total	(*n*)
Owner-occupied	81·5	13·7	3·1	1·6	0·1	100·0	(262)
Council property	75·4	12·9	1·8	9·4	0·5	100·0	(250)
Privately rented							
House – furnished	59·7	29·0	9·7	—	1·6	100·0	(19)
House – unfurnished	37·1	49·6*	9·3	4·0	—	100·0	(59)
House – either	31·5	39·9*	13·7	13·8	1·1	100·0	(135)
Flat – furnished	53·6	24·4	11·6	8·1	2·3	100·0	(165)
Flat – unfurnished	34·3	23·0	24·7	16·7	1·3	100·0	(216)
Flat – either	35·2	22·2	18·9	19·8	3·9	100·0	(262)
Rooms – furnished	22·6	24·4	33·0	18·1	1·9	100·0	(148)
Rooms – unfurnished	0·5	20·7	34·8	44·0	—	100·0	(53)
Rooms – either	17·4	13·1	27·4	41·0	1·1	100·0	(75)
Unspecified private property	41·8	39·7	0·7	5·0	12·8	100·0	(54)

*These high proportions are due to the numbers displaced by development in Bracknell (24·6% of those from unfurnished houses and 20·0% of those from unspecified houses).

This table excludes newly formed households and those previously sharing with other households. It excludes also those who were tenants of other Development Corporations (their previous accommodation was coded as 100% adequate), and those from caravans (accommodation mostly inadequate), and from Armed Services or tied property (most were obliged to move).

Those previously in council property and owner-occupied housing had come from better conditions. Nine per cent of council tenants had been in 'very unsatisfactory' property; some were overcrowded, some in unsuitable requisitioned premises and the description of a few early council flats had earned them the coding of 'sub-standard'. (The Milner Holland report[67] also noted unsatisfactory housing conditions among a small proportion of London council tenants.) Owner-occupied property from which households moved was generally of a higher standard; inadequate dwellings lacked a few rather than most amenities.

Table 26 shows that the association between officially recognised need and need as it emerged in this study is a poor one. While there was some official recognition of all areas of major need, it was far from complete; nor was it greatest where need was most urgent or pressing. Half the households separated or in temporary welfare accommodation were not on housing lists; the same applied to tenants under notice to leave. Such crises may occur quickly and local authorities can respond only slowly where there is great pressure on all available accommodation. Yet even in cases of need with a longer history – tenants in 'very unsatisfactory' accommodation – more than a quarter were not on lists. The comments quoted earlier illustrate the reasons; some councils simply closed their lists or cancelled names already registered, or applicants did not fulfil conditions about length of residence or size of family. Households with characteristics which normally gain them 'points' on waiting lists, particularly those with children or health problems, had more success in registering.

Distribution of the total sample into categories of officially recognised and apparent need (see Table 27) shows how much new town housing had made a direct contribution to the heart of London's housing problem. Only 15% of the households accepted were Greater Londoners previously living in 'inadequate' accommodation and registered on council waiting lists; less than half of these were actually 'homeless' or living in 'very unsatisfactory' conditions.

The housing of other groups contributed much to the solution of London's problems; for example, Londoners in council property which was inadequate or rendered unsuitable by a change in circumstances, and people who were on waiting lists and in private property which was unsuitable because of change. These, together with the first group, accounted for 21% of all those housed.

The acceptance of further categories also contributed to housing relief: people from inadequate accommodation (mainly in London) although their need was not officially registered (16%), and Londoners from adequate council flats, releasing space for others on the lists (5%). The cumulative total at this point is 41%.

One can argue interminably about the degree of housing relief afforded by the acceptance of each category. At each step, the contribution becomes less direct. The acceptance of households from other new towns released housing, some of which may have been filled by Londoners in need. Even the group whose movement afforded the least relief – households in adequate private accommodation and not on lists – may have made some contribution; their accommodation was not completely satisfactory (many couples were seeking houses in order to raise families); and moves from congested areas may have eased some pressure on housing there.

The contribution is difficult to assess. The East Ham study

Table 26 Registration on housing lists by tenants who had moved from adequate or inadequate accommodation (%)

Adequacy of previous accommodation	Greater London		Other areas: on list or local authority tenant	All	Neither on list nor local authority tenant	Total	(*n*)
	On list	Local authority tenant					
Adequate of its type	8·9	13·5	13·6	36·0	64·0	100·0	(1083)
Unsuitable because of change							
Displaced by development	—	—	7·2	7·2	92·8	100·0	(55)
Tied/service property	15·3	—	15·7	31·0	69·0	100·0	(90)
Miscellaneous reasons	14·3	1·8	1·8	17·9	82·1	100·0	(76)
Household change							
Marriage	3·5	—	0·3	3·8	96·2	100·0	(240)
Children	30·5	1·1	11·0	42·6	57·4	100·0	(94)
Ageing	6·9	20·0	3·7	30·6	69·4	100·0	(97)
Health	42·4	21·2	1·0	64·6	35·4	100·0	(30)
Notice to leave	41·5	—	4·0	45·5	54·5	100·0	(112)
Inadequate							
Moderately unsatisfactory	35·8	2·3	5·7	43·8	56·2	100·0	(269)
Couples sharing	42·7	—	4·4	47·1	52·9	100·0	(385)
Very unsatisfactory	52·8	8·0	10·4	71·2	28·8	100·0	(291)
No joint accommodation	43·4	—	6·6	50·0	50·0	100·0	(49)

Table 27 Housing need and officially registered need (%)

Adequacy of previous accommodation	Officially registered need					
	Greater London		Other area: on list or local authority/ development corporation tenant	Neither	Not known	Total
	On list	Local authority tenant				
Inadequate	14·8	1·0	2·2	15·6	—	33·6
Unsuitable because of change	4·3	1·2	1·4	21·9	—	28·8
Adequate	3·0	4·5	4·5	21·1	—	33·1
Insufficient information	0·8	0·0	0·2	2·8	0·7	4·5
Total	22·9	6·7	8·3	61·4	0·7	100·0

already mentioned, which examined the subsequent use of dwellings from which people had departed to new and expanded towns, concluded that it was 'not easy to quantify the balance of benefit received by East Ham' (page 358 of reference 70). Nearly half the dwellings which were wholly vacated were taken over by families from other areas, particularly central London, mostly 'in housing need' but who, by moving into inadequate accommodation, were adding to East Ham's problems. The author concluded that central London authorities were receiving greater benefit from planned overspill than the more suburban authorities such as East Ham, although the 1961 Census results, showing that housing conditions had improved most in outer London areas, do not entirely support this.

Three findings emerge clearly from this analysis. First, the new town had taken few households from the worst housing conditions. Secondly, on the other hand, it had taken very few who were in no need at all, the intake generally being dominated by households in an intermediate degree of need. Thirdly, the association between apparent and officially recognised need was poor; one in eight of those accepted from London lists moved from reasonably adequate accommodation. If entry had been restricted rigidly to households on local authority lists, nearly half the households which Bracknell accepted from inadequate accommodation would have been excluded.

A final assessment of housing need among Bracknell's new population must await introduction of the time-variable, for the type of need that was satisfied changed during the history of development. Before describing this, it is worthwhile examining variations in previous accommodation of the social groups and of those from different geographical origins.

The previous accommodation of households in each socio-economic group

Previous accommodation of the main social groups varied along the lines generally expected; those with higher earning capacity moved from more adequate accommodation (see Table 28). The differences are less than would be expected in a sample of all householders in each social group because of the limited age-range of new town migrants.

More non-manual households had moved from furnished flats and houses; more manual households from unfurnished flats or houses, and, with the exception of foremen, from rented rooms. More non-manual households had been owner-occupiers, in Armed Service or government property or that of other Development Corporations; more of them also were new households formed by marriage, or single people previously in lodgings. In the manual groups, more families had been 'living-in' with related households or were homeless. A far higher proportion of foremen than of other manual groups had been council tenants or owner-occupiers.

Official recognition of need through registration on housing lists or acceptance as council tenants was more common in manual groups. The proportion who had moved from adequate housing tended to decline with level of social status, while the proportion from inadequate housing rose. There was very little variation in proportions moving from property unsuitable because of change, except for employers and managers of small businesses, many of whom left tied tenancies.

Introduction of household type as a variable showed, within each social group, a general association between age of household and housing need; need was generally greater among younger households. Table 29 shows the tendency for the proportion of households moving from adequate accommodation to rise with age of housewife, and the proportion from inadequate accommodation to fall, in each of the three largest social groups.

A further factor was the number of children in each household; within each age-group, the proportion inadequately housed increased with size of family. Thus greatest housing need was evident among the youngest households – wives in their 20s – but tended to increase with number of children. Among households with wives aged 30–44, housing need was generally less; again it was related to number of children, being least for those with no children and greatest for those with three or four or more children. Among households in the 45–54 age-group the association was still evident but the extent of their housing need was lower than among younger families. The better housing conditions of these households suggest one reason for their relatively low residential mobility. Even among unskilled workers, almost half the families with wives aged 45 and over had been adequately accommodated, and in other manual households in this age-group the proportion was over half. Through length of time in the job and housing market, and possibly through obtaining accommodation in an era of strict rent controls, prior to post-war inflation, this older group had fewer housing problems, which meant less incentive to migrate to a new town.

Previous accommodation of households from each area of origin

There were wide differences between the previous accommodation and housing need of people from different geographical areas (see Table 30). Households from Greater London included a large proportion (almost half) from privately rented property, particularly flats and rooms, and a high proportion of married couples who had been living-in with other households. Far more households from Greater London were in considerable housing need, the proportion in each of the four categories of inadequate conditions being higher than among those from other areas.

Households from Bracknell included high proportions of new households, mainly the new town's second generation, and of couples sharing accommodation. One-half of households from within Bracknell had not previously possessed separate accommodation. Marriage and development of the new town were the two changes which rendered many Bracknell households' previous housing unsuitable, accounting for two-thirds of those housed from within the town. This pattern was repeated, though less markedly, among migrants from the area around Bracknell.

Most households from the rest of the South-East region and from outside the region possessed their own separate accommodation and, although neither category was numerically very large, they included approximately twice as many council

Table 28 Previous accommodation of the socio-economic groups (%)

	Employers and managers								
	Large firms	Small firms	Profes-sional employees	Inter-mediate non-manual	Junior non-manual	Foremen	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled manual	Un-skilled manual
Previous accommodation									
Privately rented									
House/flat									
Furnished	4·3	8·0	9·9	7·5	7·7	2·6	6·1	4·8	0·3
Unfurnished	8·9	9·7	2·9	6·4	11·1	9·3	10·9	13·0	20·9
Rooms	4·7	3·5	2·3	5·9	7·1	0·8	10·8	11·8	10·3
Unspecified	8·8	7·5	12·9	11·4	13·3	18·2	15·6	12·9	15·0
Sub-total: all privately rented	26·7	28·7	28·0	31·2	39·2	30·9	43·4	42·5	46·5
Council tenants	11·2	12·4	6·5	6·0	8·2	27·5	8·4	10·3	13·4
Owner-occupiers	13·6	3·1	12·6	10·5	8·7	13·6	6·5	5·6	1·7
Other	14·0	24·4	18·3	10·7	8·3	7·7	6·2	5·7	5·5
Couples sharing	7·0	4·4	7·3	8·6	12·1	13·6	21·2	21·2	21·6
Couples separated	—	—	1·6	2·2	1·7	0·8	1·7	2·8	3·1
New households	5·1	11·9	13·2	19·3	12·0	2·1	7·9	8·5	4·4
Sub-total: all without separate accommodation	12·1	16·3	22·1	30·1	25·8	16·5	30·8	32·5	29·1
Insufficient information	22·4	15·1	12·5	11·5	9·8	3·8	4·7	3·4	3·8
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Not on housing list nor local authority/development corporation tenants	74·8	71·7	78·3	81·5	66·9	52·6	52·3	48·9	44·9
Adequacy of previous accommodation									
Adequate of its type	64·0	44·3	58·0	47·7	42·0	50·4	25·0	26·8	22·6
Unsuitable because of change	18·2	41·6	26·0	29·3	24·3	17·3	22·5	25·1	24·3
Inadequate									
Moderately unsatisfactory	4·7	3·5	2·9	6·2	10·2	6·4	12·4	10·8	14·4
Couples sharing	6·5	2·2	6·4	8·4	11·0	13·6	17·2	15·7	19·9
Very unsatisfactory	0·5	3·1	1·9	2·1	5·3	11·0	17·5	14·5	13·7
No joint accommodation	—	—	0·8	0·8	1·4	0·4	1·7	2·8	3·1
Sub-total	11·7	8·8	12·0	17·5	27·9	31·4	48·8	43·8	51·1
Insufficient information	6·1	5·3	4·0	5·5	5·8	0·9	3·7	4·3	2·0
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(88)	(67)	(240)	(318)	(611)	(81)	(925)	(456)	(83)

tenants and twice as many owner-occupiers as did households from other areas. The single largest category among people from the South-East was those from 'other' property; this was explained by the large number from the other seven London new towns, accounting for 16% of all migrant households from the rest of the region. (Minor but distinctive migration flows between Bracknell and the other new towns, mainly in the London region but including also Corby, Aycliffe and others were noted. This was due to similarity in employment structures, and consisted of exchanges of people working for Development Corporations or engineering and electronics firms.) Migrants from the South-East and elsewhere were least in housing need; two-thirds had been adequately housed. Their primary motives for moving were concerned

Table 29 Proportion of established family households* in each social and age group which moved from adequate or inadequate accommodation (%) (the remainder in each group moved from accommodation that was unsuitable because of change or could not be classified)

Socio-economic group	Accommodation from which households moved	Housewife's age (years) Less than 30	30–44	45–54	55 and over
Junior non-manual	Adequate	36·4	43·6	48·8	63·3
	Inadequate	39·1	31·4	26·4	18·3
	(*n*)	(268)	(144)	(34)	(16)
Skilled manual	Adequate	18·5	28·9	53·7	41·1
	Inadequate	58·9	51·4	23·6	19·6
	(*n*)	(432)	(317)	(61)	(16)
Semi-skilled manual	Adequate	16·7	26·7	56·0	52·6
	Inadequate	54·3	49·6	25·7	8·8
	(*n*)	(203)	(153)	(37)	(14)

*'Established family households' were married couples with or without children who moved together from their previous residence. They exclude people married within 2–3 months of being housed who were coded as 'newly formed' households, and also a small number of extended family households containing other relations as well as parents and children.

with employment rather than housing; many studies have found that economic motives tend to predominate in long-distance moves.

Greater London

Since households from Greater London were in greater housing need than those from other areas, this raised the question of whether people from parts of the conurbation with the worst housing problems were themselves in most housing need. Chapter 5 found that the main source areas for Bracknell tenants lay to the west of the worst housing areas of London, but pointed out that one must not necessarily assume an ecological correlation – that only migrants from the worst areas would have come from the worst conditions. The proposition was tested by subdividing the sample of Londoners into ten groups of geographical origin corresponding to the groups classified by the Centre for Urban Studies, University College London (Map 5 in reference 63), and cited subsequently in the Milner Holland report (Figure 6 in reference 67). The Centre used indices based on the sharing of dwellings, physical quality of the housing stock and overcrowding. The areas are shown in Table 31 in rank order from worst to best conditions, with the adequacy of accommodation of households which moved to Bracknell from each group of areas.

There was indeed a direct relationship between housing conditions in each group of areas and the proportion of migrant households which had come from 'very unsatisfactory' accommodation. (The correlation of the proportion of households from 'very unsatisfactory' accommodation with each of the three indices used by the Centre for Urban Studies was $r=0{\cdot}79$, 0·84 and 0·83.) Nearly one-third of households which had moved from the worst areas (St Pancras, Islington, Finsbury, Shoreditch, Hackney and Stepney) had been in very unsatisfactory housing; the proportion of homeless households also was highest among migrants from these areas.

While the proportion of households which had moved from the worst housing tended to decline in London areas with better housing conditions, the proportion of migrants who had been sharing with other households tended to rise. Thus the *total* proportion of households which had moved from inadequate accommodation of all kinds was very similar in all groups. Inner areas produced more in the most acute and immediate need, living in sub-standard or overcrowded conditions, while outer areas produced more 'concealed' households, those not generally recognised by the census definition as separate households, yet often living in conditions causing great hardship. (This problem was greatest in the early post-war years.)

There was no consistent difference between London areas in proportion of households on the move because of some change; and the proportion of households which had moved from adequate accommodation varied little except in the groups IX and X, consisting of outer suburbs such as Harrow, Ruislip–Northwood, Feltham and Surbiton; more than two out of five households migrating from these areas had been adequately housed.

If Bracknell had drawn more tenants from inner zones of Greater London, the new town probably would have done more to help directly with the most pressing housing problems in London. Yet even among households which did arrive in Bracknell from parts of Greater London with the worst problems, for example groups I, II and III, only one-half had left inadequate accommodation, and a quarter had been adequately housed. The controlling factor, limiting the contribution which the new town could make to housing problems, was not so much the area from which tenants were drawn but the type of worker able to secure nomination. The channels through which tenants were recruited favoured selection of people not generally in the most acute housing need.

Table 30 Previous accommodation of households from each area of origin (%)

	Geographical origin				
	Bracknell	Bracknell's vicinity	Greater London	Rest of South-East region	Outside South-East region
Previous accommodation					
Privately rented					
House	20·7	9·9	5·6	7·4	6·7
Flat	4·9	13·7	30·0	11·8	11·1
Rooms	2·8	5·4	10·8	2·3	3·0
Unspecified	0·6	0·8	1·9	0·5	0·9
Sub-total: all privately rented	29·0	29·8	48·3	22·0	21·7
Council tenants	1·1	5·6	9·8	14·3	14·7
Owner-occupiers	4·8	6·1	6·6	13·5	16·5
Other	9·7	20·6	2·1	25·4	11·0
Couples sharing	16·2	7·1	19·8	5·5	4·2
Couples separated	1·0	3·3	2·1	1·1	—
New households	33·3	16·8	5·5	9·8	12·4
Sub-total: all without separate accommodation	50·5	27·2	27·4	16·4	16·6
Not known	4·9	10·7	5·8	8·4	19·5
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Adequacy of previous accommodation					
Adequate of its type	2·2	26·6	29·9	64·7	69·4
Unsuitable because of change	65·2	42·0	22·6	24·1	16·5
Inadequate					
Moderately unsatisfactory	5·6	10·1	11·7	2·2	2·3
Couples sharing	12·6	6·5	16·0	3·6	3·9
Very unsatisfactory	9·3	7·6	13·7	1·0	0·6
No joint accommodation	0·5	1·8	2·0	0·8	—
Sub-total	28·0	26·0	43·4	7·6	6·8
Insufficient information	4·6	5·4	4·1	3·6	7·3
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(242)	(252)	(1934)	(310)	(275)

Changes in housing need among the incoming population over time

There was considerable variation from year to year in proportions of the new population who had moved from adequate, unsuitable or inadequate accommodation. The 3-year moving averages in Figure 17 show the general trends. The proportion arriving from adequate accommodation changed least; at first it remained at about 28% of each year's intake, then rose in the late 1950s, reaching a peak in the early 1960s, after which it declined to its original level. The pattern was similar to that of non-manual workers among new migrants, the peak coinciding with the main influx of office workers. The other two categories reversed their relative positions; households which had moved from inadequate accommodation declined from one-half of the early intake to approximately a quarter in the 1960s, while those whose accommodation was unsuitable because of change rose from less than one-fifth to two-fifths of migrants. These changes were associated with the declining proportion of tenants drawn from Greater London (the principal source of inadequately housed tenants), and the increasing proportion drawn from Bracknell, its local area and elsewhere.

This shows a further aspect of the change described in previous chapters. Early migration was of a distinctly 'overspill' nature, with most migrants drawn from London, mainly in manual work and principally from inadequate housing. The numbers involved were small in relation to the size of London's problems, but the movement did afford some direct relief. As the situation changed, smaller proportions of

Table 31 Adequacy of previous accommodation of households from each group of areas in Greater London (%)

Adequacy of previous accommodation of households from each origin	Local authorities in Greater London, grouped by housing conditions 1961									
	Worst housing conditions → Best housing conditions									
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Adequate of its type	22·6	31·4	23·9	27·1	33·1	27·7	31·7	24·6	40·8	47·5
Unsuitable because of change										
Household change	9·8	12·9	17·4	25·1	16·6	14·6	15·2	12·9	14·0	3·7
Notice to leave	5·2	4·6	6·3	3·5	3·7	4·0	3·1	9·3	2·0	1·4
Other	4·6	3·5	2·1	3·0	2·9	3·8	3·0	3·4	3·8	2·8
Sub-total	19·6	21·0	25·8	31·6	23·2	22·4	21·3	25·6	19·8	7·9
Inadequate										
Moderately unsatisfactory	11·9	11·4	15·8	12·9	12·7	12·4	7·6	11·3	5·5	12·9
Couples sharing	7·7	8·3	10·8	11·2	15·9	16·8	22·8	24·9	21·4	20·2
Very unsatisfactory	30·0	21·2	19·0	13·7	9·2	12·9	7·6	9·4	8·7	10·6
No joint accommodation	6·1	1·1	1·3	1·5	1·4	2·5	4·2	0·4	1·0	—
Sub-total	55·7	42·0	46·9	39·3	39·2	44·6	42·2	46·0	36·6	43·7
Insufficient information	2·1	5·6	3·4	2·0	4·5	5·3	4·8	3·8	2·8	0·9
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(87)	(161)	(213)	(101)	(244)	(552)	(165)	(173)	(150)	(75)

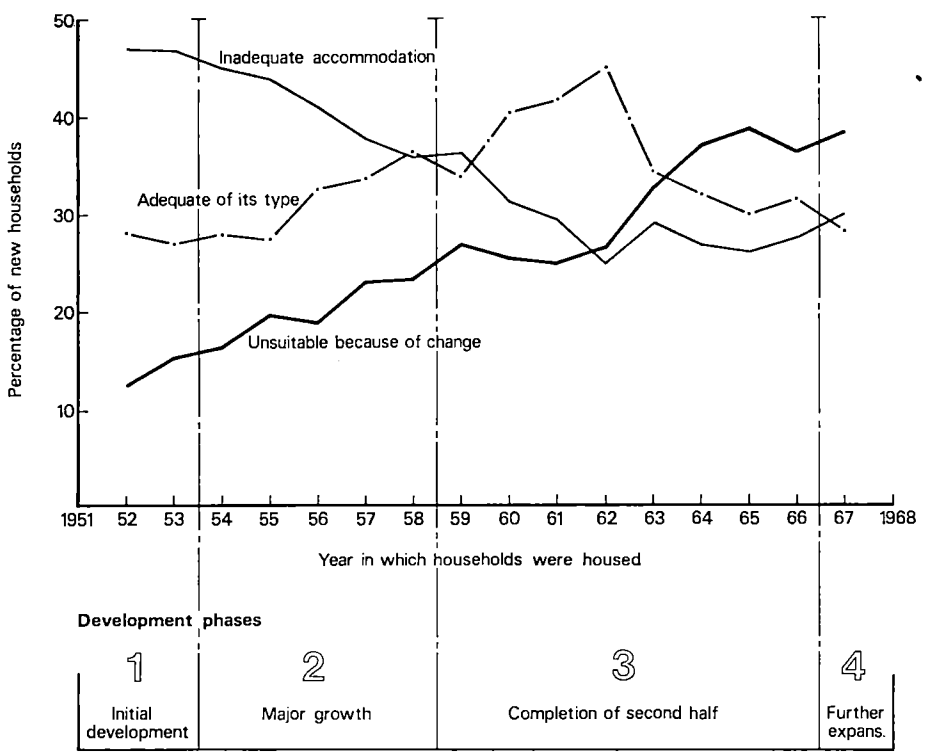


Figure 17 Adequacy of previous accommodation of households housed each year: 3-year moving averages

migrants came from London and moved from inadequate housing. They were replaced by migrants impelled to move by some change in their lives. Table 32 summarises the adequacy of previous accommodation of the people housed in the four development phases.

The two components in the increase of people moving because of change are early and late stages in the family life-cycle – marriage and ageing or retirement. The latter is accounted for by the housing allotted to parents of tenants; construction of flats and bungalows for the elderly became a more important part of the building programme in later years. The former is only partly explained by the policy of housing married children of tenants; most households in this coding were newly married couples drawn to the town from elsewhere. The increase has appeared in previous analyses as a rise in newly formed households or in tenants in their early 20s.

The declining proportion of households from inadequate accommodation occurred in categories associated particularly with Greater London. Households from the worst housing and those living-in with other households were associated with migrants from inner and from outer parts of the conurbation

Table 32 Adequacy of previous accommodation and registration on housing lists by households housed during each phase of development (%)

	Initial development 1951–1953	Major growth 1954–1958	Completion of the second half 1959–1966	Further expansion 1967–1968
Previous accommodation				
Adequate of its type	28·5	32·2	36·4	27·6
Unsuitable because of change				
Displaced by development	2·2	1·4	1·4	5·6
Tied/Service property	0·6	2·6	4·5	1·8
Miscellaneous	0·6	2·0	3·5	2·8
Household change				
Marriage	1·5	3·5	9·7	16·1
Birth/children	3·1	4·0	2·1	2·8
Ageing/retirement	0·6	1·6	4·9	6·6
Health	0·3	1·5	0·8	0·8
Notice to leave	3·7	4·0	4·5	2·0
Sub-total	12·7	20·7	31·3	38·5
Inadequate				
Moderately unsatisfactory	13·3	9·5	9·0	8·4
Shared	16·7	16·8	11·4	7·9
Very unsatisfactory	14·6	12·0	7·6	13·5
No joint accommodation	2·8	2·2	1·1	1·3
Sub-total	47·3	40·4	29·2	31·1
Insufficient information	11·5	6·7	3·1	2·8
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Registration on housing lists				
Registered with London local authorities				
On housing list	33·1	29·9	16·0	25·8
Tenants	3·8	7·9	6·2	6·6
On lists or tenants of other local authorities	4·0	3·8	10·5	11·0
Neither on list nor tenants of local authorities or development corporations	56·6	57·8	66·8	55·6
Not known	2·5	0·6	0·6	1·0
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(323)	(1140)	(1188)	(392)

respectively. Both declined as a proportion of migrants over time. The downward curve of people from inadequate accommodation therefore represented a real decline in the proportion of new town houses used directly to alleviate the most acute types of housing need.

An interesting change occurred when secondary development brought a renewed intake of Londoners. The housing situation of Greater London had improved since 1951, but improvement had been greatest in areas with the best housing conditions; the worst areas had seen only small improvements (see the analysis of change 1951–1961 by Glass and Westergaard[63]). Thus the numbers of families with dependent children accepted by the London County Council as 'homeless' persons into temporary accommodation reached a peak in 1951, then declined until 1958 since when they have risen steeply[58]. The renewed arrival of Londoners in Bracknell brought a rise in the proportion of households moving from the worst conditions or who had been homeless. But there was a continued decline in those arriving from shared accommodation, a feature associated particularly with migrants from outer London areas in the 1950s. The incidence of sharing a dwelling had decreased since 1951, especially in outer London (for example in the areas in Groups VII–X in Table 31, the proportion of households sharing a dwelling in 1961 had fallen to 28–46% of the 1951 figure, while in Groups I–VI it was still 53–73% of the 1951 level). The new towns had helped to ease the housing problems of these outer London areas by accepting some of the numerous young families who had been obliged, during early post-war years, to share their parents' homes.

While the proportion of young families from shared accommodation declined (from 21% of the intake in 1954 to 8% in 1968), that of newly married households rose (from 2% to 20% in these years). Improvement in the housing situation, and a change in the intake towards higher-income households able to achieve early economic independence, meant that new town housing was being used progressively more for households in the earliest stage of their life-cycle; it was serving a different kind of housing need.

