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A.T. BLOWERS

A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN FRINGE HOUSING ESTATES

M.Litt Thesis 1970

ABSTRACT

A SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN FRINGE HOUSING ESTATES

The thesis explores three themes for each of which hypotheses are put forward based upon existing research. They are; first, that there are recognisable socio-geographic subdivisions within any community of neighbourhood unit size; second, that design and layout are important determinants of the social pattern; and third, that attitudes to place are the product of environmental as well as individual characteristics.

Two urban-fringe council housing estates, broadly similar in age, size, and location, are chosen for study - North Kenton on Tyneside, and the G.L.C. out-county estate at Sheerwater, Woking, Surrey. The research is based on existing data, observation, and direct enquiry of a sampled population by means of a schedule.

The environmental and demographic features of the estates are described. Analysis of workplace, shopping, entertainment, and visiting patterns reveals the interaction between each estate and the wider community. While both have attained a degree of functional self-sufficiency, Sheerwater, more isolated from the former homes of its residents, has achieved more social integration than North Kenton.

The North Kenton survey emphasises the impact of the built environment which has resulted in the socio-geographic characteristic of the estate. Certain problems, affecting old people and young children especially, have arisen from failures in layout and design.

At Sheerwater attitudes to place and spatial perception are examined and the role of individual experience and aspiration, and personal mobility are among the factors considered. Beyond the estate perceptual clarity diminishes though it is clearly influenced by the main lines of communication.

In conclusion, the inter-relationship of the major themes is demonstrated and the validity of the initial hypotheses upheld. The research area is a broad one and suggests lines of future enquiry. In particular the theme of spatial perception offers considerable scope for all forms of geographical study.

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Throughout the time I have been engaged in the project my Supervisor, Dr. David Thorpe, has given inspiration, guidance, and logical criticism. To my wife, Gill, I owe my thanks for acting as both critic and advocate and for sustaining me with her encouragement. And, lastly, my thanks are due to the anonymous residents of North Kenton and Sheerwater who willingly submitted to my interrogation and upon whom the whole work depends.

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1. INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

As cities have grown so new communities have been grafted onto the old to produce the complex urban structure of today. The internal divisions of cities that are a feature of the physical and social environment have long been recognised. More recently, partly in response to the increasing intervention of planning agencies, attention has been focussed on the spatial patterns of urban communities by social scientists. Interest in these patterns has been stimulated, on the one hand, by examination of social values, attitudes and group behaviour in Sociology, and, on the other, by the study of the spatial distribution of settlement types in Geography. Significantly, workers have crossed from one discipline to the other in order to examine effectively their research problem. Such research is becoming an essential part of the planning process for "there is a growing awareness of the importance of social questions and the potential contribution of social research" (A).

There has been a tendency for researchers to pursue quite separate courses restricting their enquiries to those aspects of the subject which relate to their own disciplines. This has been particularly the case with research into housing and communities since it does not fall within the province of any one academic subject (B). Community patterns are amongst the most difficult to analyse for their full understanding involves the integration of all facets of existence including physical, social, economic and psychological. This thesis attempts to make some integration based on one common criterion - place.

The main problem of research into urban communities is to delimit the area of study. Many aspects of community have a spatial connotation and are, therefore, relevant to geographical enquiry. Here an attempt is made to explore a number of themes in social geography related specifically to suburban communities. These themes may be broadly summarised under three headings, namely:-

- (a) The nature and size of the "neighbourhood".
- (b) The social implications of layout and design.
- (c) The degree of identification between people and places.

Certain aspects of these themes have been the subject of considerable research effort, while others have been largely ignored. It is these

- (A) P. Willmott: "Social Research and New Communities". American Journal of Planners. November 1967, Page 391.
- (B) "There are sociologists, psychologists, economists, political scientists, geographers and cross-breeds of various kinds, and the demarcation disputes between and within these disciplines sometimes make labour relations on a building site appear a model of rational goodwill by comparison". D.V. Donnison: "Architecture and the Housing Programme". Paper read to the Arch. Assoc. March 1963.

aspects which an approach from a geographical viewpoint may hope to reveal. For instance, concentration on what constitutes a neighbourhood and what its optimum size should be has diverted attention from the internal subdivisions that may exist within neighbourhoods. Or, to take another example, the question of the degree to which physical environment influences social patterns has been hotly debated yet surprisingly few detailed investigations into the subject have been undertaken. Moreover, those studies which have investigated this problem have usually been concerned with the impact of different housing densities on people (A).

Research into urban communities has tended to concentrate on three types in particular - the inner districts of cities, new town communities and council estates. In choosing one of these, council estates, it became possible to identify some of the research problems, to relate the work to existing research, and to establish a framework for further productive enquiry. A number of studies have been based on estates located on the fringes of major conurbations (B) and, thus, by selecting estates in Tyneside and Greater London the link with existing research has been strengthened (C). Such research may be hampered and its conclusions questioned by the problem of adequate definition of terms. There are two items of particular concern to this research which illustrate this problem, They are - "community" and "suburb".

Definitions

(a) Community

"Community" is a most ambiguous word. Some regard it simply as a geographical definition and would thus describe any collection of houses and people within a defined area as a "community". But, "mere living together in the same locality can result in a conglomeration of very little sociological significance" (D). It is the emphasis on sociological aspects which has led many writers to regard evidence of social interaction and a communal spirit as the prerequisites of a community. Ruth Durant, therefore, defines a community as "a territorial group of people with a common mode of living striving for common objectives" (E). These objectives may

(A) See below Pages 11 to 15.

(B) Well-known examples include Becontree and "Greenleigh" estates (Young and Willmott, 1957), Barton estate, Oxford (Mogey 1956) and Watling (Durant 1939) all of which studies are referred to below Pages 6, 8, 16, 41, 63, 64, 94, 99 and 100.

(C) It would be wrong to suggest that these studies are directly comparable since estates obviously differ in age, size and social characteristics. Broad parallels, however, do exist between them.

(D) N. Dennis: "The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea". Soc. Rev. Vol. 6, No. 2. 1958. Page 191.

(E) R. Durant: "Watling - a survey of life on a new housing estate". London, 1939.

require a meeting-place in which they can be expressed and, therefore, "the community includes the area, the population of which regularly turns to a common centre for the satisfaction of all or part of its needs" (A). It was this concept of community that was the driving force behind the community centre movement. At the same time it was the desire to create, through pressure, planning and legislation, an idealised type of community that gave rise to the spate of community studies, many of them overtly propagandist, of the post-war years (B). Inevitably, there has been some reaction since but the problems of adequate definition still remain. With Leo Kuper, we are forced to conclude that "community is a vague concept and difficult to use either in research or planning, since it describes a qualitative aspect of the cohesion of a group" (C).

(b) Suburb

The terms "suburb" and "suburban" have various connotations. In popular idiom "suburban" has come to denote the conformity, homogeneity, and, even perhaps, smugness of the middle-class living in owner-occupied houses in the outer parts of cities. As a result "myths tend to be built on myths to produce a caricature of the suburban dweller so grotesque that few people living in suburban areas have been able to resist the temptation of seeking to discover what they are supposed to be like" (D). In purely geographical terms the "suburb" is a residential area, often vaguely defined, lying somewhere between the central business district and the fringe of the city. This definition encompasses the greater part of the urbanised area and makes no attempt to distinguish the variety of communities within it.

- (A) A. Hawley: "Human Ecology". New York. 1950. Page 246.
- (B) N. Dennis (op.cit.) remarks: "It is the decline of community in this sense which has been the centre of interest in many of the studies of municipal housing estates in this country: it is certainly the idea of community which has received most attention". Page 192.
- (C) Leo Kuper (ed.): "Living in Towns: Blueprint for living together". London 1953. Page 170.
- (D) S.D. Clark: "The Suburban Society". Toronto 1966. Page 4.

The sociologist is more concerned with the type of society that may be termed "suburban". S.D. Clark calls it "a society coming into being" (A) in which "the rich move to the country in search of a better place to live, the poor in search of a cheaper" (B). His account of the suburbanisation of the Toronto region emphasises the piecemeal takeover of land and the variety of developments which commonly occur as the city expands (C). Many writers have emphasised the soullessness of suburban life and contrast it unfavourably with the truly urban environment such as is found in the inner areas of cities (D). Thus Young and Willmott (E), for example, vividly counterpoise the quality of working-class life in Bethnal Green against the spiritual emptiness of "Greenleigh" (i.e. Debden). It is interesting to note that those writers who are similarly motivated have concentrated their attention on new communities such as new towns and overspill housing estates and rarely have more mature and settled communities been discussed. The picture of suburban life presented by many sociologists (F) is thus a somewhat distorted one for they have investigated what are, in reality, "social oases, residential areas created outside the city and set off not only from old established urban areas but as well from other suburban areas growing up about" (G).

It is not, perhaps, surprising that such commonly used terms should give rise to problems of interpretation. The above discussion underlines the kind of problem that may face the would-be researcher. Bearing this in mind we may now look more closely at the three areas of research that are the subject of this thesis - the neighbourhood; layout and design; and attitudes to place.

- (A) S.D. Clark: "The Suburban Society". Toronto 1966. Page 12.
- (B) Ibid. Page 25. Clark bases his experience on North America. In Britain the motives are somewhat different, especially for working-class families who may be rehoused in the suburbs in better surroundings.
- (C) "It was the motivation in terms of individual preferences which determined the highly haphazard character of the development which took place". op.cit. Page 25.
- (D) See below Pages 7 and 8.
- (E) M. Young and P. Willmott: "Family and Kinship in East London". London 1957.
- (F) S.D. Clark*(op.cit.). H.J. Gans ("The Levittowners!" London 1967) and W.M. Dobriner ("The Suburban Community" - New York 1958) are notable exceptions.
- (G) S.D. Clark (op.cit.) Page 7.

I. THE NATURE AND SIZE OF URBAN COMMUNITIES

Sociologists in particular have concerned themselves with the nature and patterns of communities within the city. Much of their work has been theoretical but there is an increasing tendency for the findings to be applied to certain planning problems. Three approaches in this work may be discussed. First, there is the interest in the structure and types of community to be found within cities (A). Arising from this have been studies which examine the reaction of people to a new environment and their problems of adjustment. Second, and related to the first approach, are those studies which attempt to define the ideal community and the means by which it might be achieved. Lastly, there are what may be termed the ecological studies (B) which examine the influence of the environment on the community. These three approaches are closely related and often combined within one treatise. The first two approaches concern us here, while the third, the ecological approach, is more closely linked to the second area of research (the impact of layout and design) discussed in this thesis.

Urban Community Structure

The structure of urban communities has been a source of conjecture ever since the theories of the Chicago School (C) of Sociologists were advanced in the 1920's. The structure is a dynamic one and changes in response to voluntary movements and planned redevelopment, renewal, and rehousing of large groups of people. The physical destruction of the old, cohesive communities, and the creation of new ones has excited great interest and some would argue that the breakdown of community spirit and vitality is attributable to this entirely. The pre-existing social segregation is reinforced by the sharp divide between public and private housing where "status is all in the private sector" (D). "The recent and present segregation is even more regrettable than that of the nineteenth century, bad as that was: for this has arisen not from the action of individuals, but from government activity itself, and it has occurred on a far larger scale than hitherto" (E). This problem of social segregation has been a theme of several writings and Peter Collison has documented the notorious case of the Cutteslowe Walls in Oxford (F).

- (A) There has been especial emphasis on working-class communities.
- (B) For a discussion of this approach see N. Anderson "The Urban Community". London 1959. Chapter 5.
- (C) See especially R.E. Park, and E.W. Burgess (eds.). "The City". Chicago 1925.
- (D) J. Tucker: "Honourable Estates". London 1966.
- (E) T. Sharp: "Town Planning". London 1940. Page 26.
- (F) P. Collison: "The Cutteslowe Walls". London 1963.

Other sociologists would argue that the changing community spirit is a function of changes within society itself. Thus, Dennis, for example, suggests that "it is only a matter of time before our Bethnal Greens become socially indistinguishable from housing estates" (A). Goldthorpe and Lockwood (B) detect a universal process of "embourgeoisement" within the working-class caused by the ending of mass poverty, better education, and widespread affluence. They argue, however, that class differences may still be detected, the working-class retaining a "collectivist" attitude while the middle-class tend to be more "individualistic". They conclude that the working-class are experiencing "a far-reaching adaptation and development of the traditional working-class way of life under greatly altered economic and physical conditions".

Such arguments are of peripheral interest here. More important in the present context are the surveys, usually of working-class housing estates, which investigate the changes which have occurred and discuss the consequences of rehousing (C). A number of these are wellknown (D). Most of them investigate communities during their transitional phase before they are fully settled. After an initial and short-lived period of social participation many families suffer a sense of isolation (E). Vere Hole's comments on a Scottish housing estate typify this kind of situation. "The association of "reserved" behaviour with respectability coupled with the desire to get on inhibited the formation of close friendships" (F).

- (A) N. Dennis: "The Popularity of the Neighbourhood Community Idea". Soc. Rev. Vol. 6, No.2. December 1958. Pages 197-8.
- (B) J.H. Goldthorpe and D. Lockwood: "Affluence and the British Class Structure". Sociological Revue. Vol. II. No. 2. July 1963.
- (C) Most surveys are longitudinal ones (i.e. they study a specific group before and after a move). They are rarely controlled by comparable groups elsewhere.
- (D) For example, R. Durant: "Watling" London 1939.
H. Jennings: "Societies in the Making", London 1962.
R. Jevons and J. Madge: "Housing Estates - a study of Bristol Corporation's Policy and Practice between the wars." Bristol 1946.
M. Kerr: "The People of Ship Street. London 1958.
G.D. Mitchell et. al: "Neighbourhood and Community". Liverpool 1954.
J.M. Mogeey: "Family and Neighbourhood". London 1956.
P. Willmott: "The Evolution of a Community". London 1963.
M. Young and P. Willmott. op.cit.
- (E) On this subject see, for example: F.S. Chapin: "An Experiment on the Social Effects of Good Housing". Am. Soc. Rev., Vol.5, No. 6, 1940 and M. Harrington: "Resettlement and Self-image". Human Relations. 18th May 1965.
- (F) V. Hole: "The Social Effects of Planned Rehousing". T.P.R. Vol.30, No. 2, July 1959.

John Spencer reached a similar conclusion from his work in Bristol where "residents after an initial period of social activity and enterprise tend to become self-centred and isolated as well as passive and fearful of giving offence" (A).

It would seem to be folly to generalise on this subject. The great variation between estates in size, age, location, range of amenities, allocation policies and design and the differences in origin, status and age structure of their inhabitants suggests that general laws will rarely apply. The two surveys which follow are of estates comparable in age and size but vastly different in "atmosphere" and community spirit. There is, then, an evident danger of oversimplification on the subject of community behaviour. The same argument applies to the generalisations, based on intuition which resulted in the widespread acceptance, for a time, of the socially integrated neighbourhood unit.

The Ideal of The Neighbourhood

Sociologists and architects in their search for the ideal community developed the neighbourhood unit concept. Around this concept advocates and critics have generated considerable debate. The concept and its application is an important part of the background to estate planning in the inter-war years. The origin and evolution of the concept is discussed in detail in Appendix I.

Although the "neighbourhood unit" in a functional sense has been a persistent feature of post-war community planning, in few places outside the New Towns has there been real effort to design communities based on the ideals of social integration and balance dear to the original exponents of the concept. Many local authorities were attracted by the planning logic of the functional neighbourhood unit and built estates of a size and design which conformed to the principles laid down by the theorists. The two estates studied here are of this type. They have clear boundaries, and their amenities are concentrated in a central location within walking distance of most parts of the estate. In the purely functional sense they are both self-contained neighbourhood units. Socially, however, there are marked differences. Sheerwater Estate, with its relatively isolated situation, homogeneous layout and a population broadly similar in age and family structure, origin, and status has developed a palpable community feeling. At North Kenton, on the other hand, surrounded by other communities and integrated with the wider urban community, and with a somewhat fragmented layout, unity of feeling is largely absent.

The evidence of these two estates again exposes the danger of oversimplification and emphasises the need to consider the social as well as the purely physical environmental controls. The neighbourhood unit concept

(A) J. Spencer: "Stress and Release in an Urban Estate".
London 1964.

largely failed to do this and thus rested on false assumptions. These led, inevitably, and as it proved wrongly, to an exaggerated belief in the ability of planning to determine certain aspects of the living pattern of communities. In the reaction which has followed attempts at social planning have often been viewed with suspicion although there has been more respect paid to the need for a thorough investigation by planners and sociologists into the problems and needs of new communities. It is in providing this change of approach that the neighbourhood unit debate has had its greatest value.

The neighbourhood unit as adopted by planners was too large to have any real social validity (A). Within estates of this type, however, it is possible to perceive a more localised self-consciousness based on a group of dwellings or a street. H.J. Gans recognised this in Levittown:- "The socially most significant unit is the sub-block, the sector of adjacent houses facing each other on the street, where most neighbour visiting and mutual help takes place. It exists because people need neighbours, but can only develop a limited number of social relationships"(B). Such sub-units may be influenced by the layout of an estate and may be discovered by investigation as is shown by the North Kenton survey which follows (C).

On the basis of evidence which will be presented it is possible to state that within an estate of "neighbourhood unit" size there exist social sub-groups which can be geographically defined. Such an hypothesis may have important planning implications. These sub-groups are, in part, determined by layout and design and it is this important and related issue that forms the second major theme of this study.

- (A) Size varied but the range 5,000 - 10,000 people was common. See Appendix I.
- (B) H.J. Gans: "The Levittowners". London 1967. Pages 280-8.
- (C) The social importance of the small unit within the neighbourhood was recognised in a Newcastle housing survey:- "The small scale environmental unit within the neighbourhood framework might well offer a meaningful pattern to the planning of residential areas: the neighbourhood comprising a number of environmental units provides a rationality in organisation which extensive and otherwise formless residential areas demand". The survey confirmed Gans's unit of about 10 to 20 dwellings, parts of a street or a cul-de-sac or square as being the effective unit. Newcastle upon Tyne City Planning Department. "Housing - A review of Current Problems and Policies". Volume II. Pages 7 and 9. 1965.

II. THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF LAYOUT AND DESIGN

The nature of the relationships between man and his physical and social environment - human ecology - is a subject of central interest to both sociologists and geographers. Two aspects of this are important here - first, the ways in which the built environment may influence people, and second, following directly from the first, what are the implications of this influence.

As we have seen (A) there is by no means complete agreement as to the part the physical environment may play in influencing social organisation and behaviour. H.J. Gans has summarised the argument in the following way:- "The theoretical issue about the impact of the community has long been debated within sociology, the ecologists arguing that the local economy and geography shape the behaviour of the community's residents: the cultural sociologists suggesting that the community and its residents' behaviour are largely a reflection of national and regional issues" (B). Gans, himself, steers a middle course between these extremes. He considers house design, architectural variety and neighbourhood planning (C) to have been insignificant in their influence. The chief "agents of impact", he argues, are national social trends (mobility, greater affluence, the desire for home ownership) and the population mix within the community. He does not, however, discount the influence of design altogether, rather, this influence has been misdirected for planners have sought to influence people in ways which they themselves consider desirable.

There is considerable contemporary evidence to support this argument. The increase in high density living is partly an attempt to escape from the monotony of sprawling suburbs so distasteful to architects and insufficiently tidy for the planning mind. Planning and design is more likely to influence people, in ways which may be predictable, where it co-operates with peoples' aspirations and with social trends. One may thus conclude with J.K. Perraton that "the planner would be wise to frame his social aims in terms of providing the maximum choice of physical environments in which a variety of social patterns may exist, rather than in terms of encouraging particular social patterns" (D).

(A) See above Pages 7 and 10

(B) H.J. Gans. op.cit.: Introduction Page XX

(C) "the individual neighbourhoods do not affect people's lives".
Page 280.

(D) J.K. Perraton: "Community Planning: an analysis of certain social aims". J.T.P.I. Vol. 53, No. 3 March 1967. Pages 95-98.

Most research into the question of the social impact of the built environment has concentrated on high density housing schemes. From existing research into high densities it is possible to formulate two propositions:-

- (i) That, while the effect of design may be contrary to the assumptions made, it may have a crucial effect on people.
- (ii) That all aspects of community planning - internal design, external layout, amenity provision - act together, rather than separately to produce this effect.

While the work so far undertaken has concerned itself almost exclusively with redevelopment schemes in the inner areas of cities and therefore cannot be directly applied to urban-fringe estates built at lower densities, its findings do have some bearing on this present work and may therefore be considered here.

There were a number of arguments, some of them spurious, involved in favour of redeveloping "twilight areas" at high densities. One of these, the need to conserve valuable agricultural land, has been proved fallacious by a number of writers (A). An increase of density does not give a proportionate saving of housing land and the expansion of urban land may amount to no more than one per cent (1%) of the total land surface per decade (B). Agriculture can do more than keep pace with this loss by marginal gains in productivity.

Another argument has been that higher densities are cheaper but savings in land costs are more than outweighed by extra construction and maintenance costs. Until recently these extra costs were concealed by the attractive subsidies offered to local authorities building at high densities. High density schemes were also attractive on aesthetic grounds giving scope for architectural experiment and adding to the prestige of the local authority.

- (A) See especially: R.H. Best: "Against High Density". New Society, 24th November 1966.
P.A. Stone: "The Impact of Urban Development on the Use of Land and other Resources". Journal of Town Planning Inst. Vol. 47. May 1961.
Ruth Gasson: "The Challenge to British Farming 1960-1970". Westminster Bank Review. May 1966.
P. Hall: "London 2000". 1963.
- (B) R.H. Best estimated that at Ashford, Kent, an extra 50,000 people could be accommodated within 1.4 miles at a density of 32 p.p.a. If the density were doubled (60 p.p.a.) the radius required would only be reduced to 1.25 miles. See "Ashford's White Elephants". Town and County Planning. June 1965.

Of more importance here, however, are the social arguments used to underwrite high density building. It was intimated that such schemes would offer the benefits of living in the central areas of cities and induce social contacts through the proximity of the inhabitants to each other. Several surveys have shown such an assumption to be ingenuous (A). One, undertaken by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government demonstrated how, on a Liverpool estate, the tenants' "self respect seemed to be eroded by the social and physical characteristics of the area and their resentment coloured their attitude to their living conditions" (B).

The effect of high density on young children has been a major theme of research. In tower blocks, especially, inhibiting restraints are placed upon both mother and children and these have been further intensified by failures of management and design. The main failures are:-

- (i) The belief that playspace will be used where it is provided.(C)
- (ii) The failure to segregate children of different age groups.
- (iii) The failure to recognise that conflicts may result if playspace is sited at the base of flats where ground-floor tenants are, in effect, living in a children's playground.(D).

(A) For example, the following comments:-

"Being too close (to other dwellings) does not make for neighbourliness, it just leads to irritation". Social Survey, Childwall Estate, Liverpool. Shankland, Cox and Associates, August 1967

"Nowhere is it quite so difficult to create a community as in a block of flats. With neighbours above, below and on both sides, the natural tendency is to erect barriers against friendship". L.E. White: "Community or Chaos". Nat. Co. of Soc. Service, London 1950.

- (B) "Families Living at High Density": Min. of Housing & Local Govt. Soc. Res. Section 1966 (Unpublished). Page 12.
- (C) "Children will still need space immediately by their homes where they can play casually and in the odd times when they do not want to be far from home": Ibid. Page 42.
- (D) See L.E. White: "The Outdoor Play of Children Living in Flats" in Leo Kuper (ed.): "Living in Towns" op.cit.

- (iv) The failure to allocate flats as near the ground-floor as possible to families with young children (A).

Peter Townshend has summed up the problems in the following way:- "Can families with young children which are in urgent need of rehousing be offered a wider range of choice of dwelling? (B). Are the upper floors of high blocks of flats safe for young children? And, in terms of both the socialisation of young children and the psychological and social needs of their parents, is it desirable to place such families in these high flats? (C).

The impact of high density upon children is well known. Even at lower densities there may be problems and these are examined in the survey of North Kenton (D). There are other criticisms that have been voiced against high density living. These are very varied and include, for example, the increase in mental ill-health; the rapid deterioration of heavily trafficked entrances, stairways, lifts and balconies; and the problems of heating, waste disposal and carrying of prams and coal. More recently high density schemes have been attacked on aesthetic grounds in that they have imposed an inflexibility on the housing layout of vast areas (E).

Some of the problems associated with high density are found in modified form in estates of the type studied here. This was especially the case at North Kenton where about half the population live in blocks of maisonettes or flats which are generally regarded as inferior to the conventional

- (A) Several surveys have emphasised this problem. See, for example, J. Maizels, et al. "Two to Five in High Flats": Rowntree Memorial Trust, The Housing Centre 1961.

On general question of playspace see Lady Allen of Hurtwood: "Planning for Play". London 1968.

- (B) Local authorities generally accept the principle that one offer of a house is sufficient. "Since local authorities' knowledge of their applicants' needs and wishes is limited, this can only be described as narrow-minded and arrogant. It is difficult to justify the idea that clearance families are morally obliged to accept without hesitation any property the council decides to offer": R.N. Morris and J.M. Moge: "The Sociology of Housing" London 1965.
- (C) P. Townshend: London School of Economics. Pilot Study. Interim Report.
- (D) See Pages 83 to 85.
- (E) "We have been producing in congested situations thousands of dwellings that are well below the quality appropriate to the general standards of affluence". Sir F. Osborn "Housing, Shortage and Standards". T. & C. Planning 33, April 1965. Pages 161-2.

two-storey self-contained dwellings (A).

From the research viewpoint the effect of density, design and dwelling type on people's attitudes have serious implications. First, more needs to be known about the kind of environment people want instead of assuming that a lack of expressed desire indicates general satisfaction (B). Second, in planning terms, a flexible and comprehensive approach in which individual dwellings, the provision of amenities, the distribution of open space, road layout and so on, are treated together is more likely to lead to a satisfactory social environment than one where the various elements are treated separately (C). Lastly, an appreciation of the impact of layout and design in existing established environments is likely to yield important data relevant to current research problems. The two estates studied here illustrate this point.

In conclusion this discussion leads us to the second hypothesis investigated in this thesis - that the environment is an important (though not the sole) determinant of the social pattern of communities, and that housing design and estate layout are interdependent components of the environment. The task of research is to elaborate this social pattern and thereby contribute to the planning process.