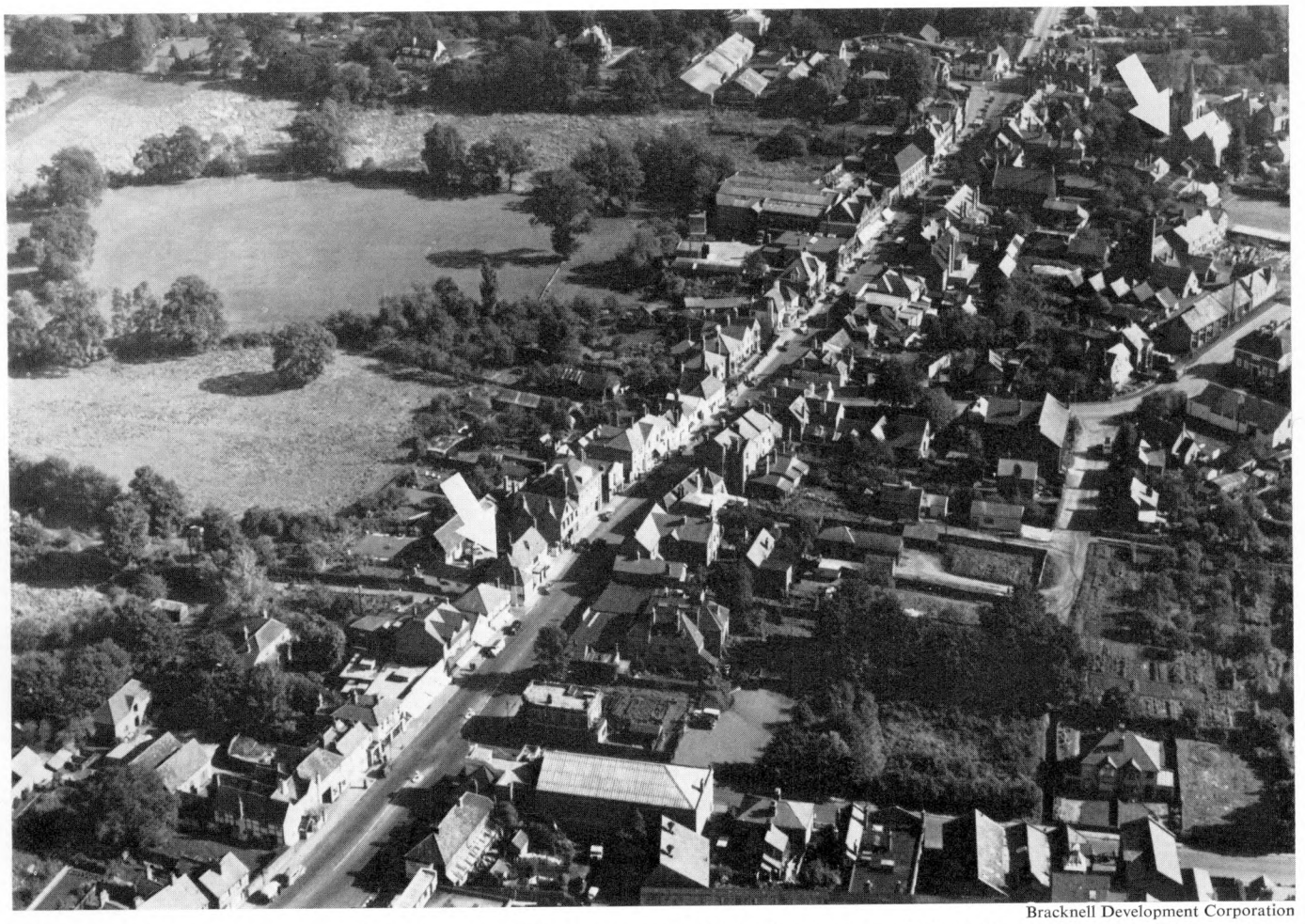
The replacement of migrants in acute housing need by those in less immediate need was closely related to the tendency for the new town to 'turn away' from Greater London, and draw its population from elsewhere. Industrial growth was the major influence. Firms found that they were unable to attract the recruits they needed from London but could obtain labour from other parts of the region or outside the region altogether. (Improvement in housing conditions among the skilled and semi-skilled sections of London's population was probably an important reason for their increased unwillingness to leave the conurbation.) Thus the new town's contribution to the relief of London's housing problems declined.

Could this have been prevented? Could the new town have continued to draw people in need from the metropolis? The most obvious suggestion is that the intake might have been tied more rigidly to housing lists or London origin (or both). If this had proved possible – and it would have needed major changes in policy – it would almost certainly have resulted in an increase in tenants assessed as 'in housing need'. Yet the actual improvement might not have been great. In the first place one must recognise that the new town intake would still have largely by-passed the groups with the most acute housing problems in London; even the London County Council out-county estates have found that, though their intakes are characterised by serious housing problems, they draw disproportionately from skilled manual workers and attract few of the unskilled (eg see the study of the South Oxhey estate by Jefferys[71]). The evidence in this and other studies on the restricted mobility of many people with major housing problems in London makes it doubtful whether a satisfactory solution can be found for them in any place which is far from their existing localities. Secondly, the small amount of overlap between officially registered need and need as it emerged in this study is striking. If Bracknell's housing had been reserved exclusively for households on local authority lists, nearly half of those who were accepted from inadequate accommodation would have been turned away. There were numerous households (some in desperate straits) who were unable to get their names on closed council lists yet who found new town housing a satisfactory solution to their problems; if council registration had been a compulsory condition, this door, like so many others, would have been closed to them. One cannot be certain that the net effects of tying new town housing to official systems of appraisal which already controlled the council housing of London would have been beneficial.

The new town, especially in its later years, had done little directly to relieve the acute housing need of the poorest stratum in London. Yet it had taken few people who were in no housing need at all. It had provided attractive housing and surroundings for many young people in early stages of housing difficulties, who might, in time, have become those with severe problems. On the other hand one must remember that Bracknell, like many of the London new towns, had introduced more jobs than houses into a region of labour shortage, and had drawn more people (from London and all parts of the country) into an area with insufficient houses; to some extent it had stimulated the type of housing need which became predominant in its intake. On balance, therefore, it appears that the new town's contribution to the relief of housing needs was greatest during its two early development phases in the 1950s before industrial expansion transformed the town into a growth centre.

Before leaving the question of housing and turning to the outward movement of population from the town, it is worthwhile examining one channel of entry which was specifically designed with the object of relieving housing need – the Industrial Selection Scheme. The number of tenants in the sample who had moved to Bracknell through this system was not large, but proved sufficient to throw some light on the scheme's results. This is described in the next chapter.

Bracknell when it was first designated as a new town



Bracknell Development Corporation

1 The centre of the market town seen from the west in 1950; there were 5000 inhabitants. Arrows indicate the oldest inn (The Bull) and the Parish Church

Bracknell Development Corporation. Photo: Kennet Studio

2 Bracknell High Street in 1950; The Bull inn stands on the left

Phases 1 and 2: The start of new town construction and major development of housing and industry

3 Some of the earliest houses built by the Development Corporation: Standard I (weekly rented) houses completed in 1952

4 Standard II (monthly rented) houses in the first neighbourhood

Bracknell Development Corporation

5 The first of the neighbourhood shopping centres built: Priestwood Square with ten shops and flats above just after its completion in 1954

6 A view taken in 1956 of part of the first neighbourhood, Priestwood 1, finished that year. About four-fifths of the houses were weekly rented and there were groups of monthly rented houses (as in the top right corner); the neighbourhood contained also blocks of flats, a primary school and a shopping centre (see **5**)

Simpson Colour Processes

Simpson Colour Processes

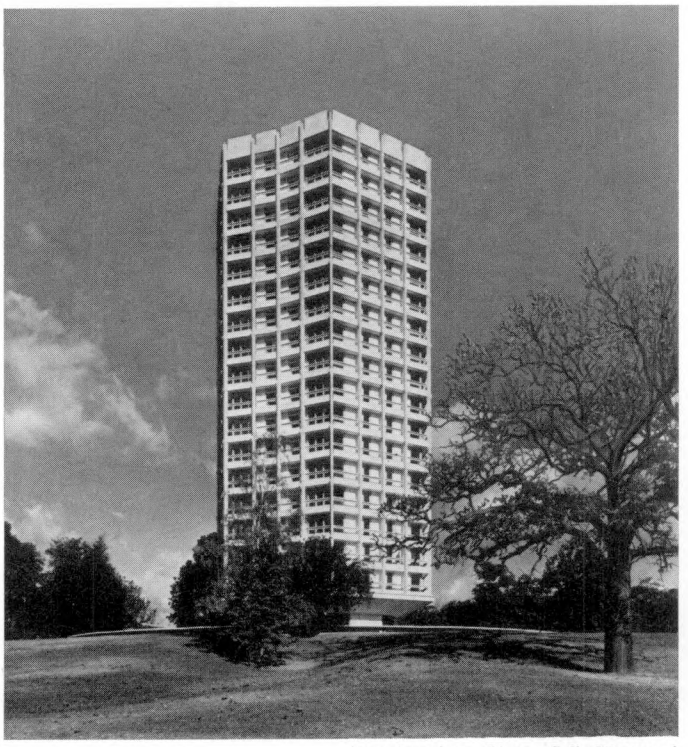
7 The industrial base of the town was established by development of two industrial estates. This view, taken in 1959, shows factories built in the Western Industrial Area

Phase 3: Completion of the original designated area

8 Harmans Water neighbourhood was built in a wooded area and many trees were retained: Standard I housing

Bracknell Development Corporation

9 Standard II houses in Harmans Water



10 More blocks of flats were built during this phase: monthly rented flats in Easthampstead neighbourhood

Arup Associates. Photo: Colin Westwood

11 Weekly rented flats in Harmans Water

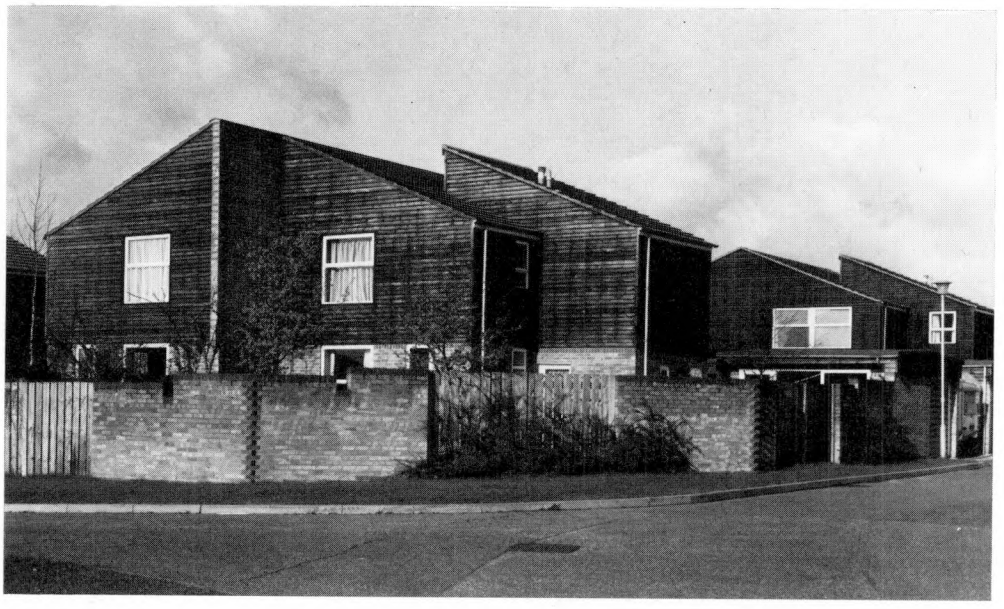
12 A small proportion of Development Corporation houses were built for sale: those shown here are in Bullbrook neighbourhood

13 The original plan for a small new town almost completed. This view in 1963 from the east shows in the right foreground some of the office blocks built during this phase. The town centre, designed to serve a population of 25 000, was sited north of the High Street and old town, which had not changed greatly. Beyond is the Western Industrial Area, in which factory extensions and new arrivals had added to the buildings since 1959 (7)

Aerofilms Ltd

Phase 4: Further expansion towards new target

14 Development in the extension area brought new house designs: Standard I houses and bridge-flat in Wildridings neighbourhood

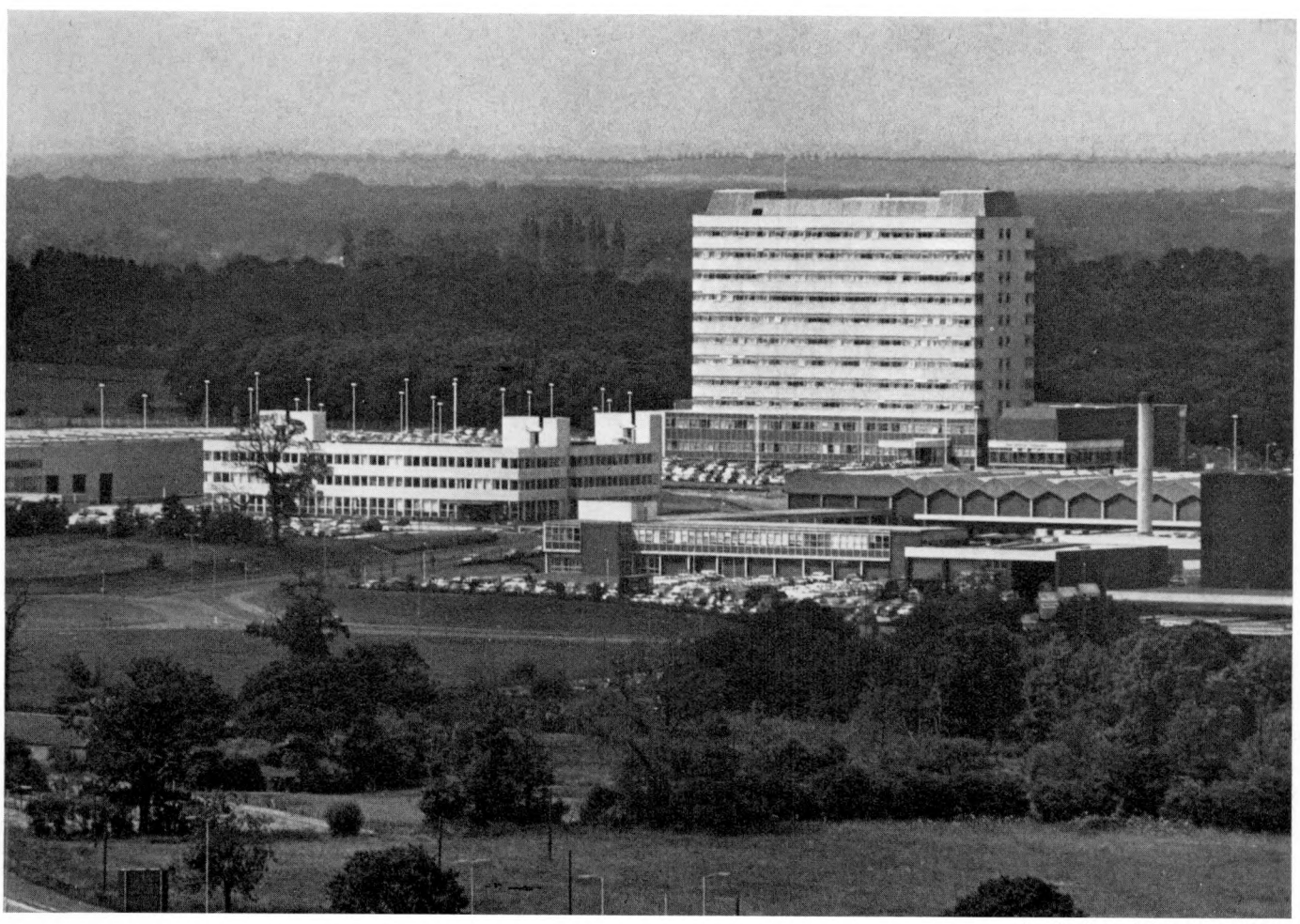


15 Standard II houses in Wildridings

16 Standard I houses in Great Hollands neighbourhood

Photus Ltd

17 Wildridings in 1971, with Great Hollands beyond. The different layout used in later neighbourhoods is visible; houses (**14** and **16**) front onto a footpath system connecting with shops and schools; more land is used for junctions on through roads (top right), while road access within the neighbourhood is to culs-de-sac and garages at the back of houses (**15**)



Bracknell Development Corporation

18 The town's third industrial estate was developed in the extension area

Photus Ltd

19 The town centre in 1973. A larger centre has been developed to serve a population of 60 000; much of the old town has made way for bigger shops, office blocks and multi-storey car parks. This view from the west is similar to the one taken in 1950 (**1**); The Bull and Parish Church (arrowed) still stand

20 From old town to new town: the High Street in 1975, now enclosed within the ring-road system, can be recognised as that in the photograph taken 25 years earlier (**2**) by The Bull and buildings beyond

Chapter 7 The role of the Industrial Selection Scheme

The Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS) which was set up to meet the labour demands of new town employers from London housing lists, was outlined in Chapter 1. A few studies [72,73] have examined the operation of the scheme, the difficulties and delays of the administrative process and the problems seen from the registrants' angle. There is less information on the other side of the coin – the scheme seen from the new town's viewpoint. The Bracknell study can make some contribution here; the sample included 156 tenants (when weighted these represented 585 households) who had been housed through the ISS, and the analysis shows what part the scheme played in the town's population intake.

The theme which has emerged from so much of the analysis in this report, that of change, is essential to understand the role of the ISS. In a brief early stage of growth the ISS played a substantial part; but its influence declined afterwards, only increasing slightly at the end of the period studied following attempts to revive it. The sample figures show this change (Table 33) which is illustrated also by the Development Corporation's comments in its annual reports.

The main influx of tenants housed through the ISS began in 1954, shortly after the revised scheme was introduced in November 1953[18]. In the years 1954–1956, tenants housed through the ISS formed 17%, 27% and 11% respectively of new tenants. In March 1954 the Development Corporation reported that the scheme appeared 'to be working satisfactorily' (page 92 of Fourth Annual Report[14]). A year later its report was still favourable[36]: 'Contrary to the views expressed when the scheme was inaugurated, many industrialists and other employers of labour have found it extremely useful'. In March 1956, for the last time, the Corporation said that the scheme was working well[74]: 'Industrialists continue to find the ISS of great assistance'.

Thereafter the situation changed; in 1957–1959 the scheme accounted for only 3–5% of all new tenants, and in the next 4 years 1–2%. A small part of this decline was due to an increased allocation of houses to office employers who did not use the ISS and to special categories not nominated by an employer. Yet, even when these groups are excluded from the calculations, as in the last two columns of Table 33, the rapid decline in the influence of the ISS is still apparent.

The Development Corporation was aware of the change; in 1957 it noted that the proportion of tenants housed from Greater London had fallen and attributed this to the difficulty experienced by engineering firms in recruiting skilled workers from London. The difficulty was referred to in several following years, occupations such as draughtsmen, technicians and laboratory assistants being mentioned. As the previous chapters have shown, Greater London became progressively less useful as a source of labour for the new town at that time, and expanding firms recruited more workers (many in non-manual jobs) from outside the metropolis. The usefulness of the ISS was limited also by change in the nature of firms arriving in the town (see page 27).

Those who designed the scheme proposed that a firm moving into a new town could take with it its established work-force, but that the balance of its employment needs should be recruited through the ISS. Table 34 shows, however, that of the new employees housed for industrial firms in Bracknell during their initial settling-in period, only one in six were recruited through the ISS. For those recruited in later years, the proportions fell below one in ten.

Among larger firms there was an increase in ISS nominations for manual workers in the late 1960s. This can be seen in figures for the town as a whole (Table 33), beginning in the period 1964–1966. At this time there was political pressure for the new towns to make a greater contribution to London's housing problems, and the nomination procedure was changed to try to increase utilisation of the ISS (see page 13). This had some effect although it was unable to increase usage of the scheme to anything like its former extent. In the two final years for which data were collected, the proportion of ISS tenants rose slightly owing to a renewed movement of firms from London, but the scheme still provided less than half the number of employed tenants provided in the earliest years.

Table 33 Tenants housed through the Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS)

Years	All new tenants	No of ISS tenants	ISS tenants as % of all new tenants	No of new tenants for industry, shops and services*	ISS tenants as % of new tenants for industry, etc
1954–1956	1563	277	17·7	1466	18·9
1957–1959	2152	85	4·0	2010	4·2
1960–1963	2117	29	1·4	1340	2·2
1964–1966	1785	79	4·4	1108	7·1
1967–1968	1960	115	5·9	1240	9·3
1954–1968	9577	585 (n=156)	6·1	7164	8·2

*These figures exclude categories in which no ISS tenants were found, ie offices, parents and married children of tenants, displaced persons, mutual exchanges, the local council's housing list, and high-rent flats.

Table 34 Recruitment through the Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS) by manufacturing industry firms which completed moves into Bracknell in 1952–1968

	Recruited through the ISS		Others		All	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Employees housed during initial period up to 1 year after each firm's move						
Original employees (had worked at previous work-place)	69	4·7	1391	95·3	1460	100·0
New employees (began work in Bracknell)	139	16·5	703	83·5	842	100·0
Both	208	9·0	2094	91·0	2302	100·0
Later recruits						
Housed in the 1950s	104	11·2	826	88·8	930	100·0
Housed in the 1960s	147	7·0	1959	93·0	2106	100·0
Total	459	8·6	4879	91·4	5338	100·0

Tenants housed through the ISS

Most ISS tenants were nominated by industries new to the town; the proportion nominated by individual firms ranged from 5 to 12% of their total employees housed, with a figure of 9% for industry generally. Slightly lower proportions were nominated by shops and small businesses (7%) and by services (5%), although in individual groups such as building workers and employees of the Corporation depot the proportion was much higher.

Compared with other workers from Greater London who moved to the town, ISS tenants were concentrated within a more limited social and age range, particularly people in skilled manual work and in age-groups from 25 to 40 (see Table 35); 53% of ISS tenants were in skilled trades compared with 38% of other tenants from London, and there were higher proportions of ISS tenants who were foremen, semi-skilled workers and in the miscellaneous manual category (in this case personal service workers). Conversely there were fewer of each of the non-manual grades among ISS tenants.

There is one interesting exception among the manual grades; unskilled workers were found less frequently among ISS tenants than among Londoners housed through other channels. Since the ISS was designed specifically to benefit those in greatest housing need, and the unskilled are well represented on London housing lists, it might have been expected that the scheme would have been able to bias selection for housing in favour of the few unskilled people needed, thus raising the proportion of unskilled persons among tenants. This had not happened; the difference between the proportion of unskilled workers among ISS and other tenants is not statistically significant so that, although it is not certain whether the ISS had proved a *less* satisfactory channel of movement for the unskilled, it is quite clear that at Bracknell it had proved to be no more useful for transferring the unskilled than had the other channels of movement for Londoners.

The scheme's difficulty in moving unskilled workers to the new town was not due to a shortage of unskilled workers on ISS lists. A study of ISS registrants showed that no less than 20% of those on the lists were unskilled workers[75]. Since the 1966 Census found that only 8% of employed males in London were in unskilled jobs, this group had an above-average chance of qualifying for registration with the ISS, but a below-average chance of being moved through the scheme to the new town.

In respect of tenants' ages also, those who came through the ISS were concentrated in groups already over-represented among new town migrants; 72% of ISS tenants were aged 25–39 years compared with 50% of other employed Londoners, though there were fewer ISS tenants in the youngest group. As with all tenants, over time there was an increasing concentration of ISS migrants in younger age-groups.

The high proportion of ISS arrivals in social and age groups generally associated with migration to new towns contradicts the assumption implicit in many statements about the ISS: that it is a channel of movement catering for a section of the population often omitted from overspill migration. The scheme, in fact, had been more selective than new town migration in general; it had brought to the town a more specialised and less balanced population than had other channels of movement. However, since the primary purpose of the ISS is to relieve housing need, one must make a direct comparison of the two migration streams in this respect; one would expect households moved through the scheme to be in greater housing need than other households from London. Table 36 shows that this indeed was the case. Higher proportions of ISS tenants had moved from privately rented flats or rooms, had been tenants of a local authority or of tied property, or were married couples sharing with other households. Considerably more ISS tenants had been inadequately housed, the proportion from 'very unsatisfactory' accommodation being more than twice as high as among other Londoners. There was no statistically significant difference in the proportions in most need, ie those families separated for lack of accommodation or in temporary welfare hostels; such circumstances arise too suddenly to be dealt with by a relatively slow administrative process.

Even among ISS tenants there were still some who were

Table 35 The social and age characteristics of tenants housed through the Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS) compared with other tenants from Greater London (%)

Socio-economic group	ISS tenants	Other employed tenants from Greater London
Employers and managers		
Large firms	0·2	1·8
Small firms	—	1·7
Professional employees	1·4	4·1
Intermediate non-manual	2·2	6·5
Junior non-manual	13·0	19·8
Sub-total: all non-manual	16·8	33·9
Foremen	3·1	2·8
Skilled manual	52·7	37·8
Semi-skilled manual	23·1	22·0
Unskilled manual	2·6	3·1
Other manual	1·7	0·1
Sub-total: all manual	83·2	65·8
Not known	—	0·3
Total	100·0	100·0

Tenant's age when housed (years)	ISS tenants housed during: 1954–1956	1957–1968	1954–1968	Other employed tenants from Greater London
18–24	5·4	13·3	9·6	15·1
25–29	24·6	28·2	26·5	24·6
30–34	31·0	20·8	25·6	19·8
35–39	21·0	19·2	20·0	13·1
40–49	16·2	13·7	14·9	18·6
50–59	1·8	4·8	3·4	7·7
60 and over	—	—	—	0·8
Not known	—	—	—	0·3
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(90)	(66)	(156)	(1689)

included in the coding of least housing need – more than 20% of the sample. Two-fifths of these had moved from London council flats, their departure creating vacancies for others on the waiting lists; but the others had moved from private accommodation (mainly rented flats) which, on the basis of notes on tenants' records, appeared to provide at least adequate homes. These households from adequate private accommodation comprised 13% of the total sample of ISS tenants, considerably lower than the 21% of other Londoners in this category; yet, for a scheme designed to focus mainly upon housing need, it is surprising to find that one in eight of the households moved by this process should have been in what was defined as 'minimal need'.

The social group variable must be introduced to allow for differences in social composition between the two migrant streams of Londoners. In Table 37 ISS tenants are compared with others from Greater London in each of the two main social groups, skilled and semi-skilled workers, although the latter figures must be treated with caution as the number of ISS cases is small.

The difference persists within social groups, though to a slightly reduced extent; Londoners housed through the ISS had moved from more inadequate accommodation than those recruited otherwise. In one category the difference was consistently clear; those housed from 'very unsatisfactory' conditions, comprising people from property which was grossly inadequate or very overcrowded. The proportion of ISS tenants from such situations was nearly twice that of other Londoners in these two social groups. The remaining categories of those in most need were not significantly higher among ISS tenants or were lower.

Thus the ISS had been effective in bringing to Bracknell households who were in greater housing need than other tenants from London in the same social groups. However, the difference should not be exaggerated; there was already a

Table 36 Previous accommodation of tenants housed through the Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS) compared with that of other tenants from Greater London (%)

	ISS tenants	All other tenants from Greater London
Previous accommodation		
Privately rented		
House	1·9	6·0
Flat	39·3	29·0
Rooms	13·1	10·6
Unspecified	0·9	2·0
Sub-total	55·2	47·6
Local authority tenants	11·4	9·6
Owner-occupiers	0·9	7·2
Other (tied property, etc)	4·3	1·9
Couples sharing accommodation	22·2	19·6
Couples separated	2·2	2·1
New households	0·9	5·9
Insufficient information	2·9	6·1
Total	100·0	100·0
Adequacy of previous accommodation		
Adequate of its type	21·0*	30·7†
Unsuitable because of change	16·4	23·4
Inadequate		
Moderately unsatisfactory	13·0	11·5
Couples sharing	15·2	16·1
Very unsatisfactory	29·1	12·1
No joint accommodation	2·2	2·0
Sub-total	59·5	41·7
Insufficient information	3·1	4·2
Total	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(156)	(1778)

*8·2% were council tenants and 12·8% in other property.
†9·6% were council tenants and 21·1% in other property.

Table 37 Adequacy of previous accommodation of Industrial Selection Scheme (ISS) and other London tenants in skilled and semi-skilled occupations (%)

	Skilled workers		Semi-skilled workers	
Adequacy of previous accommodation	ISS tenants	Others from Greater London	ISS tenants	Others from Greater London
Adequate of its type	18·8	25·4	8·9	29·0
Unsuitable because of change	13·2	15·4	27·4	18·7
Inadequate				
Moderately unsatisfactory	16·2	14·3	14·8	11·9
Couples sharing	13·3	20·4	18·5	17·0
Very unsatisfactory	34·3	18·0	28·9	15·0
No joint accommodation	1·9	1·8	1·5	3·7
Sub-total	65·7	54·5	63·7	47·6
Insufficient information	2·3	4·7	—	4·7
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(83)		(35)	

fairly high level of housing need among Londoners who had moved through other channels. In both groups of migrants, housing was clearly the predominant motive for the move.

To set the ISS contribution in perspective, one must take into account the relatively small number of tenants the scheme provided and the narrow range of social groups for whom it found jobs in the town. At one stage the scope of the scheme was widened to try to maintain its usefulness; initially open only to those in urgent need of housing, it was extended when it became clear that a register restricted to those in greatest need was incapable of filling many of the vacancies in new town firms. (Changes in the scheme's application are described by Ruddy[73].) The Bracknell study shows the effects of this; one-third of ISS tenants arriving in 1957–1959 came from adequate accommodation. A further attempt to increase usage of the scheme was made during the 1960s when (as described earlier) the nomination system was changed to encourage employers to recruit workers through the scheme. These attempts, however, were unable to restore the scheme to its earlier importance or enable it to play more than a minor role in the movement of population to the new town.

Chapter 8 Outward migrants: their socio-economic and age characteristics

While the movement of population into new towns has attracted considerable interest, movements out of the towns have been almost ignored. Yet these outward movements are important and the town's growth cannot be explained without them. Sociologists studying older towns have shown that there are usually strong population movements to and from rapidly growing urban areas; this is as true today as it was during the urban expansion of the nineteenth century[76]. Differentials between incoming and outgoing migrants can cause substantial changes in a population (even one which remains constant in size[77]). The following analysis shows that the number of tenants leaving Development Corporation housing comprised only a small proportion of residents at any one time, and the movement rate was no higher than the national average. Nevertheless, the effect of the movement was sufficient to change the structure of Bracknell's growing population. The pattern of outward migration altered during development, but the factors responsible were different from those which affected inward migration. This chapter outlines the socio-economic and age characteristics of people who concluded tenancies in Bracknell; the next chapter continues with an analysis of migrants' reasons for leaving and their destinations.

Definitions and the sample

The definitions used should be clarified. The data refer to 'terminating tenants'; this was the Development Corporation's phrase for people who ended their tenancies. It includes a few people who did not leave the town; some moved into privately owned dwellings within the designated area, some bought houses as 'sitting tenants' and some households were dissolved. Most of those who concluded tenancies, however, did move outside the boundaries, and the conclusions from the analysis are sufficiently clear-cut for it to be certain that they apply as much to outward migrants as to 'terminating tenants'.

There is a slight change of definition in parts of the age analysis – from tenants to household heads. For incoming households, tenants are of key interest since it is their nomination which brings households to the town. By termination, however, there had been some changes of tenant and it is the household head whose age is more likely to be related to the household's mobility. The analysis of ages for departing households, therefore, is based on household heads, whereas for incoming households it is based on tenants. The change does not affect the conclusions; in only 4% of cases in the sample was there a difference between tenant and conventional head (defined as chief economic supporter) when households arrived, and analysis by the ages of either gives virtually identical results.

Finally, it should be noted that the socio-economic grouping of each household had to be based on the original tenant's occupation on arrival in the town; this was the only information available. It does not allow for changes during stay in the town. Since few people traverse the main social divisions used for analysis in this study, the degree of error must be small.

There were few terminations of tenancies in the early years; the numbers did not exceed 100 per annum until 1958, and 400 per annum until 1965. Accordingly, all people terminating tenancies during 1952–1959 were included in the study, 50% of those terminating in 1960–1965, and 20% of those terminating from 1966–1968. This gave a final sample of 1600 terminating households on which the following findings are based.

The socio-economic distribution of outward migrants

One generalisation that can be made at the outset is that outward migrants changed far less in terms of social composition than did incoming migrants during the town's development. In the early years, terminating tenants were divided almost equally into manual and non-manual workers (though there was considerable variation from one year to another due to the small numbers involved). At the end of the 1950s the ratio changed radically, the proportion of white-collar workers rising above 60% and that of manual workers falling to 35%. Since then the proportions have remained at much the same level. The change is shown in Figure 18, which is the counterpart of Figure 6 for incoming migrants. Since the two patterns of change are so different, they are plotted together in the lower part of Figure 18, using a 3-year moving average to eliminate some annual variation and show the main trends. Outward migration passed through only two principal phases, a simpler situation than the complex four-phase history of inward migration.

While inward migrants tended over time to become more balanced in terms of social composition, outward migrants became less balanced. Inward migrants, who were at first dominated by manual workers, after a brief reversal of the position, became more evenly divided between the manual and non-manual categories, with manual workers slightly more numerous, as they are in the regional population. On the other hand, outward migration, having begun with a generally equal division between the two groups, became dominated by non-manual workers. Both changes in pattern resulted from the same feature: a rising proportion of non-manual tenants in each migration movement.

It is interesting to note that inward and outward migrants have differed markedly in terms of social structure throughout the town's history. Yet annual variation in the figures means that it is possible to identify individual years in which the two streams of migrants were similar in socio-economic composition. The moving-average graph does not show this clearly, but detailed annual figures show that in 1957 and, to a lesser extent, in 1961 and 1962 there was little difference between new and terminating tenants. Surveys in any of these years would have concluded that outgoing tenants did not

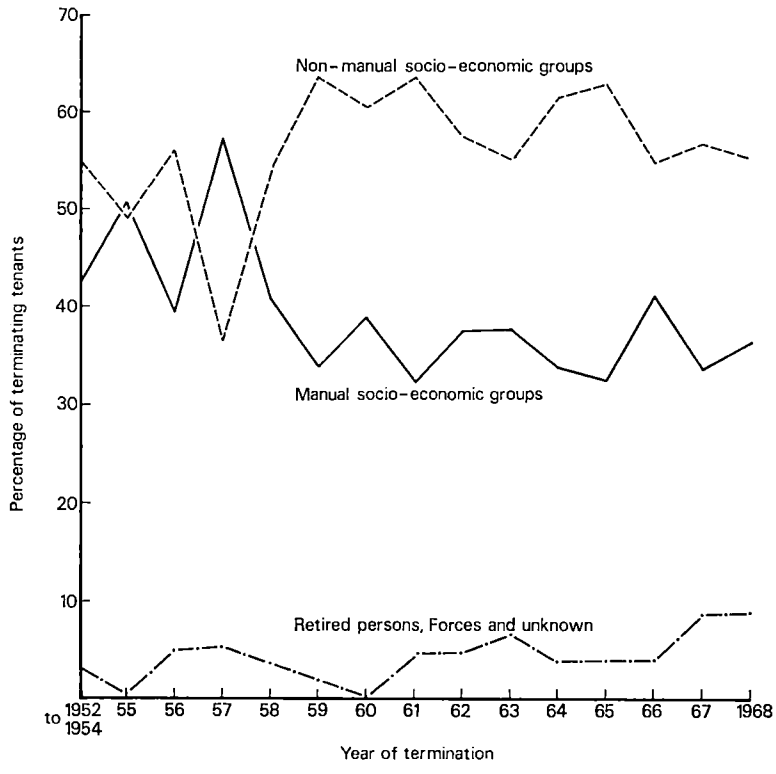
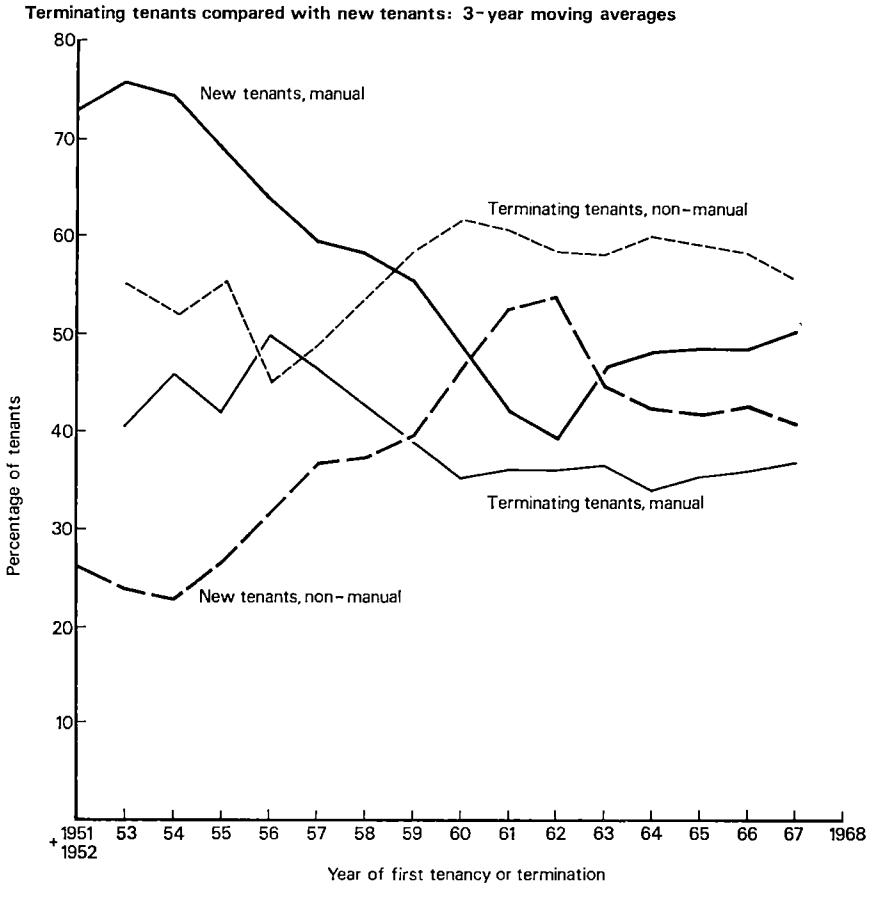


Figure 18 Socio-economic distribution of terminating tenants



differ appreciably from incoming tenants, a conclusion which has been drawn from some ad-hoc surveys in new towns. The whole time-series, however, contradicts this and illustrates the danger of relying on data for a few years in a changing situation.

Differential mobility of the socio-economic groups

The greater representation of non-manual workers among out-migrants was due to their higher rates of turnover. In Table 38 the social groups have been listed in rank order of termination rates. Just over one-third of all tenants housed between 1951 and 1968 had ended their tenancies by April 1969. The rate varied greatly from one group to another, the list corresponding generally to evidence on differential mobility of the social groups. Professional employees had the highest turnover, two-thirds having ended their tenancies. The list then descends through the skill hierarchy to unskilled manual workers, only one in seven of whom had left. Above-average proportions of all white-collar groups (with the exception of employers and managers of small businesses) and below-average proportions of all manual groups

Table 38 Termination rates of the socio-economic groups (%)

Tenant's socio-economic group	All tenants housed 1951–1968	Tenants who had terminated by end of April 1969	Proportion of each group who terminated tenancies
Professional employees	6·3	11·5	64·0
Intermediate non-manual	10·1	16·2	56·1
Employers and managers – large firms	2·2	3·4	54·2
Junior non-manual	18·8	24·3	45·3
Employers and managers – small firms	2·3	2·2	33·6
Skilled manual	31·5	24·5	27·2
Personal service	0·6	0·4	25·0
Semi-skilled manual	16·5	9·9	21·1
Foremen	2·4	1·3	19·5
Unskilled manual	2·9	1·2	13·7
Other manual workers	0·3	0·3	
Retired persons	5·1	3·4	
Not known	1·0	1·4	
Total	100·0	100·0	35·1
All manual groups	54·2	37·6	
All non-manual groups	39·7	57·6	
Retired, Forces and not known	6·1	4·8	
Total	100·0	100·0	

had left. This reversed the ratio of manual to non-manual workers among outgoing migrants compared with inward migrants.

Figure 19 shows more detail about people who concluded tenancies each year; it plots the proportions of terminating tenants who were in each of the main socio-economic groups, and compares these with the proportions of tenants resident at the start of the year who were in those groups. The difference in each case confirms the higher mobility rates of white-collar groups. Throughout development, outward migration was strongly selective of professional employees; they accounted generally for 10–15% of each year's terminating tenants but only 3–5% of residents. Outward migration was selective also of semi-professional and clerical workers, and of employers and managers in large concerns. Among manual groups the reverse held, each group being under-represented among outgoing migrants compared with residents; skilled workers, for example, generally comprised almost 40% of residents but only about 25% of terminating tenants.

There were few changes in this pattern over time, with one interesting exception: for a short while in the early stages, between about 1952 and 1957, outward migration was selective of two manual groups – foremen and unskilled workers; there were higher proportions of these workers among departing migrants than among residents. The reasons for this will be shown in the next chapter. The years mark a separate phase of outward migration. The change is demonstrated further in Table 39, giving the mean termination rates of the social groups in different years. Termination rates of foremen and unskilled workers were relatively high (the highest for any manual group) in the early years and declined later. In contrast, termination rates of all other groups increased over time, showing a rising rate of mobility, an increasing tendency for tenants to leave the town. The general termination rate (for all groups together) rose from 4½% to 7% during the period studied, an increase of 2½% over about 15 years of outward migration, or about 1% in each 6 years.

The age distribution of heads of households that terminated

The age structure of outgoing household heads changed slightly over time, but the degree of change was much smaller than among incoming householders. Figure 20, showing the proportion of departing household heads in each 10-year age-group, can be compared with Figure 9, the equivalent for new tenants. Among terminating heads, the 30–39 age-group generally remained dominant, though it declined in the 1960s from about one-half to about one-third of those leaving; the 20–29 group, originally at about one-fifth, rose slowly towards the one-third level; the 40–49 group remained at an almost constant proportion over time, and there was a slight increase in the proportions of those terminating in their 50s and in older groups.

Comparison of Figures 20 and 9 shows an interesting parallel. The age structure of terminating heads, especially in later

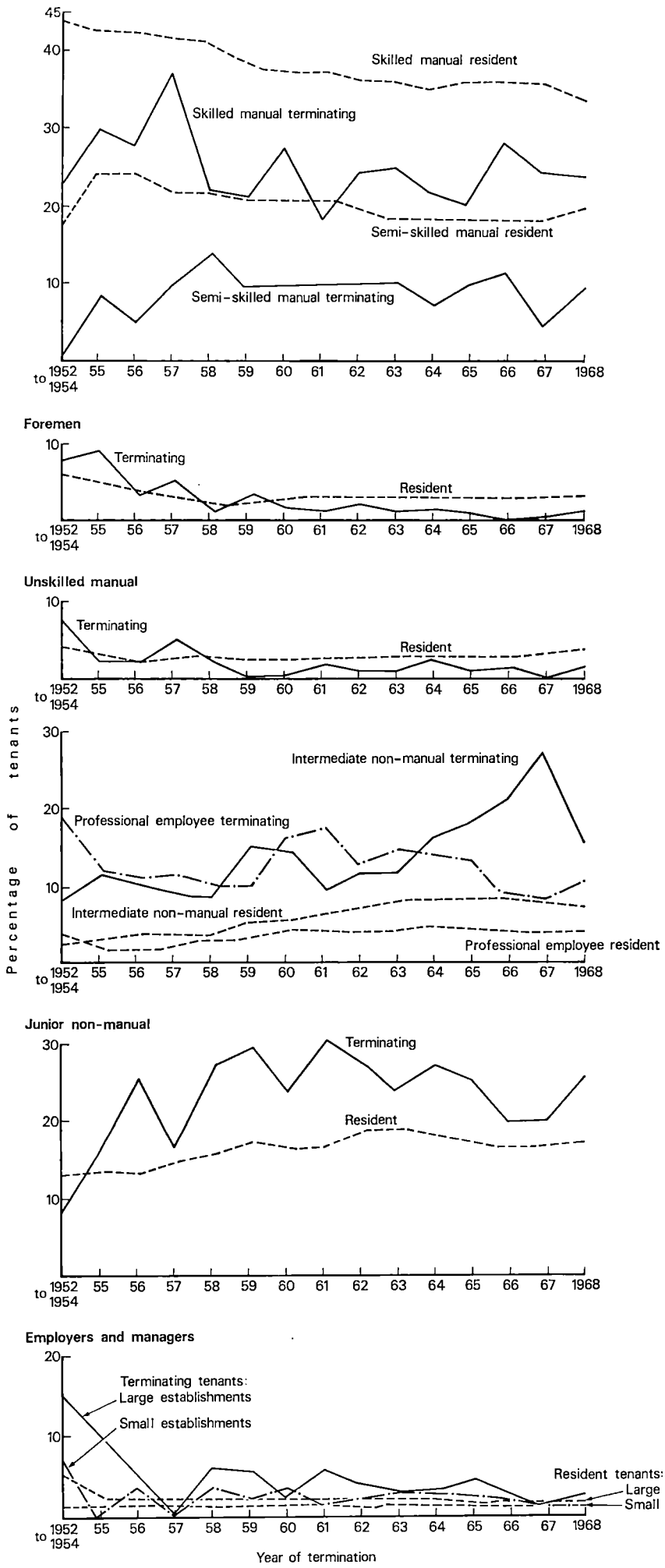


Figure 19 Socio-economic distribution of terminating tenants compared with tenants resident at the start of each year

Table 39 Annual termination rates* of the principal socio-economic groups (%)

Tenant's socio-economic group	Arithmetic mean of annual termination rates for the years: 1953–1959	1960–1964	1965–1968
Intermediate non-manual	11·4	10·9	19·4
Professional employees	14·1	20·9	17·8
Employers and managers – large firms	11·0	10·0	12·7
Junior non-manual	7·3	9·0	9·7
Skilled manual	3·0	4·0	5·0
Semi-skilled manual	1·7	2·9	3·5
Unskilled manual	4·0	2·7	2·0
Foremen	4·9	3·1	1·5
All groups	4·7	6·0	7·1

*Termination rate expresses number of tenants terminating during a year as a percentage of number of tenants resident at start of that year; this is not a total mobility rate since transfers between Corporation houses are excluded.

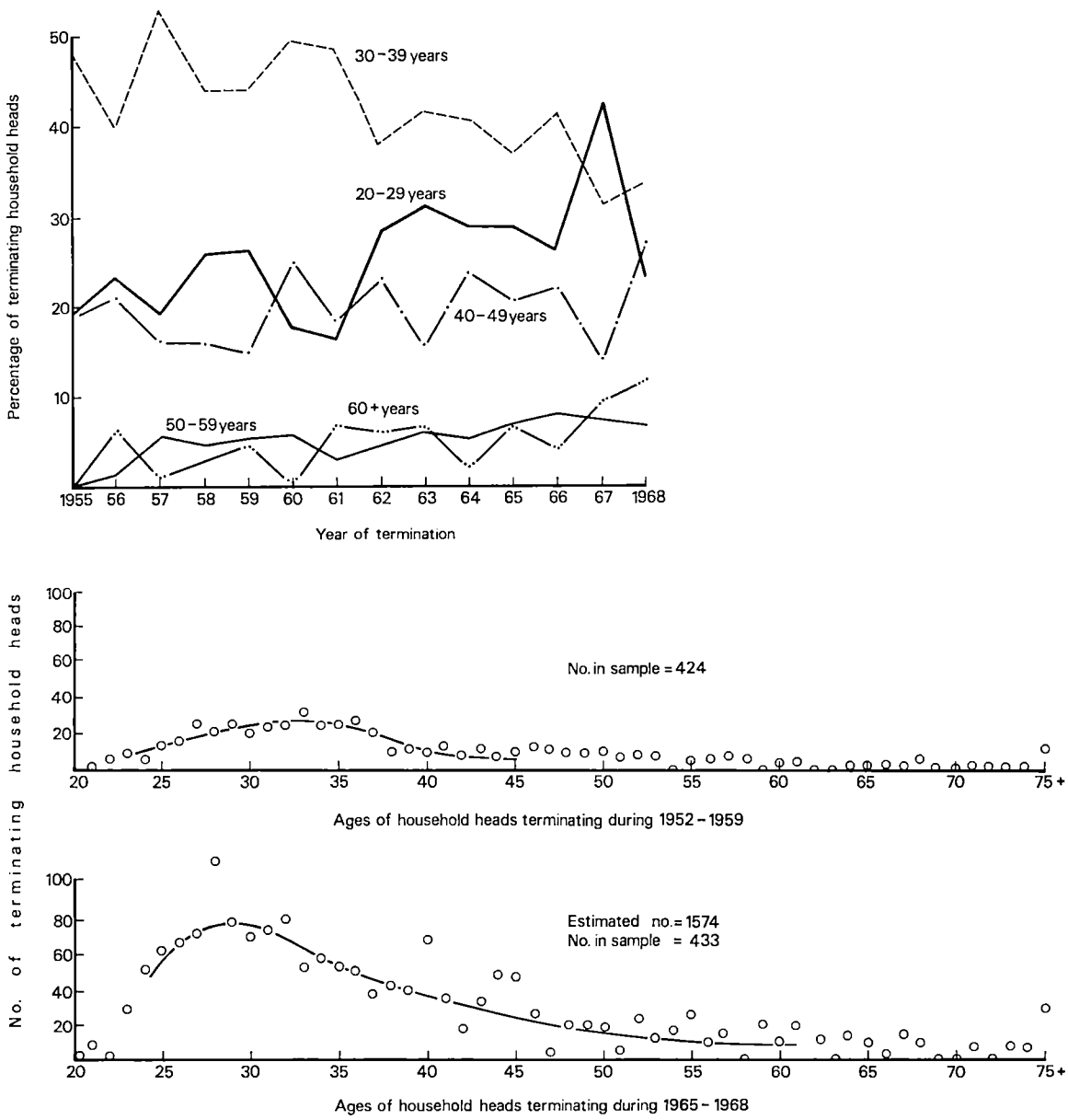


Figure 20 Age distribution of heads of terminating households. Figures for percentage of terminating heads in 1952–1954 are omitted since the numbers were small (27 cases) and many ages were not recorded

Table 40 Median ages (in years) of terminating household heads compared with new tenants

	New tenants				Terminating heads		
Tenancies begun during:	Lower quartile	Median	Upper quartile	Tenancies terminated during:	Lower quartile	Median	Upper quartile
1951–1955	28	33	40	1952–1959	29	34	40
1965–1968	25	30	45	1965–1968	29	34	44
All years 1951–1968	26	32	42	All years 1952–1968	29	34	42

years, closely resembles that of incoming tenants in earlier years of development. The comparison should not be pressed too far since it applies only to age structure; the socio-economic composition of the two groups was totally different.

The smaller degree of change among terminating heads is shown further by the frequency distributions plotted in Figure 20, the first giving ages of heads leaving in 1952–1959, the second those leaving in 1965–1968. Again these can be compared with the distributions in Figure 9 for new tenants (though the greater numbers of new tenants made it possible to use the years 1951–1955 for the initial period). As for new tenants, there was an increase in positive skewness among terminating heads over time, though the change was of smaller magnitude. Median age of terminating heads remained constant, at 34 years, while that for new tenants fell from 1 year less in the early 1950s, to 4 years less in the late 1960s (see Table 40). The same was true of the lower quartile, but the upper quartile rose considerably, the inclusion of elderly people in the intake resulting in their appearance also among terminating heads. The general picture is of an increasing disparity between incoming and outgoing households; those leaving remained more constant in age characteristics, while those arriving included progressively more of the youngest households.

Differential mobility of the age-groups

The nearly constant age structure of household heads leaving the town concealed changes in mobility among the age-groups. Figure 21 compares the proportion of terminating heads in each group with the corresponding proportion among household heads resident at the start of the year. (Terminations before 1955 are omitted because the ages of only a few householders were recorded then.) Outward migration for a brief early period, up to 1957, was selective of heads aged 30–39; this is a further aspect of the relatively high mobility of foremen and unskilled workers in these years. After 1957 outward migration became selective of the 25–29 age-group and, in the last few years, of the 20–24 group. Heads aged 40–49 were always under-represented among migrants (in spite of their rising rate of termination over time), as also were those aged 50–59. People of 60 and over were only slightly under-represented among terminating heads, the residential stability of this group being offset by the greater likelihood of household dissolution.

Termination rates in all age-groups tended to increase over time, but the increase was greatest in the youngest groups. The rising turnover among young household heads accounted for their continued representation among outgoing migrants even though the proportion of resident heads in these age-groups was falling. Table 41 shows that while the termination rates for all age-groups in early years were within the 2–6% range, by the late 1960s the range had widened to 3–14%.

Changes over time in the age structure of outgoing migrants were not due to changes in the social grouping of those leaving. The same age trends over time were found within each of the main social groups; in each there was an increase in turnover, the increase being greatest among younger household heads.

Table 41 Annual termination rates of the age-groups (%)

Household head's age (years)	Arithmetic mean of annual termination rates for the years:		
	1955–1959	1960–1964	1965–1968
25–29	5·1	8·4	13·7
20–24	2·4	4·9	10·4
30–34	5·3	7·9	10·0
35–39	4·9	5·8	6·6
60 and over	4·5	5·0	6·0
40–49	3·7	4·8	5·3
50–59	3·7	2·9	3·5
All groups	4·7	6·0	7·1

Age of each socio-economic group at termination

Groups which arrived in the new town at the youngest ages were also those which left at the youngest ages. Table 42 shows that rank order in terms of age when tenancies began was the same when tenancies ended, with only one exception. The three main white-collar groups both began and finished tenancies at the youngest ages, intermediate non-manual workers being the youngest of all. The three main groups of manual workers remained in their central rank positions. In the final group, the median ages of small-firm employers or managers and of foremen were younger at termination than at the start of tenancies. This can only occur in the short run and shows that it was principally the younger households which had left. Employers or managers of large firms had a higher median age at termination and thus became the oldest employed group among outward migrants.

Median age at termination was generally 2 years older than at the start of tenancy though some differences were greater – 4 years older for clerical staff, skilled and semi-skilled workers, and 5 years older for retired persons. In most groups the inter-quartile range was less at termination; this was generally due to the lower quartile among terminating householders being considerably higher, but the upper quartile the same or only slightly higher. Thus terminating householders were concentrated within a more limited age-range than were incoming householders.