- (A) The Childwall Valley Survey op.cit. found that "the appearance of tall flats was disliked more by people looking at them than living in them", and tenants there remarked "I've done my stint in a flat and should be offered a little house".
(cf. North Kenton survey Pages 79,80, 86 and 87.)
- (B) "There has not been as much attention paid to the human aspects of living as to the improvements in the mechanical aspects of living".
Town and Country Planning Association Survey: "Housing in Britain".
1964.
- (C) The Parker Morris Report recognised the need for such planning for "it is in these broad and not necessarily expensive ways, rather than in the laboured detailing of the individual dwelling that housing development can be made pleasing and attractive to the eye": "Homes for Today and Tomorrow": H.M.S.O. 1961.

III. ATTITUDE TO PLACE

An examination of the degree of identity that the individual has with the place in which he lives forms the third major theme of this study. This is a subject with which the social geographer, trained to think in terms of spatial relationships, is peculiarly fitted to deal.

In the past, as we have seen (A), studies of attitudes to place have tended to emphasise the homogeneity, solidarity, and immutability of the older working-class areas. These are contrasted with the newer communities (Greenleigh, Barton, Stevenage, etc. (B) where insecurity, social isolation, and mutual antipathy are common. Many of the old communities have been destroyed and rebuilt. In South London, for example, among a confusion of main roads lie areas of terraced housing which constitute the Victorian suburbs. Redevelopment has begun to make an impact on this area though the lack of open space is noticeable. It remains difficult to differentiate between one part of such an area and another. To the local people, however, the area is viewed as a series of localities of different size and meaning for him. Thus a person living, for example, in Lorrimore Road, S.E.17, might, at various times, describe his address as Brandon (a new neighbourhood being constructed by the G.L.C. in the London Borough of Southwark), Walworth (the familiar name of the locality), Southwark (the local authority), S.E.17 (the postal district), South London, or London depending on the nature and place of the enquiry.

Such an hierarchical view of place is intuitive. The Londoner when abroad is an Englishman; when in the North Country a Southerner; or a Londoner, a South Londoner or East Ender, etc. when in London. Place becomes a means of personal identification and engenders feelings of patriotism, provincialism or pride in city, country, district, or even neighbourhood. Affinity for place obviously varies among communities and individuals and will depend on such variables as the experience, social and physical mobility, age, status, and aspirations of the individual. The place itself is characterised by the collective attitudes of its inhabitants.

(A) See above Page 6.

(B) "Greenleigh" see above Pages 5 to 7.

Barton, Oxford, was an estate studied by J.M. Moge: "Family and Neighbourhood". London 1956 and contrasted with St. Ebbes an older district. Stevenage, like other new towns, has been the subject of several surveys. e.g. P. Willmott: "Housing Density and Town Design in a New Town. A Pilot Study of Stevenage". T.P.R. Vol.33. No. 2. July 1962.

It follows from this that attitudes to place in a new community will be considerably different from those experienced in an older, established district. Around the major cities lies a ring of suburbs and satellites. These, like the inner districts, may appear to be undifferentiated but closer observation discloses a varied spatial pattern. For example, a housewife on an overspill estate may feel geographically isolated, both because she is removed from familiar surroundings, and because amenities and good communications are lacking. She is surrounded, perhaps, by other communities but is separated from them, for the radial transport network of large cities results in a linear orientation and determines the geographic area within which those without private transport must live. The range of choice of those without cars is circumscribed and increasingly so as fewer people come to depend on a declining and inconvenient public transport system. As R.E. Pahl puts it:- "There is a whole world of difference between the council estate wives, complaining about the inadequate bus service, and middle-class wives in two-car households" (A).

At a time when the attention is increasingly drawn towards universal mobility and regional scale the importance of the small-scale, of the locality, to people, whether mobile or not, may be underestimated. There is inherent in this large-scale thinking the danger that the locality may be ignored as having any more than a meaning in the functional sense. Planners since the neighbourhood unit debate have understandably become more cautious in their approach. Yet "it seems that most people tend to think of themselves as living in some sort of 'neighbourhood' whether city planners call it that or not" (B).

The measurement of attitudes to place may be difficult though certain aspects of this are easy to isolate. Place has an objective reality. The presence or absence of various amenities, of recreational, cultural and entertainment facilities can be determined by observation. Peoples' use of these or their desire for them can be ascertained by means of an enquiry. In the two surveys which follow such an enquiry was made. There remains, however, the more subjective and psychological aspect of peoples' view of place often known as "spatial perception". It is possible to gain some impression of peoples' orientation to place by testing their knowledge of their area and seeking value judgements upon it. While such an approach must be tentative, by focussing attention on what people know and think it makes possible an appreciation of their reaction and adjustment to change. The Sheerwater survey, in particular, was concerned with attitudes to place in order to test the third hypothesis of this thesis - that attitudes to and identification with place is a product of the history, mobility and socio-economic status of the individual, and of the location, size, physical characteristics and amenities of the place in which he lives.

(A) R.E. Pahl - "Is the mobile society a myth".
New Society. 11th January 1968. Page 47.

(B) P. Willmott - "Social Research and New Communities".
American Journal of Planners. November 1967. Page 390.

PROBLEMS AND TECHNIQUES OF RESEARCH

Research is only likely to be meaningful and effective if the goals are clear and the preparation careful. It may be that the aims of the research are both general and specific. The surveys of North Kenton and Sheerwater that follow are concerned with the general history, layout and population characteristics as well as with specific issues such as the impact of design or attitude to place.

At the outset it is important to accept certain criteria in the selection of field areas which both act as constraints and enable comparisons to be inferred. The choice of estates for this work was limited by three factors - size, age, and location. Although not strictly comparable, both estates were built in the early 1950's, both are large council estates (A), and both are located on the fringe of major conurbations (B). Although the research is confined to post-war urban-fringe estates certain conclusions may be drawn which are capable of wider application.

There would seem to be three lines of approach to the study of the selected estates. These are:-

- (i) The collection of existing information.
- (ii) Direct enquiry of the resident.
- (iii) Observation.

(i) The collection of existing information

A great deal of material on housing estates exists in published form in books and in the relevant sociological, planning and architectural journals. Data on specific estates is usually available from the responsible local authority (in the case of municipal housing estates) or developer (for private estates). For established estates files on their development may be retained. The information is rarely collated but is held by the various departments responsible for the estate - housing, planning, and architecture especially. Despite this details of dwelling types, amenities, design and layout, rents, allocation procedure, further development etc. are usually accessible. Occasionally more detailed surveys covering a range of social information have been undertaken and are available (C).

- (A) Though not of the size of Becontree or Wythenshawe they both have large populations - North Kenton circa 8,000, Sheerwater circa 5,000.
- (B) The two conurbations - Tyneside and Greater London - are vastly different in scale. Thus Sheerwater is in rural Surrey over 20 miles from Central London, while North Kenton, on the edge of Newcastle upon Tyne, is only 3 miles from the city centre.
- (C) Newcastle upon Tyne Planning Department was able to provide a great deal of data culled from the Census Enumeration District returns.

(ii) Direct Enquiry

At some stage resort must be made to an enquiry, the established method of social survey. Without such an enquiry little insight can be gained into the nature, attitudes and aspirations of the community being surveyed. Consequently a questionnaire must be drawn up and a sample of the population interviewed.

This method has inherent and well-known problems (A). Certain decisions as to the type of survey - whether formal or informal, random or quota - its scope and length must be taken and upon such decisions the reliability and validity of the survey will depend. When most of the required information is factual and objective a formal questionnaire, rigidly controlled, and coded for computing will yield the most comprehensive and reliable results. However, a great deal of subjective information based on opinion may be implicit in the survey and it is in such cases that, "the essential limitations of the formal interview, its inflexibility in the face of different situations and respondents" (B), is found. A less formal approach relying on more open questions, discussion, and the skill, training and experience of the interviewer may be necessary. Ultimately, the questionnaire may be altogether abandoned in favour of the "free" or "open" interview as used by Mogy in his Oxford survey (C).

Such surveys will reveal much in depth but present problems of interpretation. "The results of descriptive, non-quantified interviews do not lend themselves to statistical analysis as answers to straight questions etc." (D). The validity of the interpretation will, therefore, depend entirely on the resourcefulness and experience of the interviewer.

- (A) See C.A. Moser: "Survey Methods in Social Investigation". London 1958, especially Chapters XI, XII and XIII, where he deals with the wording of questions, response rates, sources of response errors etc.
- (B) Ibid. Page 207.
- (C) J.M. Mogy op.cit. "The prejudices and the sense of rightness or wrongness of certain attitudes and actions has been the field we have tried to explore and for this methods other than the questionnaire are needed".
- (D) Moser op.cit. Page 208.

Questionnaire surveys were carried out in both the estates here. A sophisticated statistical survey was eschewed although the factual information obtained was tabulated to illustrate or support some of the arguments propounded. The interviews themselves were fairly informal and thus gave scope for a more penetrating insight into specific issues or problems.

(iii) Observation

Most social surveys depend largely on direct enquiry and rarely are surveys based exclusively on observation. Geographers, however, by the very nature of their training in field observation should be able to relate what they see to their experience and to formulate judgements and conclusions. There are clearly dangers in this for interpretations will inevitably be partly intuitive. If the results of observation are combined with the data derived from sources and direct enquiry these dangers are reduced. A number of the physical and social characteristics of a community can be comprehended by getting the "feel" of it through observation. The external condition of dwellings, the appearance of gardens, and the playing habits of children and so on are important guides and may prompt further enquiry or confirm the evidence of another source.

The observer may play an active or passive role in the community. H.J. Gans was a participant observer in Levittown having purchased a house there so that he could live within the community he was studying. L.E. White, on the other hand, passively observed children at play from his flat on the Comber Estate, Camberwell (A). Both methods present problems and the need to be as objective as possible is overriding. The importance of observation is increasingly recognised and "there has been a move from relying on subjective sources of observation, such as peoples' opinions and attitudes, to supplementing these with objective information" (B).

In the following surveys all three approaches - the analysis of existing information, direct enquiry by means of a questionnaire, and observation - have been employed in an attempt to formulate valid and reasoned statements from the estates in question. The extent to which they are valid or reasonable must ultimately depend on the abilities and skill of the researcher.

- (A) L.E. White: "Outdoor Play of Children Living in Flats".
Leo Kuper (ed.): "Living in Towns" op.cit.
- (B) Ministry of Housing and Local Government: "Family Houses -
Development Project at West Ham". Soc. Research Section.
October 1965 (Unpublished) Page 2.

2. NORTH KENTON ESTATE

NORTH KENTON ESTATE

North Kenton Estate was the subject of an extensive survey in which a number of aspects of Urban Geography were pursued. Some had been investigated before in other surveys and others, from the geographical viewpoint at least, were being considered for the first time. The survey is, largely, in the form of a descriptive study using simple analytical techniques. It is an attempt to evaluate the range of study of a community which is pertinent to the geographer.

In particular the following themes were developed:-

- (i) The design and layout of the estate.
- (ii) The economic and certain social characteristics of the population.
- (iii) The degree of neighbourhood consciousness of the population as expressed in their dependence on the estate relative to other districts.
- (iv) The social implications of layout and design.
- (v) The delimitation of geographical areas within the estate.

A sixth theme - awareness of place and spatial perception - forms a major part of the second survey, that of Sheerwater Estate, Woking.

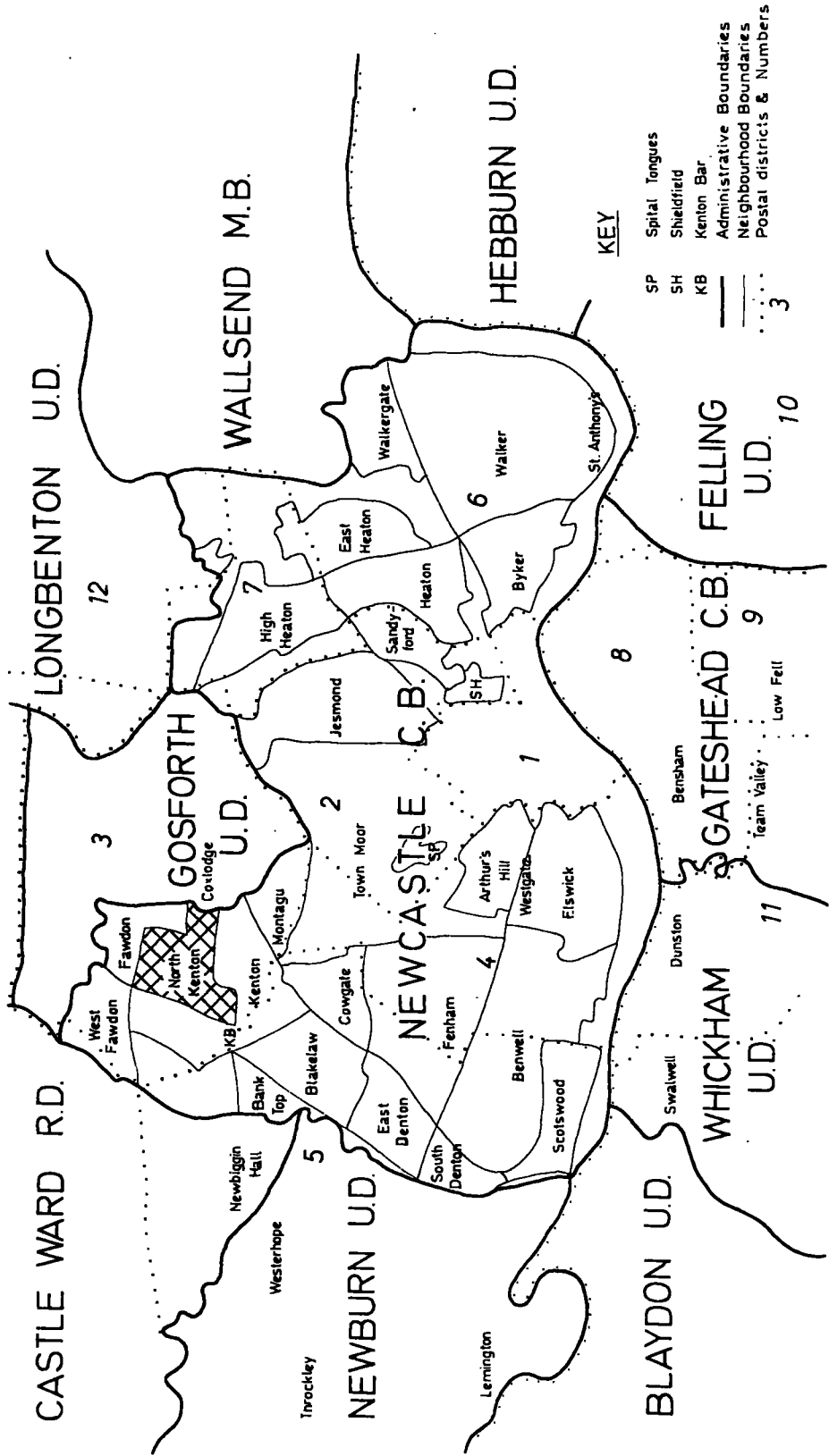
Each of these themes has a spatial aspect and this is emphasised throughout the survey.

I. COUNCIL HOUSING IN NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

North Kenton is one of several contemporary estates built over the remaining unused land in Newcastle after the war in an effort to house people on the Waiting List and, later, to rehouse those moved from clearance areas. It shares with these estates a number of common characteristics though each has individual features. Together these estates form one element of a rapidly changing housing pattern in Newcastle.

At the time of the 1961 Census the municipal housing sector in Newcastle contained rather fewer households and population than the

MAP 1
 TYNESIDE LOCATION MAP



private rented sector (A). Since then the situation has been reversed and the council's housing stock has risen from 30,560 dwelling units in 1962, of which 24,905 were within the City to 40,639 (31,947 in the City) in 1969 (B). Almost all building in the City is undertaken by the Council (C) which has thus acquired a dominant influence on the housing environment. The housing programme has necessitated the development of overspill estates as well as the use of existing and cleared land within the City itself.

Until the second World War there was sufficient unused land within the City to accommodate all housing developments, public and private. The City's growth in the 19th Century had resulted in dense concentrations of working-class housing built in terraces near the riverside in Elswick, Scotswood and Byker (D). It is these suburbs that now contain most of the City's obsolete housing and which are the subject of the Council's redevelopment and revitalisation schemes (E). Larger middle-class residences were built in the Jesmond area north-east of the City centre, an area that has maintained its identity and which is to be preserved largely in its present form.

(A) The Census enumerated 88,450 private households containing 262,713 people in 86,885 dwellings in Newcastle upon Tyne C.B. The distribution of households and population among the various housing sectors was as follows:-

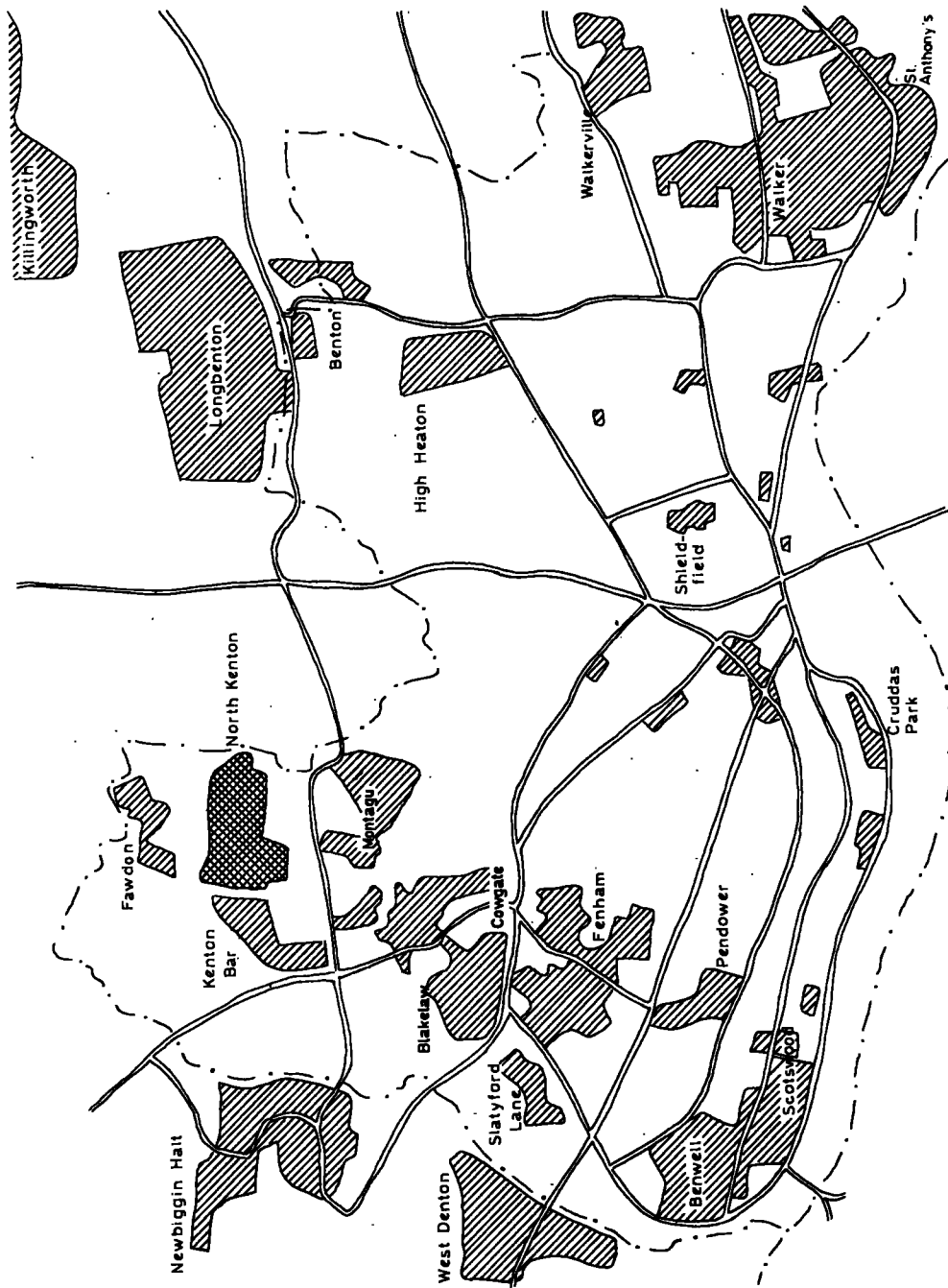
<u>Type of tenure</u>	<u>No. of households present</u>	<u>No. of persons</u>	<u>Households as % of all private households present</u>	<u>Persons as % of all private household population</u>
Owner-Occupiers	23,733	69,421	27.3	26.4
Renting with business	231	673	0.3	0.3
Holding by employment	1,814	5,928	2.1	2.3
Renting from Council	23,947	87,269	27.6	33.2
Renting furnished	3,698	8,637	4.3	3.3
Renting unfurnished	33,396	90,785	38.5	34.6

(B) Figures supplied by the City Planning Department. A "dwelling" is defined by the Census as "a building or part of a building which provides separate living quarters", i.e. a structurally separate unit.

(C) According to "Housing - a Review of Current Problems and Policies". Vol. 1 (City Planning Department. November 1964.) between 1961 and 1964 the Council built 94% of all dwellings in the City and its outlying estates. Page 6.

(D) For location of districts mentioned in text see Map 1, Page 24.

(E) Rye Hill C.D.A., Elswick, an area of large dwellings with a substantial immigrant population (17.3%) considerable overcrowding (39.1% of the dwelling had an occupation density greater than 1.5 persons per room in 1961) and some multi-occupation, was the first area to be revitalised (see "Rye Hill Area Revitalisation C.D.A.", City Planning Department 1966).



During the early part of the 20th Century new suburbs spread rapidly on the undeveloped areas away from the river. Private housing occupied parts of Fenham, Denton, Kenton and Heaton, and in the north beyond the City boundary in Gosforth. In the intervening areas large council estates of two-storey self-contained dwellings grew in Benwell, Fenham, Blakelaw and Cowgate in the western half of the City and in High Heaton and the riverside district of Walker in the east.(A)

In the post-war years council estates have occupied the remaining areas of virgin land within the City. These estates include North Kenton and they are more varied in dwelling type than those of the pre-war period including, in some cases, flat blocks, none of which, however, exceed five storeys. They are situated on the periphery of the City in the east at Walker, Walkergate and Benton and especially in the north west at Blakelaw, Montagu, Fawdon and North Kenton. It is in this area, at Kenton Bar, that the only remaining area of unused land, apart from infill sites, is being developed.

As the supply of land within the City became exhausted the Council was forced to seek sites beyond its boundaries by agreement with Northumberland County Council, and to clear and redevelop sites within the City. The first, albeit minor, overspill development (150 dwellings) was at Longbenton in the 1930's. The real impetus came after World War II when overspill estates, contemporary with those being built in the northern part of the City, were begun in West Denton, and, on a larger scale, at Longbenton. To these was later added Newbiggin Hall Estate, and the new town being constructed by Northumberland County Council at Killingworth will absorb further overspill (B).

Redevelopment did not really get under way in the City until after 1956 when the emphasis shifted to the slum clearance programme. The earliest redevelopment scheme was just to the east of the City Centre at Shieldfield (625 dwellings). This, and subsequent developments such as Westgate Road (360 dwellings), and the important scheme at Cruddas Park, Elswick (1358 dwellings) form islands of high density mixed housing schemes dominated by tower blocks and surrounded by Victorian bye-law housing.

Council housing in Newcastle upon Tyne is, then, spread throughout the City though certain areas have heavy concentrations. The largest area of continuous council housing within the City is in Walker with a total of 37 separate developments totalling 6731 dwellings. The largest of these are the inter-war estates of St. Anthony's (2056 dwellings), and Walker (1053 dwellings). In the north-western part of the City a group of

- (A) It has been estimated, using the Register General's population projections that the net out-migration between 1961-81 will amount to 54,700 of which 26,100 will be voluntary thus leaving 28,600 for planned overspill. (See "Housing - A Review of Current Problems and Policies" op.cit. Page 26).
- (B) For location of council estates in Newcastle upon Tyne, see Map 2, Page 26.

estates separated from each other by areas of owner-occupied housing, form an equally large concentration of council housing. They are Cowgate (inter-war 733 dwellings), Blakelaw (1860 dwellings pre-war and post-war, the site being cleared of prefabricated bungalows) and the post-war estates of Montagu (1627 dwellings), Fawdon (714 dwellings) and North Kenton (1910 dwellings). To the south of these estates is an area of mixed public and private housing which includes important council estates at Fenham (1757 dwellings) and Denton (post-war Slatyford Lane Estate 1241 dwellings). In the south-western part of the City in Scotswood and Benwell is another important group of estates (Fergusons Lane 1380 dwellings, Scotswood 774 dwellings). In the east of the City, somewhat more isolated, are the estates in High Heaton (pre-war 1013 dwellings), Benton (post-war 642 dwellings) and Walkergate (1040 dwellings),

The two largest estates controlled by the City are in Northumberland at Longbenton (4469 dwellings) and Newbiggin Hall (2819 dwellings). Together with West Denton (1400 dwellings) these form the overspill reception areas. Newbiggin Hall at Westerhope continues the swathe of council housing in north-west Newcastle beyond the City boundary.

North Kenton is the fourth in size of the estates controlled by the City Council and second (after St. Anthony's, Walker) of those located within the county borough. It was built on unused land and has much in common with contemporary estates especially those - Fawdon, Blakelaw, and Montagu - nearby. It satisfies the criteria for study outlined in Chapter 1 (A) for it was built in the early 1950's, is a large estate, and is on the fringe of a conurbation.

II. THE ESTATE

SITUATION

The estate was built on ground which slopes from 300' on the southern side to below 250' on the northern boundary. It lies to the north of Kenton Lane which runs parallel to its southern boundary while its eastern limit is the administrative boundary between Newcastle upon Tyne C.B. and Gosforth U.D. The estate may be approached from both these directions, either by Halewood Avenue, the main access road from the south or by Carrfield Avenue on the eastern side (for details of layout see Map 3, Page 30).