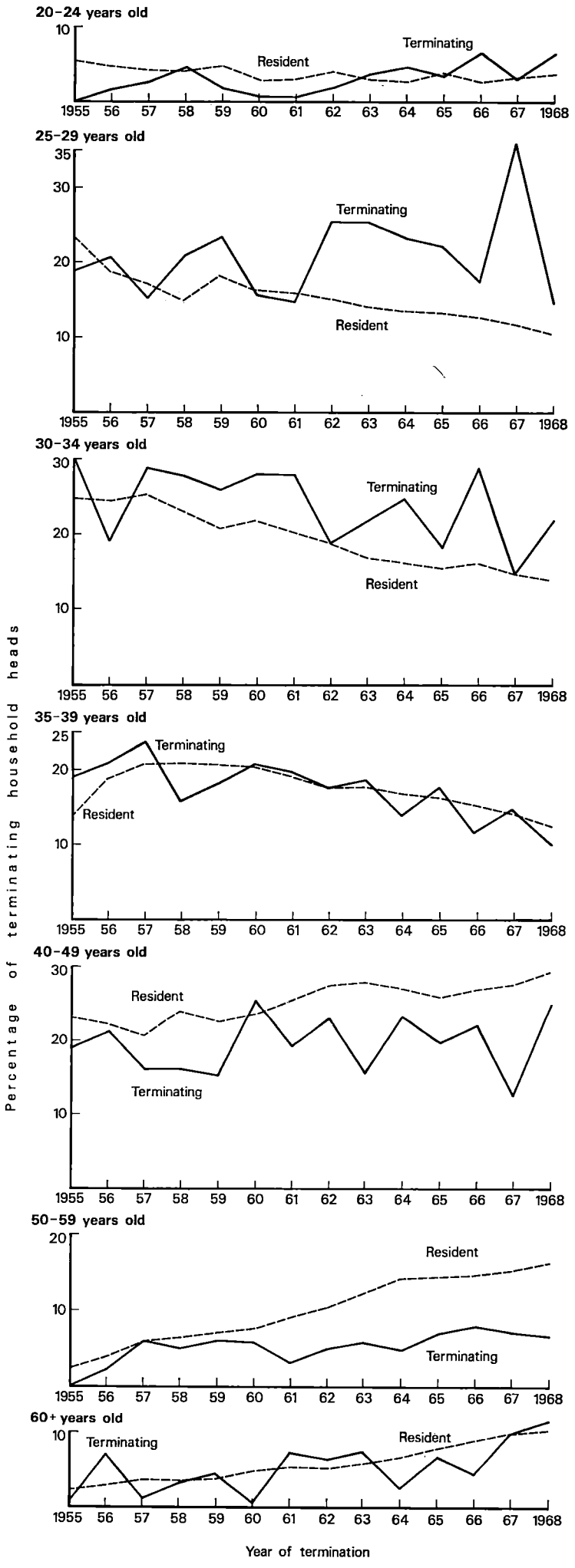


Figure 21 Age distribution of heads of terminating households compared with heads of households resident at the start of each year. Figures for percentage of terminating heads in 1952–1954 are omitted since the numbers were small (27 cases) and many ages were not recorded

Table 42 Median ages (in years) of household heads in each socio-economic group at the start and end of tenancies

Socio-economic group	When tenancy began			When tenancy ended		
	Lower quartile	Median	Upper quartile	Lower quartile	Median	Upper quartile
Intermediate non-manual	25	29	38	27	31	38
Professional employees	25	30	36	28	32	38
Junior non-manual	26	30	40	29	34	40
Skilled manual	26	31	39	29	35	41
Semi-skilled manual	27	32	41	32	36	45
Unskilled manual	27	35	46	32	37	42
Employers and managers						
Small firms	28	37½	44	32	37	45
Large firms	33	40	44	34½	42	46½
Foremen	34	40	48	33	39	43
Retired persons	65	69	73	68	74	78

The composition of terminating households

Unfortunately the records contained little direct information about the composition of terminating households; the housing department recorded ages and relationships of members in each incoming household, but made no corresponding check when households left. Household composition, of course, is related closely to age; since the age structure of leaving heads changed less than that of incoming heads, one can assume that the same is true of household structure.

However, from information about residents in 1966, one can estimate the composition of households which left in the last 3 years of the study period. The method used cannot guarantee entirely accurate results; the most probable error is an omission of some children born to households with tenancies of short duration. But the results give some idea of differences between incoming and outgoing households in later years. Terminating households included fewer of the youngest and the oldest households, but more in the middle range, ie families in which the wives were aged 30–44 (see Table 43). This confirms the earlier analysis showing that terminating householders were concentrated in the 30–39 age-range.

Although there were fewer of the youngest families (wives in their 20s) among leaving households, this was still the most numerous type of all, accounting for two-fifths of those leaving. Within this group, terminating households tended to be slightly older and larger than new households; fewer had no children and more had two children. Yet there were fewer young families with three or more children among outgoing migrants, and this recalls the connection that other studies have found between above-average family size and low mobility. In the next older type of family (wives aged 30–44) similarly, there were higher proportions of those with two or three children among terminating tenants but smaller proportions of those with four or more children. The differences in proportions of larger families between the two small groups of migrants, however, just failed to be statistically significant (at the 5% level), and one must remember also that numbers of children may have been under-estimated. One cannot be certain that there was an association between mobility and family size in the new town's population; the cases are too few to permit a break-down by socio-economic group – an important variable, for large family size in manual households appears to limit mobility, but in non-manual households to promote it[78].

Outgoing households generally were larger than incoming ones. The difference was probably greater than the 0·2 persons per household calculated, though even this was statistically significant (at the 5% level). Incoming households were strongly concentrated in the two-person group; outgoing households were more evenly distributed between the two-, three- and four-person groups.

Thus throughout development there were clear differences between households entering and leaving the new town. Outward migration was selective of people in non-manual work, and outward migrants were characterised by high proportions of white-collar workers and householders in the 30–39 age-group; their households (in later years at least) were slightly larger and older than those of new arrivals.

Change over time among outward migrants was less marked than that among inward migrants. However, two changes are of particular interest. The first was the relatively high rate of tenancy termination among foremen and unskilled workers during the early years. The second was the slowly rising rate of turnover among younger households from the late 1950s onwards; outward migration became more selective of householders aged 25–29 and afterwards of those in their early 20s, within all social groups. The meaning of these changes is described in the next chapter.

Table 43 Household composition of new and terminating households (%)

Household composition	Households which began tenancies in 1966–1968	Households which terminated tenancies May 1966–April 1969
Household type		
Wife aged 20–29		
0 children	24·5	17·4
1 child	14·5	12·4
2 children	7·5	11·6
3 children	2·3	1·2
4+ children	0·6	—
Sub-total	49·4	42·6
Wife aged 30–44		
0 children	3·0	3·3
1 child	1·7	4·1
2 children	6·4	14·4
3 children	4·0	7·4
4+ children	3·4	1·7
Sub-total	18·5	30·9
Wife aged 45–54, all	7·9	6·6
Non-family households, head 20–54	7·6	8·7
Older households, head or wife 55+	13·4	8·7
Other types	3·0	2·5
Not known	0·2	—
Total	100·0	100·0
Household size		
1 person	11·7	13·2
2 people	40·0	27·7
3 people	21·8	19·5
4 people	14·7	28·1
5+ people	11·6	11·5
No information	0·2	—
Total	100·0	100·0
Arithmetic mean	2·80	3·00
(*n*)	(470)	(242)

Chapter 9 Reasons for departure, and destinations

The reasons for people leaving the new town and the areas to which they moved could be traced through the housing records. Each tenant was asked for a forwarding address so that his key deposit could be returned after the house was vacated in satisfactory order; in only 7% of cases were there no records of destinations. From 1960 onwards, each departing tenant was asked also why he was leaving and whether he was buying a house; although earlier migrants were not asked these questions directly, the information was often mentioned in their records. From this information one can construct a picture of the outward migration field and its variation over the years.

Reasons for termination

Motives of migrants are extremely complex. The many studies on this subject have used concepts such as family life-cycle, career-pattern and life-style to account for residential moves (the best-known work based on the family life-cycle explanation is by Rossi[79]; studies focusing on style-of-life preferences include those by Bell[80] and Gist [81]; see also Leslie and Richardson[82] and Jansen[83]). The present study, being limited to data already recorded, by-passed the difficult framing of questions on the subject. Indeed, it was fortunate that there was no attempt to impose any of the classifications used elsewhere for this might have obscured a grouping which was related to early stages of the new town's growth. Twenty codings were used initially; after analysis, these were reduced to the 16 reasons and three principal groupings listed in Table 44.

The most numerous reasons for termination were concerned with housing; the general predominance of housing adjustments as a motive for residential mobility has been found in many studies. More than a quarter of terminating tenants left in order to buy homes in Bracknell or its vicinity, three in four of these households moving outside the designated area. The total number who became owner-occupiers was between one-half and two-thirds (the 'no information' category is large since this question was not asked in the early years), but in some cases the transition to ownership seemed incidental to rather than the primary motive for leaving.

The employment motive for leaving the town took second place, accounting for one in five terminating tenants; most of these were leaving because of a change of job.

The third grouping of reasons, called 'adjustment difficulties', emerged when analysis showed that five codings had a distinctive pattern of variation over time, quite different from all other codings. Further investigation suggested that they had a common basis; they represent problems of adjustment, either economic or social, experienced by a newly arrived population. The reason recorded as 'cannot settle and returning to old area' was specific enough. Two others concerned financial difficulty, often compounded by illness; some tenants stated that their earnings were too low to make ends meet and there were too few alternative jobs available. The other two codings were those of tenants given notice to quit by the Development Corporation or who 'flitted' (leaving without notice); financial difficulties in the form of persistent rent arrears figured largely in such cases also, although there were other ways in which a few households were found to be unsatisfactory tenants. These adjustment problems accounted for less than a tenth of all households who terminated between 1951 and 1968, not a high figure in overall terms but the group is interesting because of its association with the early history of the new town.

Table 44 Reasons for termination of tenancies, 1951–1968 (%)

Housing reasons	
Buying as 'sitting tenant'	4·2
Buying locally (6% in Bracknell and 21% within 19 km (12 miles))	26·6
Buying in more distant area	3·9
Moving into non-Bracknell-Development-Corporation rented property in Bracknell	1·4
Moving to local area – probably renting	2·8
Sub-total	38·9
Employment reasons	
Change of job	13·8
Transferred by firm	5·5
Redundant or sacked	0·5
Retirement	1·2
Sub-total	21·0
Adjustment difficulties	
Could not settle; returning to old area	2·8
Financial difficulties and illness	2·5
Earnings or jobs insufficient	0·5
Notice to quit or left without notice	1·4
Sub-total	7·2
Mutual exchange but no reason recorded*	3·2
Household dissolution or change	6·9
Emigrating	6·8
Reason unknown	16·0
Total	100·0
Buying a property	45·3
Not buying a property	25·2
Not known whether buying	29·5
Total	100·0 (n=1600)

*This figure represents less than half the households who made mutual exchanges with local authority tenants elsewhere (7% of all terminating households). The other households had stated reasons and were coded under those headings.

The socio-economic groups: their reasons for terminating

Housing reasons were most prevalent among professional workers, accounting for more than a half of those terminating; 7% bought houses as 'sitting tenants' and 38% purchased homes in the vicinity of Bracknell. The proportion citing housing reasons declined with income level, reaching only a quarter of semi-skilled workers. (See Table 45: groups with small numbers have been excluded, but employers/managers of large concerns are very similar to the non-manual groups, and foremen similar to skilled workers.) Employment reasons were cited by equal proportions of the non-manual groups, all significantly higher than the proportions of manual workers. Other studies have found that professional and managerial households give occupational reasons for moving more often than do other households[84]. The difference was due partly to the 8% of each white-collar group who were transferred elsewhere by their firms (transfers were less frequent among manual workers), and partly to a higher proportion of non-manual workers changing their jobs.

Adjustment problems showed the opposite pattern from housing reasons, a tendency to increase with declining income level. This was true also of the mutual exchange group. One can deduce that the principal motives for those making mutual exchanges and stating no further reason were mainly adjustment problems, since most of the exchanges returned households to previous areas of residence. This is confirmed by other households making mutual exchanges who did state reasons; more than half left because of adjustment difficulties and a third for employment reasons. Thus the numbers leaving because of inability to settle in the town accounted for only 2–3% of the professional and semi-professional employees who left, but nearly a fifth of the semi-skilled workers. When the numbers who left because of adjustment difficulties are expressed as a percentage of *all* tenants in each social group, whether or not they had left the town, the rate is still twice as high in the skilled and semi-skilled groups as among non-manual groups, and three times as high in the unskilled group.

Adjustment difficulties were undoubtedly greatest for unskilled workers. There were only 23 cases of terminating unskilled workers in the sample (too few to include in Table 45) and most of these left because of adjustment problems, many saying that they could not settle in Bracknell or that earnings were insufficient. Few unskilled workers mentioned the housing reasons which were dominant in all other groups; those who did leave because of housing reasons were moving into other rented property in the local area (one may guess at lower rents than Development Corporation houses). Financial strains tend to impinge most on the lowest paid. This study has shown also (in Chapter 5) that unskilled migrants to Bracknell had moved exceptionally long distances and were therefore particularly susceptible to problems arising from the disruption of family and locality ties, a suggestion which this evidence supports.

Emigration overseas was twice as common among the skilled and semi-skilled workers leaving as among the non-manual groups. Termination because of major household change tended to be more common in older groups; among retired people, of course, it was found most frequently, their tenancies being concluded because of household dissolution or illness, in almost equal proportions.

Table 45 Reasons cited by terminating households in the principal socio-economic groups (%)

Reasons	Professional employees	Intermediate non-manual	Junior non-manual	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled manual
Housing	51·6	47·9	41·0	36·8	26·7
Employment	24·4	26·5	26·5	15·7	15·1
Adjustment	1·8	1·2	3·0	9·7	11·3
Mutual exchange	1·8	0·4	1·7	4·6	7·2
Household change	1·8	4·8	5·1	5·3	11·3
Emigrating	4·7	4·1	5·1	11·5	10·1
Unknown	13·9	15·1	17·6	16·4	18·3
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Buying	59·1	55·4	52·1	40·0	33·9
Not buying	18·7	19·5	18·5	25·7	35·9
Not known	22·2	25·1	29·4	34·3	30·2
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(194)	(226)	(394)	(394)	(160)

Destinations: the principal migration currents

Outward migration consisted mainly of short-distance moves (see Table 46). The overwhelming influence of Greater London on inward migration was absent from the outward population movement; only a small proportion of tenants went to London. Larger proportions moved instead into the new town's hinterland as well as to more distant parts of Great Britain and abroad.

Assessed in terms of net migration balance, the greatest gain was from Greater London in the ratio of 14 incoming tenants to every one outgoing; this was exceptionally high, no other gain or loss exceeding a ratio of 2:1. There was a net gain from within the designated area itself, and from Bracknell's circle of towns at about 16 km (10 miles), and from all areas further away within Great Britain. Migration losses to two areas were found, the principal one being to the town's immediate vicinity, a symptom of the developing residential hinterland in the 1960s. The other migration loss was to countries overseas; most tenants arriving from abroad were English people transferred by their employers (for example the Meteorological Office); some outgoing migrants also were transfers of this type but they were out-numbered by people emigrating, principally to Commonwealth countries.

Outward migrants to local, London, distant and overseas destinations formed four migration currents of different composition and purpose. Table 47 shows the association between destination and motive of those moving within Great Britain. Households moving into the local area did so principally for housing reasons, many becoming owner-occupiers; in Bracknell's vicinity the two most popular destinations were the towns of Wokingham and Crowthorne. Migrants to distant areas were motivated mainly by employment reasons, although housing still formed an important motive for those moving into the zone bordering on towns surrounding Bracknell – the rest of Berkshire, with Buckinghamshire, Hampshire and Oxfordshire; the fringe of Bracknell's commuting hinterland seemed to extend into these counties. Although employment was the dominant motive for migrants going to distant areas, housing motives played some part, for many households purchased property in their new areas. The connection between long-distance migration and the economic motive has been found in many studies[77,85].

Migrants who returned to London were mainly those with adjustment problems, with almost as many citing employment reasons. Those in the considerable group making mutual exchanges with no reason recorded were also principally motivated by these two reasons. The phrase 'returned to London' is used intentionally, for this migration current more than any other consisted of a reverse flow; 92% of households leaving for Greater London had moved originally from there.

Table 46 Destinations of terminating households, 1951–1968

Destination	Terminating households		Households originating from each area		Migration balance	
	No	%	No	%		
Bracknell	495	14·3	980	9·9	+485	
Area within approx 13 km (8 miles)	658	19·0	412	4·2		−246
Towns at approx 13–19 km (8–12 miles)	287	8·3	376	3·8	+ 89	
Sub-total: all local areas	1440	41·6	1768	17·9	+328	
Middlesex	107	3·1				
London*	337	9·7				
Sub-total: all Greater London	444	12·8	6287	63·4	+5843	
Rest of South-East region	486	14·0	949	9·6	+463	
South-West, Midlands, East Anglia	265	7·6	428	4·3	+163	
North-West, North, Yorks and Humberside	129	3·7	218	2·2	+ 89	
Wales, Scotland, Ireland	102	2·9	118	1·2	+ 16	
Sub-total: all distant parts of Great Britain	982	28·2	1713	17·3	+731	
Abroad	289	8·3	127	1·3		−162
No destination: households dissolved, etc	60	1·7				
Destination unknown	257	7·4	5	0·1		
Total	3472	100·0	9900	100·0	+6428	

*Mainly London County but including a few destinations in the rest of Greater London.

Table 47 Reasons for termination by households leaving for local, London and distant destinations (%)

Reason for termination	Destination		
	Bracknell and vicinity*	Greater London	Distant parts of Great Britain
Housing	83·8	5·0	11·4
Employment	5·2	21·4	48·9
Adjustment	3·6	25·2	4·5
Mutual exchange	0·1	21·4	1·3
Household change	6·3	9·0	4·4
Unknown	1·0	18·0	29·5
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0
Buying	74·0	16·2	41·4
Not buying	11·9	57·7	26·8
Not known	14·1	26·1	31·8
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(615)	(246)	(461)

*Including the area within approximately 13 km (8 miles) and the circle of towns at a 13–19 km (8–12 miles) radius.

Social composition of the main migration currents

People in two of the main migration currents were very similar in social composition. These were migrants moving into Bracknell's vicinity and migrants moving to distant parts of Great Britain; two-thirds of them were non-manual workers (see Table 48). In contrast, two-thirds of migrants returning to Greater London were in manual work. Between these extremes were migrants leaving for overseas who were almost equally divided into manual and non-manual workers. The age distributions of the four groups of migrants were very similar; those who were purchasing their next homes were more concentrated in their 30s than were all terminating heads.

Comparing the people who went to each group of areas with people who had arrived from those areas, the closest parallel existed between migrants to and from Greater London; their social distributions were virtually the same. There was strong similarity also between migrants to and from distant areas of Great Britain. On the other hand, movement to Bracknell's vicinity resulted in a large net loss of white-collar workers, and movement overseas resulted in a net loss of the manually employed. The volume of movement to and from overseas was small and had little effect on the town's population, whereas differential migration to and from the new town's hinterland – primarily a source of manual tenants but the recipient of non-manual workers – had a profound effect on the town's growth.

Destinations and distances moved by the social groups

When the axes of the data are reversed, as in Table 49, the destinations of the social groups appear closely associated with reasons for termination. White-collar migrants, for whom housing reasons formed the principal motive, moved mainly to addresses in Bracknell or its locality. In the manual groups, among whom adjustment difficulties reached their peak, large proportions (a fifth or a quarter of those leaving) returned to Greater London. Unskilled workers have been omitted from the table because of small numbers, but most of those who left returned to the metropolis. Distant parts of the country attracted slightly more non-manual workers, the difference between manual and non-manual groups corresponding to differences in the proportions giving employment reasons for termination.

Comparison with Table 18 shows that there was more similarity between destinations of outgoing migrants than between origins of inward migrants in the main social groups. The convergence of pattern resulted from the tendency for the 'unplanned' pattern to be re-established, following the effect of overspill policy on incoming migration. Yet, though there was no deliberate direction of outward migrants, the pattern of their destinations was still influenced at least in part by their origins; migrants from certain areas tended to return to those areas. This held particularly for Greater London; according to theories of intervening opportunities or gravity models, one would expect London, because of its size and proximity, to attract some of the people leaving Bracknell but not as many as this study showed. This was explained by the return flow of Londoners unable to adjust to new town life. Thus planning still maintained an indirect influence on the pattern of population movement out of, as well as into, Bracknell.

This can be seen further in the calculations of distance moved, which correspond to those in Table 19 for inward migrants. The three principal non-manual groups of outgoing migrants all moved a mean distance of 69 km (43 miles); for professional and semi-professional employees, drawn mainly from distant areas but moving principally into the locality, this represented a reduction of 16 km (10 miles); for junior non-manual workers, drawn mainly from Greater London, it represented an increase of 10 km (6 miles). Skilled workers moved an average of 56 km (35 miles); this was 14 km (9 miles) further than incoming migrants because of the larger proportion going to distant areas. The mean for departing semi-skilled workers was the same as that for non-manual groups. This was due to the influence of one firm which moved on to the north of England, taking with it a number of Corporation tenants. It provides a further example of the exceptional nature of migration induced by the movement of firms with their work-forces. If these tenants are excluded from the figures, the mean distance moved by semi-skilled workers is only 63 km (39 miles).

There were only 20 cases of unskilled workers with known destinations. Most made the return journey to London and their mean distance moved [43 km (27 miles)] was virtually that between Bracknell and London. Movement over such comparatively long distances for this group is as exceptional as their original moves to the new town.

Table 48 Socio-economic distribution of households leaving for each destination (%)

Socio-economic group	Destination			
	Bracknell and vicinity*	Greater London	Distant parts of Great Britain	Abroad
Employers and managers				
Large firms	4·3	2·8	3·1	0·3
Small firms	2·2	2·1	1·8	1·8
Professional employees	13·9	6·0	13·8	10·3
Intermediate non-manual	21·0	4·2	19·3	14·2
Junior non-manual	26·1	18·1	30·0	22·0
Sub-total: all non-manual	67·5	33·2	68·0	48·6
Foremen	1·7	2·1	0·7	0·7
Skilled manual	22·2	39·7	21·7	37·6
Semi-skilled manual	7·2	19·5	8·5	12·4
Unskilled manual	0·5	5·3	0·6	—
Other manual	0·9	0·2	0·5	0·7
Sub-total: all manual	32·5	66·8	32·0	51·4
Total: all employed tenants	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(615)	(246)	(461)	(131)
Socio-economic grouping of employed tenants originating from the same area				
Non-manual	43·3	32·3	73·8	81·4
Manual	56·7	67·7	26·2	18·6
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

*Including the area within approximately 13 km (8 miles) and the circle of towns at a 13–19 km (8–12 miles) radius.

Table 49 Destinations of households in the principal socio-economic groups (%)

Destinations	Professional employees	Intermediate non-manual	Junior non-manual	Skilled manual	Semi-skilled manual
Bracknell	14·0	18·8	15·2	9·1	8·1
19 km (12 miles) radius	33·8	32·5	27·5	27·0	20·5
Sub-total: all local	47·8	51·3	42·7	36·1	28·6
Greater London	6·5	3·2	9·3	20·1	24·4
Rest of South-East	16·3	13·4	17·4	12·6	11·6
Outside South-East	17·2	19·7	16·8	12·0	12·2
Sub-total: all distant	33·5	33·1	34·2	24·6	23·8
Abroad	7·2	7·1	7·4	12·5	10·1
No destination	0·5	—	0·1	0·2	0·6
Destination unknown	4·5	5·3	6·3	6·5	12·5
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(194)	(226)	(394)	(394)	(160)
Mean distance moved within Great Britain	69·2 (43·0)	69·0 (42·9)	68·7 (42·7)	55·8 (34·7)	69·7 km (43·3) (miles)
(*n* for distance calculations)	(167)	(200)	(344)	(315)	(127)

Changes in outward migration

Finally, the pattern of population movements out of the new town becomes clearer when the time variable is introduced; migrants' motives and characteristics altered during the town's development, and the change is best described in terms of two phases.

1) Outward migration 1952–1957: the phase of adjustment difficulties

During early years of growth, adjustment difficulties were the most numerous reasons recorded for leaving; they accounted for about one in three of outgoing migrants whose motives could be traced. After 1957 the proportion of people leaving for these reasons declined sharply, remaining afterwards at about the 4–8% level. Figure 22 shows the time-series; a break has been left in the graph to distinguish between data for early years in which the reasons for many terminations went unrecorded, and data for 1960 onwards when all terminating tenants were asked their reasons. It is certain that the proportions shown in early years are minimum values; where there is error, it is understatement. Adjustment problems, therefore, were responsible for much higher proportions of terminations up to 1957 than in subsequent years. The lower graph in Figure 22 confirms the change; the proportion of migrants going to London destinations (already shown to be associated with people leaving because of adjustment difficulties) was comparatively high in early years but low in the 1960s.

Outward migration in the 1950s, particularly up to 1957, was quite different from that of the 1960s in composition, destination and purpose. Nearly half the tenants terminating in the early 1950s were in manual work; almost equal numbers went to local, London and distant destinations; and the most frequently-occurring recorded reason for leaving was difficulty in adjusting to new town life. The termination rates of foremen and of unskilled workers were unusually high (compared with later years), and most of those leaving returned to London. Study of the individual cases involved shows that between one-half and three-quarters of the people in each of these two groups who were leaving, did so because of adjustment problems. There was a difference in emphasis; foremen included more who felt 'unable to settle' and wished to return to their previous areas, while unskilled workers more frequently were in financial difficulties and complained that earnings in new town industry were lower than expected and alternative jobs not available. These two groups were the oldest of all manual groups on arrival in Bracknell, and there is some relationship between age and ability to adapt to new circumstances. In addition, the lower earning power of unskilled workers renders them more susceptible to financial strain.

Many reasons can be advanced for the difficulties of early tenants. Wages in new towns are generally lower than in London. (This situation still existed in 1969 when Gee found that the wage-differential was the single most important reason for people turning down jobs offered through the Industrial Selection Scheme[72].) Alternative work for men or women was scarce at that time. Most tenants had to adjust to rents considerably higher than those they had been paying for shared or sub-standard accommodation in London, and there were many additional expenses to be met in establishing new homes. Development Corporation dwellings were newly built, with comparatively high rents; only in later years did re-let houses become available at a wider range of rents.

A further factor was the general lack of facilities that afflicts all new areas in early stages of growth. Because of Bracknell's fairly slow progress it escaped the acute difficulties encountered in faster-growing new towns. Yet slow growth brings its own problems; shops cannot open until there are customers to support them, temporary school places must be arranged, construction machinery means mud on the roads, public transport takes time to organise new services. Such problems may tip the scales for households lacking the resources needed to cope with such situations.

Tenants' problems over finance and facilities eased after a few years; the growth of industry and commerce brought a wider variety of jobs; the development of housing and services brought a wider range of rents and amenities. In addition, the town was being populated by different migrants; more white-collar workers were arriving, either with new firms or as recruits for established firms; the new migrants were concentrated progressively more in the youngest (and most adaptable) age-groups, and their higher earning levels conferred greater immunity to financial pressures. They were not less mobile than earlier migrants; but the reasons which induced them to leave were not adjustment difficulties. A further possible explanation is that rising demand in the late 1950s for housing may have enabled the Corporation to select tenants more 'efficiently', sorting out at an early stage applicants likely to have trouble with rents or tenancy conditions. Change in all these factors – the easing of financial problems, improvements in facilities and change in tenant intake – combined to end this early phase of outward migration.