The estate is physically well defined. It forms part of the wider Kenton neighbourhood as defined in the City's Development Plan Review (1963). To the north the factories of Messrs. Winthrop and Rowntree form an effective barrier between North Kenton and the contemporary Fawdon estate. In the east lies Coxlodge (in Gosforth U.D.) an area of mainly private housing, and a wedge of private housing to the south on either side of Kenton Lane separates North Kenton from Montagu estate. The line of demarcation between public and private housing is usually clear and in North Kenton the social segregation has been underlined by the construction of a 5' high wall (Plate 1) upon which James Tucker comments as follows:- "North Kenton is built alongside one of the city's better private residential districts, Kenton. Before the estate was built Purley Gardens, a row of semi and detached houses ran to the edge of fields. The other end of Purley Gardens joins a main road (Kenton Lane) and it would have seemed reasonable to continue the existing Purley Gardens roadway into the council estate, so linking it with the main road. But, in fact, at the estate end Purley Gardens ends in a red brick wall" (A).

The western flank of North Kenton was, until recently open country but has now been developed by the City Council with an estate of luxury flats.







(A) See James Tucker: "Honourable Estates". London 1966.

In fact pedestrians can pass round the wall which is nothing so formidable as that described by Peter Collison in "The Cutteslowe Walls", London 1963.

For further reference to segregation of public and private housing see Introduction Page 7.

MAP 3
NORTH KENTON ESTATE

SCALE: 1/2 inches to 1 mile approx.

-  Self contained houses.
-  Three storey block maisonettes (Ground floor OP.Ds)
-  Three storey block of two bedroom flats.
-  Five storey point block maisonettes (Ground floor OP.Ds)
-  Three storey point block maisonettes (Ground floor OP.Ds)
-  Four storey block of single women's flats.

 Self contained OP.Ds

ND New development.

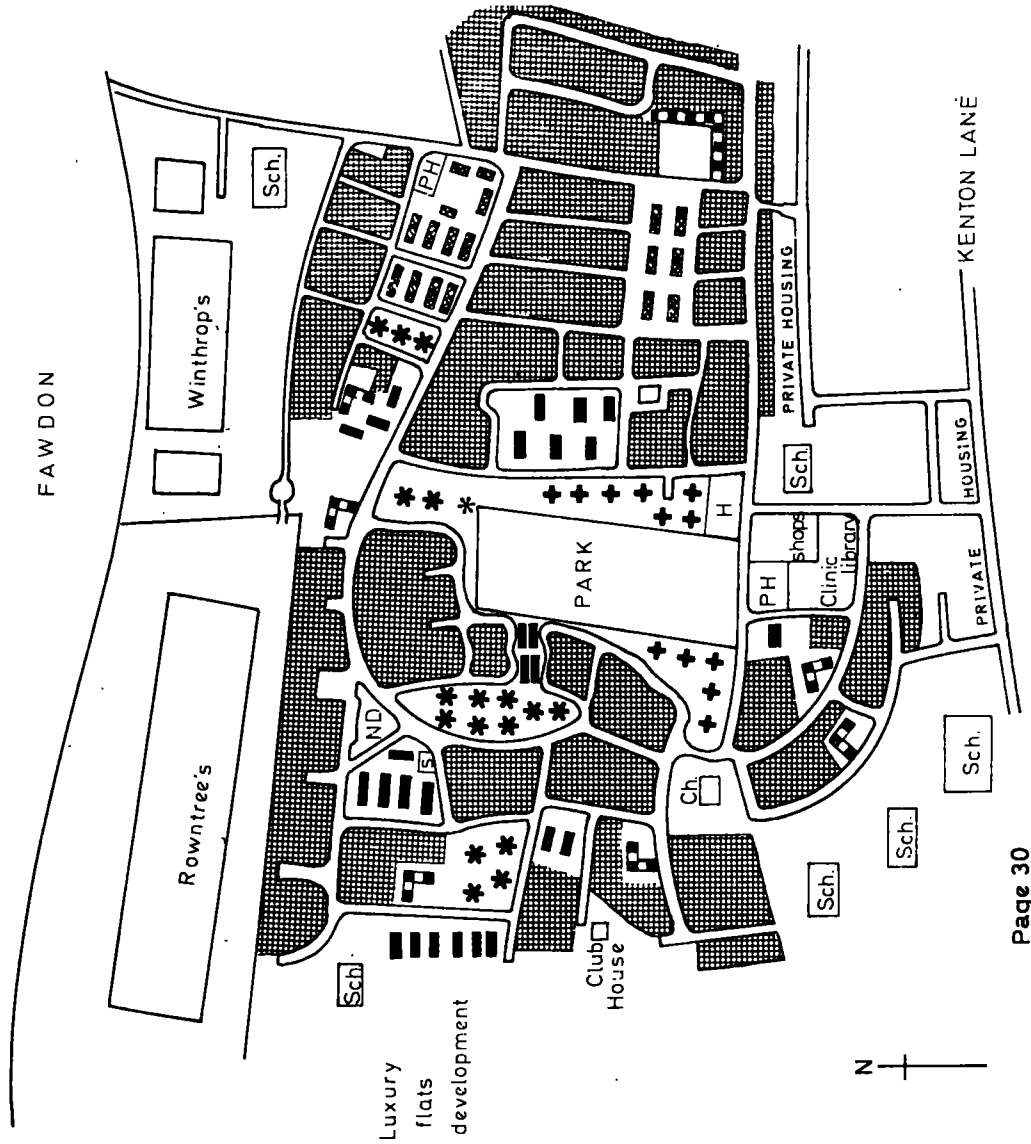
PH Public house.

S Surgery.

Ch Church

H Church house

Sch. School



The estate, built in the arly 1950's reflects the lack of concern for thoughtful planning or appearance at a time of acute housing shortage. There was less concern then for the living environment and North Kenton is a typical example of expediency dictating layout and design. In part North Kenton's reputation is conditioned by its appearance and opinions tend to differ. One council official described it as a "reasonably good estate" though he also conceded that High Heaton estate was much better and that Montagu estate owed its good reputation to tenant selection. Tucker (A) calls North Kenton "one of the council estates with a poor reputation". Considering its modernity and its pleasant situation North Kenton's reputation is an unenviable one although within the estate there are considerable contrasts and these form an important theme of the study.

HOUSING

The first tender for North Kenton was approved on 13th July 1953 and the first houses were completed in the following year. The estate was finished by 1959 though the flats for single women (see Map 3) and 10 flats in two 3-storey blocks were added later. Building commenced on the eastern side and the maisonettes between Hillsvievw Avenue and Saxondale Road on the western side of the estate were the last part to be completed (for street names see Map 4, Page 32).

The housing density of North Kenton is 18 dwellings per acre which compares favourably with the 4.5 per acre experienced in some older parts of the city such as Scotswood, an area being cleared at the time of survey (1965-6). In terms, too, of occupancy rates North Kenton with 1.03 persons per room (B) compared well with the older "twilight" areas though it was much higher than the city average of 0.78 persons per room, and higher than most council estates in the city. The highest rates were found in parts of Byker (1.7 persons per room), Rye Hill (1.62 persons per room), Benwell, Heaton and Walker. Areas of owner-occupied housing, by contrast, in Jesmond, Heaton and Fenham had rates as low as 0.5 to 0.6 persons per room and clearly experience some under-occupation of dwellings (now referred to by the Council as "improved space standards" (C)).

(A) Tucker op.cit.

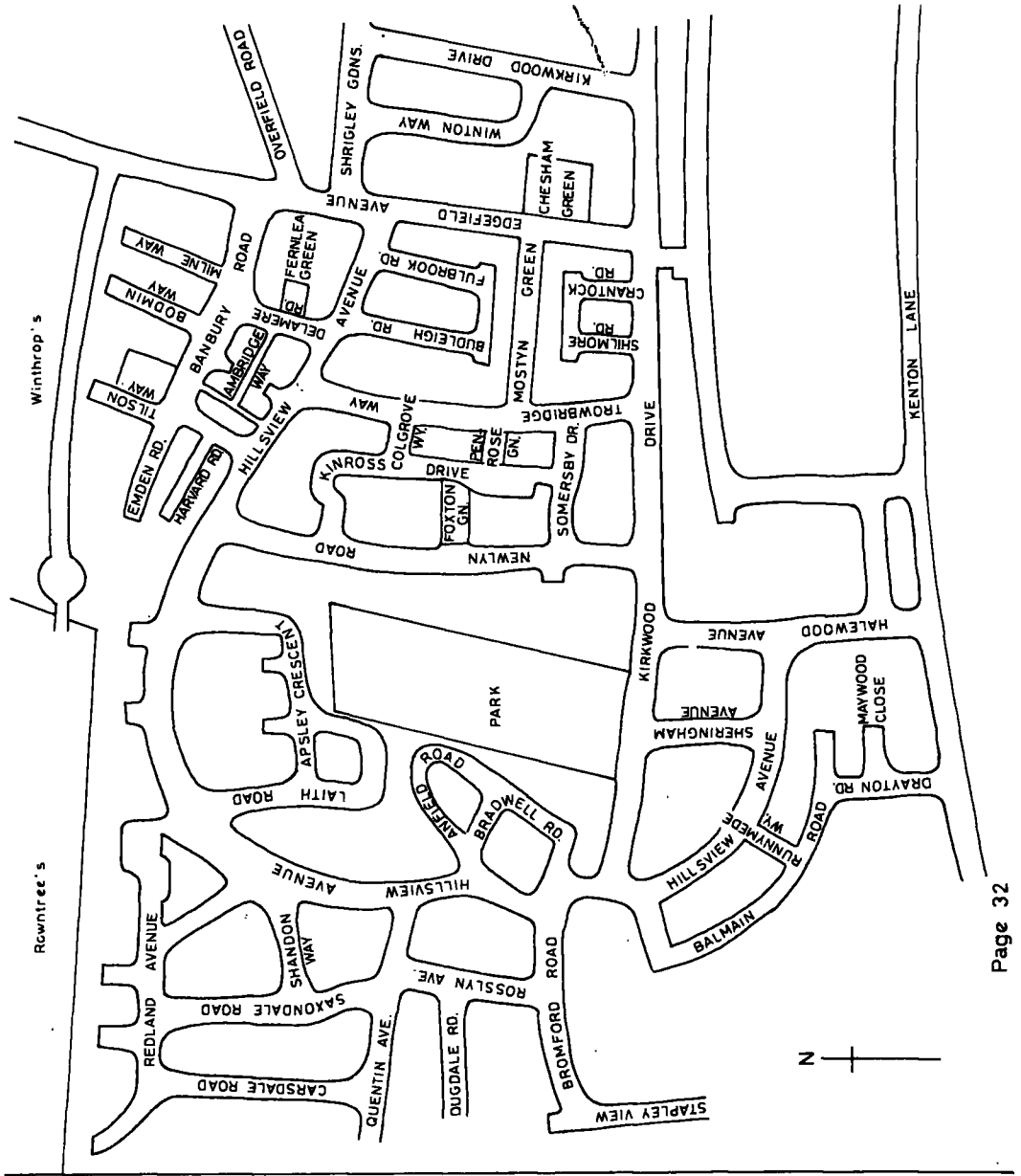
(B) All figures in this section refer to the Census 1961.

(C) See "Housing - A Review of Current Problems and Policies". op.cit. Page 15. This survey noted the general trend of a desire for more living space reflecting smaller household size and a rise in living standards.

MAP 4
 NORTH KENTON ESTATE
 STREET PLAN

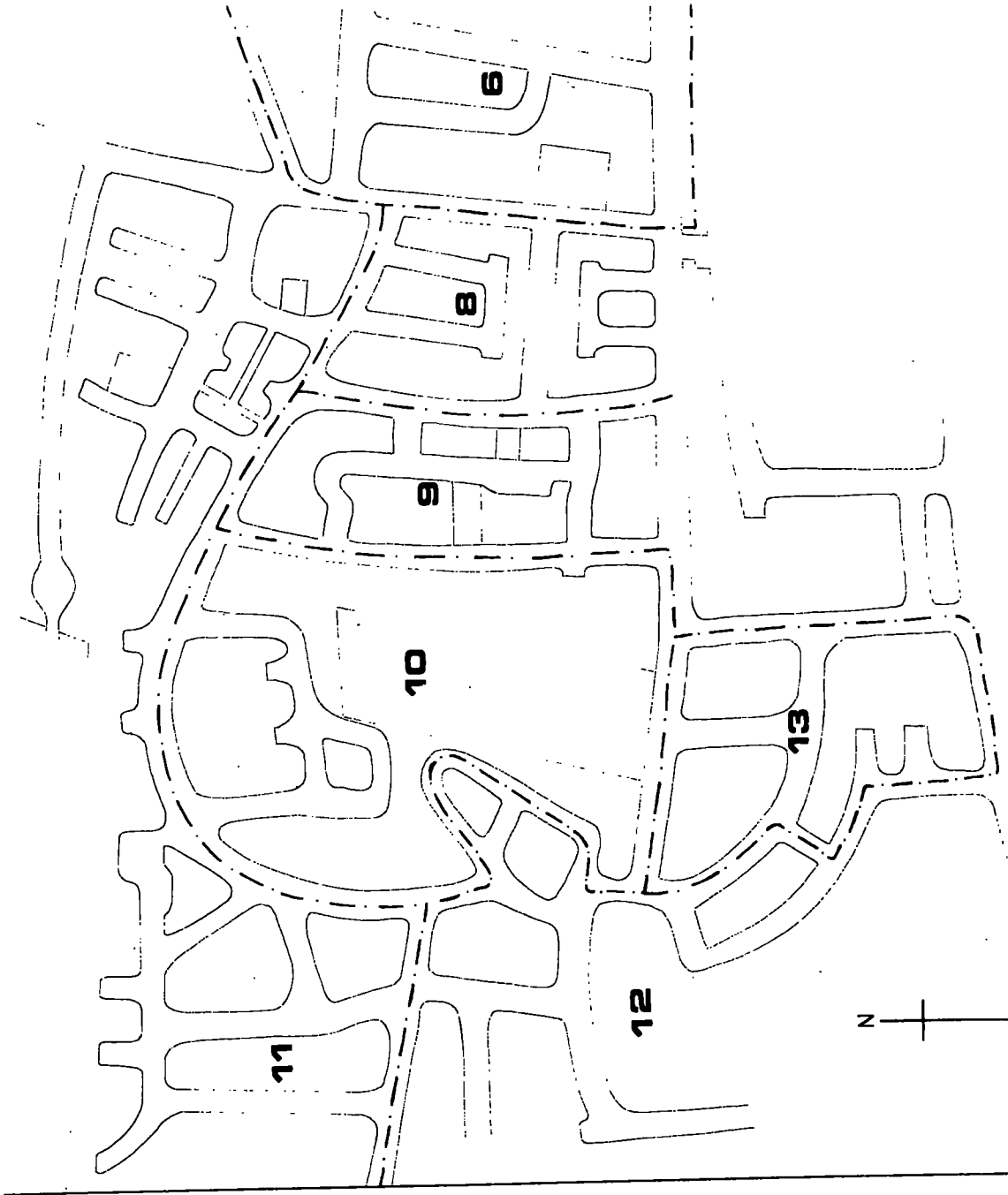
SCALE: approx. 12.5 inches to one mile

- Location of surgeries
- 1 Hillsview Avenue
- 2 Kenton Lane
- 3 The Meadows, Edgelyield Ave.



Map 4a
NORTH KENTON ESTATE
ENUMERATION DISTRICTS

SCALE: approx. 12.5 inches to one mile



North Kenton's occupation density was high for a post-war area and within the estate varied between the extremes of 0.82 persons per room in Enumeration District 13 (A) on the south-western side and 1.25 persons per room in the central part of the estate (B). This latter area, based on Kinross Drive, had a high incidence of large families (51.7% of 5 or more persons) with young children and was cited as an area of serious overcrowding in the Council's Housing Review (C).

Whereas Newcastle had an average of 3.03 persons per household and 3.07 persons per dwelling North Kenton had 4.20 and 4.13 respectively. Thus, while the housing density was relatively low, family size and occupation levels were high and, indeed, overcrowding was sometimes evident whereas under-occupation was rare (D).

The dwellings are larger than the average for the city. In 1961 more than 37% of Newcastle's dwellings had three rooms or less (E) and the average was four rooms per dwelling. North Kenton had 4.26, thus confirming a lower net population density with a relatively larger dwelling size but against this having the high occupancy rates noted above. Well endowed in terms of total space its dwellings occupied more people than those in owner-occupied districts and than on many of the council estates of the city.

- (A) For the purposes of survey the estate was divided up into its Enumeration Districts (E.D.'s.).
See below Page 44. These are shown on Map 4.a.
- (B) In E.D.9 more than 20% of the dwellings had an occupation density in excess of 1.5 p.p.r.
- (C) See "Housing - A Review of Current Problems and Policies",
op.cit. Page 36.
- (D) See below Pages 46 and 47.
- (E) Of the major urban centres of Britain in 1961, Newcastle ranked 7th in proportion of dwellings containing 3 rooms or less. It was exceeded by the 4 Scottish cities and only Gateshead C.B. and London A.C. had a higher proportion in England. The concentration of small dwellings in North East England was remarkable for South Shields C.B. and Sunderland C.B. ranked 8th and 9th respectively.

Of the dwellings to be cleared in Newcastle 1961-81, 58.6% will be those with 3 or fewer rooms thus reducing the proportion of small dwellings to 30.0% in 1981.

General Housing Layout

Visually the estate leaves an unfavourable impression. The design of the dwellings and the materials used fail to blend sympathetically. The estate has little unity, parts being dominated by tall, drab blocks, while other districts have a monotonous concentration of self-contained two-storey houses. In fact large areas, especially on the eastern side of the estate, are characterised by unbroken rows of self-contained dwellings, each with a garden and typical of inter-war and post-war suburban development. Elsewhere, by contrast, the appearance is unorganised and incoherent as a result of an intimate variety of aspect, elevation and dwelling types. These disparate elements of the estate tend to oppose rather than conform to each other. This feature has geographic implications as the estate atomises into physically distinct units dependent upon dwelling type and layout, units which are frequently identified by the inhabitants (A)

Dwelling Types

There are the following dwelling types on North Kenton estate:-

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>NO. SAMPLED</u>
<u>Self-contained</u>		
2 Bedrooms	37	4
3/4 Bedrooms	933	93
<u>Maisonettes (3/4 Bedrooms)</u>		
Point-block maisonettes - 3-storey on 2 upper floors	56	6
Point-block maisonettes - 5-storey on 4 upper floors	120	12
Terraced maisonettes - 3-storey on 2 upper floors	166	17
<u>Flats</u>		
3-storey 2 bedroom flats	216	22
Single womens' flats (1 bedroom)	24	2
<u>Old Persons' Dwellings</u>		
Ground floor of point-block maisonettes	116	12
Ground floor of terraced maisonettes	166	17
Self-contained old persons' dwellings	76	8
<u>TOTAL DWELLING UNITS</u>	<u>1,910</u>	<u>193</u>

Map 3 shows the distribution of these various dwelling types.

(A) See below Pages 89 and 90.

Self-contained Dwellings

Self-contained dwellings make up about half the total. They are arranged in terraced blocks varying from two to six usually in a straight line though on some roads (e.g., eastern part of Kirkwood Drive, Winton Way, Rosslyn Avenue (A)) they are offset to follow curves in the road. On the north western side of the estate (Redland Road, Hillsvie Avenue) and occasionally elsewhere they are grouped around green spaces. They are unvaried in design, and on long, straight roads (e.g., Kirkwood Drive, Edgefield Avenue, west end) they can appear very monotonous (see Plates 2 and 3). Large areas of these self-contained units are found on the eastern side of the estate in E.D.'s 6, 8 and 9 (see Plates 4 and 5), along the northern edge, in the west near Hillsvie Avenue, and in the south-west between the shops and the schools in E.D.13. In some areas, away from the main roads they form pleasant groupings, as for instance, in Stapeley View (E.D.12) and along Balmain Road (E.D.12/13 see Plate 6) facing the schools in an area highly regarded by the inhabitants. Elsewhere and especially in the centre of the estate they are far too crowded to be at all attractive.

Each self-contained dwelling has a garden at front and rear but they have no garage. These are found at various points on the estate though with a total of only 140 the estate is today grossly underprovided. Many of the streets are thus littered with cars which further helps to detract from the appearance of the estate.

The three bedroom self-contained dwellings were designed for families of 4 to 6 persons and the 4 bedroom dwellings for up to 8 persons (B). Each has a kitchen, and a lounge (189 sq. ft. in 3 bedroom and 202 sq. ft. in 4 bedroom dwellings) on the ground floor and the total floor space is 776 sq. ft. in a 3 bedroom house and 900 sq. ft. in a 4 bedroom one.

Terraced Maisonettes

There are 166 terraced maisonettes ranged in blocks each containing seven (Plates 7 & 8). The maisonettes occupy the two upper storeys and surmount old persons' flats on the ground floor. Entrance to the maisonettes is by a central stairway, and a covered corridor onto which each opens via a porch (Plate 9). Each has a lounge of 198 sq. ft. and the layout is more spacious and convenient than that of the self-contained houses. Each lounge opens onto a balcony overlooking a green space and each block is provided with a drying room and storage space. Access and outlook are the fundamental problems here. Maisonette blocks of this type are found in groups in the central and western parts of the estate set most

(A) For street names see Map 4.

(B) i.e., the following combinations might occur:-

3 bedroom - Husband, wife, 2 children (one child of each sex).

Husband, wife, 2 children of one sex, one of the other sex.

Husband, wife, 4 children (2 of each sex).

4 bedroom - a further two persons may be accommodated.

commonly at right angles to access roads and separated from each other by a wide lawn (Plate 7). There are groups at Colgrove Way/Foxton Green (E.D.9), Harvard Road/Harwood Green (E.D.7), Anfield Road/Laith Road (E.D.10), Hillsvie Avenue/Saxondale Road/Carsdale Road (E.D.11), Rosslyn Avenue/Dugdale Road (E.D.12) and a single block in Kirwood Drive (E.D.13).

Point-Blocks

Both here and in the neighbouring Fawdon estate a number of point-blocks, cruciform in plan were built. These are the most severely criticised of all the dwellings on the estate. They are particularly ugly especially those of 5-storeys which stab into the skyline dominating the overall appearance of the estate (Plates 10, 11 & 12). Most of them are constructed in concrete, faced with dull grey spar dashing and topped by a high-angled tile-hung roof. They are found in groups in various parts of the estate and have a depressive effect on the surrounding area (A). Access to the maisonettes which, in the case of the 5-storey type, occupy the four upper floors is by a central spiral stairway (Plate 13) for they are not quite high enough to justify a lift. Since the maisonettes each have three or four bedrooms they usually contain large families and so the entrances and surroundings are congested and frequently defaced by children who play in the open area surrounding the blocks (Plates 14 and 15).

Each maisonette occupies a wing of the building and the 5-storey block contains eight of these, each occupying two floors. One of the top maisonettes has a fourth bedroom over the central staircase. These maisonettes are the largest type of dwelling on the estate and have a small dining room as well as a living room of 183 sq. ft. The total floorspace of a 3 bedroom maisonette (exclusive of dining room) is 989 sq. ft., while a 4 bedroom one has 1092 sq. ft.

Most of the 5-storey point-blocks are situated on the lower, northern side of the estate. There are a group of three in Banbury Road (E.D.7), and four in the Carsdale Road/Saxondale Road area (E.D.11). The largest concentration, eight in all, is in E.D.10 in the Hillsvie Avenue/Laith Road/Apsley Crescent area which is widely regarded as the worst part of the estate.

The smaller and visually less offensive 3-storey point-block dwellings are all located in E.D.10 in two groups on either side of the Park in Kirkwood Drive/Bradwell Road and off Newlyn Avenue (Plates 16, 17 and 18).

- (A) This characteristic is fully developed in a later section.
Pages 80, 87 and 88.

2 Bedroom Flats

In the earlier part of the estate in E.Ds.7 and 8 there were 216 2 bedroom flats constructed in blocks of 3-storeys (Plate 19). Like the terraced maisonettes they are surrounded by greens and sited at right angles to roads. Each block has three entrances leading to stairways with access to flats on each floor making a total of 18 flats per block. They are mainly designed for small families with one child or two (if both are of the same sex) but in a number of cases a childless couple or a single person live in them. Each has a small kitchenette, lounge, bathroom and two bedrooms and is all electric with central heating. They are found in two areas - Ambridge Way/Fernlea Green (E.D.7) and Mostyn Green (E.D.8).

Old Persons' Dwellings

The vast majority of the purpose-built Old Persons' Dwellings (total 358) occupy the ground floor of the maisonette blocks (Plates 7 and 8). In the case of the terraced blocks each has a separate bedroom with a lounge, bathroom and kitchenette. The bedroom is situated below the corridor which gives access to the maisonettes above (Plate 9), and, being at ground-floor level, the flats are vulnerable to noise from either side as they open directly onto lawns used as a playspace.

The old persons' flats underneath the point-block dwellings (Plates 11, 14 and 16) are surrounded on three sides by open space and on the fourth by the single entrance to the maisonettes above (Plate 15). One of the flats is a bedsitting room while the remaining three in each block have separate bedrooms and can accommodate one or two people.

There are 76 self-contained Old Persons' Dwellings which, at the time of survey, had been reserved for the most aged (Plate 20). Each has a separate garden and current policy is to introduce younger pensioners (i.e., aged 65-70) who can perhaps help to tend the gardens for each group of dwellings. These bungalows look attractive and each group of eight forms a right angle facing onto a green space. They are dispersed throughout the estate (e.g., Chesham Green E.D.6, Somersby Drive E.D.9, and Rosslyn Avenue E.D.12). At the time of survey the City Council were building no more bungalows following the theory that old people prefer integration rather than segregation (A). Instead old people were being housed on upper floors rather than underneath families though both had their drawbacks. The Council were developing two-storey flat blocks occupied by groups of all ages.