Other new towns have experienced similar stages. In the late 1950s the phrase 'new town blues' became the centre of controversy, suggesting that new town life was responsible for depression and mental stress. The Ministry of Housing and Local Government said that the malady had been greatly exaggerated though 'it undoubtedly exists'[86]. Several studies took up the theme, the most thorough being that by Taylor and Chave who concluded that the rate of neurotic illness in Harlow new town was similar to that of the country generally, while psychoses were relatively fewer[87]. A reviewer of the time stated[88]: 'The idea that new towns are hotbeds of neurosis and maladjustment has been effectively disposed of'. Whether the early phase of adjustment difficulties is reflected in mental health problems, is uncertain. The evidence cited from Bracknell refers to difficulties in financial and social adjustment rather than psychological problems, in so far as it is possible to separate them.

Some studies of large housing estates also have described early adjustment difficulties. Jefferys[71] reported on London County Council tenants moving to the South Oxhey estate in the early 1950s; she commented that there were many difficulties specific to the early years, causing high numbers to leave, or to want to leave, the estate. The difficulties seemed to arise from the lack of facilities and the steep increase in the cost of living experienced by rehoused families. However, there were few signs of the severe economic problems which were blamed for malnutrition among rehoused families in a pre-war study[89]. That study was concerned with slum dwellers rehoused in a time of high unemployment and low wages, very different from the economic situation of the 1950s.

2) Outward migration 1958–1968: increasing turnover and the rising tide of home ownership

After 1957, difficulties in adjustment ceased to be a major influence on outward migration; only small proportions of tenants each year were afflicted by these problems to the extent of leaving the town. Now that the reasons for the

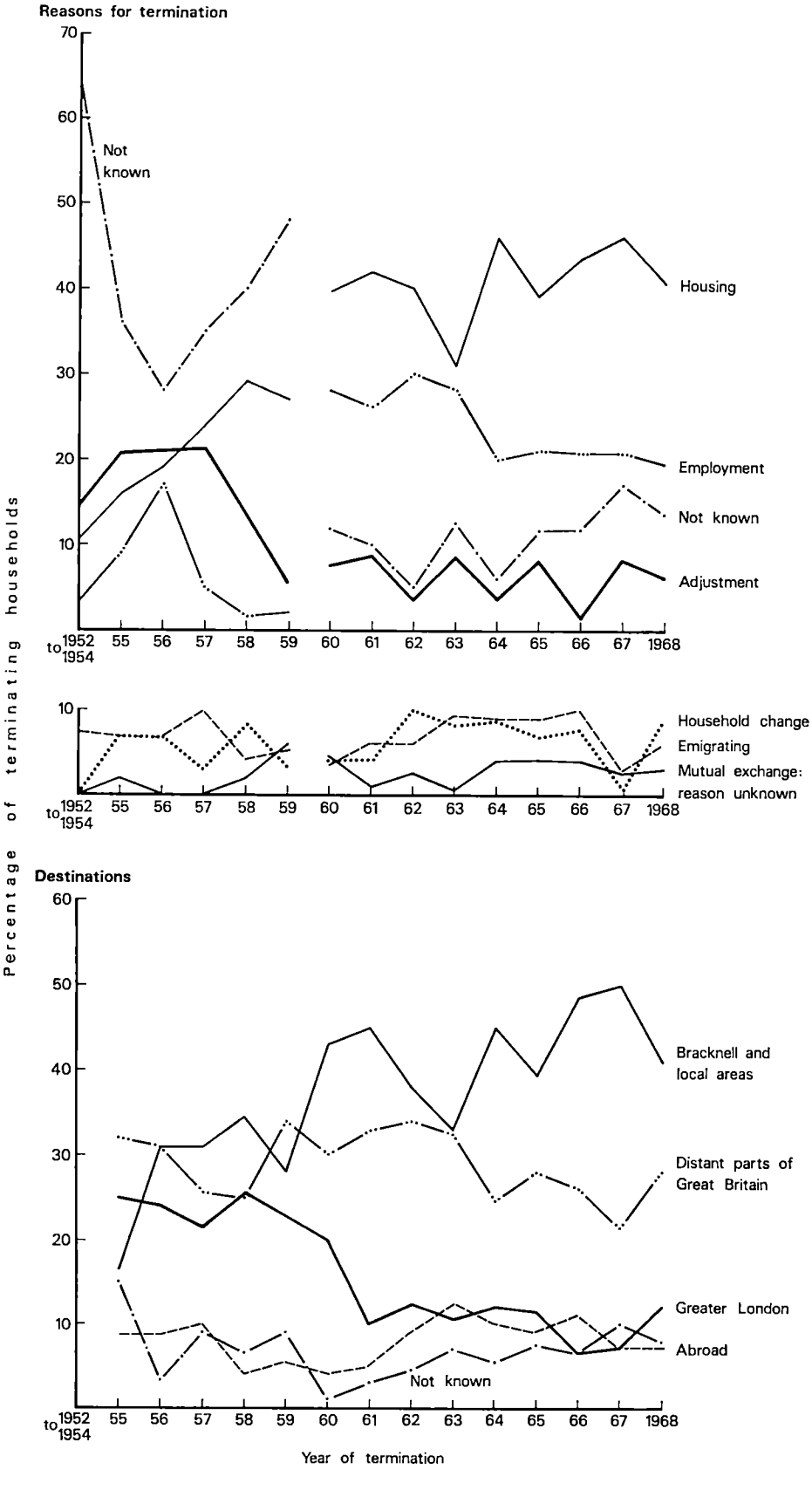


Figure 22 Reasons for termination and the destinations of households terminating each year. Figures for destinations in 1952–1954 are omitted since 34% of cases were in the unknown category

difficulties were being resolved and the town populated by households with higher earnings, one might expect the population to become more 'settled' and the termination rate to fall. On the contrary, however, the termination rate rose and continued to rise slowly.

Two factors were responsible for this. The first was the extension of the inward migration field, drawing households from outside Bracknell and its locality and outside Greater London; tenants drawn from these further areas increased from 5% of those arriving in 1954 to 27% in 1963. Households from distant areas proved to have higher termination rates than those from Greater London who, in their turn, had higher termination rates than local households. In general, the greater the distance travelled, the greater the likelihood that the household would move again. This was found to be true within most social and employment groups.

The low mobility of people housed from the local area can be attributed to the local ties which militate against a further move. The high mobility of people from distant areas was due to their propensity to make another long-distance move. Only rarely did they return to their previous areas; generally they moved on to another part of Great Britain or abroad. It seems that within social groups, people's attitudes to making long-distance moves vary; when the new town's migration field expanded to attract population from distant areas, it necessarily drew the type of person who was prepared to move a long way and, therefore, was more likely to move again. Population turnover in the new town rose accordingly; and between 1958 and 1963 there was a gradual increase (from about a quarter to a third) in the proportions of migrants going to far parts of Great Britain. After 1963, those leaving for distant areas and for employment reasons remained at a constant proportion of resident households; but, as a proportion of outgoing migrants, they declined, being overtaken by the rising numbers of tenants leaving for housing reasons.

The second factor causing termination rates to rise was a national phenomenon: the movement of households into owner-occupied housing. In 1950 only 29% of dwellings in Great Britain were owner-occupied; by 1960 this had risen to 42% and by 1968 to 49%. In the South-East region outside Greater London the proportion was even higher – 58% compared with the national average of 51% by 1970[90]. In Bracknell there was a steady increase in tenants who concluded tenancies and began buying houses. People leaving for housing reasons and the corollary, those going to local destinations, tended to increase throughout the 1960s; by 1968 they were twice as numerous as people leaving for employment reasons and going to distant areas.

The effect of this was that the outward migration field became more concentrated on short-distance moves. A residential hinterland grew up around Bracknell, populated by ex-tenants who formed the nearest equivalent to city migrants moving out to suburbs, and by other migrants who had taken work in the town but found housing outside. The census commuting figures testify to the considerable numbers involved. This 'colonisation' of the hinterland by former tenants was carried out principally by white-collar workers, but not exclusively so; one-third of migrants moving into the local area were manual workers. The proportion buying property rose among skilled and semi-skilled workers; only unskilled workers were excepted. Among professional employees there was no increase in the proportion buying; it remained at a constantly high level, and that of the other groups rose toward it. Excluding the 'no information' category (10–30% of each group), just over 60% of skilled and semi-skilled outgoing migrants in 1964–1968 were purchasing property, while among professional, semi-professional and clerical workers the proportion was 70–80% – not a large differential.

In March 1964 the Development Corporation announced that it was willing to sell houses of all types to sitting tenants; previously it had been prepared to sell only houses specifically built for the purpose. According to the sample, the mean proportion of terminating tenants who bought as sitting tenants in the next 4 years was 8% per annum, whereas for the 5 years preceding it was only 1% per annum. Table 50 shows that the increase in purchases by sitting tenants was accompanied by a reduction in the proportion buying other property in Bracknell or its hinterland; thus the new channel succeeded in satisfying some of the demand for house purchase but not all, for the proportion buying other property locally fell by only a fifth. The numbers moving into owner-occupied housing increased generally at this time.

Table 50 Households buying as sitting tenants or in the local area (% per annum)

Tenants terminating for housing reasons	Arithmetic mean of terminations in: 1960–1964	1965–1968
Buying as sitting tenant	1·4	8·1
Buying locally (in Bracknell or within 19 km (12 miles))	32·2	25·9
Buying in more distant area	4·3	4·8
Moving into privately rented property in Bracknell	0·2	1·7
Moving into local area – probably renting	1·9	2·0
All those terminating for housing reasons as a proportion of all terminating tenants	40·0	42·5
(*n*)	(633)	(260)

There were several factors underlying the relatively small number of sales of Corporation houses. Built recently and to similar standards, the houses varied little in price while householders could find a wider range of property in nearby villages and towns. The exodus of tenants who could not find a house to buy 'at the right price' was a general feature in all the new towns at that time[91]. Bracknell's Social Development Officer interviewed 50 departing households in 1963 and reported that over half were leaving to buy a house[92]: 'Questioned further as to reasons for wishing to buy, some of those interviewed put financial considerations first – 'Why should I continue to pay rent when for a little more I could be paying for a house which will eventually be my own?'; to others a sense of ownership seemed almost more important and one or two wished to build their own individual house; very few were dissatisfied with the house they had been renting and they thought that amenities were improving and would improve more as time went on, but one or two wanted to 'get off the estate' where to them all the houses seemed the same; a few did not like the open-front treatment or 'the type of people here' or they did not get on with the neighbours or their neighbours' children.

This study bears out the suggestion that many households buying outside the town were seeking cheaper property. Those buying as sitting tenants tended to be in higher income-groups

than those buying other property in Bracknell or its locality; 83% of sitting tenant purchasers in 1965–1968 were in non-manual occupations compared with 65% of other local purchasers at this time; the proportions in skilled or semi-skilled work were 17% among sitting tenant purchasers and 34% among the rest.

Movement of population out of the new town

These changes in the outward movement of population from the new town, while less complex than those of inward movement, are no less interesting. The pattern of migration out of the town and the reasons for departure provide a useful commentary on some of the realities that must be faced in building a new town to re-settle large sections of the population.

That some degree of adjustment difficulties should occur in early years appears to be unavoidable in any new settlement. It was unfortunate that tenants' difficulties in settling into Bracknell were greatest when the town was operating as an overspill channel for Londoners, and drawing people most susceptible to the social and financial strain of a relatively long-distance move. That early phase is now past history in Bracknell but its lessons remain relevant; it is a situation that is recreated on any newly populated site, whether new town or housing estate. Although the problems seem inevitable in most concentrations of new migrants, the degree of difficulty varies; the problems are eased by some situations but intensified by others, for example where there is a rapid influx of people earning no more than average wages on a site far from existing facilities and alternative jobs. Bracknell, with its small market town and relatively slow growth, avoided this extreme. As a result of the new towns' experience, it should be possible to co-ordinate knowledge about this phase of development and see how its difficulties can be minimised.

The second phase of outward migration was less predictable. When the new towns were first planned, no-one foresaw that the increasing attractiveness of home ownership would tend to siphon off a significant number of people from new towns. The decisions to sell rented housing to sitting tenants satisfied only a fraction of the demand. The newly created aspirations for home ownership made it difficult for the new town to provide a range of housing that would satisfy all sections of the population. Most of the people who left the town did so for housing reasons, finding the housing they required in surrounding settlements that had developed over many years. Older areas tend to contain more varied property, including some that would be judged unsatisfactory by new town standards and some that has been allowed to deteriorate, reducing the market price; such property may be an attractive first step into owner-occupation for people willing to add amenities and value to a building by their own efforts. A newly built town cannot offer the mixture of house style, size, condition, price and environment that is found in areas which have grown over a long period through the efforts of a multiplicity of builders, architects and owners. There are older pre-designation areas in most new towns and this property serves a useful function in widening the choices open to the new population, but it is usually insufficient to satisfy a large-scale demand. In this respect a new town must rely upon older areas in its vicinity.

Chapter 10 Population turnover and natural increase

The new town's growth resulted from two processes – migration and natural increase. Migration accounted for the greater part of change, although the high rate of natural increase in new towns has attracted considerable attention and posed problems for authorities concerned with health and education facilities. This chapter outlines the part played by the two processes in raising the population to its new level.

Growth as a net result of inward and outward migration

The numbers of tenants moving into and out of Development Corporation dwellings are shown in Figure 23; the upper diagram shows numbers of incoming and outgoing tenants each year, and the lower shows the cumulative figures, with the difference between them representing net growth in numbers. The numbers of tenancies terminated each year tended to rise, especially during the 1960s, with an increase from 4½% to 6–7% per annum. To get a total mobility rate (a figure for the proportion of households moving each year) one must add in households who transferred from one Development Corporation dwelling to another; these increased gradually with the growth of the town, from just below 3% per annum to just above this figure. Thus the total mobility rate in the new town can be summarised as a gradual increase from 7½% per annum to 10% per annum in the late 1960s. This is not a high removal rate for a population in which young adults predominate; 10% corresponds to the national average for households which have changed their addresses in the previous 12 months.

Yet although the proportion of households leaving the town each year (terminations only in this case, excluding transfers) was not high, the total effect over a period of years was considerable. Table 51 shows that by the end of the major growth phase in 1958, 3500 households had been housed of whom only one in ten had left. But 8 years later, when the original designated area had been completed, 8200 households had been housed, of whom nearly one-third had left; to increase resident households in the town by 2400, a total of 4700 households had been housed during that development phase. To achieve a further net increase in the next 2 years of 1100 households, 2000 were housed. By the end of 1968, for every 100 houses built and tenanted, 151 tenants had been housed.

At what rate do new town houses become available for re-letting, and how long does it take for, say, one-third of the people housed to leave and be replaced by further new tenants, possibly with different characteristics? Such questions are of practical interest to housing management and an analysis was made of the Bracknell data to find the 'retention rates' of different groups, ie the rate at which the original population housed retained their tenancies in subsequent years.

Figure 24 shows the retention rates of households first housed in every second year from 1953 to 1967; thus, of those housed in 1953, 88% were still present as tenants at the end of 1956, 77% at the end of 1960, 70% at the end of 1964 and so on. The most obvious feature to emerge from the graph is the steepening slope of the curves with the passage of time; households moving in during later years left the town considerably faster than their predecessors had done. This feature has been commented on earlier (Chapter 8); termination rates rose during the town's growth within most social groups. This trend, together with the change from an intake mainly of manual workers to one with more non-manual workers (who were more mobile), accounts for the greater mobility of the later arrivals.

Some of the changes are summarised in Table 52 which shows that by the end of the 5th year after each household's arrival, 80% or more of the earlier arrivals were still present, but less than 60% of those who arrived in 1962–1963. The mean annual termination rate rose from 3% among those housed in the early 1950s, to 5–6% among those housed in the later 1950s, and through 8% to 11% and above among those housed in the 1960s. Thus the termination rates of people placed in new town houses in the late 1960s were almost four times as high as those of the first tenants housed. The

Table 51 Tenancies begun and terminated and net growth (numbers rounded to nearest 100)

By end of year	Total no of tenancies begun	Increase	Total no of tenancies terminated	%	No of net tenancies	Increase	Ratio of net tenancies to total tenancies
1958	3 500		300	9·8	3200		100:111
		4700				2400	
1966	8 200		2600	32·1	5600		100:147
		2000				1100	
1968	10 200		3500	33·9	6700		100:151

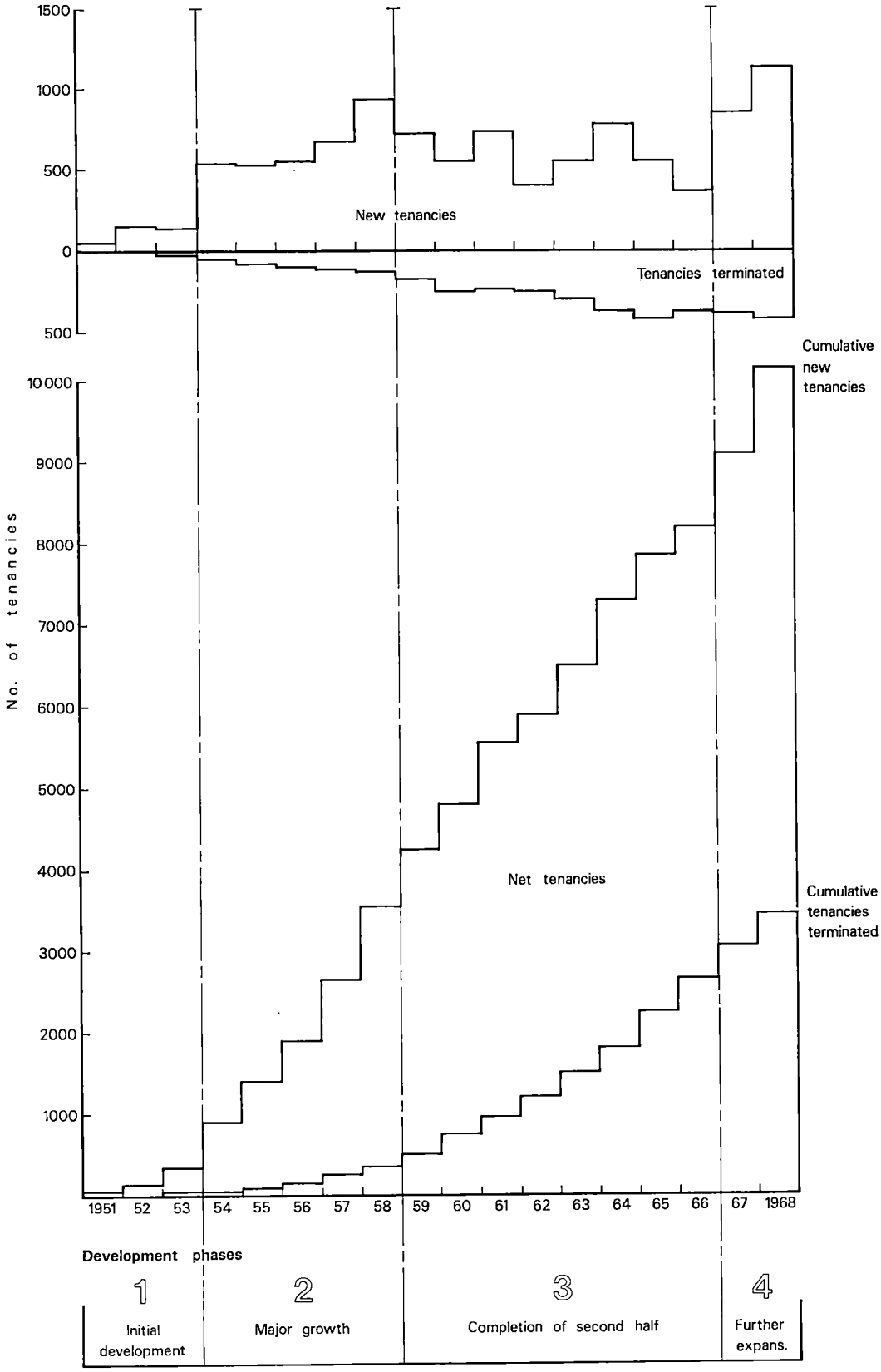


Figure 23 Numbers of tenancies begun and terminated each year and net growth

differential mobility of these various groups produced a curious convergence at the end of the study period. In April 1969, excluding the three latest groups of arrivals, there was little difference between the proportion of each year's intake still present in the town; it varied only from 52 to 64% of those first housed in 1952–1965. The accelerating rate of departure among more recent arrivals had reduced their numbers to the level reached after long residence by earlier tenants.

The lower graph in Figure 24 shows the retention rates which can be expected (and were observed at Bracknell) among households with different termination rates. With a 3% per annum removal rate (as among early tenants), the original population would be depleted to the two-thirds level in 13–14 years, but in a group moving at the rate of 10% per annum (as among tenants arriving from 1963 onwards), only two-thirds of those housed would be left within the space of 4 years. Such a mobile population will be reduced to less than half its original members within 7 years and to less than one-third in 11 years.

This analysis of retention rates gives no direct measure of the length of time for which households stayed in the new town, and it is useful to examine the average duration of residence and its variation over time.

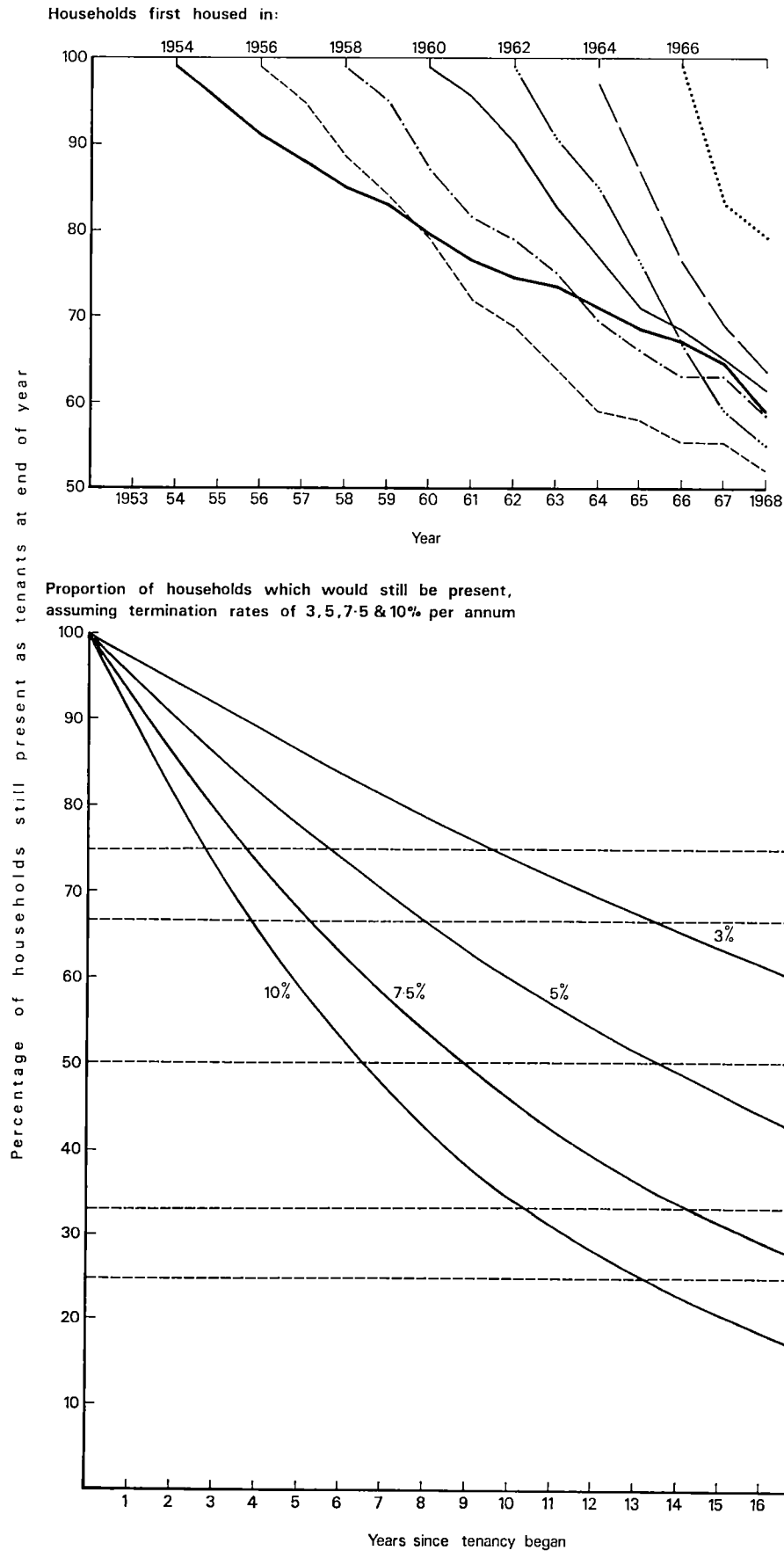


Figure 24 Retention rates (the proportion of households still holding tenancies in subsequent years)

Table 52 Retention rates of households housed in each year from 1952 to 1968 (%)

Year in which households first housed	Proportion of households still present as tenants at end of: 5th year after tenancy began	9th year after tenancy began	April 1969	Mean annual termination rate
1952	80·1	75·2	62·1	2·9
1953	80·0	73·6	62·1	3·1
1954	83·2	73·8	57·4	3·7
1955	78·2	65·7	53·8	4·6
1956	72·1	58·1	51·9	5·2
1957	74·5	60·9	57·6	4·7
1958	75·6	62·5	57·2	5·2
1959	68·6	56·7	56·7	5·8
1960	70·9		60·5	5·8
1961	64·2		54·2	8·2
1962	59·1		54·8	9·3
1963	58·8		57·7	9·8
1964			61·0	10·0
1965			63·5	11·9
1966			76·9	10·1
1967			83·5	11·1
1968			96·8	

Tenancy durations

For those leaving in early years, their tenancy durations were necessarily short; but in later years the increasing age of the town expanded the possible duration of residence. At first the change was substantial; households which had been tenants for less than 2 years represented two-thirds of those terminating in the early 1950s but only half of those terminating in the late 1950s, and just over a quarter of those leaving in the early 1960s (Table 53). Thereafter the change was considerably less; throughout the 1960s, approximately a quarter of terminating households had stayed less than 2 years, and a further quarter between 2 and 4 years. The annual distribution gradually became more positively skewed as the range extended into longer durations, but there was still a persistent clustering in the short-tenancy groups. The median duration was only $1\frac{1}{2}$ years in the early 1950s, but this rose to 2 years in the late 1950s and remained between 3 and 4 years thereafter. These changes indicate an increasing rate of tenancy turnover among households of low duration, a conclusion consistent with the earlier findings.

Probability of tenancy termination

In general, the shorter the duration of residence, the more likely it was that a tenant would leave. This is a slight oversimplification; the first year of tenancy was an exception, and the relationship was found to be not linear but curvilinear.

Households which had moved in during any given year were under-represented among outgoing migrants of that year; people generally were not predisposed to make a further move in the first few months after arrival. Financial and organisational problems must militate against moves in quick succession, and there were other pressures as well: the Development Corporation encouraged households to 'settle in' for at least a year before considering applications for transfers or mutual exchanges. Once the first year had passed, however, the picture changed radically, households with a duration of 1, 2, 3 and 4 years being over-represented among outgoing migrants. Termination rates tended to reach a peak during the 3rd year of residence. When the 5-year mark was passed, the situation was again reversed, these households having lower-than-average termination rates. The general features of this pattern have been found in studies of other areas, for example in pre-war housing estates such as Watling[93].

The rising rate of turnover in the 1960s did not affect this pattern. All households became more likely to terminate, but completion of the 1st and 5th years of tenancy continued to represent thresholds of below- and above-average mobility and the peak of terminations persisted in the 3rd year of tenancy.

The socio-economic groups

There was little difference between socio-economic groups in this pattern (see Table 54). A fairly low initial termination rate in the first year was followed by the highest rates of termination in the next 3 years, thereafter reducing. Only the two youngest groups – professional and semi-professional employees – had high mobility rates even in their first year of residence. (This is further confirmed in the last column of the table, using a different definition and showing the proportion who terminated less than 12 months after arrival.)

Table 53 Tenancy duration of terminating households (%)

Tenancy duration (years)	Years during which households terminated				
	1952–1956	1957–1959	1960–1962	1963–1965	1966–1968
Less than 1	26·8	21·8	9·3	12·9	10·1
1 and under 2	38·6	26·3	18·3	12·3	13·5
2 and under 3	24·4	22·4	21·4	13·1	16·9
3 and under 4	9·4	15·2	15·5	14·2	11·4
4 and under 5	0·8	10·4	13·3	11·1	7·2
5 and under 6		3·0	8·4	9·2	7·2
6 and under 7		0·9	6·8	9·5	5·0
7 and under 8			4·6	6·8	4·6
8 and under 9			1·2	3·9	5·0
9 and under 10			1·2	2·7	5·5
10 and under 11				3·1	3·0
11 and under 12				0·8	3·0
12 and under 13				0·2	3·0
13 and under 14				0·2	3·0
14 and under 15					1·6
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
Median duration	1 year 5 mths	2 years 1 mth	3 years 3 mths	3 years 10 mths	3 years 11 mths
(*n*)	(127)	(335)	(323)	(513)	(237)

Table 54 Mean annual termination rates of the socio-economic groups in each year of tenancy

Socio-economic group	Proportion of households in each socio-economic group which terminated during:					
	The same year in which tenancy began (%)	1st, 2nd and 3rd yrs after (% per annum)	4th, 5th and 6th yrs after (% per annum)	7th, 8th and 9th yrs after (% per annum)	10th yr and later (% per annum)	Proportion terminated less than 12 months after tenancy began (%)
Employers and managers – large firms	0·0	10·0	7·8	2·9	2·1	5·1
Professional employees	3·2	14·7	8·1	4·0	0·9	10·0
Intermediate non-manual	2·4	13·9	7·3	3·8	2·1	8·2
Junior non-manual	1·2	8·1	6·5	3·7	4·3	4·0
Foremen	0·8	4·3	1·8	1·0	1·0	4·2
Skilled manual	1·5	4·3	3·4	2·5	1·7	3·9
Semi-skilled manual	0·7	3·3	2·8	1·5	2·4	2·2
Unskilled manual	0·3	2·8	1·3	3·7	0·4	2·4

Differences between social groups consisted not of variations in the pattern but of differences in the overall level of terminations, mainly between the 1st and 6th year of residence. Among households still in the town 10 or more years after their tenancies began, the chances of termination were only slightly higher among non-manual workers than among the manually employed.

The effect of this pattern on the retention rates of the main social groups is shown in Figure 25. By the end of the 3rd year after each household's tenancy began a wide gap had opened up between the social groups: 90 and 86% respectively of semi-skilled and skilled workers were still resident, but clerical workers had declined to three-quarters of those housed, and professional and semi-professional employees to not much more than a half. Three years later the gap was even wider; the proportions of manual workers still present had fallen only slightly (to between 78 and 82%) while professional workers were down to a quarter. (Figures based on less than 100 cases have been omitted from the graph. Although unskilled workers are not shown, their retention rates tended to be a little higher than those of semi-skilled workers, and those of

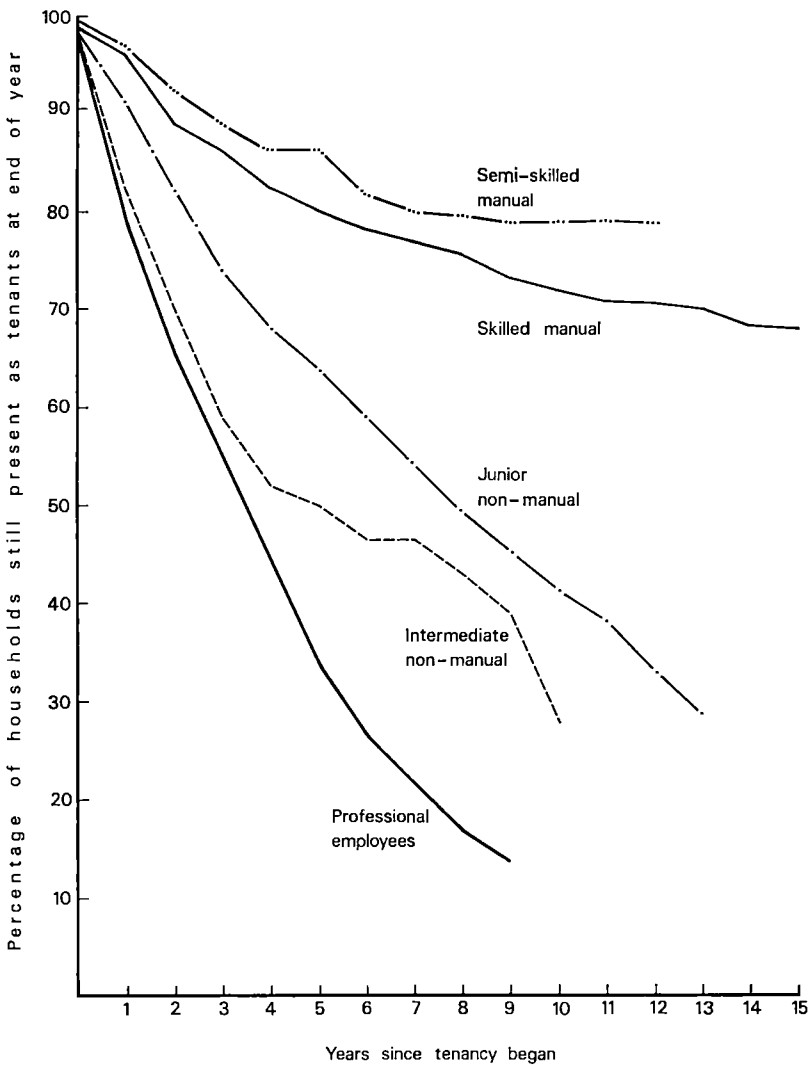


Figure 25 Retention rates of the social groups

foremen were similar to skilled workers. The rates for employers and managers in large firms were between those of junior and intermediate non-manual workers.) There was some variation associated with age within each social group, household heads in their 20s having the highest termination rates, those in their 40s and over the lowest, but the differences were much smaller than those between social groups.

The tendency in all social groups for the peak of terminations to occur in the 3 years following the year in which tenancies began, means that there was little difference in the average length of stay among households *which had left*. The median duration of residence (Table 55) for these households in most social groups was between 3 and 4 years; only the two most mobile groups (professional and semi-professional employees) had stayed for a shorter time, a median of just over 2½ years; and retired people and unskilled workers had stayed for longer, just over 4 years.

However, there was greater variation among households that were still holding tenancies at the end of the data period, reflecting differences in termination rates and dates of arrival. Thus foremen and skilled and semi-skilled workers, who figured largely in the intake during the first half of development and had comparatively low termination rates, had remained as tenants for the longest time – a median of between 8 and 9 years. At the other extreme, groups which tended to arrive in later years (retired people and unskilled workers) and had higher termination rates (professional and semi-professional workers) had stayed for shorter times – a median of only 3 or 4 years.

The general picture which emerges from these figures is of a new town populated by households whose movement rate was certainly no higher than the national average; yet, over a period of time, the cumulative effect of the turnover was substantial. In all social groups there was a rapid turnover among the newest arrivals and stability increased with longer duration of residence, especially after completion of the 5th year. Though this pattern was found in all social groups, the turnover rate at each stage was much higher in the white-collar groups, and therefore the rate at which they retained their tenancies was much lower. During development, the intake became progressively more mobile; of those housed in the early years, three in four households were still present 10 years later; but among those housed in the later 1960s, if the observed pattern continues, only one in three households will be present 10 years after their tenancies began.

The effects of this turnover on the actual population resident each year will be considered in the next chapter. This chapter concludes with an outline of information available about the second process involved in population growth – natural increase.

Table 55 Median duration of tenancy of households in each socio-economic group

Socio-economic group	Households which had terminated their tenancies	Households still holding tenancies in April 1969
Employers and managers – large firms	3 years 8 months	5 years 5 months
Professional employees	2 years 8 months	4 years 2 months
Intermediate non-manual	2 years 7 months	3 years 8 months
Junior non-manual	3 years 6 months	6 years 2 months
Foremen	3 years 2 months	8 years 8 months
Skilled workers	3 years 9 months	8 years 4 months
Semi-skilled workers	3 years 10 months	8 years 9 months
Unskilled workers	4 years 6 months	4 years 4 months
Retired people	4 years 2 months	3 years 6 months

Natural increase in the new town's population

Unfortunately the Registrar General publishes figures of births and deaths for local authority areas only; no separate figures for new towns are available. In the case of Bracknell this is a major difficulty because the local authority covers a much larger area than the new town. One can make only rough approximations of natural increase in Bracknell, using the Registrar General's data[94] for Easthampstead Rural District Council in conjunction with figures from this study.

The sample analysis indicates that between 1951 and 1968 there was a net gain of approximately 23 000 migrants in the designated area (including an estimate for households in dwellings not owned by the Development Corporation). Total population had increased by about 28 000 persons. Therefore the balance of the increase – approximately 5000 persons – must be accounted for by the excess of births over deaths. This natural increase represented about 18% of total population gain.

In the surrounding rural district outside the designated area, over the same period there was an increase of about 10 000 people (the population rising from 19 000 to 29 000). The Registrar General's figures show an excess of births over deaths in the total rural district of about 9000, so that approximately 4000 would have occurred outside the new town, accounting for 40% of the population increase there. Thus inward migration was responsible for more than 80% of the new town's population increase and 60% of that in the surrounding district.

The birth rate in the rural district as a whole began to rise in 1954, coinciding with the start of Bracknell's major intake (see Figure 26). It continued to rise until 1960, reaching a rate of 24·0 live births per 1000 population compared with 17·2 for England and Wales. Thereafter it declined steadily; in 1968 it was only slightly higher than the national rate (17·3 and 16·9 respectively). The renewed intake of population into the extension area was probably responsible for the further rise in births in 1970 and 1971.

If natural increase in Bracknell accounted for about 5000 persons and migrants for about 23 000, this indicates a gain through natural increase of about 22 persons per 100 migrants. The figure is very approximate but is not incompatible with the result obtained from an analysis of households resident in 1966. These households were a cross-section of all Development Corporation tenants at that time, and it was possible to compare their household composition in 1966 with that when they began their tenancies. Nearly half the households had not changed in size; a third had expanded and one in eight contracted. Change was greatest among newly arrived households and tended to level off among households which had stayed for 6 years or more (see Table 56). Increases in size became evident sooner (within 4 years of tenancies beginning) than did decreases in size (mainly evident among households of 4–8 years' duration). The degree of change increased with time; households which had expanded by one, two or three people were most numerous among those with under 4, 4–8 and 8–10 years' duration respectively; households which had contracted by one, two or three people were most in evidence among those with 6–8, 8–10 and 10–12 years' duration. The total number of people in these households had risen from 2926 to 3291, a net increase of 365 people (or 12·5%), and the mean household size had moved from 3·0 to 3·4 persons.

When the original household types are ranked by proportion expanding or contracting, it is clear (in spite of small numbers in some groups) that a classification of types simply by wife's age (as used in some studies) is an inadequate guide; the age-range of 30–44, for example, included both expanding and contracting households (see Table 57). The two extreme types were, on the one hand, youngest and smallest families, especially wives in their 20s who already had one child; and on the other hand, families almost in the oldest range, wives of 45–54 with children still resident in the household. Between these extremes, the types can be arranged with a progression from expansion to contraction throughout the life-cycle and a return to slightly greater stability in older groups.

Some of the additional household members found in the survey were adults. In an earlier chapter it was shown that households arriving in the town had very simple household structures (see page 36); few came as 'extended' families (those including relations other than parents with their children) or as multi-family households. One would expect a few other relations to join families later and the proportion of complex households to rise gradually towards the national average. However, there was no evidence that the process had begun; when the numbers of extended families in 1966 were compared with those when tenancies began, the number of households gaining additional relations had been counterbalanced by the number losing them. The same process of turnover without

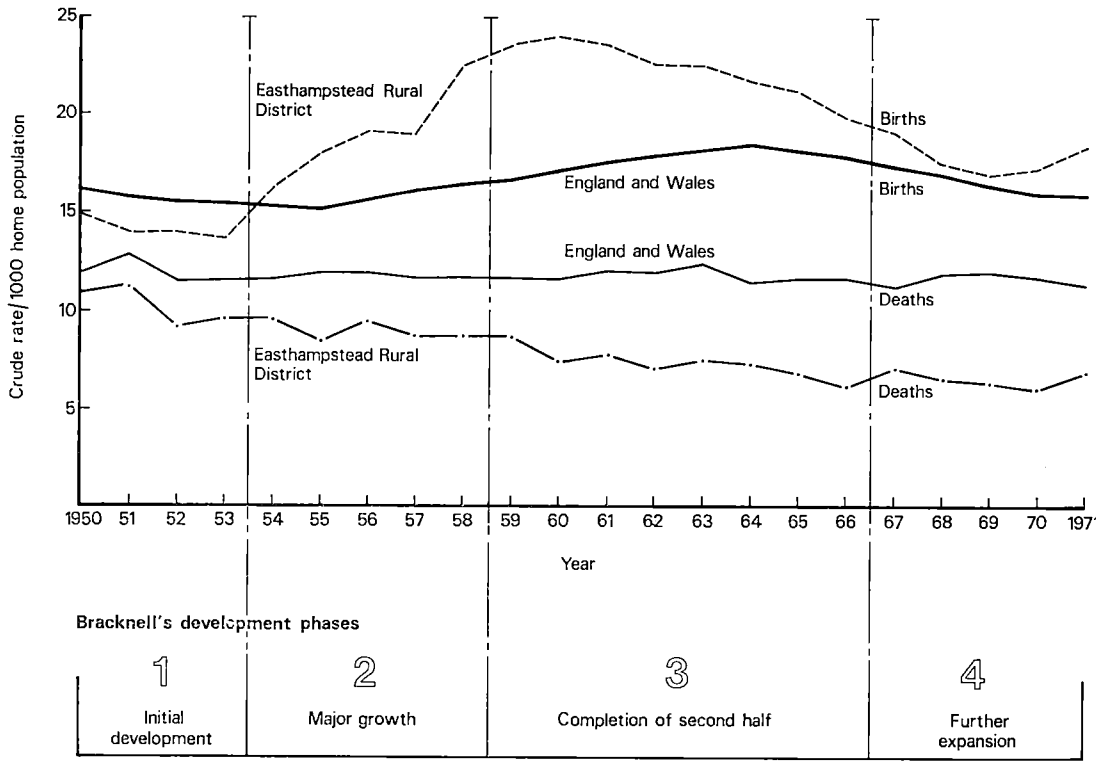


Figure 26 Birth and death rates in Easthampstead Rural District. Source: *Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales*

Table 56 Change in household size since start of tenancy (%)

	Duration of residence (years)							
Change in size	Under 2	2 to under 4	4 to under 6	6 to under 8	8 to under 10	10 to under 12	12 and over	All
+1 person	17·3	28·9	21·4	17·7	18·3	16·4	17·4	19·7
+2 people	1·8	3·3	13·3	17·1	13·4	12·3	14·5	10·2
+3 people	—	0·7	2·9	3·3	5·5	4·1	5·8	2·8
+4 people	—	—	—	1·1	1·2	1·6	1·4	0·6
Sub-total: all increases	19·1	32·9	37·6	39·2	38·4	34·4	39·1	33·3
−1 person	3·2	0·7	9·8	12·7	12·2	11·5	14·5	8·5
−2 people	—	2·6	1·7	3·3	4·9	6·5	2·9	2·9
−3 people	—	—	0·6	0·6	—	2·5	1·4	0·6
Sub-total: all decreases	3·2	3·3	12·1	16·6	17·1	20·5	18·8	12·0
No change	65·9	52·6	41·1	36·5	34·7	33·6	27·6	44·2
Not known	11·8	11·2	9·2	7·7	9·8	11·5	14·5	10·5
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(221)	(152)	(173)	(181)	(164)	(122)	(69)	(1082)

Table 57 Household types which contracted or expanded since start of tenancy (%)
(in rank order of net difference between proportion expanding and contracting)

Original household type (excluding extended families)		Proportion which: Expanded	Contracted	No change	All	(*n*)
Expanded						
More than ¾ expanded	Wife in 20s, 1 child	79·3	1·4	19·3	100·0	(140)
½–¾ expanded	Wife in 20s, 0 children	69·9	—	30·1	100·0	(136)
	Newly formed	55·7	—	44·3	100·0	(52)
¼–½ expanded	Wife in 20s, 2 children	45·6	—	54·4	100·0	(68)
	Wife 30–44, 0 children	41·8	—	58·2	100·0	(55)
Most stable – least expansion	Non-family, head 20–54	25·0	2·1	72·9	100·0	(48)
	Wife in 20s, 3+ children	20·0	—	80·0	100·0	(15)
	Wife 30–44, 1 child	24·7	15·1	60·2	100·0	(93)
	Non-family, head 55+	7·7	—	92·3	100·0	(26)
Contracted						
Most stable – least contraction	Wife 30–44, 2 children	15·7	19·5	64·8	100·0	(108)
	Wife 30–44, 3+ children	9·6	21·0	69·4	100·0	(62)
	Wife, 45–54, 0 children	6·2	18·8	75·0	100·0	(16)
¼–½ contracted	Wife 55+, 0 children	2·8	30·6	66·6	100·0	(36)
	Wife 55+, 1+ children	—	38·4	61·6	100·0	(13)
½–¾ contracted	Wife 45–54, 1 child	4·3	56·6	39·1	100·0	(23)
More than ¾ contracted	Wife 45–54, 2+ children	3·0	76·0	21·0	100·0	(33)

net change in numbers had occurred among two-family households. It is possible that more complex household structures will arise in the long run but, at the time of the study, it seemed that the necessity to obtain the Development Corporation's approval for other people to join households, and the strict controls on occupation to prevent 'overcrowding' had inhibited the process.

Migrants to Bracknell included far more expanding households than contracting ones (37% were of the three types of which more than a half subsequently increased in size, but only 4% were of the two types of which more than a half contracted). Taking into account also the tendency for increases to become evident sooner than decreases, the rapid rate of natural increase in Bracknell is not surprising.

These two sources of information suggest that natural increase in Bracknell by 1968 had resulted in a net gain of somewhere between 13 and 22 people per 100 migrants, or that natural increase accounted for between 11 and 18% of the total population increase. Clearly, migration was the principal factor in population growth.

Chapter 11 Growth of population in the town and its neighbourhoods

Although the new town grew mainly through migration, the character of the resident population cannot be deduced simply by studying inward migrants; nor even by studying outward movers also; for the two sets of migrants differed from each other and comprised groups with widely different mobility rates, with the added complication that these changed during development. It is not at all obvious what the net effect of the interaction would be. By analysing the characteristics of householders resident at the end of each year, however, it was possible to study some features of the growing population, showing how these have changed over time in the town as a whole and within individual neighbourhoods. Three variables of particular interest were traced: ages of household heads resident each year (from which one can infer related changes in household composition and the total population), their socio-economic distribution and geographical origin.

The ages of resident household heads

Beginning with an analysis of people resident in Development Corporation rented housing as a whole, and disregarding neighbourhood divisions, Figure 27 shows the proportion of householders in each 10-year age-group. The Census figures for ages of 'chief economic supporters' (virtually the same definition as that for Bracknell household heads) are shown also to give a general comparison with the national situation. The separation between characteristics of resident heads and of incoming heads began about 1956; until then the 30–39 group had predominated (accounting for almost half the household heads in the town), followed by the 19–29 group. From 1956 however, a steady change began and continued for the next 11 years; the 30–39 group diminished from 46 to 27% of resident heads, nearly 2% per annum on average; the 19–29 group also declined, though to a smaller extent, from 22 to 15%, an average of just under 1% per annum. Thus while the intake was dominated by household heads in their 20s, these households were in fact diminishing as a proportion of all residents. Meanwhile household heads aged 40–49 increased from 20 to 30%, those aged 50–59 increased three-fold from 6 to 18%, and there were smaller increases in older groups. This caused changes in rank-ordering over the years; the 40s age-group overtook first those aged 19–29 and finally those aged 30–39 to become the most numerous group in the town at the end of the study period. In the final year the trends were checked by the influx of new, young tenants into the extension area, causing the 20s curve to take a slight upward turn once more.

The changes generally tended towards a more 'normal' age structure, closer to national figures for chief economic supporters. Household heads became more evenly distributed between the age-groups; the overriding importance of one group (30–39) had diminished, and the negligible proportions

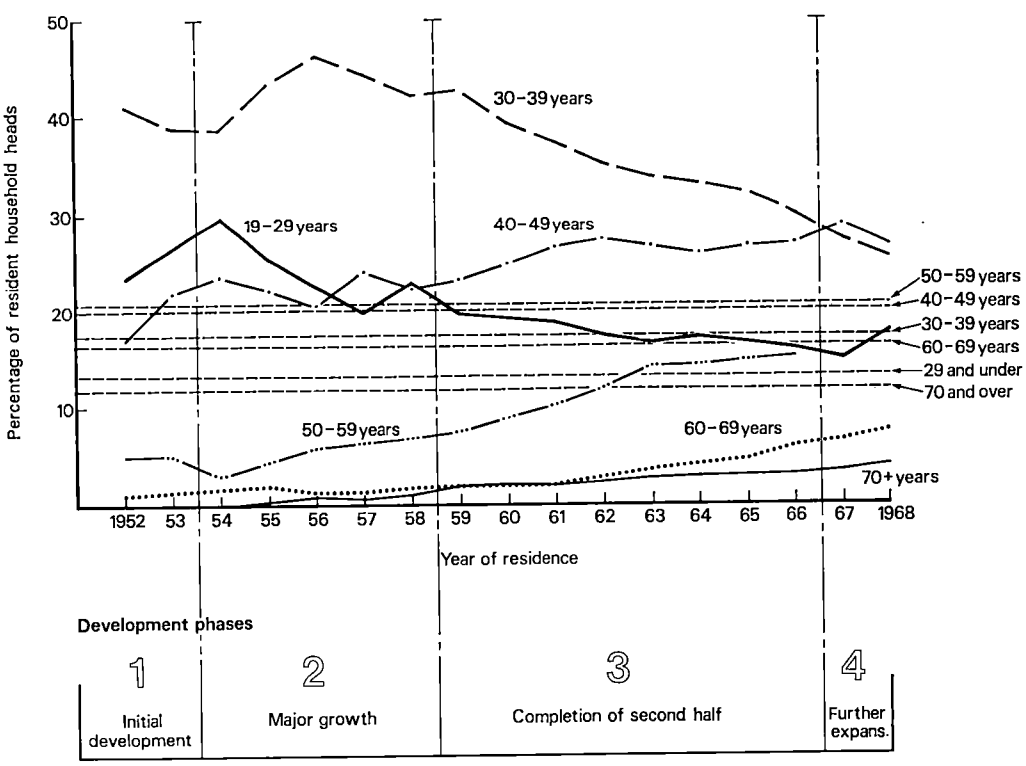


Figure 27 Age distribution of household heads holding tenancies at the end of each year. The horizontal dashed lines indicate the ages of the chief economic supporter as recorded in the 1966 Sample Census for England and Wales

of the three oldest groups had increased. Nevertheless one group, instead of converging on the national average, diverged from it; this was the 40–49 group which was at first very close to the average but subsequently rose above it. The changes that take place in any new community before it assumes a 'normal' age structure are obviously complex.

Ages of household heads in each socio-economic group

One of the immediate results of a rapid turnover rate in a given group of households is that those resident at any one time have a shorter tenancy duration and younger age characteristics than households in groups with lower turnover rates. There is thus an increasing disparity between social groups and this is illustrated in Table 58. Taking all groups together, the median age rose by 1 or 2 every 3 years, the fact that it rose less than 3 each time reflecting the influence of new intakes and tenancy turnover; altogether it rose by 7 over a period of 12 years, an approximate 'ageing' of 7 months per annum. Median age in most of the social groups rose similarly (although the additional proportion of unskilled persons housed in the last few years reduced their median age considerably in what was numerically a small group). However, in contrast to the general 'ageing' of most social groups, was the lack of change, especially in the 1960s, among the two high-mobility groups, professional and semi-professional employees; their median age persisted in the 30s while those of other groups were moving into the 40s and 50s. This indicates an increasing age gap between the social groups living in rented houses; most were coming to resemble more closely a cross-section of the population in terms of age and household structure, yet professional and semi-professional households remained a more limited section, restricted to comparatively youthful household types. Some part of this was due to the construction of flats which tended to contain households in early stages of their life-cycles; but the same trend was apparent among those placed in houses. It suggests that simple tests of the 'social balance' of a population by comparing the proportions of social groups present with some national figure (a yardstick by which new towns have been judged frequently in published studies), are inadequate since there may be other factors causing greater than normal dissimilarity between groups.

Inter-neighbourhood differences in ages of household heads

A further feature of age structure was variation between sub-divisions of the designated area. Bracknell, like most new towns, is divided into a number of neighbourhoods (shown in Figure 3). The concept of the neighbourhood unit to promote 'neighbourly feeling' or a sense of 'community identity' among its inhabitants fell into disfavour some years ago when it was realised that such areas are far larger than those which people identify as their home locality. Yet the neighbourhood has persisted as a useful planning unit, in particular for relating housing to local services such as shops and schools. Merlin's survey[95] of the new towns of Scandinavia, the Netherlands, France, Poland and Hungary as well as America and England, found that the idea of the neighbourhood unit, in various forms, is incorporated in the plans of almost all new towns (Cumbernauld in Scotland is one of the few exceptions), though some planners have used other terms such as 'village' in their 'search for a living community'.

Neighbourhood units were to be 'balanced', a recommendation put forward by the Reith Committee; each should contain residents in a range of groups so that there should be no inter-neighbourhood segregation. Early experiments at a close intermingling of dwellings of all types had been abandoned, and it was accepted that dwellings for the various social classes would need to be placed in 'clusters' within each neighbourhood.

Bracknell Development Corporation worked towards this end in its construction programme. Apart from the later influence of the policy to encourage owner-occupation, the neighbourhoods were generally similar in the distribution of house types provided. However, a factor responsible for introducing differences between areas was the sequence of construction; the neighbourhoods were built more or less one after the other, this being useful for orderly and economic progress. Table 59 shows the effect of this sequence on the age structure of resident householders in each neighbourhood. Those resident in the first neighbourhood (Priestwood 1) had a median age of 36, thereafter ageing at the rate of 1 year per calender year, apart from those years in which tenancy changes held the median constant. In Priestwood 2, completed 2 years later, and Easthampstead, completed 3 years later, median ages of resident heads were also 36; but in Bullbrook, completed 1 year later, it was only 35 and in Harmans Water, completed 3 years later, 34. The increasing concentration of younger incoming migrants tended to make the population of each newly completed neighbourhood younger than that in preceding neighbourhoods; this widened the gap that would have existed anyway owing to longer tenancy duration in earlier areas. The figures for extension area neighbourhoods suggest that their populations are likely to be even younger; the difference between median age of householders in newest and oldest neighbourhoods in the town will be substantial – more than 10 years.

Age differences between neighbourhood populations, though they may be relevant to the provision of age-related services such as schools, do not touch directly on new town ideals whereas social differences do. As the next section shows, variation in socio-economic composition also arose from the history of construction in the town, and was accentuated by the effects of the inflationary era in which the new towns have been built.