North Kenton - Services

Road Layout

The road pattern (see Map 3) of the estate is developed around the rectangle formed by Kirkwood Drive (Plate 2), Hillsvie Avenue

(A) "All they used to see was the hearse going out" (Council Official)

(Plate 5) and Edgefield Avenue (Plate 3). These are the main roads and are followed by the bus routes. Within the rectangle is the Park, and a series of transverse roads off which in turn are cul-de-sacs and greens. This pattern is continued to the north and west of Hillsvie Avenue. In the south-west Balmain Road parallels Hillsvie Avenue and has direct access to Kenton Lane via Drayton Road. On the eastern side of the estate Carrfield and Overfield Roads lead into Coxlodge, and Edgefield Avenue continues north into Fawdon.

Shops

The estate's shopping centre is at Arndale House on Halewood Avenue (Plate 21), forming part of what might be termed the "neighbourhood centre". This is the largest shopping centre in the north-west zone of the City (i.e., the neighbourhoods of Montagu, Kenton and Fawdon, see Map 2). When the estate was constructed the "corner shop" was out of favour though there has been a modified reaction against this policy since (A).

The nearest large shopping centre to North Kenton (called "District" shopping centres in the Development Plan Review) is Gosforth High Street. Thorpe and Rhodes (B) in their paper on the shopping centres of the Tyneside region recognise four grades of shopping centre based on a centrality index derived from the square root of non-food shops multiplied by a score computed from the presence of three particular types of trader (non-food multiples, banks, grocery multiples and co-operatives). From this analysis North Kenton ranks as a Grade C or small suburban centre. This reflects its high level of provision of shops catering for general household needs and the dependence of local people on Newcastle for bigger items.

The survey (see section below) discovered a high level of satisfaction with the shopping provision of North Kenton. Arndale House is on two levels and contains 24 shop sites. At the time of survey (1966) there were the following types of shop represented at Arndale House:-

- (A) The Development Plan Review of 1963 acknowledges the part that local shops can play for "those housewives who need this kind of service, certain sociological satisfactions, as well as a supply of foodstuffs and regularly needed household goods at a short distance from their homes".
- (B) D. Thorpe and T.C. Rhodes: "The Shopping Centres of the Tyneside Urban Region and Large Scale Grocery Retailing". Econ. Geog. Vol. 42. No. 1. January 1966.

UPPER FLOOR

Woolworths
Co-operative
Supermarket (Fine Fare)
Grocers - 3
Greengrocer
Butcher
Baker
Chemist
Electrical Goods
Paint Shop
Vacant - 3

TOTAL - 15

GROUND FLOOR

Butcher
Fish and Chips
Post Office/Confectioner /Newsagent
Drapery
Cleaner
Shoe Repairs
Off Licence
Betting Shop
Vacant - 1

TOTAL - 9

GRAND TOTAL 24

The upper floor contains more shops including the two largest ones - Woolworths and the Co-operative. The ground-floor, being on a sloping site, has a smaller area.

In terms of the total number of shops Arndale House is not large by Newcastle standards for there were in 1966 21 shopping centres in the City with higher totals. Many of these, however, were groups of small shops with low turnovers and a dispersed layout, the result of spontaneous as opposed to planned development. The number of shops per 1,000 people is often used as a yardstick for the measurement of shopping provision though this has obvious limitations (no measurement of floorspace, turnover, or type of shop and no estimation of accessibility to potential customers). Using such a statistic North Kenton seems poorly provided (1.95 shops per 1,000 people (A) or 515 persons per shop). Only Fawdon with 1.65 was as sparsely provided but its new shopping centre has now altered its position. In the City as a whole the average number of shops per 1,000 people (excluding the Central area) was as high as 9.45 and in Arthurs Hill (see Map 1), and Heaton neighbourhoods there were more than 15 shops/1000 people. Too much must not be read into this, however, for Kenton's shops are large and well patronised and there was little evidence of any underprovision of shopping (B).

(A) Figures as supplied by the City Planning Department (Research Section) and are the result of a survey carried out in 1963.

(B) The four vacant shops at the time of survey seem to confirm this view. The shopping habits of Kenton residents are discussed in a subsequent section Pages 67 to 70.

Apart from Arndale House a few shops are situated to the east of the estate in Edgefield Avenue and Carrfield Avenue. Since 1966 the north eastern part of the estate has come within easy walking distance of the new shopping centre in Fawdon Park Road.

Community Services (see Map 3)

Grouped around the shops are a number of community services which compose the neighbourhood centre. On Halewood Avenue is a Branch Library, one of 12 in the City, serving a population of 22,724. It is the fourth busiest branch after Jesmond, Denton and Fenham (see Map 1) and of these only Denton covers a somewhat similar population mixture. In 1965 the number of book loans were as follows:-

<u>Non-fiction</u>	<u>Fiction</u>	<u>Junior</u>
37,807	142,874	60,007

The Branch serves Montagu estate and the Kenton Lane area in addition to North Kenton, the nearest alternative branches being at Fawdon, Blakelaw and Denton (Map 1). It is estimated that about a quarter of the potential population use the library, although the readership level on the council estate is below that of the private housing areas.

Next to the Library is a clinic and the neighbourhood centre is completed by a public house, the "Kenton Quarry". This is one of two serving the estate the other the "Hawthorn" being on Edgefield Avenue at the Fawdon end. Taking the figure of 2,000 people per public house in a dominantly residential area (the estimated level for the City) the estate is under-provided in contrast to the older parts of the city where population has declined. On the other hand there are licenced clubs and public houses in nearby districts and many Kenton people claim allegiance to areas from which they have moved and some frequent premises in the city centre.

The estate is well provided with schools. There are three large primary schools - Hillsvieiw at the north west corner of the estate, Mountfield opposite the shops in Kirkwood Drive, and St. Cuthberts (Roman Catholic) off Balmain Road. The high proportion of children in the population has meant that schools are filled to capacity but the future addition of a new school off Kenton Lane will ease the situation. The estate has two secondary schools both located on a large site in the south-west - St. Thomas More (Roman Catholic) and Kenton Comprehensive, the first of its type in the city. The total area taken up by the three existing and one proposed school in this area off Kenton Lane is 53.6 acres of which half (25.7) is available for the comprehensive school. The nearest grammar schools (before reorganisation of the education system) were Rutherford Grammar and High schools and Pendower Technical School on Westgate Road although a number of Kenton children travelled to Heaton Grammar and High schools on the eastern side of the city.

There are two churches on the estate - St. Cuthberts Roman Catholic Church off Hillsvie Avenue, and the Methodist Church House in Kirkwood Drive. The nearest Anglican Church is on Montagu estate. There is also a purpose-built surgery in Hillsvie Avenue and several doctors live in the Kenton area though there are none on the estate itself.

The estate has no community centre though provision was made for one in Newlyn Road. Changing leisure patterns have in some measure made such facilities redundant especially in urban areas. The nearest community centre is at Edgefield Avenue primary school on Fawdon estate but few Kenton residents use it. The City Council provides centres and fosters community associations "wherever a genuine local need and desire for such facilities has been expressed" (A). For various reasons (B) the necessary spontaneity has been lacking in North Kenton. Elsewhere in the city thriving community associations have been established. The council built one in Byker and local pressure was successful in gaining one in Slatyford (East Denton). In Scotswood the council took the initiative while at Walker, St. Anthony's (South Walker), Longbenton, High Heaton, Fenham and Pendower (Benwell) centres were erected by voluntary means supported by a grant. Halls were being built (1966) for Benwell, Shieldfield and Newbiggin Hall estate. Elsewhere schools were used though they had the drawback of being open only at night or during the vacation.

Kenton's lack of community spirit as expressed in a voluntary association is thus uncharacteristic of the city as a whole. The community association of the early years of the estate soon became dormant and activists were few. For a time there was sufficient enthusiasm to achieve the building of a Y.W.C.A. hall in Dugdale Road which houses a youth club and an old peoples club. The Methodists run a youth club at the Church House in Kirkwood Drive. Kenton, however, compares unfavourably in its youth facilities to other districts - Elswick with twice the population had in 1966 12 youth clubs, and Heaton only slightly larger than Kenton had 6, while High Heaton (two-thirds Kenton's size) had 4 (C).

(A) Development Plan Review. Page 114.

(B) Many sociological writers have concerned themselves with the increased family-centredness consequent upon removal of people from older neighbourhoods. See, for example, J.M. Moge: "Family and Neighbourhood". London 1956.
M. Young and P. Willmott: "Family and Kinship in East London" (1957) and "Family and Class in a London Suburb" (1960).
J. Spencer: "Stress and Release in an Urban Estate". Tavistock 1964.

(C) Figures according to the Development Plan Review.

The lack of social provision at North Kenton is in part responsible for the lack of real identity of its people with the area in which they live, a subject which is a recurrent theme of the survey. The estate does not evoke any strongly partisan feelings for although most people are able to distinguish the estate from surrounding districts their awareness of it is passive. (A)

Open Space

An estate with a large population of young children needs plenty of open space. In Newcastle as a whole there are 1,220 acres of public open space but this is badly distributed relative to the population and three-quarters is contained within Town Moor and its adjacent parks, ultimately to be developed as an attractive landscape and recreational amenity for the city as a whole. In the north west sector of the city there are 20 acres of public open space (0.3 acre per 1000 people). Under the Development Plan this is to be increased to 265 acres (3.2 acres per 1000) by 1981. Large new areas such as the northern part of Denton Dene, the Kenton quarry area (opposite Kenton schools on the south side of Kenton Lane) and a large area at Kenton Bank (77 acres) are included in the scheme.

North Kenton has at its centre a large area of open space known as Kenton Park (10.7 acres) (Plates 10, 16 & 17) which is to be systematically developed. Bowling greens have been laid down and tennis courts and football pitches are planned, and an adventure playground is also envisaged (there are a few items of traditional playing equipment at present) (B). Most of the Park, however, is open, bleak and crossed by a few footpaths used as short cuts to the shops. A few trees have been planted but are hardly yet established. As a playspace the Park is shunned by young children who prefer to play around the tall blocks on its periphery. There is little open space in other parts of the estate apart from the greens surrounding the maisonettes, and on the eastern side the streets are the main playing area.

The estate is well served by public transport although the service is frequently condemned. Newcastle Corporation and the Gateshead Omnibus Company (part of the Northern General group) run joint services into the city and to Gateshead (routes 25,28,29) which terminate in Banbury Road and run along Hillside Avenue, Kirkwood Drive and Halewood Avenue at 10 minute intervals between 6.23 a.m. and 11.30 p.m. Routes 67 and 68 leave Edgefield Avenue for the city via Coxlodge and Gosforth, while Route 4, a

- (A) For a fuller discussion of the point raised here see later sections on Neighbourhood Functions Pages 67 to 76 and the concluding section Pages 86 to 90.
- (B) A swimming pool was originally provided for on the estate but the need is reduced by the proximity of the one on Montagu estate. The Comprehensive school also has one.

circular route with a 15 minute frequency provides the only link with other parts of the city including South Gosforth, Jesmond, Spital Tongues, Cowgate, Blakelaw and Kenton Bar. An hourly all-night service connects the estate with the city and west end and, apart from this, there are no direct links with Elswick, Benwell, Scotswood and Westgate Road, or with the eastern parts of the city for all of which passengers must change buses in the city centre (A).

North Kenton is, then, a large estate with a variety of services yet lacking in some that have been acquired by similar estates. It is, as will be seen, an estate of disparate elements, internally fragmented. One of its most conspicuous features is an apathy towards the environment. This and other features of the estate were investigated by a survey which is the basis of the following sections.

(A) The importance of the bus service for journeys to work is examined in a later section (Pages 58 to 60).

III. THE PEOPLE

North Kenton is a geographically defined unit, a neighbourhood, and the spatial relationships of its people both within the neighbourhood and with other areas are a subject pertinent to geographical enquiry. Their reaction to their environment has a spatial dimension which may be studied by means of such an enquiry. From this may emerge conclusions capable of a more general application.

The North Kenton survey undertaken during 1965 and 1966 was a comprehensive one and in consequence a simple technique was adopted - a quota sample of 10% of the population stratified on the basis of dwelling type. To give some further measure of control the estate was sampled from each of its component Enumeration Districts (see Map 4) to ensure an even coverage. The problems inherent in such a survey have been considered in the Introduction (A). The technique was felt to be justifiable in this context as the survey was concerned with exploring a research field and as such had the twin merits of simplicity and speed.

POPULATION

Using the 1961 census data and combining the nine Enumeration Districts which compose North Kenton, the population of the estate was 8,589. This, however, includes a number of people living in owner-occupied and other non council properties distributed as follows:-

North Kenton Estate - Table 1 (1961 Census)

Population in non council owned dwellings in Enumeration Districts of North Kenton

Type of Tenure	E.Ds.	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Owner-Occupied		71	-	45	-	-	-	-	268
Rent with Business		-	3	-	-	-	-	4	-
Holding by Employment		-	-	-	-	-	-	58	2
Rent Furnished		-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Rent Unfurnished		1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
TOTALS		72	3	51	0	0	0	66	271

OVERALL TOTAL 463

(A) See Pages 18 to 20. For a full evaluation of the problems see C.A. Moser: "Survey Methods in Social Investigations", London 1958.

The techniques and sample used in the present study are described in Appendix II.

Altogether therefore, 8,126 people lived in council owned properties in North Kenton Estate on the night of the 1961 census.

The population may also be computed from the 10% sample survey which is the basis of this study. When multiplied by 10 the population estimate arrived at is 8,030 (803 x 10) which corresponds closely to the earlier Census figure (see Table 1.1 (A)). Although the statistical inaccuracy of the sample must be allowed for it may be assumed that the population of the estate is around 8,000 people.

Rent and Tenant Selection

The rents for each dwelling type in 1966 were as follows:-

Self-contained (2 bedrooms)	- 42/5d. per week
Self-contained (3 bedrooms)	- 48/3d. to 51/3d. per week
Self-contained (4 bedrooms)	- 56/3d. per week
Maisonettes (3 bedrooms)	- 46/10d. to 56/9d. per week
Maisonettes (4 bedrooms)	- 52/10d. to 55/8d. per week
Old Persons' Dwellings	- 28/7d. per week

Tenant selection varies widely between authorities and among estates controlled by the same authority (B). Some authorities apply discrimination and the appearance and reputation of estates varies widely as a result. Newcastle has no doctrine of selection on a social basis but some classification of tenants is made. On some estates the introduction of certain groups is avoided because of its potentially disruptive effect. The criteria employed to assess tenants' suitability vary and include the condition of their existing home, their rent record and such factors as the appearance of their garden.

Housing priority in Newcastle, as in many other authorities, is devoted to the slum clearance programme and the rehousing of those displaced by redevelopment. North Kenton has been a reception area for those displaced by development in other parts of the city. Initially a policy of indiscriminate letting was pursued at North Kenton and "good" and "bad" tenants were mixed in the blocks in the ill-founded hope that the better tenants would enlighten the rest (C). North Kenton thus has a mixed population with diverse origins and this has contributed to the lack of cohesion which pervades the estate (D).

- (A) Tables referred to other than those incorporated in the text will be found in Appendix III and are distinguished by the prefix '1'.
- (B) This issue is fully discussed in J. Tucker: "Honourable Estates", London 1966.
- (C) In some parts of the city "problem" families were concentrated and this led to the notoriety of such areas as Rochester Estate, Walker, which has now been improved.
- (D) On the question of removal from old areas and social response see Introduction (Pages 7 to 9).

Population Structure and Density

A housing estate of this size and age and with such diversity of housing will inevitably contain a population diverse in age, family size and origin. The estate is largely made up of 3 and 4-bedroomed dwellings and occupied, typically, by families of between one and five children, although larger families do occur (see Table 1.1). As many as a quarter (113 or 25.5%) of the children are at work.

The occupation densities to be found in North Kenton as compared to Newcastle have already been referred to (see above Pages 31 and 33). North Kenton's density is high for an estate of its type, though the statistics illustrate the frequency rather than the nature of the problem of overcrowding. The age, sex and relationship of the members of the household all have a bearing on the problem, though above a certain number of occupants, whatever their characteristics, considerable discomfort and inconvenience will result. As has been seen 3-bedroomed houses were designed for families of 4, 5 or 6, and 4-bedroomed dwellings should accommodate a maximum of 8 (see Page 35). Complications will obviously arise where three out of four children are of one sex or where two households occupy the same dwelling. At North Kenton one of the sampled households consisted of a teacher, his wife and their eight children (4 boys, 4 girls) living in a 3-bedroomed house, while a family of eleven occupied a 4-bedroomed dwelling. At the other extreme, two instances were found of two people only living in a 4-bedroomed house. As far as possible the housing authority avoids having two households in one dwelling and any overcrowding where chronic illness is present.

It is clear that whatever the family structure, overcrowding occurs when more than 6 people live in a 3-bedroomed dwelling. Such an occurrence was found to be by no means uncommon in the sampled population of North Kenton as the following table suggests:-

North Kenton Estate - Table 2

Occupation Density of 3-bedroomed Dwellings
(Number in sample 100)

Dwelling Type	6 persons dwelling or less	More than 6 persons dwelling
Self-contained 3 bedrooms	65	13
3-storey maisonette blocks	5	3
5-storey point blocks	9	1
3-storey point blocks	4	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	83	17

In 4-bedroom dwellings overcrowding definitely occurs where the occupants number more than eight although with a certain age and sex structure difficulty may be experienced below this level (here sleeping accommodation is the main problem). In all but the point block maisonettes there is only one living room and the pressure exerted upon this by large families with different needs can be considerable. Many authorities have commented on the need for more living space as the home becomes workshop, study and a centre for recreation as well as serving daily living needs.

The Parker Morris Report (A) outlined the need for more space as one of the priorities of housing design and D.V. Donnison, among others, has stressed the fact that "the variety of human needs is not met by a similar variety of housing" (B). The lack of large houses for big families is serious and frequently local authorities have in the past built standard size dwellings with little recourse to the demographic facts. Overcrowding becomes inevitable in the long run if not before (C).

Although the degree of overcrowding in 4-bedroomed dwellings at North Kenton appears to be small, inconvenience may be suffered in certain circumstances. The table below summarises the situation at the time of survey:-

North Kenton Estate - Table 3

Occupation Density of 4-Bedroom Dwellings
(No. in sample 27)

Dwelling Type	8 Persons/Dwelling or less	More than 8 Persons/ Dwelling
Self-contained 4 Bedrooms	13	1
3-storey maisonette blocks	9	1
5-storey point blocks	2	-
3-storey point blocks	1	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	25	2

Family size varied widely but those with 2, 3 and 4 children were the most common. In the sample of 193 households there were 6 families with six children, 4 with seven children, 1 with eight children and the largest of all was a family of nine. In 10 households a parent or sibling of the household was living with the family but only two had a married couple living with their in-laws. Such situations are rare in council estates and are a major argument for acquiring a council tenancy.

- (A) "Homes for Today and Tomorrow" - Central Housing Advisory Committee H.M.S.O. 1961.
- (B) D.V. Donnison, C. Cockburn, J.B. Cullingworth et. al. "Essays on Housing". Occasional Papers on Soc. Administration (1964).
- (C) For a statement of the problem see D. Westergaard and R. Glass "A Profile of Lansbury" T.P.R. 25 No. 1 April 1954. At a later stage of course, underoccupation may become a problem. See Sheerwater below Pages 98, 99 and 118.

PLACE OF BIRTH AND PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

Most residents of North Kenton were born in the North East and the majority on Tyneside. The immobility of the working class, their attachment to home, the lack of incentive to move and local authority housing policies are mainly responsible for this pattern. The economic climate of the region for most of the twentieth century has been such as to deter immigration and net emigration to the South and the Midlands has prevailed. The net loss of population in the Northern region in the period 1957-1965 was of the order of 100,000 and the annual outflow for 1959-1964 was 11,000 (A).

Newcastle's emigration rate has been particularly high as the population has expanded beyond the city boundaries. It is thus difficult to estimate the loss to the city through voluntary emigration to other parts of the country but the Development Plan Review calculates it was of the order of 3,900 over the period 1951-1961. In any case few were moving in and those who did would be mainly from higher income groups than those found on estates such as North Kenton.

About three-quarters of the male heads of households interviewed had been born in Tyneside (75.3%) (see Table 1.2) and about two-thirds of the total had been born in Newcastle itself (62.6%). Of those who named their district of birth rather more (22.8%) had been born in the West end than in the East of the city (18.3%). In the West, Scotswood and Elswick were the most common birthplaces and both are densely settled riverside districts undergoing systematic redevelopment. Away from the river Arthurs Hill/Westgate and Bennwell were also common birthplaces. On the eastern side of the city, Byker, the counterpart riverside suburb accounted for almost half those born on that side. Only two of the men had been born locally, both in Coxlodge, practically the only nearby area built up before the second World War (for place names on Tyneside see Map 1).

(A) Figures quoted from "Challenge of the Changing North" - Northern Economic Planning Council. H.M.S.O. 1966.

The wives and female householders had a broadly similar pattern of birthplace but different in detail (Table 1.3). Here again three-quarters were born on Tyneside (75.2%). Relatively more were born in the West End (25.8%) mainly in Benwell, Elswick, Scotswood and Westgate/Arthurs Hill. In the East, Byker was again the leading birthplace followed by Walker. Of the 25 born in other parts of Tyneside 10 were from Gateshead.

Roughly 10% of both men and women had been born in the North East (excluding Tyneside) and in a wide variety of localities. Of the 16 men, 7 came from "pit villages" in the Northumberland/Durham coalfield, 2 were born in other villages and 7 in one of the towns of the region.

The women were mainly born in the small towns of the region (14), though 5 were born in Sunderland, and 4 in the rural North East.

Rather more men than women (12.7% as against 9.1%) were born outside the region. The main areas of origin were Scotland (5 men, 4 women) the North of England (7 men, 3 women) and London and the South of England (5 men, 6 women). Only 2 in the sample, both women, had been born overseas.

Previous Residence

The geographical stability of the North Kenton sample is further emphasised by analysis of their former residence (see Table 1.4). Only 7 (3.5%) had lived previously outside the county borough of Newcastle. The residential qualification necessary to obtain a council tenancy was almost absolute so far as the sample were concerned. Inter-authority transfers are rare and can be a major obstacle to redevelopment and growth in certain areas.

The greater part of the sample had moved to North Kenton from clearance areas within the city. Over half had come from the West End (53.4%) mainly from Elswick, Benwell, Scotswood, and Arthurs Hill/Westgate, in all of which redevelopment has continued apace (A). About a quarter (27.5%) moved in from the East End chiefly from Byker, Walker, Heaton and Shieldfield and again many of those moves were attributable to slum clearance. Some 5.2% came from the city centre, also mainly as a result of rehousing.

Not all, however, had moved in response to clearance programmes even from the older districts. Some had requested a move, some had outgrown their former accommodation and some had negotiated transfers with other council tenants. There were therefore, a number who had moved in from other council estates, notably Blakelaw (an area with a large number of prefabricated bungalows), Fenham, Fawdon, Cowgate, Denton and Montagu.

- (A) It is interesting to note the somewhat tenuous geographical linkage between the West End and North Kenton, both on the same side of the city. If those who moved to North Kenton from nearby are also included then two-thirds had previously lived in the West End. This is marked at Sheerwater (see Page 126) where the urban scale is much larger and where most people had moved out from inner South London.

Since rehousing in Newcastle has been continuing over a long period and North Kenton has been a reception area since its inception, it is difficult to distinguish any geographical grouping of people from redevelopment areas within the estate. Families have tended to move in as houses have become available and were not transferred "en bloc" from any one area. In any case, some houses have changed hands at least once since they were built. As a result the population within each part of the estate and of the estate as a whole is very mixed in terms of previous residence. In E.D.10, for example, an area of mixed housing in the centre of North Kenton, the previous residences of the households sampled were as follows:-

Fawdon (2)	Scotswood (5)	Walker (3)
Central Newcastle (2)	Fenham (2)	Heaton (1)
Elswick (2)	Jesmond (1)	Walkergate (1)
Benwell (3)	Byker (3)	Shieldfield (1)

The length of residence on the estate also varies widely. The original tenants had been there for a period of up to 13 years when the survey was undertaken (those on the eastern side, the first part to be completed). The length of residence pattern is summarised below: -

No. of Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
No. in Sample	16	10	11	4	15	14	13	26	32	25	11	13	3

TOTAL = 193

From this table it is clear that more than half (110) of the sampled population had lived on the estate for more than eight years and most of those were the original tenants.

North Kenton's population, then, comes from a variety of districts though usually from the same city and they have moved onto the estate at different times. As a result two of the integrating features in a community - common residence and common origin - are, in large measure, absent. The development of neighbourhood consciousness, then, rests on a third integrating factor - place, the estate itself. How far such a spirit is able to develop rests on the ability of the people to adjust to a new environment. North Kenton, as will be seen, falls short of the notional ideal of the socially balanced neighbourhood unit (A) for its people do not share a common history, many of them coming from areas where community spirit was pervasive. The degree to which they have formed social groupings and their dependence on the local and wider community are the subjects of the following sections.

(A) For a further discussion of this concept see Introduction and Appendix I.

EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

North Kenton is, like most council estates, overwhelmingly working class. The men are mainly engaged in manual work whether skilled or unskilled, or in clerical occupations, while the women are employed in offices, shops, factories or in domestic work. There is a marked absence of professional or executive workers (A). Despite the homogeneity of economic status in North Kenton the estate displays internal segregation. This, however, as will be seen has more to do with the housing environment than with occupations or rent differentials.

The employed population of North Kenton are almost all in the lower income groups (B). The 10% sample were asked to give details of their type of work, place of work, means of travel and their work history. The 193 households surveyed had the following occupational pattern:-

1. Households with male heads of working age		143
of which male head married	139	
of which male head single	4	
2. Households with female head of working age		11
of which widowed	5	
of which separated/divorced	5	
of which single	1	
3. Households where head is retired		39
of which married couples	12	
of which male only	3	
of which female only	24	
	<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>193</u>
		<u>193</u>

The numbers employed per dwelling varied widely as Table 4 shows:-

North Kenton Estate - Table 4

Number at work per dwelling
(Sample size 193)

No. at Work	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
No. of Households	41 (1)	51	54	31	12	3	1
% of Households	21.4	26.5	28.7	16.2	6.4	1.6	0.6

(1) Including retired households.

(A) Occupational and social segregation is discussed in the Introduction.

(B) See A.T. Blowers and R.E. Bailey - "Urban-Rural Incomes and Expenditure": Northumberland Rural Community Council 1968 (Unpublished). North Kenton is here compared with rural Northumberland.

Obviously a large number of families depend upon more than one income though it need not follow that they are prosperous. The extra earners are frequently wives in part-time employment or children, neither of whom make large earnings. In any case the benefits to be derived from several incomes are short-term. At the time of survey North Kenton had a large number of working children.

North Kenton also has a number of families living on low incomes as a result of death, illness, or unemployment. In these cases wives may be forced to work. In the sample there were examples of a separated wife supporting five school-age children and a disabled husband with seven children (two at work) whose wife had taken a part-time job.

Wives at Work

There was evidence of a high female activity rate at North Kenton. Since activity rates are computed for the total female population of working age, the age structure of North Kenton is likely to contribute to the relatively high rate here.

Of more interest than the activity rate is the nature and extent of the concealed female labour reserve and on this subject there is a dearth of statistical information (A). It is interesting to compare North Kenton with Whiteleas council estate, South Shields, one of two areas chosen for a pilot survey into the concealed female labour reserve (B). Whiteleas is a new council estate in the south of South Shields and although the sample taken there is not directly comparable with that of North Kenton the results were informative. At Whiteleas only 26% of the women interviewed were working owing, in large measure, to the high proportion (80%) with "dependent" children (C).

- (A) J. Taylor: "Furness and the Problem of Hidden Labour Reserves". Paper presented to Regional Studies Assoc. Conference, Glasgow 1968. Also, "Hidden Female Labour Reserves", Regional Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1968. Also, David Eversley and Kathleen Gales: "Married Women: Britain's Biggest Reservoir of Labour", Progress, Vol.53, No.301 3/1969.
- (B) A.T. Blowers and D. Burton: "The need for more information about the female labour reserve in the North East", North East Development Council 1965 (Cyclostyled).
- (C) Defined as those of school age and under.

The majority of the women (23%) worked part-time. At North Kenton the situation was different, for although there was a similar number with dependent children (84.7%) a much higher proportion were working (44.4%), mostly part-time (81%). Even allowing for the inadequacy of the data the female activity rate of North Kenton is comparatively high.

It was quite clear that on both estates there was a strong incentive for wives to seek work, and although Whiteleas had fewer wives at work, there was evidence of a substantial concealed female labour reserve there (28%). Willingness to work depended on the removal of obstacles such as inconvenient hours and lack of nursery facilities.

The motives for working were dominantly economic though in some cases the psychological need for an outside interest was important. "You can't get a living wage here unless the wife goes out to work" was a typical comment. There was sometimes a hint of emulation expressed as - "Women have watched other women going out to work and they are all following suit". Usually, though, the need was a practical one for families were often an economic burden - "It's not having children, it's keeping them that's difficult". It was also clear that job opportunities were good locally, a major factor in explaining the high female participation rate. Apart from two local factories, domestic work and other occupations could be found in the vicinity or in Newcastle. One or two employers operated shifts designed to attract the woman with a family. Winthrops, nearby, had introduced an evening shift from 5.45 to 9.30 p.m. Otherwise women worked during school hours or at a time when husbands and relatives could look after the children.

In sum, therefore, there is a high incidence of working wives in North Kenton, mainly in part-time employment. The problem of dependent children is overcome by working congenial hours or with the assistance of relatives. The motive for working is usually an economic one and employment opportunities for women are good (see Table 5).

North Kenton Estate - Table 5

Work pattern of wives of active (1) heads of households
(No. in sample 139)

WORKING				NOT WORKING			
With Dependent Children		without dependent Children		with dependent Children		without dependent Children	
Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time
No. 44	8	6	3	64		12	
% 31.6	5.7	4.3	2.2	46.0		8.6	

(1) i.e. - not retired

TOTAL (including 2 retired) = 139

In addition to working wives of active male heads of households there were 11 families in the sample where a female was head. Five of these were widows of whom three were at work (one with no dependents, one supporting a child with a part-time job and one who had two children at work). In five families the marriage had broken up leaving a mother as head of the family. Again three of these were at work and all five had large families to support. The remaining female head was single and working full-time.

Occupations

Tables 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 1.8 and 1.9 detail the type of work in which men, women and children on the estate were employed. For men the predominance of manual occupations was striking (78.5%). Most of these jobs required some skill although the degree of training required varied markedly. The only other significant occupational groups for men were supervisory grades and clerical work. The number of miners (3) was low for a region where that industry employed 9.3% of the total males employed in 1964. The mining labour force however, is concentrated around pit villages and North Kenton miners had a long way to travel. Distance also accounted for the lack of shipyard workers in North Kenton. The unemployment rate on the estate was low suggestive of its accessibility to wide occupational opportunities.

There were 58 boys at work in the sample and again a high percentage (72.4%) were in manual jobs and a fifth of the total (20.7%) were in unskilled work. There were no supervisors and few clerical workers among the boys.

Girls, by contrast, worked mainly in tertiary occupations as shop assistants or in offices. A third (34.5%) of the total of 55 worked in factories many of them locally. For married women, too, factory work was important especially with part-time workers. However, the largest single part-time occupation was in domestic work (17) where the hours were convenient for a woman with a family. Several worked as barmaids, school auxiliaries and collectors, jobs which also offered flexible hours. Clerical work with its rigid office hours was acceptable only as a full-time occupation.

Workplace

Workplace and the journey to work are an important factor in a community's spatial relationships with the wider area and are of obvious concern to the social geographer. The workplaces of the employed people in the 10% sample of North Kenton are detailed in Tables 1.10, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13 and 1.14.

For many people, particularly those dependent on public transport (A), choice of workplace is limited by the constraints of time/distance and cost.

(A) For analysis of mode of transport used in journey to work see below Pages 58 and 60.

Further limitations are imposed by the distribution of employment. The increasing separation of workplace and home which has resulted from greater affluence and mobility, and which has been cause and effect of the changing structure of cities has affected all classes. Some commute from choice, others must accept it as the necessary price of rehousing. The large scale redevelopment of congested central districts and the consequent growth of suburbs, suburban villages and new towns has imposed new spatial relationships on the transferred population. North Kenton is one of many estates where people who once worked near their homes now face journeys to work of varying distance. While there has also been some devolution of industry it has not been on the same scale and factory occupations still tend to concentrate in central areas (A).

For many workers the move to North Kenton was enough to prove inconvenient but of too short a distance to result in a change of job (B). In any case there are few local employment opportunities for men. For married women, especially those in part-time work, the need for a job nearby was paramount (C).

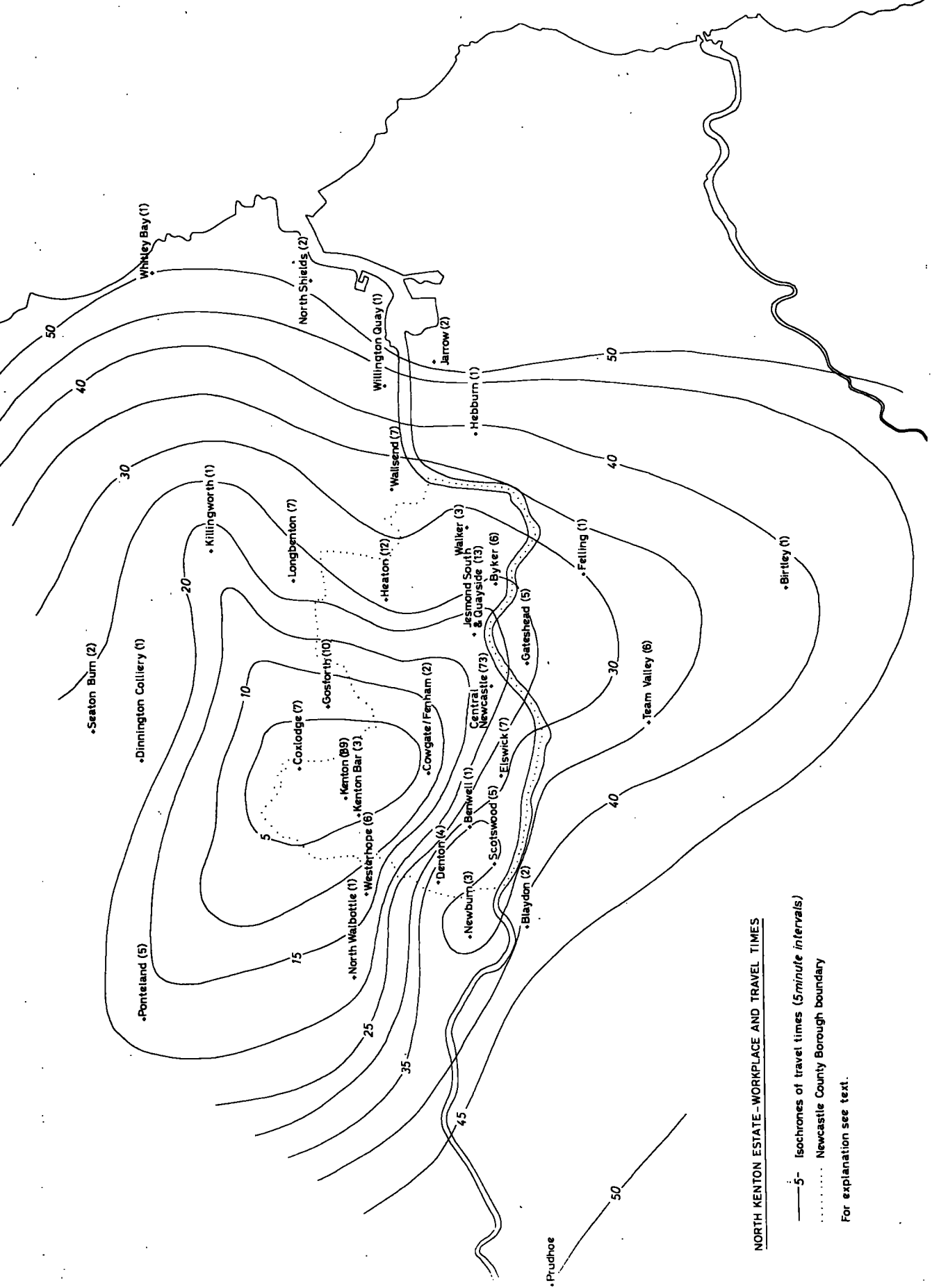
Apart from two local factories, Winthrops and Rowntrees, on the northern side of the estate, it is necessary to use either public or private transport to get to work. Nearby districts - Kenton Bar, Cowgate and Gosforth (D) - may be reached by bus in under 10 minutes direct. Central Newcastle (17 minutes), Fenham and Jesmond are within

- (A) The effect of rehousing on the pattern of employment has been explored in some detail by H.B. Rodgers in "Employment and the Journey to Work in an overspill Community". Soc. Rev. Vol. 7, No. 2, December 1959, Pages 213 to 229.
- (B) Unlike the situation at Sheerwater Estate where the distance moved was about 20 miles and local employment opportunities were considerable. See Sheerwater survey below Pages 121 to 123.
- (C) At Worsley, Rodgers (op.cit.) found that "because of the higher cost of living on the new estates they (the wives) feel compelled to make some contribution to the family income but the net wage from a distant part-time job is so slight that it scarcely justifies the effort involved". Page 225.
- (D) For locations within Newcastle see Map 1.
For details of bus routes see above Pages 42 and 43.

20 minutes travel time and with central Gateshead can also be reached without interchange. For all other districts at least one change is necessary if the bus is used. In computing times, only actual travelling time is calculated and thus allowance must be made for waiting for connections (A). By changing at Cowgate, Westerhope (13 minutes) North Walbottle (18 minutes) and Newburn (32 minutes) are accessible by bus. At Kenton Bar a connection for Penteland (17 minutes) may be made and Benton on the north-east outskirts of the city is only 22 minutes journey time if a change is made in South Gosforth. For all other destinations it is necessary to change in the city centre. Thereby the western suburbs can be reached - Arthurs Hill (27 minutes), Elswick (29 minutes), Benwell (35 minutes), Scotswood (35 minutes) and Denton (38 minutes). The lack of a direct service to these suburbs was a frequent criticism. The eastern suburbs also must be reached by changing buses in the city centre - Byker (24 minutes), Heaton (28 minutes), and Walker (29 minutes). Other Tyneside towns may also be reached by bus from central Newcastle - Wallsend (43 minutes), Willington Quay (43 minutes) and North Shields (52 minutes) on the north bank, and south of the river, Team Valley (35 minutes), Felling (30 minutes), Hebburn (39 minutes) and Jarrow (49 minutes) are all within one hour's journey of North Kenton and usually much less. Of the other workplaces identified in the survey Seaton Burn, Birtley and Blaydon are the most accessible. In the cases of Dinnington and Hazelrigg in south-east Northumberland special transport was provided and the one worker in Prudhoe travelled by car. The longest journey undertaken by public transport was to Billingham-on-Tees (116 minutes). For journeys where the bus service was inconvenient, infrequent, or irregular the tendency to use private transport was obviously somewhat greater. (Map 5 illustrates by isochrones the accessibility of workplaces).

The journey to work pattern varied according to the member of the household and the type of occupation. The pattern for male heads of household is analysed in Table 1.10. Altogether over half (52.9%) of these men worked within 20 minutes bus journey of their homes, and as many as 19.6% within walking distance. These men worked either in the local factories or at Kenton Bar where there were a number of government offices.

- (A) In all cases the walking distance between interchange stops in Central Newcastle was less than a minute.



NORTH KENTON ESTATE - WORKPLACE AND TRAVEL TIMES

— 5- Isochrones of travel times (5minute intervals)

..... Newcastle County Borough boundary

For explanation see text.

About a fifth (19.6%) worked in the eastern and western suburbs of the city all of them between 20 and 40 minutes travelling time by bus from North Kenton. These included 10 (7.7%) working on the western side mainly at the riverside works of Messrs. Vickers in Elswick and Scotswood, 16 (11.6%) in the east where there are a number of large factories such as Parsons Engineering and Vickers Naval Yard now part of the Tyneside shipbuilding group, and one working in Benton.

Others who work outside the city but within 40 minutes travelling time went to Gateshead, Wallsend, Felling, etc., while further afield but still within daily travelling distance were North Shields, Hebburn, Jarrow and, surprisingly, Billingham.

This left 4 who worked outside the North East (2 in the U.K. and 2 abroad) and 14 who had peripatetic occupations (mainly salesmen or those working for contractors) with firms based on Tyneside (7), the North East (5) or London (2).

The pattern of workplace for working children emphasises clearly the two chief determinants of workplace - opportunity and accessibility. As the Table (Table 1.11) shows, girls worked locally, in the city centre and at Benton in response to the factory and service employment opportunities for them in those districts. Boys, on the other hand, worked in a greater variety of districts (Table 1.12) and a number travelled to the industrialised areas east and west of the city and on Tyneside generally.

For working wives the workplace pattern was quite distinct and the contrast between part-time and full-time workers marked. Part-time work was attractive if it could be found nearby thus saving time and travel cost. Thus 31 (62%) of the part-time working wives were within walking distance of their jobs as opposed to only 2 of the small sample who worked full-time. Another 5 of the part-time workers worked in Gosforth and 10 in the city centre. Of the rest only one, working in Benwell, had to face a bus journey of more than 20 minutes (see Table 1.13).

In those cases where the head of the household was female and at work (7), all worked within reasonable distance of North Kenton (Table 1.14). The workplace of other members of households is also shown in Table 1.14.

Means of Travel

Private transport may mitigate the time and inconvenience of bus travel and provide a wider range of opportunity but for most destinations a majority of North Kenton workers used public transport.

Just over half (51.5%) of the men travelled to work by bus (Table 1.15). Characteristically, there was a relatively low level of car ownership on the estate, the result of low incomes and the generally greater reliance on public transport in big cities (A). Tyneside is compact and the areas of greatest employment opportunity are concentrated and well served by public transport. A few workers travel considerable distances by bus.

An increasing proportion were able to walk as they took jobs locally and 16% of the sample were employed at Rowntrees and Winthrops.

Of those interviewed 23 (16.6%) out of 26 who owned a car, journeyed to work by car - 4 were peripatetic workers, 4 worked in central Newcastle and one worked locally. The remaining car commuters worked in places that were difficult to reach by bus from the estate. Scotswood, for example, is the most distant Newcastle suburb in terms of time from North Kenton and all three workers there used a car. For distant workplaces the flexibility of private transport becomes evident and some had bought cars to overcome the problem of travelling to work. Nearly half (10) of those using cars worked at some distance from home at Stella, Blaydon, Team Valley, Wallsend, Hebburn and Felling. The three who owned a car but did not use it for work had jobs on the estate, at Westerhope and one was a bus driver with free bus travel.

The remaining men either used motor cycles (3), cycles (9), or worked away from Tyneside, or were peripatetic workers. The cyclists were able to reach otherwise inaccessible local areas although some cycled to parts of Newcastle and even as far as Team Valley (Table 1.15).

Over half the boys at work (53.5%) and an equally high percentage of girls (54.5%) used buses to get to work. Since many of the girls worked locally a large number (41.8%) were able to walk. With part-time working wives the proportion walking to work was very high (64%). Only one went by car and all the rest (34%) used public transport. The full-timers, who usually worked further afield, had a different pattern - 2 walked, 2 went by car and 7 used public transport. The accompanying tables (Tables 1.16, 1.17, 1.18) give full details of the modal split for these groups.

The employment pattern is largely what might be expected on a working class housing estate. Many families have teenage children and these and many of the wives go out to work. Work is usually either manual (especially for men) or clerical and few have jobs with high incomes or which carry considerable responsibility. Although most of the workers (especially the men) must travel some distance to work, few have to face very long journeys.

(A) "In sizeable cities like Newcastle, Leeds or Leicester the proportion (using public transport) was around 80%".
New Society, 4th May 1967.

Living in a large conurbation with a good public transport service a high proportion of those who do not work locally travel to work by bus. Workplace for North Kenton people brings them into contact with the wider urban area. Their degree of dependence on the local area for social contacts is the subject of the next part of this survey.

RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

Geographical mobility, whether voluntary or necessary or a result of rehousing, has been one of the factors responsible for the disintegration of the close-knit community based on the extended family system. The other factors include greater affluence, better education and wider social and economic opportunities (A). As more of the population moves to suburbs on the urban fringe so the tendency for looser kinship ties increases and family relationships come to depend on choice rather than custom. Thus new communities physically divorced from their original homes have had to adapt to new surroundings and form social groupings based on more spontaneous association.

Middle-class families tend to move over considerable distances and more frequently than working-class families. The latter have less incentive to move as employment opportunities elsewhere rarely have the same financial attraction for them. In any case, as we have seen (Pages 48 and 49) housing policies tend to encourage immobility. When working-class families do move it is usually to an area close at hand where contacts with kinsfolk may be maintained. Gorer has also detected an interesting regional contrast - "People in the working-class outside the southern counties of England do tend to live near their kinsfolk: it is people of the South, especially the middle-class who are most often separated from their kith and kin and therefore dependent on friends and neighbours for help and companionship". (B)

North Kenton supports this viewpoint. Old ties have, perhaps, been loosened but not severed and most families have relatives, who, although scattered live within a few miles of the estate, in other parts of the city, or on Tyneside. Indeed, the Housing Department has endeavoured, where possible, to house old people in the same area as their children, and some of the old persons' dwellings in North Kenton are occupied by pensioners whose children also live on the estate. Rarely, however, are more than two householders on the estate related.

The nature and quality of relationships is outside the scope of this survey. However, geography will play an important part in that it influences the degree of opportunity that families have for intercourse with their relatives. Thus families were asked where their relatives lived and, more importantly, what frequency of contact they had with their relatives. This can be seen as an important first stage in an analysis of relationships.

(A) The break up of the old community life and the problems of new communities is a major feature of much sociological writing. See Introduction Page 7,8,9. A useful summary of community studies which are in part concerned with this theme is found in R. Frankenberg - Communities in Britain - 1966.

(B) G. Gorer: "Exploring English Character". London 1955.

Residence of Relatives

The residence of the nearest close relative is detailed in Table 1.19. "Nearest close relative" here means the married children or parents living nearest to the sampled household. (Where married children or parents are "living in" they are not included. When there are no married children or parents then the nearest siblings are counted.) Any analysis more ambitious than this would reveal little save the widespread network of family and friendship ties. Such an analysis is, admittedly, crude, for the nearest relatives are not necessarily the dearest and most households have more than one relative with whom they keep in contact.

From the Table (1.19)-a number of important points are evident. The population structure is, or has been, made up largely of young and middle-aged parents with dependent children. This is underlined by the fact that whereas 105 of the active households claimed a parent as the nearest close relative, only 34 had married children living elsewhere. Only 14 (9.2%) had neither married children nor parents living elsewhere and only one family had no close relatives at all.

Most of the North Kenton households in the active age groups had close relatives living within a short distance usually within Newcastle. Indeed, if siblings were included, then 22 (14.4%) of the active households had close relatives living on the estate itself and a further 8 (5.2%) had relatives living in the adjacent areas of Fawdon, Montagu and Coxlodge all within walking distance. When these are added to those whose close relatives lived elsewhere in Newcastle then altogether 134 (87.6%) of the active households had at least one close relative living within the city. Of the remainder 6 (3.9%) lived on Tyneside and 9 (5.9%) in the North East region leaving only 4 (2.6%) whose nearest relatives lived too far away for a visit to be accomplished within a day.

North Kenton families having moved to the estate, left behind their parents in the older districts. Some of the old people have secured a move nearer their children but many remain in (indeed prefer) their lifetime surroundings. The married children of North Kenton parents, however, tend themselves to move into council houses in various parts of the city.

The old persons' dwellings were built to enable old people to live near their children and grandchildren. For various reasons, among them formidable administrative problems and the resistance of old people to moving, this has not altogether been achieved. There were 39 retired households in the sample and 29 had married children (see Table 1.20). Half of these (15) had children who lived nearby, a third (10) in North Kenton. Eight had children living in Newcastle and in only two cases were the nearest children resident outside the North East. Of the 10 retired households who had no married children living away, 8 had siblings within easy reach and 2 had no close relatives at all.

Residence of Friends

In a similar fashion the residence of the friends nearest each household was established. North Kenton people were clear in their distinction between friends and acquaintances and recognised the demands made by friendship and the attitudes it evinces. For example, a tenant who had left London nine years previously said she had "only acquaintances here. We're not attracted to the area, or settled on the estate". Certain barriers were erected against acquaintances whereas friends enjoyed privileges denied to others such as being welcome inside the house. It is interesting to see how tenacious estate dwellers were on the question of domestic privacy. Strangers and officials, friends and relatives might be invited in but not neighbours (A) or mere acquaintances. "I am on speaking terms with them but none come into the house" and other phrases were recurrent. "We haven't friends we would go out with on the estate" said one couple thus identifying what was expected of friendships. The survey inevitably had to rely on the individual's interpretation of friendships and Table 1.21 gives full details of the geographical distribution of the friends of the interviewed households.

Almost two-thirds (61.1%) of the households of working age claimed to have at least one friend. About a third (32%) of the total and almost half of those with friends had made friends with at least one family on the estate (see Table 1.21). Some of these friendships had been developed as a result of propinquity rather than through common interests. In all except two cases the nearest friends lived on Tyneside, often in the older districts from which the North Kenton people had moved. Some of the active households (9.1%) had made friends on nearby council estates - Fawdon, Montagu, Coxlodge and Newbiggin Hall.

The retired people were relatively more dependent on the estate for their friendships although nearly half (18) of them said they had no friends at all. Half (11) of those with friends (21) had found friends in North Kenton while 6 had maintained old friendships with people in the east and west ends of the city (see Table 1.21).

Just how close these friendships were was difficult to evaluate and was in any case largely outside the scope of the survey. The evolution of the pattern of friendships is, however, partly based on geographical factors. In the old districts, as certain sociological evidence has shown, the individual was surrounded by his cognatic kin and had an accepted role within a stable community. Blood united people but was not exclusive. Far from hindering extra-familial relationships, it, in fact, encouraged them. "The kindred are, if we understand their function aright, a bridge between the individual and the community" (B).

- (A) This is not, of course, to suggest that neighbours never visit each others' homes.
- (B) M. Young and P. Willmott: - "Family and Kinship in East London" London 1957. P. 104.

This personal intimacy born of a common history amid familial surroundings is disrupted by moving and replaced by defensiveness. "The change from a people - centred to a house - centred existence is one of the fundamental changes resulting from migration" (A). This oversimplified viewpoint has, of course, been challenged (B). Nevertheless, the change from Byker or Elswick to North Kenton is of critical importance to the family. Distance from relatives and from familiar meeting grounds inevitably disrupts the established pattern. What replaces it is not necessarily to be disdained. Some people adjust rapidly to their new surroundings and may become the mainspring of a localised social network. Others nostalgically haunt their former homes visiting their relatives and friends, shopping there and drinking in their accustomed "local". The character of the urban fringe is, perhaps, its lack of a clear-cut personality, its incoherence.

North Kenton is not, in any case, strictly comparable to the "Greenleigh" of Young and Willmott or the "Barton" of Moge (C). Apart from obvious differences in size, it is located in Northern England and when studied had been settled for some time. Certainly the strained relationships, the inhibition of the inhabitants which seemed to permeate Greenleigh was largely absent from North Kenton. There were tensions, there was loneliness, coolness and reserve. The people were neither demonstrably friendly nor hostile to each other (see Table 1.22). In some areas neighbourliness was more fully developed than in others. Thus, Shilmore Road (E.D.8) was described as a "friendly little street" and in Fulbrook Road (E.D.8) a couple said, "we are friends with the whole street". Both these roads are small and traffic free. The maisonettes and flat blocks, despite their higher density, lack the busy atmosphere of the street and, as a recent survey has shown (D), opportunities for meeting and getting to know people are more limited in them. One housewife at the top of a point-block maisonette lamented "It's difficult to meet anyone up here". Even so, in some of the blocks very close friendships had developed among neighbouring tenants.

Often association was limited. One old man put the point tersely, "The rest (apart from his two friends) are ignorant and arrogant".

(A) Op. cit. P.154

(B) See Introduction Pages 7 and 9.

(C) Estates studied by Young and Willmott op. cit. and J.M. Moge: "Family and Neighbourhood" London 1956.

(D) "Families living at High Density" - Ministry of Housing and Local Government, Soc. Res. Section 1966 (Unpublished) P.30.