The socio-economic structure of the population

Beginning with the social character of all households holding Development Corporation tenancies, regardless of neighbourhood divisions, Figure 28 shows the overall changes in the population. Using the original tenant's occupation as an index of each household's social grouping (the only measure available), the proportions of resident households in each of the main groups are shown, with the 1966 Census figures to provide a general guide to the regional distribution.

As would be expected from the nature of the early intake, the new town began with a predominantly manually occupied population; proportions of skilled and semi-skilled workers were well above the regional average, and the proportion of foremen temporarily so. Unskilled workers were an exception in that they were always under-represented among residents. The changing nature of the intake, however, caused the proportion of manual workers to decline fairly steadily; from

Table 58 Median ages (in years) of household heads in each of the principal socio-economic groups

	Resident as tenants at the end of: 1956	1959	1962	1965	1968
Professional employees	33	34	34	32·5	33
Intermediate non-manual	32	34	36	36	36
Junior non-manual	31	33	35	38	40
Foremen	47	42	46	49	50
Skilled manual	35	35	37	39	41
Semi-skilled manual	34	36	39	40	41
Unskilled manual	37	41	44	46	42
All heads employed when tenancy began	34	36	38	39	40
All heads, including retired persons	35	37	38	40	42

Table 59 Median ages (in years) of household heads resident as tenants at the end of the year in each neighbourhood

	Neighbourhood						
Year	Priestwood 1	Priestwood 2	East-hampstead	Bullbrook	Harmans Water	Wildridings	Great Hollands
1952	(34)						
1953	(34)						
1954	34						
1955	34	(34)					
1956	36	34					
1957	37	35	(35)				
1958	38	36	(34)	(32)			
1959	39	37	35	(33)			
1960	40	38	35	(33)			
1961	41	39	36	34	(38)		
1962	42	40	37	35	(36)		
1963	43	40·5	39	36	(32)		
1964	43	41	39	37	33		
1965	44	41	40	38	34		
1966	44	42	40	39	35		
1967	45	43	42	40	36	(35·5)	(29)
1968	46	44	43	41	37	(32)	(30)

Figures in parentheses refer to years before four-fifths of development in the neighbourhood was complete and tenanted. Figures below the horizontal lines refer to years in which development was virtually complete, apart from some later infilling.

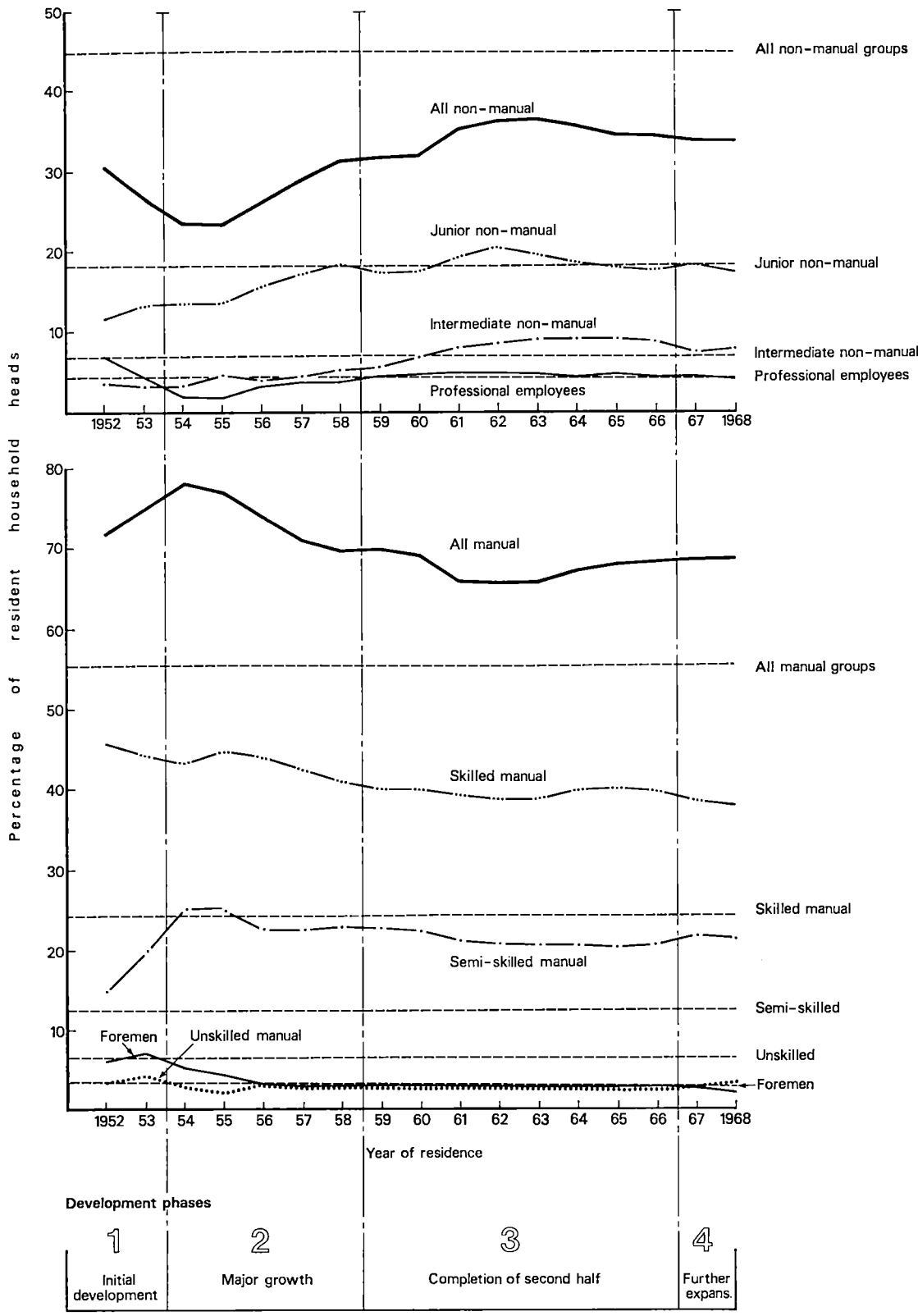


Figure 28 Socio-economic distribution of household heads holding tenancies at the end of each year. The horizontal dashed lines indicate the socio-economic group of chief economic supporters in the South-East region as recorded in the 1966 Sample Census. The proportions used exclude households in the retired persons, Armed Forces and no information category. Similarly the census figures used exclude households in the Forces or whose grouping was unknown

1955 to 1963 it fell by 13%, an average of 1·6% per annum. (The change, of course, was slower than that among incoming tenants owing to the greater number of residents involved.) After 1963, following completion of the major offices, when the intake returned to a more balanced division between manual and non-manual groups and the high termination rates of non-manual workers depleted their numbers rapidly, the manual content of the resident population began to increase again slowly at 0·6% per annum.

The other side of the coin shows the increase in white-collar workers among residents from 1955 to 1963, with a decline thereafter. Proportions of junior non-manual and professional workers, at first well below the regional average, rose towards it, and those of intermediate non-manual workers were slightly above the regional figure for some years. Employers and managers in establishments both large and small are not shown on the graph since their proportions among residents were very low (generally less than 3%), and consistently below the regional figures (6 and 8% respectively).

One can use this comparison between residents and the regional 'profile' as a test of 'social balance'. This test has been commonly used in other work and, though this study suggests that it is an inadequate measure on its own, it is interesting to see what conclusions would be drawn from the comparison. The town's new population began with a heavy bias towards manual workers in skilled and semi-skilled trades. However, the altered intake over the next few years caused a change generally in the direction of a better balance, in that the over-representation of skilled and semi-skilled workers decreased, while some white-collar groups became better represented. In 1963 the new population was as near to a state of social balance as it would ever be during the period studied; yet there was still a marked excess of skilled and semi-skilled groups and a deficit of some groups, in particular unskilled workers, employers and managers.

After 1963 the direction of growth changed; the population began to diverge further from the regional situation and the degree of imbalance increased. The intake at this time was fairly evenly divided; manual workers accounted for about 54% and non-manual workers for 46% of employed persons beginning tenancies. If all these new tenants had stayed, residents in manual work would have declined from the 64% level of 1963 to 60% by 1968, continuing the previous trend and moving closer to the regional average. The fact that it did not was due to the higher mobility of non-manual groups which caused the population remaining to become more biased towards manual workers. One can summarise the reversal in this way; inward migration was the principal influence on the new town's population up to 1963, accounting for its original content and the subsequent trend towards a better social balance; after 1963, however, outward migration became the principal influence, causing the previous trend to be reversed and the town's tenant population to become progressively less balanced.

These general conclusions concern the population of tenants in the new town as a whole. When the analysis is repeated for individual neighbourhoods the conclusions can be amplified further.

Socio-economic differences between the neighbourhoods

Two trends were observed in socio-economic data for neighbourhoods. First, when the neighbourhoods were arranged in chronological order of construction, each newly completed neighbourhood contained a population with a higher proportion of non-manual workers than in preceding neighbourhoods. In the two earliest neighbourhoods, more than 70% of tenants were in manual occupations; in Easthampstead, completed 3 years later, just under 60%; in Bullbrook, the following year, just over 50%; in Harmans Water, 3 years later, only 47%. In the extension area neighbourhoods it seemed that, when complete, their social composition in rented housing would be similar to that of later neighbourhoods in the original area; certainly there were no signs of a return to the predominantly manual neighbourhoods of the early years.

The principal factor responsible was change in inward migration; the earliest areas were populated when new tenants were mainly manual workers for the first industries, later areas when more white-collar workers were arriving with different types of firms and offices. A further factor accentuated the differences; this was the rent differential between newly completed houses and earlier dwellings, arising from the inflation of building costs. The Development Corporation pointed out that this enabled it to house a wide range of income groups and accommodate the lower paid in earlier houses (see page 11). Analysis showed one marked difference between tenants moving into neighbourhoods in the course of construction and earlier neighbourhoods (principally re-let property); the latter included considerably higher proportions of unskilled workers; the unskilled had always taken advantage of the lowest rents available. The existence of cheaper property may make all the difference in enabling low-paid workers to become tenants, yet, since the lower rents lay within older neighbourhoods, this had the consequence of perpetuating social differences between areas.

The second trend observed concerned change in each neighbourhood following its completion; the proportion of manual workers increased and that of non-manual workers declined. Figure 29 plots the figures and the two apparent exceptions in fact endorse the general trend. In Priestwood 1 where the opposite tendency was observed in 1962 this coincided with the construction and letting of two additional blocks of flats, both monthly rented; once these were let, the general trend reasserted itself. Also in Easthampstead the letting during 1964 and 1965 of a large number of new monthly rented flats, mainly in the large point block, held the figures at a more or less constant level.

Table 60 shows that the proportions tended to change by 1 or 2% per annum though the rate was lower in the two neighbourhoods just mentioned, owing to new lettings. The range of difference between oldest and newest neighbourhoods was not affected. The decline in non-manual groups represented a decline in all groups from managers to clerical staff; the increase in manual groups represented an increase in all groups from foremen to the unskilled.

People in non-manual work were being replaced by those in manual work in dwellings that were re-let. There was more than one way in which such a change could take place. Transfers between neighbourhoods were examined but no consistent pattern appeared and these internal movements could not explain the change. The explanation lay, however, in the differential characteristics of households terminating their tenancies; most were in non-manual work and, although they were replaced by tenants who included more non-manual workers than did residents as a whole, yet the proportion was lower than among those who had left; white-collar workers leaving the town were not entirely replaced.

The change can be termed a 'withdrawal' or 'succession' in the sense used by the human ecologists investigating the spatial structure of cities. Succession is generally represented as the final stage of change in an area's character, frequently begun through invasion by a new group. While invasion represents

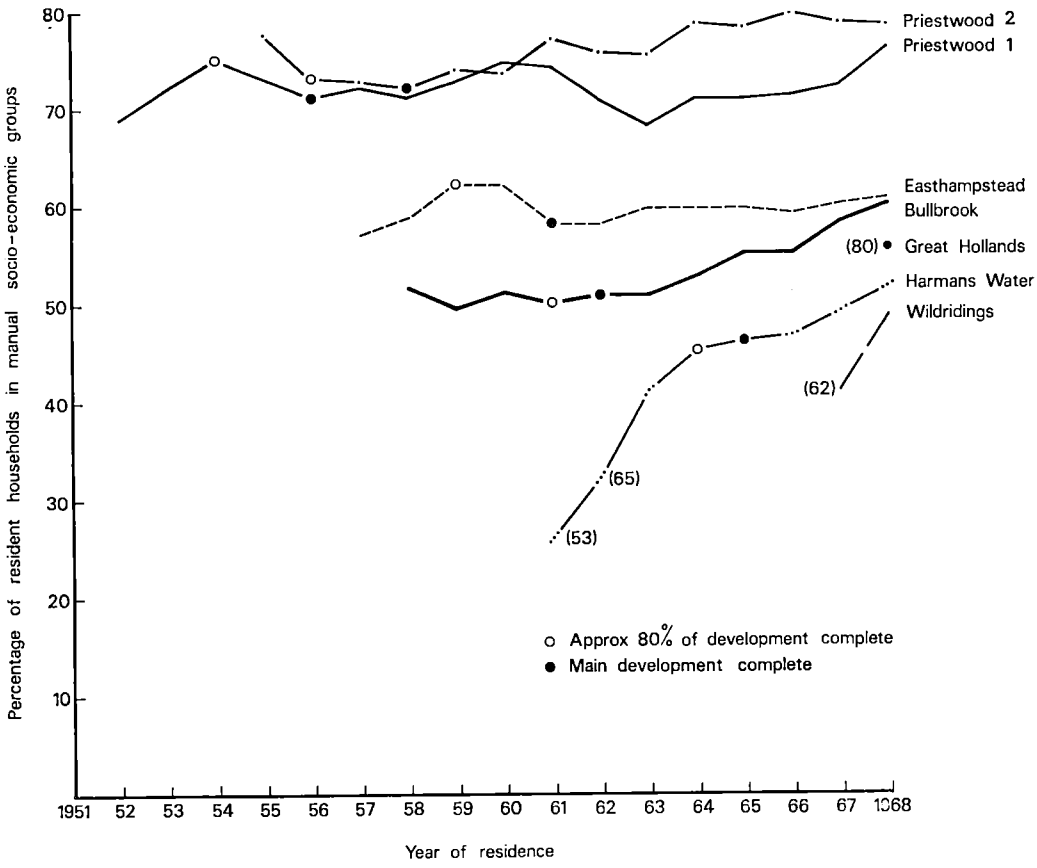


Figure 29 Proportion of households resident in each neighbourhood at the end of the year who were in manual socio-economic groups. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number in the sample where it was less than 100

Table 60 Socio-economic structure of households holding tenancies in each neighbourhood at its completion and in 1968

Neighbourhood and year of completion		Proportion of households resident at the end of the year: At completion % (*n*)	In 1968 % (*n*)	Change	Mean annual change
Manual socio-economic groups					
Priestwood 1	1956	71·3 (521)	76·4 (325)	+5·1	+0·4
Priestwood 2	1958	72·5 (297)	79·0 (196)	+6·5	+0·7
Easthampstead	1961	58·7 (346)	60·6 (300)	+1·9	+0·3
Bullbrook	1962	51·3 (311)	60·5 (231)	+9·2	+1·5
Harmans Water	1965	46·6 (190)	52·3 (203)	+5·7	+1·9
Non-manual socio-economic groups					
Priestwood 1		26·6	21·9	-4·7	-0·4
Priestwood 2		24·6	16·3	-8·3	-0·8
Easthampstead		38·1	36·0	-2·1	-0·3
Bullbrook		39·5	28·8	-10·7	-1·8
Harmans Water		41·6	37·7	-3·9	-1·3

a movement of groups through space, succession is regarded as a movement through time within the same space. Change in the new town's neighbourhood was of this type; it resulted from a withdrawal of groups already in the minority. Change was in the direction of greater uniformity, rented housing in the new town neighbourhoods becoming less 'balanced' and approaching the concentration of manually employed households more typical of council estates.

It seemed possible that the white-collar workers apparently 'lost' to each neighbourhood could be accounted for by those becoming owner-occupiers, thus remaining within the neighbourhood although no longer tenants. The movement into local owner-occupation, however, was insufficient to explain more than a small part of the withdrawal; most of it consisted of removal from the town altogether. The inter-neighbourhood differences are confirmed also by the 1966 Sample Census figures which, though based on a smaller sample than this study, are useful in that they cover households in all tenures. Unfortunately the enumeration districts do not coincide with neighbourhood boundaries, but a general grouping into districts in early and late areas of development shows that differences in socio-economic structure are still marked when based on the population as a whole.

There is no need to enquire into the reasons for this withdrawal of non-manual groups from the neighbourhoods; their higher termination rates both for housing and for job reasons have been described already. It seems that rented housing is unlikely to provide more than a temporary stopping-point for many persons in non-manual occupations, particularly the numerous young adults in professional and semi-professional occupations who were recruited by new town firms. Although higher-standard, monthly rented houses and flats had been provided for those with higher incomes, such accommodation did not succeed in holding households in non-manual occupations; these households had withdrawn from accommodation of all types and standards, from houses which were weekly or monthly rented as from flats of both standards. The same trend had occurred within each dwelling type in each neighbourhood.

The withdrawal of non-manual social groups would not have been so apparent if the neighbourhood sub-division had been ignored. Identification of the trend within completed neighbourhoods gives an early indication of what is likely to occur in rented housing in the town as a whole, once finished (and in the absence of major change in the housing and economic situation). The trend could have been overlooked for it is the opposite of that observed in the town as a whole up to 1963. Each neighbourhood, though generally more white-collar in composition than its predecessors, once completed was cut off from the immediate influence of new tenants and the opposite tendency then set in: the withdrawal of white-collar groups from rented housing. The findings suggest that the same trend is likely to occur in rented houses in the new neighbourhoods, though it seems that there is less probability of it occurring in owner-occupied housing. It is possible that neighbourhoods with more owner-occupied housing may have a more stable character.

Geographical origin of the resident population

Finally, this chapter turns to another variable closely associated with the new town's purpose: geographical origin. Since one of the original objectives of the town was to provide for London overspill and the town had drawn a higher proportion of tenants from Greater London during earlier years than later ones, the question remains: what proportion of new town housing was used to accommodate Londoners? Table 61 shows that the proportion of Corporation houses occupied by tenants from London declined steadily, falling by 1–1½% per annum, from 86% in 1954 to 67% in 1968. The decline was due first to the early extension of the migration field; the attraction of migrants from outside London and Bracknell's locality to work in expanding firms caused the proportion of new town houses occupied by households from distant areas to rise nearly fourfold, from 4% in 1954 to 15% in 1962.

The decline in Londoners then continued while there was an increase in tenancies held by people from the local area; these nearly trebled, from 7% in 1958 to 20% in 1968. Differences between neighbourhoods in terms of tenants' origin were similar to those of socio-economic group (Table 62). The later the date of completion of a neighbourhood, the

Table 61 Geographical origin of resident households holding tenancies (%)

	Households resident at the end of the year:				
Geographical origin	1954	1958	1962	1966	1968
Greater London	86·3	80·5	75·3	70·4	67·4
Local areas	9·8	7·3	9·3	15·0	19·6
Distant areas	3·9	12·2	15·4	14·6	13·0
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0
(*n*)	(505)	(1142)	(1329)	(1249)	(1473)

	Mean annual change during:			
	1954–1958	1958–1962	1962–1966	1966–1968
Greater London	−1·5	−1·3	−1·2	−1·5
Local areas	−0·6	+0·5	+1·4	+2·3
Distant areas	+2·1	+0·8	−0·2	−0·8

Table 62 Geographical origin of households holding tenancies in each neighbourhood at its completion and in 1968 (%)

Neighbourhood and year of completion		Proportion of households resident at the end of the year who had moved from the following areas:								
		At completion:			In 1968:			Mean annual change		
		Greater London	Local areas	Distant areas	Greater London	Local areas	Distant areas	Greater London	Local areas	Distant areas
Priestwood 1	1956	82·4	11·5	6·1	76·3	16·0	7·7	−0·5	+0·4	+0·1
Priestwood 2	1958	81·7	6·7	11·6	69·1	22·0	8·9	−1·3	+1·5	−0·2
Easthampstead	1961	78·7	7·4	13·9	66·7	20·5	12·8	−1·7	+1·9	−0·2
Bullbrook	1962	68·8	7·8	23·4	60·4	23·1	16·5	−1·4	+2·6	−1·2
Harmans Water	1965	64·2	11·9	23·9	65·4	15·1	19·5	+0·4	+1·1	−1·5

lower the proportion of its rented dwellings occupied by Londoners. However, change in each neighbourhood after its completion was not entirely explained by the withdrawal of the non-manual groups; these groups were associated with distant origins and their withdrawal was reflected in the falling numbers of tenancies held by people from distant areas. But completed neighbourhoods also experienced a loss of Londoners, the proportion falling generally by 1–2% per annum, and a corresponding increase in local households. This was because Londoners tended to have higher termination rates than did people from the locality. The trend was found within most social groups (see page 88); in general, the further the distance a migrant had moved, the greater the likelihood that he would move again. Thus households with local ties were more likely to retain their tenancies and, by a slow process of change, progressively more of the town's housing was being occupied by people from the local area.

This analysis of the three variables of householders' ages, social grouping and geographical origin has shown the wide differences that separated the town's neighbourhoods (such differences are known to exist in other new towns); and, taking the town as a whole, it has traced how the population developed. Some growth was in a direction that tended towards 'normal' population (the changes in age structure), or towards the town's social purpose (changes in social grouping up to 1963); and some growth diverged from its objectives (the reduction in housing occupied by Londoners and later changes in social grouping). In each case, inward migration was the dominant influence in the first decade or so after the tenant intake began, while outward migration was the principal influence in later years. The withdrawal of non-manual workers from completed neighbourhoods increased the concentration of manual workers; and similarly the higher termination rates of people from distant areas and, to a lesser extent, from Greater London led to increasing proportions of houses being occupied by people from the local area. Change at the rate of 1 or 2% per annum in a population numbering several thousand residents represents a substantial trend. The existence of these trends in completed neighbourhoods suggests the direction in which the tenant population of the town as a whole can be expected to change once the town plan has been completed, unless there are major alterations in the housing or economic situation.

Chapter 12 An assessment of changes in growth, 1951-1972

The previous chapters have shown the process by which the new town at Bracknell developed, particularly the part played by migration and population turnover in influencing the nature of the growing settlement. The work shows that it would be misleading to view the construction of towns as a smooth progression towards a fixed and final state. The town received varying types of population and employment over the years, causing differences in the nature of the town and the townspeople at each stage. Even when building ceased, change continued; completed neighbourhoods, for example, were affected by the turnover of tenants.

Change in response to social and economic pressures has been, and will continue to be, a feature of new towns. In this respect they are no different from old towns or any settlement in Britain. The comparisons cited in the earlier chapters show that the main trends traced at Bracknell were found in all new towns of the London region. Taking the overall pattern of change as one common to the London new towns, this discussion turns to two points not dealt with specifically in the earlier chapters; first, what were the principal factors that affected growth; and secondly, how can one assess the changes that took place?

Factors affecting new town growth

The study has shown that the London new towns were not able to stand apart from national trends. Five factors have been identified as principal influences. The first was the migration of the growth industries developing in the South-East region after the war; their arrival on new town sites and subsequent expansion took over a large part of new town housing and yet still out-ran housing provision. Secondly, population growth in the South-East region outside London, with household formation taking place at younger ages than previously, caused acute pressure on housing throughout the region, increasing the demand for new town houses and affecting the characteristics of incoming migrants. Thirdly, the new towns were affected by changes in the regional housing situation; the shrinking supply of privately rented accommodation which young households have tended to use in early stages of the life-cycle made many such households turn to public rented housing; at the same time improving housing conditions in Greater London among the groups best qualified for new town jobs reduced the willingness of these people to leave London, though the problems of groups with most acute housing need remained largely unsolved. Fourthly, the altered climate of opinion about owner-occupied housing in the 1960s brought major changes; the new expectations and financial attractiveness of house purchase caused increased migration out of new towns and some major alterations in policy – sales of new town houses to sitting tenants and of new town sites to private developers. The 'colonisation' of new town hinterlands was aided by a fifth factor, the increased daily mobility of the population due to car ownership and road building which extended hinterlands and intensified the complex pattern of cross-journeys to and from other districts.

These factors were important influences upon the developing new towns. Each analysis in the preceding chapters has shown the effects of national or regional trends; even in the case of one of the basic premises of development – that the new towns should draw their population principally from London, with direct control over the geographical origin of tenants through the nomination system – the rules were gradually weakened by employment pressures. Employment, in fact, appears as the strongest of the five factors, although it was housing which provided the principal motive for migrants to enter and leave the town. Many studies of migration and urban change have shown employment as a predetermining factor, holding long-term consequences for population distribution and housing provision. The influence of employment was accentuated in the new towns by the right given to firms to nominate tenants for most of the housing. Yet employment was not entirely uncontrolled; central government and the Development Corporations were able to select, from firms applying for sites, most of the major new employers entering the towns. To have followed a different course would have required different criteria for industrial selection, assuming that sufficient industry was available for a different selection to be possible. Choice of industry for new town sites clearly involves decisions of overwhelming importance because of the many consequences that follow over an extended period of time.

Obviously planning policy should be sufficiently flexible to adapt to changing circumstances, yet without losing sight of its original direction and purpose. Plans set up to guide action over a period of 15–20 years are likely to encounter trends totally unforeseen at the start of that time. The factors outlined above were not generally foreseen when the London new towns were first established; for those who think these trends could have been predicted, it would be a salutary experience to predict now what will be the equivalent trends affecting towns during the 1990s.

New town objectives

At the beginning of this report the original objectives of the London new towns were divided into regional and social purposes. There can be little doubt that the regional purpose, the movement of people and jobs from London, came closest to being satisfied during early growth years, when many migrants came from Greater London and a substantial proportion moved from unsatisfactory accommodation. Even then, the direct contribution to London's principal housing difficulties was not as great as originally hoped. The new towns drew few people from London's inner areas with the greatest problems and few of the groups in most acute housing need. The study suggests that there are substantial difficulties in attempting to solve the problems of such groups by moving them over long distances. Because of households which divided at the time of the move, not all the accommodation that new town tenants left was made available for other households. However, the degree of overcrowding was reduced, and the inner London areas may well have derived an indirect benefit if the centrifugal movement of population to outer areas was assisted by the departure of new town migrants.

As intended, the new towns drew their industries mainly from London. However, industrial jobs provided in new towns greatly exceeded the number moved out of the capital because most firms expanded at the time of the move and grew further after arrival in the new towns. As with the movement of households, not all the industrial premises in London were wholly vacated and in some cases local authorities had difficulty in controlling re-occupation of empty premises. The relief afforded to Greater London is less than a simple count of the number of Londoners resident in new towns or of the number of jobs in firms from London would suggest.

In later years the towns tended to diverge from their original regional purpose as the intake of Londoners and of people who had been badly housed declined. The principal factor in this change was the economic expansion taking place in the new towns. In the South-East this growth was widespread.

The second grouping of objectives, the social purposes of new towns, consisted of establishing self-contained and balanced settlements, providing improved environments in which people could both live and work. An important part of this purpose had been achieved by the late 1950s when well designed housing and industrial sites had been developed and occupied; the towns were soundly established, with the full range of commercial and educational facilities appropriate to towns of that size already built or in the course of development. Any doubts that the towns might become dormitory settlements had long since been allayed although, by that time, because jobs were beginning to out-run housing, most of the towns were tending to become work-centres.