Animosity sometimes occurred as the following conversation records:-

1st Neighbour: "What's on T.V.?"

2nd Neighbour: "I don't know. Why don't you buy one?"

1st Neighbour: "I don't like it well enough".

2nd Neighbour: "That's alright then because you're never watching mine".

On such a large estate some loneliness was inevitable especially among the old. "I've hardly anybody at all" was a typical comment. Loneliness was the more poignant when the remedy appeared available. Thus one old couple with no relatives whose only friends live in Denton felt they should be offered a bungalow there.

Frequency of contact

The quality of the association with relatives and friends may be indicated by the frequency with which visits were exchanged. In moving to North Kenton many families had achieved an "independent propinquity" (A) vis-a-vis their relatives and visiting became less a matter of custom and more one of choice. The sample were asked to give details of the frequency of contact maintained with relatives and friends and 124 out of 154 active households did so (see Table 1.23). Well over half of these (76) saw both relatives and friends. With relatives (see Table 1.24) contact was usually regular and the frequency depended on distance. Where parents or married children lived on the estate or on a neighbouring estate such as Fawdon, Montagu, or Coxlodge, visits were exchanged frequently. At greater distance a weekly visit was common perhaps combined with a shopping expedition. Altogether 81 of these households saw their relatives often. The rest, for various reasons, - distance, cost, lack of interest, illness, work, young children, etc. - made less regular contact but only 7 of those replying never saw their relatives.

For old people nearness to relatives, especially children, was important. Even so, 7 of the 33 with relatives saw them only occasionally, if at all. The rest were usually in close touch with their relatives (see Table 1.24).

North Kenton has been long enough established for firm friendships to have been made. A large number of active and retired households saw their friends frequently. Whole families would sometimes meet together to share their leisure or a common interest. (One friendship, for example, had begun through a mutual interest in tropical fish). The information on Tables 1.22 and 1.24 despite its obvious limitations gives a rough guide to the degree of intimacy established among the inhabitants.

(A) The phrase is used by J.H. Sheldon in "The Social Philosophy of Old Age" - P.25.

Some families continued to exchange visits with friends in other parts of the city whom they had known before moving to North Kenton. Distance was often a formidable barrier:- "All the people locally are friendly but we lost touch with our friends in Benwell when we moved here". New arrivals on the estate were cautious about making friends:- "If you get too friendly with the neighbours there is always trouble later on". Yet only 3 households had neither friends nor relatives to visit and two of these three were spinsters. The other was a family of five apparently quite contented.

North Kenton may lack obvious community spirit but it is not an unfriendly place. A general impression of small units was conveyed and this is reinforced in the discussion that forms the concluding part of this survey. It is to the estate as a functional unit that we now turn.

NEIGHBOURHOOD FUNCTIONS

The main social focus of North Kenton Estate is its neighbourhood centre located on the southern side within the angle formed by Halewood Avenue and Kirkwood Drive (A). Although some community buildings - schools, churches, clubs, etc. - are found elsewhere on the estate, North Kenton exhibits a degree of concentration of its main services.

In a purely functional sense North Kenton is a neighbourhood unit (B) with variegated housing, green spaces, schools and churches, the ingredients of a village albeit transmuted into urban (or rather suburban) form. The dependence of people on its services is an indication of the extent to which it is a recognised unit. From an examination of shopping and leisure habits it is possible to assess the spatial interaction of the people both within the estate and within the wider urban community. In such a way an evaluation of the estate as a functional and social entity may emerge.

Some of the facilities provided for a community may appear to be surplus to needs. There are several reasons for this. The population may regard them as unattractive and patronise other districts, or there may be over-provision of some amenities, for instance, of supermarkets (C) or there may be an apparent demand for an amenity which, though available, is under-utilised, for example, a Community Centre or Youth Club. In the latter case care is needed to discover whether the amenity concerned is adequate. Conversely, there may appear to be underprovision of amenities for the reverse of the above reasons. Where demand for a service is strong it may indicate not only widespread need but also the strength of community assertiveness. The reverse, of course, applies also and may indicate a weak or negative community spirit.

All these general observations must now be tested with reference to North Kenton Estate.

Shopping (D)

Since the North Kenton survey was a comprehensive one it did not prove possible to make a sophisticated enquiry into the shopping habits of the population. Such questions as the value of purchases and the turnover of individual shops were ignored. However, by limiting the investigation to a consideration of the centres used and the frequency of shopping a number of important conclusions were reached.

- (A) For a description of the neighbourhood centre see above Pages 38 and 40.
- (B) This concept is fully discussed in Appendix I.
- (C) For a discussion of overprovision and underprovision as related to shopping see V. Applebaum and S.B. Cohen:.. "Dynamics of store trading areas and market equilibrium" - Annals of Assoc. of Am. Geog. 51, No. 1. 1961.
- (D) See above Pages 38-40 for description of shopping centres in the area.

Arndale House (Plate 21), the estate's main shopping centre was clearly popular and regularly used by most people (see Table 1.25). Altogether 159 of the sampled households said they used it to satisfy their general household needs, (food and other provisions regularly needed). Only Newcastle city centre (13 households) and Coxlodge (8) had any strong allegiance for general household shopping among the remaining 34 households. In these latter households Arndale House was usually the second choice centre. It was characteristic that Arndale House's attraction was weakest at those points furthest from it. For example, housewives in E.D.6 (7 altogether) and E.D.7 (8 altogether) both about a half mile from the shopping centre sometimes shopped in the local shops of Coxlodge and Fawdon. Certainly these shops were frequently quoted as second-choice centres for housewives on the eastern side of the estate. Although the Coxlodge shops were less comprehensive in range than Arndale House they obviated a longer journey when daily needs were all that was required. In this part of the estate there was a tendency, by no means universal to shop locally for daily needs and at Arndale House for major supplies.

Newcastle's central business district, though a poor second to Arndale House as a first-choice centre for general household needs was quite clearly most people's second choice (Table 1.25) and, if the various local shopping centres are ignored for the moment, it was almost the only second choice centre (Gosforth was the only other centre mentioned).

The remaining second-choice centres were all local ones and, as indicated above, were mainly patronised by housewives in those districts furthest from Arndale House. Some housewives professed third or even fourth choices and a number obviously enjoyed "shopping around" or would make occasional purchases in districts of the city where they worked or where their relatives lived (for example, Benwell). In the case of Gosforth ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) and to a lesser extent because of its greater distance Shields Road, Byker (approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles) variety and price were the obvious attractions (for full details see Table 1.25).

For larger and luxury items the magnetism of Newcastle's shops is powerful in North Kenton as it is over much of the North East (Table 1.26). It is easily accessible and utterly comprehensive with keen prices as a further incentive. Many North Kenton families combined household shopping with the purchase of items unobtainable locally on their visits to Newcastle city centre. Of all the households interviewed (193) only 10 (all pensioners) said they never shopped in the city. Most (122) made regular visits of at least once a month and 65 went at least once a week. The remainder made infrequent visits. In fact, so great was Newcastle's sway that alternatives were rarely even mentioned, and if mentioned were but rarely visited. Gateshead, because of its large department store (Shephards), was mentioned 5 times, Gosforth 3 and Darlington once. The main items purchased on visits to the main centres were clothing, furniture, shoes, meat, and fresh fruit and vegetables. The Newcastle city markets were very popular and praised for their variety, fresh produce, quality and price. The most popular store, for the people of North Kenton at least, appeared to be the Co-operative and a strong loyalty to it remained especially among the older women of the estate.

Although popular the local shops were found wanting on some counts. The lack of variety was indicated and the most serious omissions were felt to be a clothing shop and a shoe shop (especially for children's shoes). The number of supermarkets was thought excessive by some respondents. Relatively few found the North Kenton shops expensive although they acknowledged Newcastle and some of the older districts of the city (especially Shields Road) to be cheaper. In fact prices at North Kenton had considerably improved since its inception it seemed. Few comments were made about quality though some preferred to buy meat and vegetables in Newcastle. Thus, while Arndale House was regarded as adequate for general household needs it was unable to supply more specialised items.

Mobile shops, it appeared, had been gradually squeezed out of North Kenton and usually only ventured onto the estate in the evening when recourse had to be made to them. Price was their greatest drawback-"daylight robbery" as one woman expressed it. They had been more extensively used before Arndale House was fully developed. Some people continued to make occasional purchases from them but over half (106 households) said they never used them. (See Table 1.27)

Arndale House serves a wider area than North Kenton estate. It is strategically located at the junction between public and private housing. There is no rival centre until Arlington Avenue on Montagu estate, a more modest development, is reached (nearly a mile away). The few small shops in Kenton Lane, like those in Coxlodge, satisfy the day-to-day requirements of those in the immediate vicinity.

The significance of Arndale House to the owner-occupiers off Kenton Lane was outside the scope of the survey. A small-scale survey was undertaken one Friday morning to gain an impression of the origin of customers in terms of district. In this way some appreciation of the proportion of shoppers from North Kenton estate was obtained. (See Table 1.28)

Of 58 people questioned 37 lived on the estate. Of the rest 8 had come from Montagu estate, some parts of which are closer to Arndale House than Arlington Avenue. Perhaps surprisingly only 6 lived in the owner-occupied houses in Kenton but the number within easy reach of Arndale House is not great. Three housewives had come from Blakelaw estate, parts of which are within walking distance and one had come from Coxlodge, one from Fawdon, one from Cowgate and one from Benwell. Even from such uncertain evidence it was apparent that North Kenton's shops depended mainly on North Kenton people but did have a fairly wide territorial appeal in the post-war suburban area that makes up North West Newcastle.

Well over half (32) of the shoppers interviewed on that particular Friday claimed to visit the shops daily and a further 10 visited them at least twice a week. The rest, except one, made weekly visits. This further underlines the estate's function as a local household shopping centre. The most popular shops with this sample were the grocery stores - Fine Fare (mentioned 26 times), Thompsons (25), Co-operative (20) and Hadrian (14).

The greengrocers' came next and the rest were only infrequently mentioned. This did not mean, of course, that they were rarely visited merely that housewives regarded the grocery shops as the main object of their expedition.

Here, as in the larger survey, the centre received high praise for its cheapness and service and adverse comments were few.

The neighbourhood shopping centre of North Kenton, then, serves both the estate and other nearby areas. For general household needs it is used by most people on the estate and only for those on the northern and eastern fringes are other local shops of any significance, and even here Arndale House remains the main centre. For household shopping, at least, the estate does form a neighbourhood with a single focus. However, as the following section shows, the same can rarely be said for other neighbourhood functions.

Other Services

The neighbourhood may be viewed from two standpoints. It can be seen as an elaborated service unit with a population large enough to support a wide range of services. Such neighbourhoods containing up to 10,000 people have been fairly typical of post-war planning particularly in the 1950's. They are, in many ways, a satisfactory planning unit, and can be physically defined by utilising obvious boundaries such as open spaces, a major road and so on.

Alternatively, the neighbourhood may be viewed as a much smaller and more intimate grouping, a street or a group of houses perhaps, the limit of the individual's immediate horizon (A). Beyond the street is a wide, more alien, territory. To attempt to foster, through planning and design, the community spirit of this wider group depends on a series of assumptions which, as we have seen (see Introduction and Appendix I) most available research suggests, are erroneous. It also presupposes that environment is a determinant of community spirit and we have, as yet, little evidence on this question (B). There has, in recent years, been a reaction against the notion that the large neighbourhood unit can be planned as a social entity. More emphasis is now laid upon the small localised cluster or group in many housing schemes, while the larger unit is treated as a functionally self-sufficient neighbourhood. These larger neighbourhoods

(A) For comments on the intimate neighbourhood see Pages 9 and 10.

(B) See Introduction Pages 11-15 and A.T. Blowers "Council Housing: The social implications of layout and design in an urban fringe estate". Town Planning Review. Vol. 4, No. 1. January 1970. Pages 80 to 92.

rely on the convenience and accessibility of the range of services they provide and form part of a hierarchical system of communities within cities (A). Estates like North Kenton represent as a whole efficient units in a functional sense, though on the smaller scale no effort was made to develop more intimate social groupings.

North Kenton is of sufficient size, as has been seen (B) to support a number of community facilities. Its shops are well patronised, its schools and library also serve the whole estate and its clinic offers a meeting ground for informal contact between young housewives (C). The specifically social facilities, however, - public houses, youth clubs and churches - tend to polarise the estate into groups, with common interests or needs and fail to act as galvanising forces on the estate as a whole.

We have, therefore, a complex system. There is, firstly, the estate as a whole, recognisable territorially and for certain functions such as shopping. Secondly, there is the localised group of dwellings where the quality of association varies and which can often be defined geographically (D). Thirdly, there are the special interest groups who participate in certain activities - over 60's club, churches, etc. - provided for locally. Finally, there are those for whom the estate is merely a home, who desire privacy and who develop their social contacts further afield - at work or in their leisure time. The distributional aspects of these associations are of relevance here and may now be examined.

Schools (See Table 1.29)

The size of neighbourhood units has been largely controlled by primary school catchment areas, for children are dependent on the local environment (E). North Kenton has two large primary schools - Hillsvie and Mountfield - both within well defined tributary areas. Hillsvie draws its pupils from E.D.'s 7, 10, 11 and 12 on the northern and western parts of the estate while Mountfield serves the eastern and central areas (E.D.'s 6, 8, 9 and 13).

- (A) The Newcastle Development Plan Review recognises the characteristics of neighbourhoods as areas with physical, economic and social unity within the greater unit of the city and, acknowledging the work being done on neighbourhoods and housing estates, intends to "follow this through into new social policies to give the optimum conditions for the varied groups living within the city". Pages 101 - 103.
- (B) See above Pages 38-42.
- (C) In some new communities, eg. Harlow, this aspect has been fully exploited.
- (D) See below Pages 89-90.
- (E) Lewis Mumford, among others, felt "primary schools were a satisfactory criterion and enabled children to feel that daily life can have unity and significance for him, as a representation of the larger whole". The Culture of Cities 1938.

The Catholic population is served by St. Cuthberts Junior School. The old Edgefield Primary School to the north east of the estate takes very few North Kenton children and will be closed down while a new three form entry primary school will be constructed for the newly developing Kenton area.

A majority of secondary school pupils attend Kenton Comprehensive (62 out of 105 in the sample of secondary school age) or St. Thomas More (R.C.) Secondary School, both situated on the estate. Pending secondary school reorganisation in the city, at the time of survey, grammar school pupils from the estate had to travel a considerable distance to Heaton Grammar School for boys (6) and Heaton High School for girls (7) on the eastern side of the city, or St. Cuthberts (R.C.) Grammar School in Benwell (7), the two convents for girls in Fenham (2) or Jesmond (2) or St. Mary's (R.C.) Technical School in the city. In addition, some North Kenton children attended special schools such as Pendower Open School (West End) or the Northern Counties School for the Deaf (Jesmond). There were few complaints made about the Kenton schools though some felt the classes to be too large (A).

Doctors

There was also considerable satisfaction with the provision of medical facilities though a number of people, often through choice, had to travel some distance to visit their doctor. They had not changed their doctor upon removal from other areas of the city. Thus, doctors serving the estate lived in all parts of the city and Benwell (11), Heaton (8) and Elswick (5) were the most common districts to which patients would travel (see Table 1.30). The majority, however, saw local doctors, particularly those who practised from the surgeries in Hillsvie Avenue (61), Kenton Lane (30) Edgefield Avenue (25) and the Meadows, Fawdon (11). None of these surgeries had a clear catchment area, for all were sufficiently convenient for the infrequent visits which most people paid to their doctor. The Hillsvie Avenue surgery, as was to be expected, was especially popular with residents on the western side of the estate, Kenton Lane with those to the south especially in E.D.13, and the various doctors in Coxledge, Edgefield Avenue and the Meadows were attractive to those living in the adjacent areas of North Kenton (see Map 6).

Churches

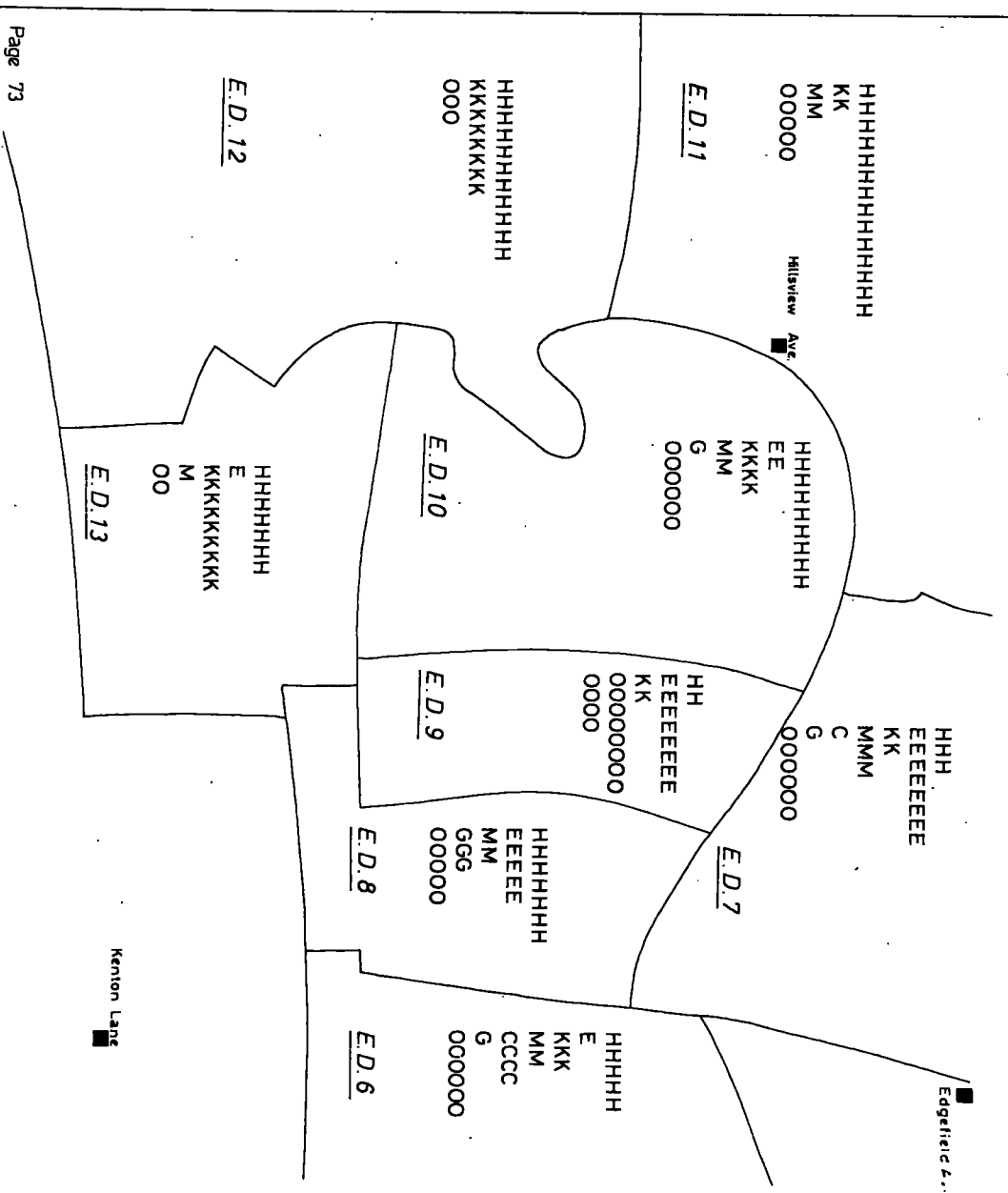
Religious indifference is supposedly typical of the working-class population. On North Kenton, however, as many as 66 of the sampled households professed interest in the Church. A number of these were lapsed members but the large Roman Catholic population helped to swell the ratio of churchgoers (34 of the total). In several families only one or two members

(A) There is, of course, the problem of adjusting the number of school places to the abnormal birth-rate pattern of estates. See Shoerwater Survey Pages 109-110, 112-113, and "New Communities in Britain" by J.H. Nicholson, London 1961, Pages 28-29.

MAP 6
 NORTH KENTON ESTATE -
 USE OF LOCAL SURGERIES

- E.D. Enumeration District
 Surgeries -
- H Hillsview Avenue
 - E Edgetfield Avenue
 - K Kenton Lane
 - M The Meadows
 - C Coxlodge
 - G Gosforth
 - O Others
- Location of surgeries

Each symbol represents surgery attended by one sampled household.



would attend Church regularly. While a number of denominations were represented including, Presbyterian, Jehovah's Witnesses, Plymouth Brethren and the Salvation Army, most churchgoers attended St. Cuthberts Roman Catholic Church on Hillside Avenue, the Anglican Church on nearby Montagu estate, or the Methodist Church House on Kirkwood Drive. Some, Anglicans especially, had an allegiance to certain city centre churches (see Table 1.31).

The churches were responsible for a number of social organisations which were utilised by non-members as well. The Catholics, for example, apart from the Women's League and a Youth Club, held a Bingo session once a week. The Methodists were also active especially their Youth Club which was enjoying increasing popularity. The Anglican Church suffered in this respect having no building on the estate.

Local Organisations

North Kenton had no Community Hall or Tenants Association (A). The Y.W.C.A. building in Dugdale Road had a varied programme catering for all age groups but appealing only to a small section of the community. It was both applauded and condemned by residents, some feeling that it filled a vacuum, others that it was a source of noise and hooliganism. In 1966, under a new warden, it had begun to improve.

The dearth of local entertainment for youth was widely criticised and led to some speculation. "This lack (of entertainment) causes a lot of crime" was a typical expression used. Whether the poor reputation of the estate can be simply traced to a lack of youth clubs, however, is extremely doubtful. This question has been studied carefully by Hilda Jennings who concluded that vandalism may become common on removal to new estates, though absent previously in the older areas (B).

Although there were a number of local organisation more than half the households interviewed (106) did not participate in any activities. In very few were the whole family active. Table 1.32 lists the various local organisations which drew membership from the estate.

In some parts of the estate neighbours had acted together spontaneously to provide some social functions. In some areas women frequently exchanged visits for coffee and conversation. In Mostyn Green, for instance, swimming parties and more commercial enterprises (parties for selling cosmetics and plastic ware) had developed. On a grander scale some groups arranged coach trips to the Coast for the women and children of their locality. Co-operative activities of this type underline the tendency for neighbourliness to be a purely localised phenomenon perhaps encouraged by housing layout.

(A) See above Pages 41-42.

(B) Hilda Jennings: "Societies in the Making". London 1962.

The Church and Youth Clubs apart, then, few local organisations had more than a limited appeal. Some residents had exploited the opportunities of spontaneous association with neighbours to the full and thus partially overcame the paucity of social provision for mothers and children. Elsewhere where family commitments, work or apathy prevail communal social activity has become atrophied.

Commercial Entertainment

Commercial entertainment of various kinds provided the most significant social activity for the greater part of the population. Apart from its public houses North Kenton had little to offer in this respect. The "Kenton Quarry" was the recognised 'local' of 39 of the sampled households and the "Hawthorn" for 10. Other nearby public houses also had their adherents - the "Duke of Wellington", Kenton Lane (12), the "Kenton Bar" (3), the "Coxlodge Inn" (2) and the "Jubilee" also in Coxlodge (4). Few men still went regularly to pubs in other parts of the city.

Social clubs were also popular centres of entertainment especially the two situated in Coxlodge. Individually there were members of a large number of widely dispersed social clubs and these are detailed in Tables 1.33 and 1.34.

Apart from drinking the most popular form of entertainment was Bingo (34 households). The Catholics held a weekly session on the estate but addicts visited a number of places often two or three times a week. The most popular sessions were held in Coxlodge and Kenton Lane nearby, and Gosforth, Fenham and the West Road further afield.

While the estate itself provided little in the way of commercial entertainment a number of tastes could be indulged within a short distance and the varied attractions of the city centre were also easily accessible (A). Interestingly, the characteristic forms of entertainment - Bingo and Social Clubs - were the most gregarious and it was frequently observed that groups of neighbours would go out for the evening together.

When viewed from the social aspect North Kenton presents a seemingly contradictory image. For most of its people it was scarcely more than a council estate and its shops, clinic, schools and public houses were used because they were convenient. Its youth clubs and old people's clubs had to compete with other districts and with indifference. For most forms of entertainment people had to go beyond the estate. Not perhaps surprisingly there was a marked degree of dissatisfaction among the

(A) Among the most popular city based entertainments were the cinema (25 households) nightclubs (8), dancing (5) and eating out (4).

residents when they were asked if the social provision was adequate (A). This was the obvious answer. More telling was the low level of participation in local functions - for example 26 of the retired households (39 altogether) never went out for entertainment at all (see Table 1.34). Demand for new social provision was inadequate and inarticulate and the supply of further social amenities increasingly unlikely at a time when home-centred activities and increased mobility were reducing dependence on the immediate environment. And yet in parts of the estate it was possible to detect a more localised and spontaneous social participation. That the estate could be viewed in terms of its sub groups and how far they may be geographically determined is the theme of the remaining part of this survey.

(A) Interviewees were asked the subjective question -

"Would you say the area is well provided with entertainment for (a) young people, and (b) other groups?".

The replies which bear out the suggestive nature of the question were as follows:-

1. Active Households (154)

	<u>Adequate Provision</u>	<u>Inadequate Provision</u>	<u>Poor Provision</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
For young people	22.9%	59.1%	13.1%	4.9%
For other groups	22.9%	55.8%	14.8%	6.5%

2. Retired Households (39)

For young people	27.3%	54.5%	4.6%	13.6%
For other groups	40.9%	40.9%	13.6%	4.6%

THE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT

The impact of housing design and estate layout upon a community has been the subject of considerable debate (A). Until recently, for various reasons,"there has not been as much attention given to the human aspect of living as to improvements in the mechanical aspects of living"(B). In the public housing sector, especially, cost, land hunger, and increasing headship rates have forced authorities to build hurriedly and often at high density. Increasingly, however, attention is being paid to the social aspects of design especially in new town developments and in some private housing schemes. Estates such as North Kenton were built in the era before new construction methods, materials, heating systems, internal layout, appearance and vehicle and pedestrian segregation had made their impact on housing. They were built with inadequate professional resources and with little consideration of human needs. They incorporated a number of features now universally condemned. However, they are an important part of the total housing stock and thus influence and condition the living pattern of large numbers of suburban dwellers. The housing environment and the internal geographical divisions it may influence both require detailed examination. Accordingly North Kenton residents were asked a number of questions designed to test their reaction to the design of their home and of the estate.