A social balance similar to that of the region as a whole was most nearly found in Bracknell in the early 1960s if one assesses Development Corporation housing as a whole, although wide differences existed between neighbourhoods and some social groups were virtually absent. Subsequent years and the changes that set in within completed neighbourhoods brought an increasing concentration of manual workers in rented housing, although the figures do not show whether this was offset to some extent by the introduction of more owner-occupied housing in later neighbourhoods. The study suggests that it is not realistic to assess a town in terms of its social profile at a particular moment in time when population turnover may soon alter the resident population. The intention behind the concept of social balance was primarily that the new towns should not have the one-class populations generally found on council-housing estates. Few would subscribe to the extreme view that the aim was to make each new town a microcosm of society; instead, some representation of the middle-class was required. This was achieved in the London new towns within a limited range of social and age groups, although for some groups their stay in rented housing was brief. To hold such groups, a new town would need the wide range of property types and prices usually found in areas that have developed over a long period of time.

The overall answer to questions about how far the new towns had achieved their original objectives is not simple. The changing nature of growth meant that the towns were nearer at some times than at others to particular goals. A further complication is that not all the objectives were entirely compatible; there was some conflict between the housing needs of London and the labour needs of new town employers; another measure of contradiction lay in the original decision to direct employment to new towns sited in the South-East, for there were other policies requiring employment growth in the South-East to be suppressed and diverted to regions in need of growth. A third contradiction lay in the intention to build a settlement primarily for those in housing need, and yet it was to be a community including all social groups. Conflicting objectives cannot be completely satisfied, a fact which is as true of town development as it is obvious in designing a single building.

The general pattern of change

In spite of these difficulties, a general pattern does emerge from this study. In most respects, the London new towns were closest to fulfilling their original objectives during their growth in the 1950s and early 1960s. At that time planning achieved a development in the London new towns which was distinctly different from that in surrounding areas. This was true of the scale and planning of construction of complete towns with a variety of publicly owned housing, accommodating a wide (though not complete) range of social groups. It was true also of population movements; the migration of firms, together with industrial workers, over comparatively long distances for these types of workers, was different from the 'unplanned' and mainly short-distance moves taking place in the area around. When economic expansion started in the late 1950s, the difference diminished; the new towns' growth began to resemble more nearly what was happening in the rest of the region outside London. Numerous expanding firms and services settled in towns, both new and old, whose development began to follow a similar path under the influence of economic pressures.

Sometimes changes of this kind are difficult to perceive at the time, becoming obvious only with the passage of years. However, a few people foresaw what might happen in the

case of the new towns. Peter Self, for example, wrote in 1957[96]: 'Although this rate of development may not be maintained, some new towns have already become aware of the opposite danger – that their plans may be spoilt by an industrial snowball which cannot be stopped.' And Lloyd Rodwin, in his evaluation of new town policy published in 1956[97], said: 'Indeed this phase of the programme has fared so well that some persons have wondered whether the new towns should not also accommodate some of the less stable, less efficient and less prepossessing establishments.' The originator of the new town ideal, Howard, had foreseen that growth beyond that originally intended might occur and there must be a plan ready to deal with this contingency. He proposed[1] that the growth should be used to establish a further new town, separate from the first but linked to it by rapid transport, thus beginning to build up a system of 'social cities'.

In recent years many people have referred to the London new towns' successful development. The towns draw a stream of visitors from all parts of the world to see their attractive and varied housing styles and carefully planned layout of residential, industrial and shopping areas. Their success is judged also in terms of economic prosperity and industrial expansion, and it is this aspect that has meant some decrease in their overspill function as the towns have become also growth centres in a region of growth centres.

New town growth in the future

New town growth in the years ahead may take place within a different social and economic climate. New trends have become evident since the latest new towns were planned – forecasts of a lower rate of population increase, the prospect of low growth in the economy and concern over the conservation of resources and limits on energy supplies. Such factors must influence our urban pattern; an end to the era of cheap private transport, for example, will limit hinterlands and make it increasingly important that the job and housing provision of each town should be kept in balance, and that there should be good public transport systems both within and between towns.

Another change which will have a direct influence on developing new towns concerns the situation in major cities. A view which has gained increasing support in recent years is that the continuing loss of population and of industry from large cities tends not to alleviate but to aggravate their problems if the population that is left behind contains disproportionate numbers of under-privileged and minority groups. Some people have blamed new towns for this, claiming that they attract away from cities the more able sections of the population and the more prosperous industries. This study shows, however, that it would be unfair to level this charge against new towns, for they have not initiated this kind of migration. The movement of people outwards from large cities began before the new towns were designated, and the towns have provided only one outlet for a migration already under way. Their influence lay not so much in encouraging this migration as in providing sites where some of the migrants could settle. New circumstances and changed opinions about the relationships between large cities and new towns make it possible that concentrated instead of dispersed patterns of settlement may be favoured in future. Such reversals would affect the character of growing new towns and necessitate a change in their function, for most of the English new towns (16 out of 21) were described as having an overspill purpose when they were first designated.

Although new town growth in future years may take place in different circumstances, the central relationships traced in the present study will still stand. These include the dominant influence of employment, the effects on housing provision of industrial expansion, the selective character of different migration channels, the reliance of new towns upon older areas and their relationship with the region in which they are located, as well as the development phases with their features and problems, including the early phase of adjustment difficulties which occurs in all new settlements. Certain regularities of social life and of migration processes persist, modified but not totally changed by new situations. In tracing such factors over a quarter of a century of new town growth, this study has attempted to provide a basis of fact from which planners concerned with population movements and urban development may learn from the experience of the past and apply this knowledge to the policies of the future.

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Appendix Method and tests of significance

After a pilot study had shown that the tenants' records at Bracknell were suitable for this study, the main task of data extraction was carried out during 1969. Two requirements determined the form taken by the sampling. The first was that tenants who had moved into and out of new town housing in every year of development should be included; this necessitated sampling from different sources. Secondly, the sample number in any one year should not be excessively small, particularly in early years when the housing programme was beginning and tenants were correspondingly few in number. It was decided that statistics for new and terminating households in any one year should be based on not less than 100 cases each, wherever possible. The sampling fraction was varied accordingly, being highest in the early years. These considerations resulted in six separate samples being drawn.

The six samples

The first sample was based on one used by the Development Corporation in 1966 to obtain information about a cross-section of residents within the designated area. A 20% sample had been drawn from the Electoral Registers and approached through postal questionnaires. The results had been used by the Corporation for its own purposes (Bracknell Household Survey 1966, Social Development Officer, Bracknell Development Corporation, Bracknell, Berks, December 1966, duplicated typescript). The use of this information for tenant households, in conjunction with the housing records, made it possible to study changes in household composition and in employment since arrival in the town. There was an exceptionally high response rate for a postal survey – 89% among Development Corporation tenants.

All the tenants from this sample were included in this study since the records contained some information about those who had not returned postal questionnaires; thus for the main data there was no problem with non-response. This sample was called the *S sample.*

The next step was to include tenants who had terminated their tenancies before the survey date. The source used comprised monthly lists of outgoing tenants drawn up by the Housing Department and kept in much the same general form throughout the new town's history. A process of systematic sampling from these yielded a representative sample of tenants who had terminated in each month.

Three samples of terminating tenants were used. First a 100% sample of tenants who had left up to the end of 1959; the numbers leaving were small to begin with and complete coverage was needed to get a reasonable minimum number of cases; this was the *T1 sample.* Secondly, a 50% sample of those who left in 1960–1965; the numbers were high enough to take every alternate tenant and achieve 100 cases each year; this was the *T2 sample.* Thirdly, a 20% sample of tenants (every fifth name) who left between the start of 1966 and the survey date in May 1969; this was the *T3 sample.* The S sample would provide a sample of those terminating during the rest of 1966 and, since the sampling fraction for these was 20%, it was desirable that the T3 sample also should be based on this fraction so that all terminating that year would have the same weighting factor.

The use of a 20% sampling fraction for those terminating in 1966 (and the 2 subsequent years) seemed certain to produce less than 100 cases in each of the 3 years, since total terminations were between 300 and 500 per annum. This was accepted as it was felt that should greater precision be required at a later stage on specific points, this could be achieved by using a supplementary sample for terminations in these 3 years alone. However, this was not necessary.

The third logical step to complete the coverage was to sample tenants who had begun tenancies after the survey date. This (the post-survey or *PS sample*) was taken from the Housing Department's monthly lists of new lettings. A sampling fraction of 20% was used so that those who began tenancies in the latter part of 1966 (the PS sample) should have the same weight as those (in the S sample) who began tenancies in the earlier months of that year. This seemed likely to yield less than 100 cases of new tenants in 1966 itself, but well over 100 cases in the next 2 years. Sampling began with tenants who arrived a week after the survey questionnaires were posted. There was thus no break in coverage between the survey sample, tenants who left before that date and those who arrived after it.

The sixth and final sample was drawn later to complete 100% coverage of the small numbers of tenants housed between 1951 and 1953. This was done when the records of tenants already in the S and T samples had been traced so that they could be identified on the monthly lists of new lettings in 1951–1953. All new tenants in these years who were not already in the samples were then included in this sixth sample (the early tenant or *ET sample*).

The total sample

The six samples yielded altogether 3043 cases. Tables 63 and 64 show the distribution of new and terminating tenants each year. In most years the desired minimum of 100 cases has been achieved, the principal shortage occurring among terminating tenants in the last 3 years. This was accepted since one of the advantages of research into documentary material is that it is possible to supplement the data later if necessary. The smaller numbers in the early years of growth are, of course, an inevitable result of the start of development. The final columns of the tables express the number of cases sampled each year as a percentage of the estimated total. The proportion sampled was highest in the early years and declined later.

The overall sampling proportions can be summarised thus: of the 9916 tenants housed in dwellings built by the Development Corporation between 1951 and 1968, 3043 were in the six samples, ie 30·7%. Of the tenants housed, 3461 had terminated their tenancies by the end of April 1969 and 1600 of these were in the six samples, ie 46·2%. These sampling proportions are high but were needed to obtain the essential minimum of cases in each year of the town's development. A very small number of tenancies in 'tied' houses which the Corporation leased to organisations were excluded from the samples (before the above figures were computed) because the records contained little or no information about the sub-tenants placed in the houses or the dates of their tenancies.

Table 63 Numbers of development corporation tenants in the six samples, analysed by year in which tenancy began

Tenancy began	Sample S	T1	T2	T3	PS	ET	Total (*n*)	Estimated total tenancies (*N*)	$\frac{n}{N}$(%)
1951	1	10	—	—	—	11	22	22	100·0
1952	19	33	10	—	—	99	161	171	94·2
1953	18	27	6	—	—	89	140	146	95·9
1954	75	92	41	—	—	—	208	549	37·9
1955	55	86	47	—	—	—	188	455	41·3
1956	63	88	73	2	—	—	226	559	40·4
1957	75	59	75	3	—	—	212	599	35·4
1958	122	48	134	2	—	—	306	936	32·7
1959	79	14	104	—	—	—	197	617	31·9
1960	74	—	77	1	—	—	152	529	28·7
1961	104	—	113	2	—	—	219	756	29·0
1962	50	—	41	3	—	—	94	347	27·1
1963	74	—	55	1	—	—	130	485	26·8
1964	140	—	53	6	—	—	199	836	23·8
1965	104	—	12	3	—	—	119	559	21·3
1966	29	—	—	—	49	—	78	390	20·0
1967	—	—	—	—	170	—	170	850	20·0
1968	—	—	—	—	222	—	222	1110	20·0
Total	1082	457	841	23	441	199	3043	9916	30·7

The extraction process

The information required about these tenants was traced through the various card indexes and files kept by the Housing Department. These were kept in a clear and systematic form and – very important to this study – the Housing Department had had the foresight to retain certain basic data about tenants who had left the town, even those who had terminated in early years. (Some new town authorities had destroyed early papers relating to past tenants, but Bracknell had solved the space problem by retaining from each tenant's file only a few papers of enduring interest to a housing authority, or a sociologist, such as forms relating to application, transfers and termination. These were stapled together and kept compactly in box files, a system one would like to see other new towns adopt.)

The information was entered on an extraction sheet for each tenant (see Figure 30). There were few cases of cards or forms which could not be traced. Files were frequently out of the filing cabinets for action, but it was always possible to obtain them at a later visit. The greater part of the 'no information' coding in the subsequent analysis was due not to tenants whose papers were missed, but to the different procedure followed in earlier years when certain information was not recorded.

A possible source of error in work of this kind is inaccurate copying of data. Several checks were incorporated in the process to minimise this, and accurate transcription was emphasised. A check on key facts such as occupation, nomination, year of birth, etc, was made when the files were consulted, the extraction sheet providing spaces to be ticked as each check was made that the file information corresponded with that already obtained from a card index. Several other facts such as dates of tenancies, neighbourhood, house type, etc, were checked when a property index was consulted.

During coding, groups of related items were coded together, using templets to ensure the use of the correct columns, and cross-checking on certain key codings such as occupation, ages and tenancy dates. Each item was coded finally by one person alone, ruling out the possibility of individual differences in interpretation when dealing with subjects such as reasons for termination, suitability of housing, etc.

Table 64 Numbers of development corporation tenants in the six samples, analysed by year of tenancy termination

Tenancy terminated	Sample						Total (n)	Estimated total terminated tenancies (N)	$\frac{n}{N}$ (%)
	S	T1	T2	T3	PS	ET			
1952	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	100·0
1953	—	7	—	—	—	—	7	7	100·0
1954	—	19	—	—	—	—	19	19	100·0
1955	—	43	—	—	—	—	43	43	100·0
1956	—	56	1	—	—	—	57	58	98·3
1957	—	77	2	—	—	1	80	82	97·6
1958	—	114	1	—	—	—	115	116	99·1
1959	—	140	1	—	—	—	141	142	99·3
1960	—	—	110	—	—	5	115	225	51·1
1961	—	—	108	—	—	3	111	219	50·7
1962	—	—	104	—	—	6	110	214	51·4
1963	—	—	136	—	—	2	138	274	50·4
1964	—	—	175	—	—	5	180	355	50·7
1965	—	—	203	—	—	2	205	408	50·2
1966	53	—	—	23	—	3	79	343	23·0
1967	70	—	—	—	10	5	85	405	21·0
1968	60	—	—	—	21	5	86	410	21·0
(Jan–Apr 1969)	(13)	—	—	—	(15)	—	(28)	(140)	(20·0)
All terminated tenants	196	457	841	23	46	37	1600	3461	46·2
Tenants still present at end of April 1969	886	—	—	—	395	162	1443		
Total	1082	457	841	23	441	199	3043		

Tests of significance

The calculation of standard errors and tests of significance from these data is not a straightforward task because the data are derived from a highly stratified sample with a variable sampling fraction. It would be a lengthy process to define the exact confidence levels of each section of the data precisely. The problem was dealt with by identifying the types of statements on which reliance is placed and using a method for assessing the relevant standard errors which is simple and tends to over-estimate the possible degree of error involved. This is a 'fail-safe' device: differences which are statistically significant at this level are more likely to be significant. It is possible that some differences which a more rigorous test might find significant have been rejected, but no major points in the argument rest on such marginal differences.

Stratification by a factor related to the subject of the survey nearly always results in a gain in precision; the standard error of a stratified random sample is less than that of a simple random sample. In this study, the gain in precision due to stratification has been ignored, resulting in the definition of confidence limits somewhat wider than necessary. A finite population correction $\sqrt{[(N-n)/(N-1)]}$ was used since the samples are very large relative to the population.

The statements to be supported are of three types. First, differences between sub-groups of the sample, particularly socio-economic groups; and secondly, differences between the proportions observed in the sample and in a national or regional average – as in the analysis of migration differentials. These were dealt with by tests of the standard error of differences between proportions. To give some idea of the limits involved, Table 65 lists the standard errors of various observed proportions for the samples of tenants first housed in, and terminating in, each year of development, and Table 66 lists the standard errors of similar proportions for the socio-economic groups.

The third type of statement needing statistical backing was that of change in a variable over time, for example the proportion of manual workers among incoming tenants each year. Frequently, the differences between one year and the next do not satisfy tests of significance, yet the trend over a period of years is clearly significant. This was tested in several

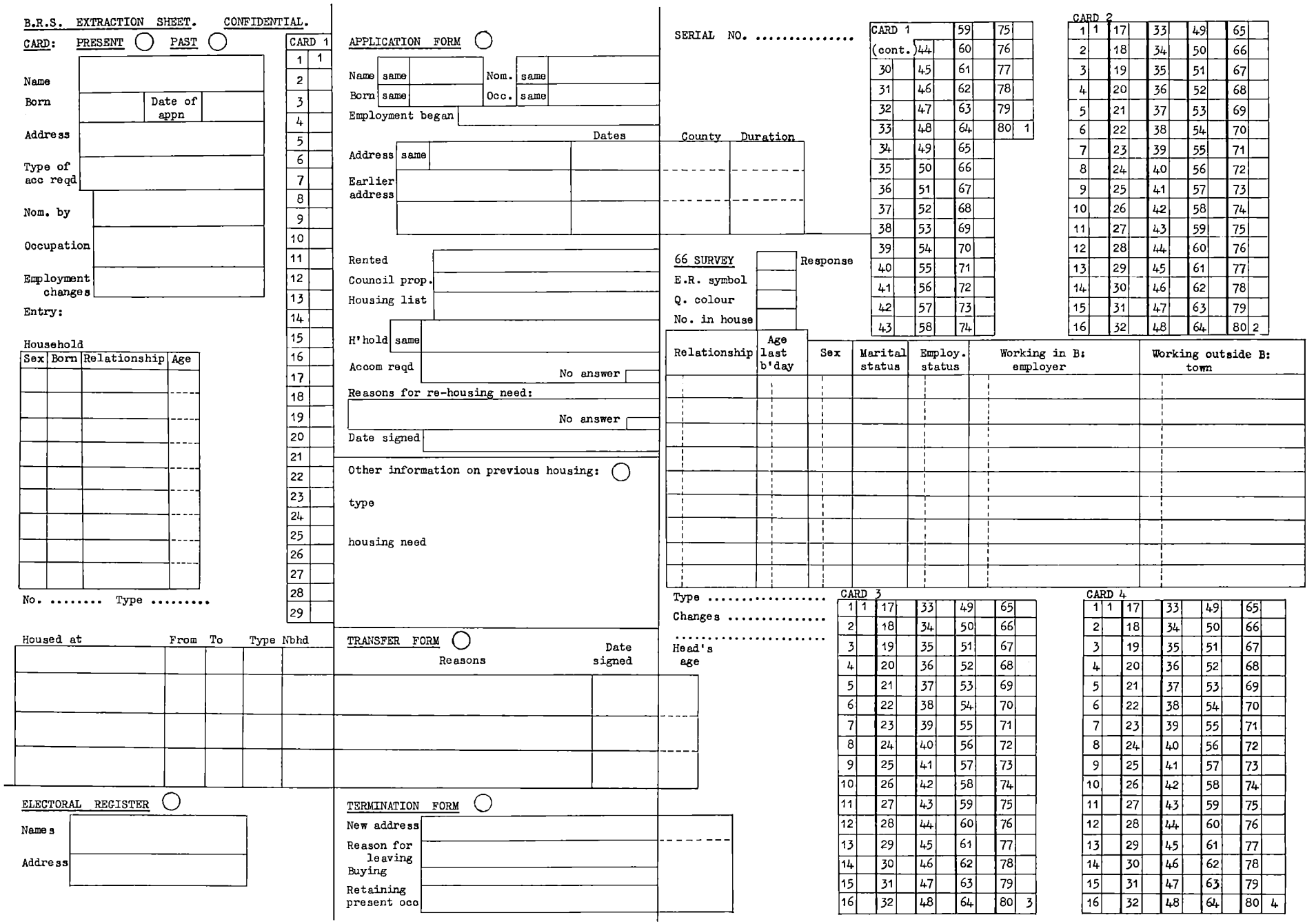

Figure 30 Extraction sheet (reduced in size)

Table 65 Standard errors of various observed proportions among tenants beginning or ending tenancies in each year (*n* and *N* are given in Tables 63 and 64)

Year in which tenants first housed	Observed proportions: 10 or 90%	20 or 80%	30 or 70%	40 or 60%	50%	Year in which tenants terminated	Observed proportions: 10 or 90%	20 or 80%	30 or 70%	40 or 60%	50%
1951	–	–	–	–	–						
1952	–	–	–	–	–	1952	–	–	–	–	–
1953	–	–	–	–	–	1953	–	–	–	–	–
1954	1·6	2·2	2·5	2·7	2·7	1954	–	–	–	–	–
1955	1·7	2·2	2·6	2·7	2·8	1955	–	–	–	–	–
1956	1·5	2·1	2·4	2·5	2·6	1956	–	–	–	–	–
1957	1·7	2·2	2·5	2·7	2·8	1957	–	–	–	–	–
1958	1·4	1·9	2·2	2·3	2·4	1958	–	–	–	–	–
1959	1·8	2·4	2·7	2·9	2·9	1959	–	–	–	–	–
1960	2·1	2·7	3·1	3·4	3·4	1960	2·0	2·6	3·0	3·2	3·3
1961	1·7	2·3	2·6	2·8	2·9	1961	2·0	2·7	3·1	3·3	3·3
1962	2·6	3·5	4·0	4·3	4·4	1962	2·0	2·7	3·1	3·3	3·3
1963	2·3	3·0	3·4	3·7	3·8	1963	1·8	2·4	2·8	2·9	3·0
1964	1·9	2·5	2·8	3·0	3·1	1964	1·6	2·1	2·4	2·6	2·6
1965	2·4	3·3	3·7	4·0	4·1	1965	1·5	2·0	2·3	2·4	2·5
1966	3·0	4·1	4·7	5·0	5·1	1966	3·0	4·0	4·5	4·8	4·9
1967	2·1	2·7	3·1	3·4	3·4	1967	2·9	3·9	4·4	4·7	4·8
1968	1·8	2·4	2·8	2·9	3·0	1968	2·9	3·8	4·4	4·7	4·8

Table 66 Standard errors of various observed proportions among tenants in each socio-economic group

Socio-economic group	Observed proportions: 10 or 90%	20 or 80%	30 or 70%	40 or 60%	50%	*n*	*N* (weighted *n*)
All tenants housed 1951–1968							
Employers and managers							
Large firms	2·5	3·3	3·8	4·0	4·1	88	214
Small firms	3·1	4·1	4·7	5·0	5·1	67	226
Professional employers	1·5	2·0	2·3	2·5	2·5	240	627
Intermediate non-manual	1·4	1·9	2·1	2·3	2·3	318	1003
Junior non-manual	1·0	1·3	1·5	1·6	1·7	611	1860
Foremen	2·7	3·6	4·1	4·4	4·5	81	236
Skilled manual	0·8	1·1	1·3	1·4	1·4	925	3116
Semi-skilled	1·2	1·6	1·8	1·9	2·0	456	1637
Unskilled	2·8	3·7	4·3	4·6	4·7	83	292
Tenants who terminated in 1951–1968							
Employers and managers							
Large firms	2·4	3·2	3·7	4·0	4·1	66	116
Small firms	3·6	4·7	5·4	5·8	5·9	37	76
Professional	1·6	2·1	2·4	2·5	2·6	194	401
Intermediate non-manual	1·5	2·1	2·4	2·5	2·6	226	563
Junior non-manual	1·1	1·5	1·7	1·8	1·8	394	843
Foremen	3·1	4·2	4·8	5·1	5·2	31	46
Skilled	1·1	1·5	1·7	1·8	1·9	394	849
Semi-skilled	1·7	2·3	2·7	2·8	2·9	160	345
Unskilled	4·1	5·5	6·3	6·7	6·9	23	40

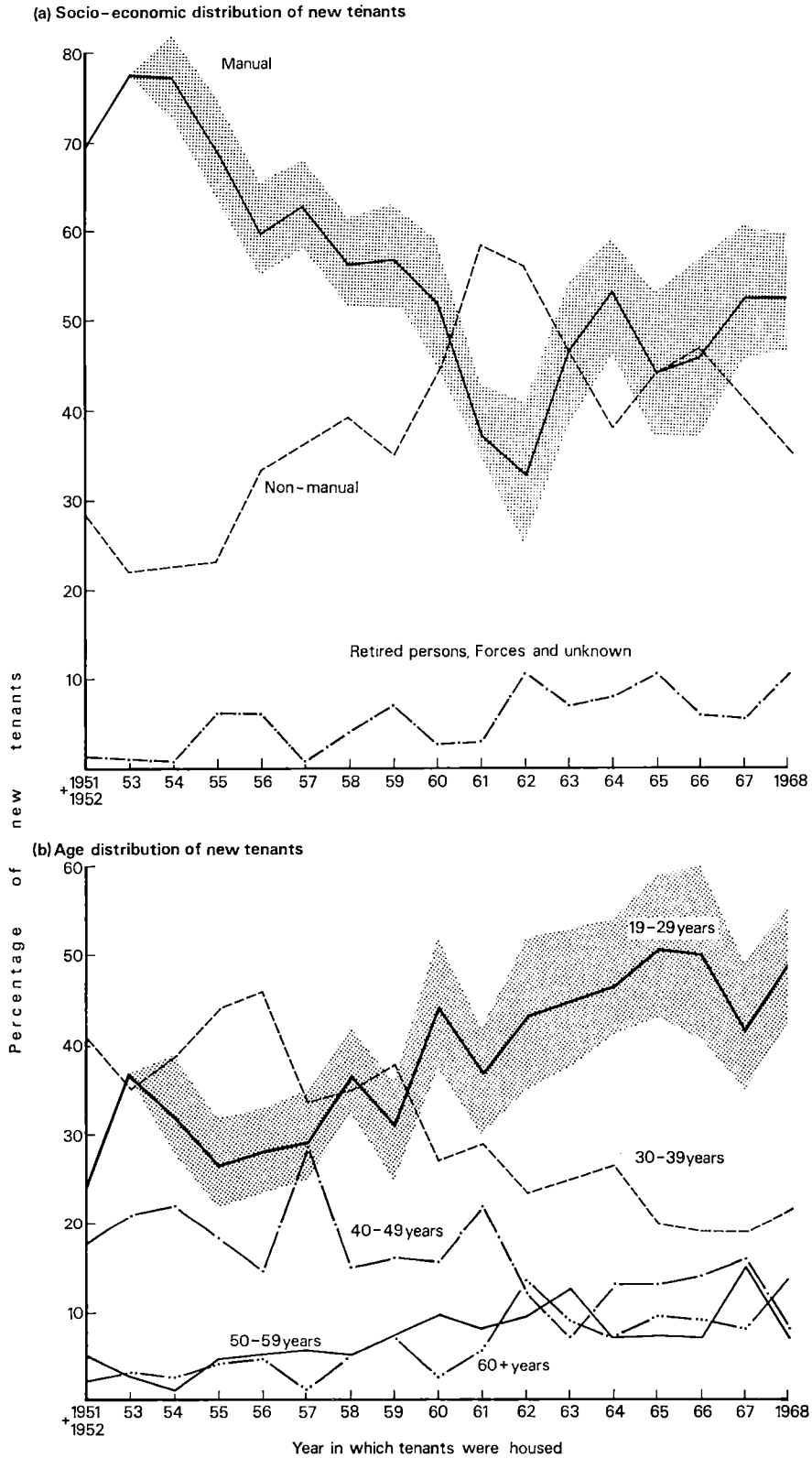

Figure 31 Five per cent confidence levels (shaded areas) for graphs in (a) Figure 6 and (b) Figure 9

ways – the differences between first and last years, or between groups of years, and 3-year moving averages were used sometimes to eliminate some annual variation. In Figure 31, the 5% confidence levels for each year's proportion are plotted on the graphs of manual workers among new tenants each year (originally Figure 6), and the proportion of new tenants each year who were in the 19–29 age-group (originally in Figure 9). The general trend is clearly evident in each case.

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