Family Dwellings

(i) Self-contained (Plates 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6)

The features and distribution of the various dwelling types of North Kenton have already been described (C). About half of North Kenton's dwellings are self-contained and are found throughout the estate. They are clearly, from the tenants' point of view, the most attractive and acceptable type of housing available on the estate. Almost all (91%) (D) of the tenants interviewed preferred their new home to their previous accommodation. Since many had moved in from slum clearance districts where some standard amenities were absent or where overcrowding was common this is not surprising. Almost half (47%), however, said that they would like another house and all, except one, wished to remain in a self-contained

(A) For details of this debate see Introduction Pages 14 to 15 and also A.T. Blowers: "Council Housing: The social implications of layout and design in an urban fringe estate". Town Planning Review. Vol. 4, No. 1. January 1970. Pages 80 to 92.

(B) "Housing in Britain": Town and County Planning Association Survey 1964.

() See above Pages 34-37.

() The information in this section is based, in part, on informal interviews among the sampled tenants.

house. Most of those wishing to move required a larger or smaller house because of a change in family size or they aspired to home ownership. The desire for change was more often passive than emphatic. Where dissatisfaction was evident it was more with the estate than with the house itself and Montagu estate was the most popular alternative mentioned.

The need for more space is given repeated emphasis in housing publications. In the public sector need expresses itself in a desire for more bedrooms to overcome crowding. Council tenants, particularly those recently rehoused and unused to privacy and comfort rarely insist on higher standards of living space. About a quarter of those interviewed in self-contained dwellings were experiencing crowding and required a further bedroom (A).

Other needs for space were expressed. Some felt more cupboards could have been provided and others would have liked larger bathrooms, bedrooms and kitchens. The kitchen was the most criticised room for it was argued that valuable space had been sacrificed to the large cupboard obstructing the centre of the room. Other design features which called for comment were the confined living/dining room liked by some, deplored by others (B) but to which most were indifferent; the lack of tiles in the bathroom; inadequate soundproofing; the coal house located at the front of the house; the lack of a side passage in terraced houses; and the inadequacy of the hallway. Other features were irksome only to individual households (C).

The privacy of the self-contained dwelling was one of its most cherished features and 82% were satisfied with this aspect. However, 45% were troubled by noise, some of them severely so. In one case the husband had changed his job to avoid having to sleep during the day.

- (A) For details of accommodation densities see above Page ①
Among those requiring a further bedroom were -
4 households with parents, three girls and three boys
1 household with parents, two girls and four boys
1 household with parents, four girls and four boys
living in 3-bedroom dwellings. Also parents and nine children
in a 4-bedroom dwelling.
- (B) One tenant complained:- "It is embarrassing for the sons as they are courting and must do it in front of us".
- (C) These included:- no wash house; small outhouse; poor heating; too few power points; no fanlights; poor ventilation; dampness.

Generally there was a marked degree of satisfaction with these houses especially as compared to other types of dwelling on the estate. The houses were less attractive for themselves than for the garden, privacy and pleasant aspect they provided. Some areas were particularly attractive to tenants. They were all located on the periphery of the estate in areas where housing was unmixed and for this reason E.D.13 was especially acclaimed.

(ii) 2-Bedroom Flats (Plate 19)

The two-bedroom flats in E.D.'s 7 and 8 had the most acceptable layout of the family dwellings. Most (7 out of 10 interviewed) preferred them to their former homes and considered they had enough privacy. All, except one, an old age pensioner, however, wished to move into a self-contained house but few had a specific type in mind. The main incentive was a garden where children could play and animals could be kept.

The flats themselves were praised for their compact layout, central heating and good views from large windows. The main drawback was the common staircase, which, although often well kept by comparison with the maisonettes, was noisy and used as a play space especially in inclement weather. The majority (7) complained of noise as a result of this staircase. There were a few criticisms of flat design, among them the lack of cupboard space; the entrance to the bathroom/W.C. via the lounge; and the poor soundproofing. Usually space was adequate although three families with two children required an extra bedroom. Some (4) felt a bigger kitchenette was warranted.

While the flats themselves were generally well received the lack of a garden, the communal staircase, and the attempted integration of young with old were serious problems.

(iii) Terraced Maisonettes (Plates 7, 8)

The maisonettes built on the upper floors of terraced blocks were also popular as far as design was concerned but had drawbacks associated with their location and external amenities. Again, most people found them preferable to their previous home (9 out of 10) for many had lived in slums, rooms or shared accommodation. Half, however, considered they lacked privacy mainly owing to the covered balcony which served as an entrance to all the maisonettes, and was the occasion of noise suffered by 7 of those replying (Plate 9). The entrance was a problem in other ways since in some blocks tenants refused to co-operate to keep it clean. It was also difficult to bring in coal. Tenants also disliked the absence of a rear access, and of a garden. All, except one, were hoping to move to a self-contained house and several had asked for transfer. There was a general reluctance to move to Newbiggin Hall out-city estate, the alternative offered, however.

The interiors of the maisonettes were highly regarded - spacious (none of the sample complained of lack of space), convenient, and with a good view. This did not compensate in most tenants' minds for lack of privacy.

(iv) Point-block Maisonettes (Plates 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18)

The point-blocks were almost universally condemned as eyesores. Here again, however, the internal layout received praise. "It's like a house once you're inside and in many ways better than a self-contained". Although all, except one, of the tenants interviewed would have moved into a house if they could get one, some were relatively content considering their maisonettes a vast improvement on their previous accommodation. They were warm, comfortable and neighbourly. Attitudes varied markedly from block to block as did standards of tidiness and cleanliness although there was no obvious correlation between the two.

The entrance lobby (Plate 15) and central stairway (Plate 13) and the external appearance were the features most vigorously attacked. "whoever designed those ought to be shot" said one. "It looks like the entrance to a public lavatory" said another. People living opposite in self-contained houses used phrases such as "Dartmoor" and "prison blocks" to describe the point-blocks. Most tenants thought they were noisy and the cause was the staircase often peopled with children. The upper maisonettes were accessible only by means of 42 stairs and therefore waste disposal, coal delivery and moving prams were serious inconveniences.

The level of adjustment to these maisonettes varied from family to family and depended on such factors as length of residence, previous accommodation, standards of behaviour and material ambition. There was no doubt that the poor esteem in which the blocks were held related, in part, to the type of family housed there and that the idea of mixing "good" and "bad" tenants had failed to raise standards. However, the differences which could be observed in the upkeep of individual blocks make generalisation difficult.

The Housing Environment - Specific Problems

(a) The Old

Two groups within the population are especially vulnerable to errors in design and planning - the old and the very young. Both are relatively inarticulate about their needs and being the least mobile groups in the population are dependent upon their immediate surroundings. Their unique problems have been widely recognised and have been the subject of numerous investigations. Despite these it has proved difficult to translate the findings of research into a successful and acceptable housing environment.

Old people, despite their infirmities, are jealous of their independence. To secure it they need self-contained dwellings of convenient layout accessible to services, relatives and friends.

Recognising this the Ministry of Housing and Local Government has suggested the provision of "grouped flatlets" (A) with a bedsitting room and kitchen for each tenant and shared bathrooms and W.Cs. Each group of flatlets is supervised by a female warden who can give help when needed, perform household jobs and arrange some social activities for the old people while remaining as unobtrusive as possible. This idea, and variants of it, are being introduced by many authorities now but are absent from estates such as North Kenton (B).

A major controversy has centred on the question of whether old and young should be segregated. In North Kenton both expedients have been tried (C) and tenants' reactions suggested that the self-contained old people's bungalows were the most popular. The old wish to feel part of the community but physically separate from young families whose needs and activities are apt to be in conflict with their own.

The attitudes of the old people to North Kenton depended on many factors among them their attachment to their former district, their proximity to close relatives, the type of dwelling they lived in, their neighbours, and their ability to adjust to new conditions. The difficulties of housing the old near to their families have already been discussed (D) and only about half the old people on the estate with married children lived close to them. Many old people remained deeply attached to their former surroundings and found the urban fringe and its prolific young families a quite alien environment.

Nevertheless, half (52%) of the old people interviewed said they had wanted to move to North Kenton giving as their reasons the wish to be near children and grandchildren, or to have their own home. Of the rest, 28% had had to move as a result of compulsory purchase and 20% had not wished to move to North Kenton at all. Having once arrived more than half (58%) said they liked North Kenton and 38% were hostile to it. However, more than half (58%) said they would like to move. These reactions can, in some measure, be related to the housing environment for those living in self-contained dwellings were generally satisfied with the estate and did not wish to move. Those living in flats, especially of the point-block type, were often anxious to move either to other estates or to cottages on North

- (A) "Grouped Flatlets for Old People - A Sociological Study": Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Design Bulletin 2. 1962. A further study "More Flatlets for Old People" has also been produced.
- (B) Examples of this type of project known to the author will be found in Walton and Weybridge and in Colchester. The L.C.C. in its out county estates, built about the same time as North Kenton incorporated groups of old people's dwellings with a common room and warden. See Sheerwater Study Pages 105, 107.
- (C) See above Page 37.
- (D) See above Page 62.

Kenton. Their opinion of the estate was thus coloured by the type of dwelling in which they lived.

Old persons' self-contained dwellings (Plate 20)

Self-contained dwellings for the old are arranged in groups in different parts of the estate in juxtaposition with self-contained family dwellings. They were usually occupied by the oldest people on the estate. These residents made very few complaints about the house. They had sufficient room and privacy and only one couple were found who wished to move because they were lonely. There were two drawbacks - noise and the garden. The noise from children playing was disliked and porticoes had been added to the bungalows to deaden it. The gardens were too large, help was required to tend them and they were insufficiently protected from children.

Old persons' flats (Plates 7, 8, 11, 14, 16)

Elsewhere in North Kenton old people live in flats underneath the point-block and terraced maisonettes. This was the most heavily criticised design feature and had the most adverse effect on the tenants. Even here, however, reactions were mixed and depended on the degree of mutual tolerance shown.

Over half the tenants under terraced maisonettes preferred their flats to their old homes, some of them because they had moved nearer to their children. The degree of privacy they enjoyed depended as much on their attitude to children and their awareness of neighbours, as on the block in which they lived. Most of them wished to move but few felt there was much chance of doing so. Some had actively tried to move and Montagu, Cruddas Park (high density development in Elswick) and Denton Burn (bungalows) were the alternatives mentioned.

Noise was a common problem and only one did not mention it. Children played outside on the greens at both front and back and windows were constantly threatened. Some tenants felt that the area around the windows should be fenced off to prevent the incursion of children. During holidays and evenings the noise suffered in these flats was a major worry and had seriously affected one or two tenants. The balcony and kitchenettes of the maisonettes were situated above the bedrooms of the flats and some of the old people were awakened by noise at night. Other features which had proved inconvenient were the single entrance, poor soundproofing and low windows. The interiors of the flats, however, were considered well appointed, compact and convenient.

Living conditions were worst in the old persons' flats below the point-block maisonettes. Even so half the tenants in the sample thought they were better than their former homes but only 2 were content to remain. Here tenants were exposed on all four sides and from above and

complained bitterly of the noise and depredations of children. "It has taken me all my time to put up with my year here" a spinster commented and a widow remarked "All I want is peace. I have been to the police. It's not right to be underneath with 24 children above. My nerves are very bad". The entrance and open space immediately around the flats were particularly attractive as playspaces while the large park nearby remained practically unused. Some old people intimidated by the families above would not leave their homes for fear of a possible break-in.

Again, though, there was reasonable satisfaction with the flats themselves and, surprisingly, a feeling of privacy once inside. Some wanted another bedroom for visitors. Conditions varied markedly from block to block and the worst area was the Apsley Crescent/Laith Road group of dwellings.

Most of the old people interviewed (83%) mentioned some illness or disability from which they suffered. Some were partially incapacitated and this introduced special problems. Loneliness was a recurrent problem with those who were housebound or distant from relatives or friends. On some parts of the estate old people found the shops too distant. The journey to the City Centre was too long and too expensive despite the introduction of concessionary fares for pensioners (A).

The problem of the old on North Kenton is an intractable one. On an estate conceived for the rehousing of families the old are in a minority. With more careful and intelligent administration the old might have been able to identify closely with their surroundings. At North Kenton the mixing of old and young within the same block was a conspicuous failure and increased rather than diminished their frustration and isolation (B).

(b) Children

The rehousing of people from the crowded, unhealthy, monotonous Victorian bye-law housing areas to the spacious, clean and rural atmosphere of the urban-fringe is undoubtedly of great benefit to children. The suburban environment is, in many ways, ideal for the young family. Although it is infinitely better than the old districts there are none the less problems which may derive from planning and design failures. Chief among these is the need for adequate playspace for children especially for toddlers aged 2 to 5.

(A) Concessions were available during off-peak hours - a restriction resented by the old people. Concessions only applied to Newcastle Transport and thus old people wishing to take advantage of the lower fares could not travel on Gateshead buses which shared the routes serving the estate.

(B) Confirmatory evidence is given in "Housing in Britain" op. cit. "There are good social arguments also for not putting old people in full blocks, since they are apt to be lonely". See also T. Brennan: "Midland City", London 1948, Page 69.

Researchers into the problem of playspace have tended to concentrate on the more obvious and acute difficulties experienced at high density in tower blocks (A). Here "provision of playspace must be one of the first calls on the available space around dwellings in multi-storey developments which do not have gardens of their own" (B). In flats, toddlers, especially the younger ones and those living high (i.e., the 6th floor and above) may be restricted to the block and unable to play outside unless accompanied by an adult or an elder sibling (C). Unless suitable play decks are provided young children are inevitably restricted to access balconies, internal corridors, landings, lobbies, staircases, private balconies or the flats themselves. Even when allowed out the playspaces are often inadequate, and they are vulnerable to traffic and to bullying by older children. A number of writers have urged that they be given separate playspaces, well fenced and with varied and interesting materials and equipment on them (D). Most children visit local parks but when these are at any distance they must be accompanied. Adventure and Junk playgrounds are widely recognised as ideal centres in which to develop a child's creative and social instincts but these are rare and need careful supervision and like play schools and nurseries have long waiting lists.

The problems are obviously much less acute at lower density in urban fringe estates such as North Kenton where there is considerable open space and a high proportion of dwellings with private gardens. There are, however, a number of serious limitations especially on those children living in maisonettes. Apart from the provision of a few pieces of traditional play equipment on the Park no attempt has been made to organise the open space in ways attractive to children. In wet weather they are restricted to the entrances, staircases and lobbies or the inside of their homes. In good conditions they are allowed out to play but few venture onto the Park (Plates 10, 17 and 18). Young children found the Park uninteresting and were attracted by the more exciting variety of the greens surrounding the blocks.

- (A) See Introduction Pages 13, 14.
- (B) "Flats and Houses": Ministry of Housing and Local Government Manual 1958.
- (C) For some interesting data on this subject see: "Two to Five in High Flats", Joan Maiseels and others. The Housing Centre 1961. and "Toddlers Playspaces": Monica Myers. August 1962 (L.C.C.) (Unpublished).
- (D) The needs of toddlers have been eloquently expressed by L.E. White in "The Outdoor Play of Children Living in Flats":- "There are so few corners where he can hide himself away or create his tiny world of fantasy; no earth in which to dig, nothing on which to climb, no materials to pile up or knock down, no lessons to be learned in balance, few places in which to seek adventure, and little to stimulate the childish imagination". He refers to the Comber Estate, Camberwell (L.C.C.) built 1927-32 and 1949.

Here they were visible to their mothers and were less interfered with by older children. Many parts of the estate were, in any case, distant from the Park and to reach it dangerous roads had to be crossed.

The Park was the subject of considerable comment. It was felt to be inconvenient for many parts of the estate, a waste of space, underused, and unfinished. It was dull having no sand, water, or interesting equipment for the use of young children. Many felt the space could have been better used if dispersed throughout the estate. In districts such as E.D.6, some distance from the Park, children often had to play together in the streets though here all the dwellings had their own gardens. Few mothers were able to suggest any improvements in playspace provision, however, apart from the introduction of more equipment. Only once was an adventure playground mentioned. (A)

Conditions for play varied between parts of the estate and between blocks. Around many of the terraced maisonettes and the 2-bedroom flats children played at will but some of the greens were dominated by washing and the children chased away. In areas of self-contained housing both street and garden were used. The Park, however, had failed to relieve the pressure on the blocks and houses surrounding it and was either empty or used by older children for ball games.

(A) The problems of children's play at North Kenton are, in many respects, similar to those identified on other estates. See especially W.V. Hole and A. Miller: "Children's Play on Housing Estates". Architects Journal, Vol. 143, 1966.

One of their main conclusions was that large central play spaces may complement but are no substitute for small play areas near the child's home.

THE ESTATE IN PERSPECTIVE

Much has already been said or implied as to the attitudes North Kenton people have to the area in which they live. Different demands are made by people on their immediate locality according to their age, income, sociability and habits. To achieve the greatest satisfaction of the comprehensive needs of its inhabitants a large estate must ultimately be a compromise. Though North Kenton has failed in several ways and is held in low esteem within the city it is, for many who live there, a pleasant place which belies its reputation. While it may lack community spirit as a whole it comprises a number of units geographically definable some of which have a developed identity. It is this spatial variation which is perhaps of greatest interest to the social geographer for some of the causes are attributable to the layout of the estate.

Impressions of the estate are difficult to quantify. Indeed statistical evidence may be misleading in its attempt to crystallise and formulate a pattern. Views of the estate depend on highly subjective value judgements. For example, one tenant in a self-contained dwelling talked patronisingly of her neighbours:- "I'm not snobbish by any means but we were told at the Town Hall that we were put here to educate them (maisonette dwellers) to show them the way. Some people you can, others no". Such attitudes lead to distinctions which may be quite unfounded. Thus one tenant had concluded that, "These (self-contained dwellings) is for rehousing. Those (point-blocks) is for slum clearance" - a curious distinction. This feeling of superiority on the part of tenants in self-contained dwellings was often matched by a defensiveness among dwellers in the maisonettes. The distinction, physically so dramatic, had therefore a social connotation as well.

Among the population as a whole two-thirds (65%) of those sampled said they had wanted to move to North Kenton, and only 12% had not wished to. Most had, of course, been obliged to move. It seems clear that most were happy to move because of the better conditions North Kenton promised by contrast with the depressing environment in which they had been living. Reluctance to move was greatest among the old. Most (80%) of the active households said they liked the estate and there was little difference in attitude according to the type of dwelling occupied. This corroborates the evidence of the housing survey and suggests that the estate is a relatively attractive place for families. Once again the old were less enthusiastic and when they are included the percentage liking the estate was reduced to 70.

The tenants of the self-contained dwellings were more content than those living in maisonettes and flats. Only about a quarter (27%) of them had actively considered moving and these mainly to larger or smaller houses to accommodate a changed family size. (A).

(A) This was in reply to the question:- "Have you any intention of moving?". Previously tenants had been asked:- "Would you prefer another type of house?" and the replies are discussed above on Pages 77 to 83.

Usually they wished to remain on North Kenton or to go to Montagu estate. Elsewhere, on the estate, especially in the maisonettes there was a strongly expressed desire to move. Since many coveted a self-contained house on North Kenton the conclusion must be that they were not motivated by dissatisfaction with the estate itself, only with their particular dwelling type (A).

Nearly all the tenants interviewed had something to say about the estate. Opinions were divided although adverse comments were the more common. Few were altogether indifferent or passive towards North Kenton. Favourable comments were often modified (a human foible) and many thought the estate itself pleasant but depressed by its inhabitants. "This is a nice estate if it wasn't for the riff-raff that lived on it" (six made this point). A number felt the estate was a mixture of good and poor areas. It was clear that as more new estates were being built so the deficiencies of North Kenton had become more obvious.

Long established tenants on the estate felt it had deteriorated (B). As one put it:- "The area is in social decline. It was nice when it was first opened but different types of people have moved in. Some try to have a decent standard of living and some don't care. It is too mixed". Once again the awareness of opposed elements, of different standards, of social cleavage was echoed. The reputation of the estate troubled some of those interviewed. Rowdiness, drunkenness and vandalism were defined as the prime causes. Visual evidence was manifest - trees stripped of their bark (Plate 29), litter and rubbish (Plates 17, 18 and 23), broken windows (Plate 15), "graffiti" on walls and dismembered telephones. Reports of brawls and police action were common yet the numbers involved were a tiny minority. A few blamed the lack of supervision and the failure to establish a responsible Residents' Association.

The poor appearance of the estate was often blamed on its inadequate design. "This is one of the grimmest estates I have ever seen" said one tenant. It was even suggested that the blocks were deteriorating into slums. Other features which contributed to the shabby appearance of the estate were detailed - the waste of land in concentrating open space in one area; the mud and dust created around the blocks; and, the apparently

- (A) See preceding section on housing environment Pages 77 to 83. It is obviously difficult to separate feelings about the estate from attitudes to housing - each conditions the other.
- (B) The deterioration may have been more apparent than real as tenants' expectations improved with higher standards and their former accommodation became a distant memory.

random mixing of dwelling types. Summing up these features one tenant said:- "These flats shouldn't be mixed up with houses. It's not right to have children up there. The development has been far too slack. There's mud all around and far too much green".

Finally, the residents were asked to outline what they saw to be the advantages or disadvantages of living in North Kenton. Since most of the tenants had been underprivileged before, at least in housing terms, they were often emphatic about the benefits estate life conferred on them. To them the greatest advantages were the fresh air and healthy atmosphere of North Kenton. Freedom for children to play, the use of a garden, a rural atmosphere, and a good view were also mentioned and together underline the desirability of suburban life for young families.

The estate was also praised for its accessibility in general (33 mentioned this), and to shops (10), buses (7), the City (5), schools (3), work (2) and friends (2) although many, conversely, found it inconvenient especially for the City (9), shops (3), their relatives (3) and work (2). Other points appreciated by individuals were the inexpensiveness of living at North Kenton, its friendliness and social life.

On the debit side there were a number of disadvantages mentioned. Design features once again attracted the greatest attention and the lack of playspace (4), the unfinished Park (3), its underuse or misuse (4), and the poor appearance of housing (5) were the major grievances. Other disadvantages were high bus fares (8), a poor bus service, high rents, the paucity of social life and entertainment (7), and a lack of adequate supervision of the estate.

Three significant points emerge from the comments of the residents on their estate and they are perhaps capable of more general application. First, whatever the design and layout the social quality of an estate will depend upon the tenants selected. Second, the estate is both physically and socially fragmented, a feature recognised by the tenants as well as being evident from research. Lastly, the overall design and appearance of the estate undoubtedly has some influence on the attitudes adopted towards it.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS OF NORTH KENTON

The survey so far has intimated that North Kerton is an amalgam of distinct elements. It remains to attempt to define these in more precise terms. In so far as design and layout have been responsible for the subdivision it is possible to delimit boundaries with some accuracy. Many divisions exist within North Kerton, as has been shown, that are altogether independent of the physical environment and which result from complex sociological factors. Here, however, we are concerned solely with those divisions which depend upon physical forms and distance and which are therefore of geographical significance. The boundary which is acknowledged by almost all North Kerton residents is that between the estate and neighbouring communities which takes the form of physical barriers (e.g.: Fawdon Industrial Estate) or in a sharp social divide (as between public and private housing). The internal divisions of the estate were less readily recognised though some were obvious to a majority of the tenants.

Within North Kerton the contrast between areas of self-contained housing and the flats and maisonettes was immediately apparent (A). Rarely were the two identified together (the terraced maisonette block on Kirkwood Drive in E.D.13 was exceptional in this). The maisonettes and flats form distinct groupings easily recognised by the residents. Of these the 5-storey point-blocks of Apsley Crescent/Laith Road (Plate 11) the three in Banbury Road, and the group in Carsdale Road/Saxondale Road are the most conspicuous. The two groups of 3-storey point-blocks in Kirkwood Drive/Bradwell Road (Plate 16) and flanking the Park in Newlyn Road (Plates 17, 18) are also separate entities. The 3-storey terraced maisonettes are less obviously isolated but form compact groupings in certain areas notably at the lower end of Saxondale/Carsdale Roads and in E.D.9 in Kinross Drive/Foxton Green/Colgrove Way (Plate 7). Equally separate as a group are the 2-bedroom flats found in two areas - Banbury Road/Fernlea Green/Hillsvie Avenue (E.D.7) (Plate 19) and Mostyn Green (E.D.8). In all these areas, apart from the architectural homogeneity of the dwellings there was some social separation from neighbouring areas shown in the mutual antipathy and different attitudes to environment already discussed at length.

Elsewhere the estate is dominated by self-contained housing. Although the differentiation is more subtle there are apparent groupings, usually on a street basis, here. Some streets were described as friendly or neighbourly. Among them were Balmain Road (E.Ds. 12/13) (Plate 6) Stapleley View, Dugdale Road, and Quentin Avenue (E.D.12, Redland Road (E.D.11), Trowbridge Way (E.D.9), Crantock Road, Fulbrook Road and Budleigh Road (E.D.8), Bodmin Way (E.D.7), and Winton Way and Shrigley Gardens (E.D.6) (Plate 4). It is characteristic that all of these are on the fringes of the estate except those in E.Ds. 7 and 8 which are, however, very small streets.

(A) Maps 3 and 4 detail the streets and dwellings mentioned in this section.

On the other hand, some streets within the two-storey housing were denigrated. Kirkwood Drive (Plate 2) a large and busy street linking the shops with the eastern end of the estate was often mentioned as a source of rowdyism, fighting and bad tenants. This, however, applied only to that part nearest the shops opposite Mountfield Primary School. Elsewhere its residents felt it was friendly and pleasant especially once the corner was turned into E.D.6.

In the centre of the estate in E.D's 8 and 9 where there is self-contained housing intermingled with or opposite block development there were no easily defined groups. Much depended on aspect here, those tenants near the Park, for example, being less satisfied than those in the residential streets away from the maisonettes.

Two districts of self-contained housing formed compact groups and had evolved some local self-consciousness. These were roughly coincident with Enumeration Districts 6 in the east and 13 in the south-west. E.D.6 was the oldest part of the estate and contained many of the original tenants. It was farthest from the shops and neighbourhood centre, quiet and relatively secluded. Edgefield Avenue acted as a barrier between this area and the rest of the estate. "I like this end, the other end is rough", summarised the feelings of tenants there. Similarly E.D.13 cut off by important roads (Halewood Avenue, Kirkwood Drive) and surrounded on the other two sides by schools and private housing had an individual identity. Residents here considered it to be the best part of the estate and some felt themselves fortunate to have secured a house there.

Most residents were able to categorise the more obvious "black spots" of the estate but had only vague conceptions of areas apart from their own. As Tucker has pointed out:- "If you had a pair of researchers at opposite ends of an estate asking where the bad part was the chances are that at some moment there would be two tenants out on their doorsteps pointing with cold incontrovertibility towards each other, like a couple of distant dwellists" (A). This was true of North Kenton. On all parts of the estate people pointed with assurance elsewhere when describing the worst areas. In E.D.13 one said, "the bottom end of the estate is bad". At the bottom end in E.D.7 there was an equal conviction among tenants that the top end was terrible while their own area was pretty select.

Once again viewpoints differed. North Kenton's local communities know little of each other and rarely does the estate as a whole have much meaning for them. This lack of basic uniformity is the most indelible impression the estate has to offer.

(A) James Tucker "Honourable Estates". op.cit.



PLATE 1. Wall separating North Kenton estate from private housing.



PLATE 2. Kirkwood Drive looking east.

Self-contained housing along one of the estate's main roads.



PLATE 3. Edgefield Avenue looking south.
Self-contained housing and flats
in distance.



PLATE 4. Shrigley Gardens.
In E.D.6. an area of self-contained
housing.



PLATE 5. Hillsview Avenue looking west.
A main road with mixed housing.



PLATE 6. Balmain Road.
In E.D.12/13 an area of self-contained
housing.



PLATE 7. Three storey terraced maisonettes.
Colgrove Way.

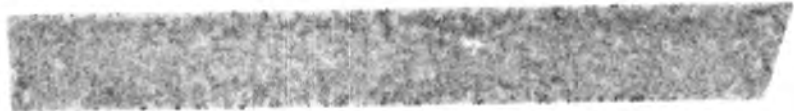


PLATE 8. Rear view of terraced maisonettes.
Each block contains 3 or 4 bedroom
maisonettes above ground floor old
persons' flats.



PLATE 9.(left)

Access balcony of
terraced maisonettes.

PLATE 10.(below)

View of the Park
from Kirkwood Drive.

Central open space
surrounded by point-
blocks.





PLATE 11. Five storey point-block maisonettes-
Apsley Crescent/Laith Road.

One of the estate's "black spots".



PLATE 12 Hillsview Avenue looking north.

An area of mixed housing with doctor's
surgery in background.



PLATE 13.(left).

Access stairway of
point-block maisonette.

Entrance to old person's
flat on left.

PLATE 14. Entrance to
five storey point-block
maisonette.

Entrance to maisonettes
on left. On right old
person's bedsitter.





PLATE 15 Entrance to five storey point-block maisonette.
Evidence of vandalism can be seen.



PLATE 16. Group of three storey point-block maisonettes
off Hillsview Avenue.



PLATE 17. Three storey point-block maisonettes seen looking across the Park.



PLATE 18. View across the Park from Kirkwood Drive. Three storey point-block maisonettes flank the Park which, as this Plate shows, is bare and untidy.



PLATE 19. Two bedroom flats in Banbury Road.
These flats are in the eastern (earlier)
part of the estate.



PLATE 20. A group of old person's dwellings.
Such small groups are scattered throughout
the estate.



PLATE 21.(above)
Arndale House
shopping centre.



PLATE 22(left)
An example of
vandalism on the
estate.



PLATE 23. Green surrounding point-block maisonettes.
These greens are heavily used, especially
by children, and tend to accumulate litter
and rubbish.

3. SHEERWATER ESTATE, WOKING

SHEERWATER ESTATE, WOKING

The Sheerwater estate is one of a series of out-county estates situated in the Metropolitan Green Belt as reception areas for overspill population from the inner suburbs of London. The following survey is, in several respects, similar to that undertaken at North Kenton. The estate is first seen in the wider context of public housing in the conurbation and its layout and design are discussed. The economic and social characteristics of the population are then described from the evidence of a sample survey. The survey concentrates in particular on tenants' attitudes to the estate and its surrounding area and their perception of the environment and thus the theme of the concluding section is different in its emphasis from that of the North Kenton survey.

I. COUNCIL HOUSING IN GREATER LONDON

Council housing within the administrative area of Greater London is the responsibility of the London Boroughs or of the Greater London Council. The boroughs are the primary authorities within their own areas, while the G.L.C. has a strategic role acting as the central authority for the redistribution of population by using its pool of dwellings to balance the varying housing demands within the London region.

The G.L.C., like its predecessor the London County Council is one of the world's largest housing authorities having a total housing stock of 247,750 dwelling units in 1969 (A) both within the administrative county and outside in various out-county schemes (B). The origins of its role as a major housing authority are in the 19th century when successive acts of legislation encouraged local authorities to adopt a more active role

(A) These were distributed as follows:-

Flats	-	128,088	
Cottages	-	98,938	
* E.F.M.	-	2,063	Source: "Housing
Mobile Homes	-	2,291	Progress Report".
Acquired	-	3,959	
General Property	-	12,411	

* E.F.M. - Emergency Factory Made (i.e., prefabricated dwellings built to meet the post-war shortage).

(B) The G.L.C. is the sole authority for the provision of housing outside the administrative area. The out-county schemes do not include the dwellings administered by the G.L.C. in the Expanding Towns.

in clearing slums and providing homes for the working classes (A). By the 1st World War the L.C.C. had built some 10,000 dwellings. Even at this time pressure on land was sufficiently intense for the L.C.C. to seek sites beyond its boundaries for about 1,500 dwellings in Middlesex (White Hart Lane, Tottenham, begun 1904) and Surrey (Norbury Estate, begun 1906). It is in these developments that we have the first of the out-county estates which were later to become such a prominent feature of the L.C.C.'s housing programme.

The real impetus to the development of council housing came with the Government's acceptance of the principle of housing subsidies in 1919. In the inter-war years the L.C.C. provided 89,049 (75%) of a total of 118,121 council dwellings built for Londoners. Although many of these were built at high densities on unused land and in clearance areas within the county (B), more than half (47,018) were located in a series of out-county estates by agreement with local authorities. All of these estates now lie within the expanded boundaries of the G.L.C. By far the largest of these schemes was at Becontree (26,518 dwellings) which continued the wedge of working-class housing further east on Thames-side. Other large inter-war out-county estates included St. Helier, Morden (9,077 dwellings), Watling, Edgware (4,150 dwellings), Hanwell and Chingford and two estates which straddled the boundary in South East London at Downham (7,400 dwellings) and Mottingham.

These inter-war estates were large and visually monotonous consisting almost exclusively of self-contained two-storey houses (termed "cottages" by the L.C.C.) in an unadventurous layout of long streets, crescents and cul-de-sacs. They were lacking in facilities (the town centre for Becontree was planned but not built) and communications were often difficult though most of these estates were ultimately connected to London by extensions to the underground network. The problems and social conditions on these estates have been described by a number of workers (C).

- (A) Working-class housing had been provided mainly by speculative builders and standards were usually low. The work of reformers such as Octavia Hill, and Shaftesbury, and of Trusts such as the Peabody Trust and the Improved Industrial Dwellings Trust resulted in better managed and more attractive housing schemes but their impact was limited.
- (B) Of the dwellings built within the county by the L.C.C. (42,031) 71% were in flatted estates at densities usually exceeding 150 persons per acre (p.p.a.). Examples are Lambeth Estate (159 p.p.a.), Vauxhall Gardens Estate (224 p.p.a.)
- (C) See especially on the Becontree Estate: T. Young: "Becontree and Dagenham". London 1934, and P. Willmott: "The Evolution of a Community: A Study of Dagenham after Forty Years". London 1963. On Watling see Ruth Durant: "Watling: A Survey of Social Life on a new Estate". London 1939. Useful summaries of various surveys will be found in R. Frankenberg: "Communities in Britain". London 1966.

The post-war period has seen both an intensification of the building programme and the introduction of new strategies to supplement those already in operation before the war. There have been four distinct types of development:-

- (i) The redevelopment and renewal of the "twilight" areas within the administrative county.
- (ii) The continuation of the out-county housing policy.
- (iii) The creation of New Towns beyond the Green Belt.
- (iv) The Expanding Towns programme.

These four types of scheme have run ootermiously though the emphasis has varied according to circumstances. In the early post-war years the urgency of housing need led to the rapid development of high density estates (A) in the inner suburbs where public housing became increasingly concentrated (B). Some of these were built on restricted sites, others being part of comprehensive development proposals (C). After 1956, when the national attack on slums began in earnest, the L.C.C. began to rebuild large parts of the "twilight" areas and by the mid 1960's had begun major housing schemes on the remaining unused land within the administrative area at Thamesmead, Croydon and Hendon Airports, and in the Green Belt in the Lea Valley. By 1965, when the G.L.C. was formed, the L.C.C. had built 69,070 dwellings within London and the boroughs 81,145 (63%) of a total of 113,612 built since the war.

These developments within the city were mainly of flatted estates at densities varying from 200 p.p.a. (City of London, Barbican Scheme) at the centre, to below 100 p.p.a. further out (e.g., Alton Estate, Roehampton 92 p.p.a.). Despite high densities it was impossible to meet the total housing demand within the confines of the administrative county. During the war the Greater London Plan (1944) had envisaged an overspill of one million Londoners. Ultimately about half of this overspill would be housed in the ring of eight satellite New Towns beyond the Green Belt established as a result of the New Towns Act of 1946. At a later stage,

- (A) In addition some 7,000 E.F.Ms. were built.
- (B) In the London Borough of Tower Hamlets council housing accounted for 98.5% of all dwellings built between 1945-1966. In Hackney the figure was 96.5%, in Southwark 91.9%, in the City of London 91.1% and Lambeth 91%.
- (C) The County of London Development Plan of 1951 recognised 13 Comprehensive Development Areas, the largest of which was Stepney-Poplar (1312 acres) which included the first large-scale attempt at neighbourhood planning, the Lansbury estate. See J. Westergaard and R. Glass: "A Profile of Lansbury". T.P.R., Vol. 25, No. 1 April 1954 and Chapter VI of "London - Aspects of Change". Centre for Urban Studies, Report No. 3. 1964.

following the Town Development Act of 1952 a series of Expanding Towns (28 by 1969) were inaugurated, most of them in the Home Counties but some at a considerable distance (Burnley, 200 miles, Plymouth, 210 miles, and Badmin, 230 miles). By 1965 the New Towns had absorbed 65,578 families from London and the Expanding Towns 15,714.

Such developments were dependent on legislation and were thus unable to accommodate the immediate post-war overspill needs. Recourse was had to the pre-war expedient of out-county estates. The Greater London Plan had envisaged these quasi-satellites absorbing 125,000 Londoners in the newly created Green Belt. The post-war out-county estates were largely completed by 1956, apart from further extensions and the later developments at Edenbridge, Kent (begun 1960) and at Farnborough (Prospect Estate, 1964). They were an essential part of the early phase of rapid housebuilding. Viewed in this sense it is not, perhaps, surprising that they have been regarded as "regrettable but necessary.....a stop-gap measure which was necessary before the main part of the plan could be brought into operation" (A). The out-county estates had provided 44,542 dwellings (39% of L.C.C. total) by 1965 when the boundaries were altered on the formation of the G.L.C. and "with all their shortcomings (they) must be accepted as a major contribution to better living" (B).

OUT-COUNTY ESTATES - GENERAL FEATURES (C) (See Map 7)

The thirteen out-county estates begun by 1956 were built near existing centres within the Green Belt, and, in many cases, represented an extension of London's physical growth outwards (D). Five of the estates were situated in Essex, a county where working-class housing had already become concentrated (E), and where two New Towns were to be designated at Basildon and Harlow. Among these five were the two largest, Harold Hill (7630 dwellings), and Aveley (5354 dwellings) and the smallest, Hutton (485 dwellings) as well as two of intermediate size, Debden, and Hainault. Three were built north of London on the borders of Middlesex and Hertfordshire at Borehamwood, Headstone Lane, and Oxhey in areas where

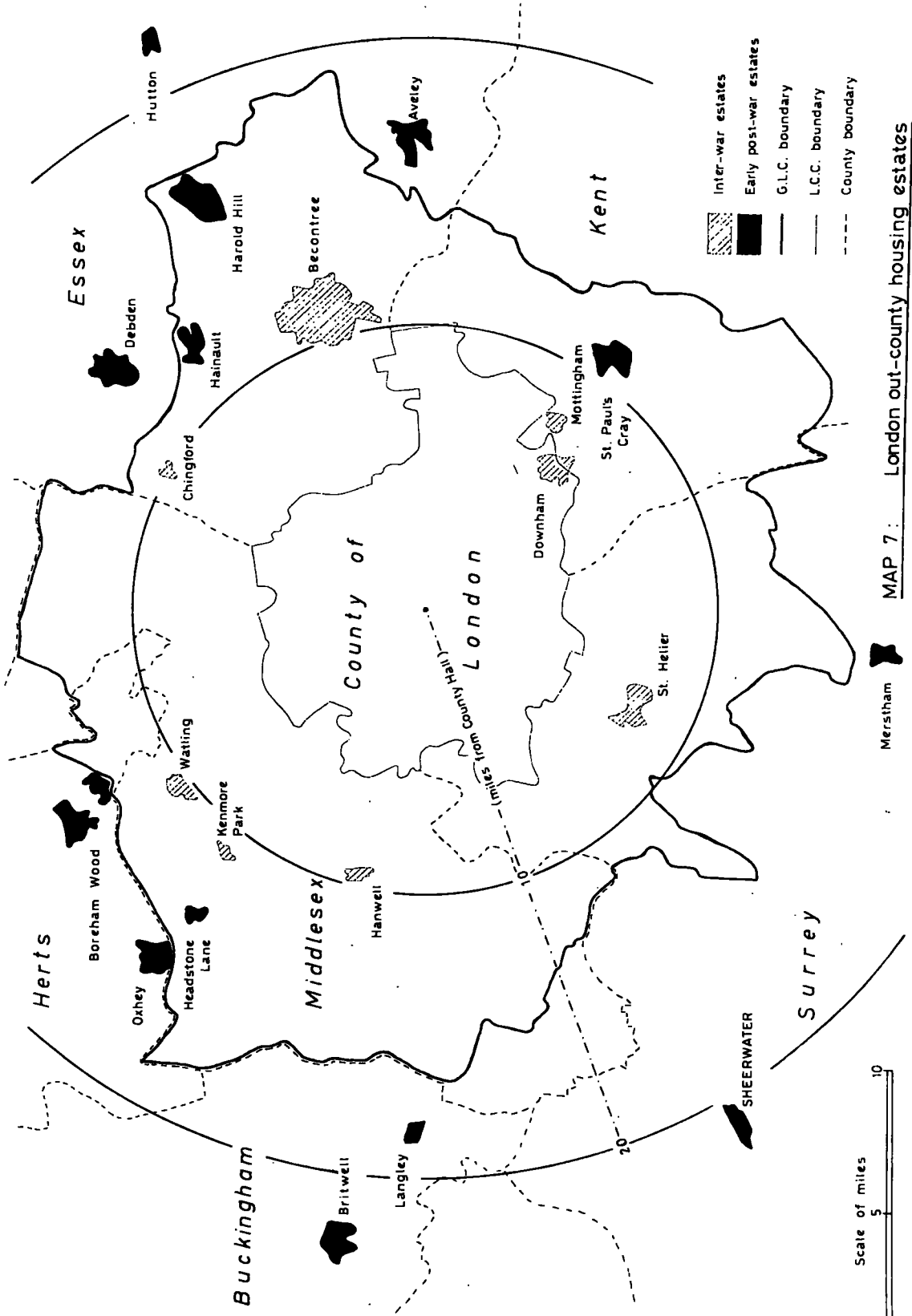
- (A) J.B. Cullingworth: "Housing Needs and Planning Policy". London 1960. Pages 69, 83-4.
- (B) J.H. Nicholson: "New Communities in Britain". Page 33. London 1961.
- (C) For statistical details of these estates see Table 2.1.
Tables referred to other than those incorporated in the text will be found in Appendix IV and are distinguished by the prefix '2'.
- (D) Four of the estates - Hainault, Harold Hill, Headstone Lane and St. Paul's Cray - now lie entirely within the G.L.C. area.
- (E) In the 19th century areas such as Walthamstow and Leyton had developed as a consequence of the Working Men's Trains Act. In the 20th century the huge Becontree estate had been built at Dagenham.

working-class housing was less common (A). St. Paul's Cray estate was situated near Sidcup in Kent and two of the smaller estates were built in Surrey. One of these was Sheerwater and the other was at Merstham near Reigate where "over 1,500 houses were introduced into the Surrey stockbroker belt" (B). The last two to be opened, Langley, and Britwell (Farnham Royal), were located to the west in the rapidly expanding area of Slough.

These estates, despite differences in size are alike in appearance and layout though each has distinctive features often imposed by topography and site. Housing densities are low and vary from 15.6 dwellings per acre at Hutton the smallest estate with the highest proportion of flats, down to 10.6 at Headstone Lane with a very low proportion of flats (5.1%), and 10.8 at Sheerwater which has the highest proportion of large dwellings and higher priced houses (C). In terms of number of rooms per dwelling these latter two estates rank highest and, curiously, the estate with the smallest average dwelling size, St. Paul's Cray, has at the same time a low housing density.

When first occupied the estates received families in acute housing need, mainly parents with young children. From the start, therefore, there was a demographic imbalance and great pressure was put on the schools. The estates have now matured, the families have grown up and the population structure is less suited to the available accommodation. In consequence the population of each estate has become reduced. For example, the estimated decline at Aveley estate was from 21,900 in 1960 to 17,900 in 1967 and the density fell from 56 p.p.a. to 46. The decline was not as sharp as this everywhere, however, there being very little change at Britwell and Harold Hill where densities remained practically the same, or at Debden, Hainault and Sheerwater where the fall was only of the order of 1 person per acre. The lowest population densities in 1967 were 37 p.p.a. at Headstone Lane and St. Paul's Cray, and 38 p.p.a. at Sheerwater and thus corresponded to the estates of lowest housing density.

- (A) Oxhey was separated from owner-occupied Carpenders Park by a railway line and from other areas by open space. Borehamwood, however, occupied two sites with the old village in between.
- (B) J.H. Johnson: "The Suburban Expansion of Housing in London 1918-39". Ch. 6. in J.T. Coppock and H.C. Prince: "Greater London". 1964. Page 162.
- (C) For all figures refer to Table 2.1.
- (D) According to G.L.C.'s Housing Service Handbook, Part II 1966 and 1967.



MAP 7: London out-county housing estates

With this population decline has come a reduction in occupancy rates and these are now close to the desirable level of one person per room in all cases. In one case, Headstone Lane, the rate is actually below this level but only marginally. The problem of overcrowding is, in general terms, absent from these estates. The converse, underoccupation, is likely to increase as more ageing parents are left alone in possession of family dwellings. The G.L.C., conscious of the need to provide a higher proportion of small dwellings for families with children, has set up a Small Dwellings Sub-Committee to consider the question. At the same time the needs of the population on these estates are changing as the demographic shift from a young to an ageing population continues.

In several respects the post-war out-county estates differ from their predecessors. None of them approaches the size of Becontree though Harold Hill is, by post-war standards, a large estate. Their layouts, though unremarkable, are varied by the introduction of blocks of 3-storey flats, and the detailed architectural variation of the semi-detached and terraced housing. Various prefabricated designs have also been introduced and on some of the estates higher rented houses were built in an attempt to achieve some social balance. Although the estates were conceived before the rapid growth of car ownership and are therefore underprovided with garages and parking areas, their layouts have achieved some segregation of pedestrians and vehicles.

The estates were situated near existing centres where a range of employment opportunities could be offered. At the same time industrial estates were planned to receive decentralising industry. In this way it was hoped to avoid the problem of long-distance commuting which had been such a feature of the earlier estates. Unlike the New and Expanding Towns, however, the Industrial Selection Scheme whereby tenancies were allocated once employment was secured, was not applied on the out-county estates. In the early years especially it was found that men had often to travel some distance to work and that local demand for female labour did not match the supply (A).

In the early post-war years enthusiasm for the neighbourhood unit was such that neighbourhood planning was accepted as axiomatic (B).

(A) See M. Young and P. Willmott: "Family and Kinship in East London" London 1957 for comments on "Greenleigh" (Debden), and Margot Jefferys "Londoners in Hertfordshire: The South Oxhey Estate", in "London Aspects of Change" op.cit. Chapter VII. Also subsequent section on Sheerwater Pages 113, 114 and 122.

(B) "That much of this work is based on the conception of neighbourhood planning requires no elaboration, on the new estates of London the visitor will easily discern the application of these ideas not only in the obvious relation of school buildings to the size of population but also in the provision of commercial buildings, recreation areas, and in many other respects". "Housing: A Survey of the post-war Housing Work of the L.C.C. 1945-49". 1949. Page 19.

Each of the out-county estates, accordingly, was given a wide range of institutional facilities - schools, shops, public houses, health centres, community centres and so on. Social life, however, especially in the early days, left much to be desired according to Young and Willmott (A) who compared Debden unfavourably with the gregarious East End communities whence its people had come. Margot Jefferys (B), however, concluded that the symptoms of maladjustment to the new environment had largely disappeared on the Oxhey estate once the population had begun to settle down.

The people who came to these estates had been moved from crowded inner districts. The contrast with their former surroundings was sharp and a new pattern of life and new attitudes emerged. Although each estate has its own individual features certain patterns may be observed from a study of one of them which are relevant to the whole group of contemporary estates and, indeed, to a wider range of similar communities built in Britain in the post-war years.

(A) M. Young and P. Willmott op.cit.

(B) Margot Jefferys op.cit.

THE SITE

In selecting its sites for out-county estates the L.C.C. adopted three broad criteria, namely:-

- (i) The need for suitable building land.
- (ii) The avoidance, where possible, of good agricultural land (A).
- (iii) The desirability of locating estates near existing developed communities which could offer varied employment opportunities and social amenities (B).

The Sheerwater site adequately satisfied two of these criteria for it was land of very poor quality and was located between Woking (1 mile) and West Byfleet ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile) both of which were growing towns which the estate would physically join together. In terms of building land, however, the site suffered serious drawbacks and had thus remained undeveloped. As a result it was of low cost and this compensated for the relatively high development costs.

The gross area of the site acquired by the L.C.C. was 231.23 acres (C). It is shaped like a flat triangle ($1\frac{1}{4}$ miles East to West and 300 to 700 yards North to South), its two northern sides formed by the disused Basingstoke Canal (D) (see Plate 24) and its base by the main London-Southampton-Bournemouth railway line. On its eastern side the estate is linked to Sheerwater Road which runs north to south and links the neighbouring districts of Woodham and West Byfleet. The only other entrance to the estate is from Woking on the western side. The estate is thus physically well defined and effectively insulated from the housing developments to the north of the canal (E) and to the east and west while south of the railway is the West Byfleet Golf Course (F). (See Map 8, Page 103).

- (A) These estates were built during a period when emphasis was being laid on domestic food production.
- (B) "It is also essential that the site should be within an existing soul which can be expanded - the soul in this case being Woking with all its social, shopping, spiritual and material associations". Director of Housing, L.C.C., in a lecture to the National Amenities Council in Autumn 1953.
- (C) Town Planning consent was granted on 28th November 1949.
- (D) Water remains in it and attempts have been made to acquire it for a public amenity.
- (E) A small part of the estate lies north of the canal.
- (F) The area of 125 acres was in 1953 the subject of a number of claims for housing development. Wimbledon M.B. wanted it for housing overspill and this aroused the interest of the L.C.C. and Woking U.D.C. The land remains undeveloped.

Sheerwater, as the name implies, had once been covered by water (A). Although this has long since disappeared the water-table in places may lie within a foot of the surface and the ground is acid. The acid soil (peaty on the east side of the estate) has developed on the sandy clay of the Bagshot Beds. The land was virtually useless and when acquired by the L.C.C. was wooded the only dwellings being two cottages (B). The site is generally flat (about 100 ft.) although it rises towards the railway in the south central area.

The most formidable obstacle to building proved to be a ditch (Rive Ditch), five feet wide and up to 7'-6" deep which ran across the site. This had to be culverted and the watercourse lowered while downstream grading and deepening were also necessary. Public concern as to the suitability of the site seems to have been quickly allayed, however (C).

DESIGN AND LAND USE (see Map 8)

Sheerwater, with Borehamwood and Merstham, was the eighth post-war out-county estate to be opened (D). Work was commenced on the site in September 1950, the first dwellings were occupied in 1951 (E), and the estate's housing programme was completed in 1953, apart from a few later infillings. The estimated cost of the scheme rose from £2,445,000 in 1950 to an eventual total of £3,054,078.

- (A) A map in the British Museum of 1793 shows a pond. It is probable that no surface water has been on the site for over 150 years.
- (B) One was north of the canal, and one was off Sheerwater Lane.
- (C) "I am assured by L.C.C. officers that Sheerwater is, in fact, the driest of all 9 building sites at present being developed by the Council. At the other eight, the wettest parts had to be navigated with the aid of gumboots, whereas at Sheerwater goloshes were sufficient". Woking News and Mail, 14th March 1952.
- (D) Opened in 1951. Tenders were invited by 20th April 1950. The tender of Sir Lindsay Parkinson was accepted on 9th May 1950. Plans were received on 2nd September 1950.
- (E) The year in which the L.C.C. reached its post-war building peak of 10,459 dwellings.

MAP B G.L.C. HOUSING ESTATE SHEERWATER, WOKING

TWO STOREY HOUSES

THREE STOREY FLATS

ONE PERSONS FLATS

HIGHER RENTED HOUSES

Sch SCHOOL (P-PRIMARY, Sec-SECONDARY)

CC COMMUNITY CENTRE

PH PUBLIC HOUSE

EO ESTATE OFFICE

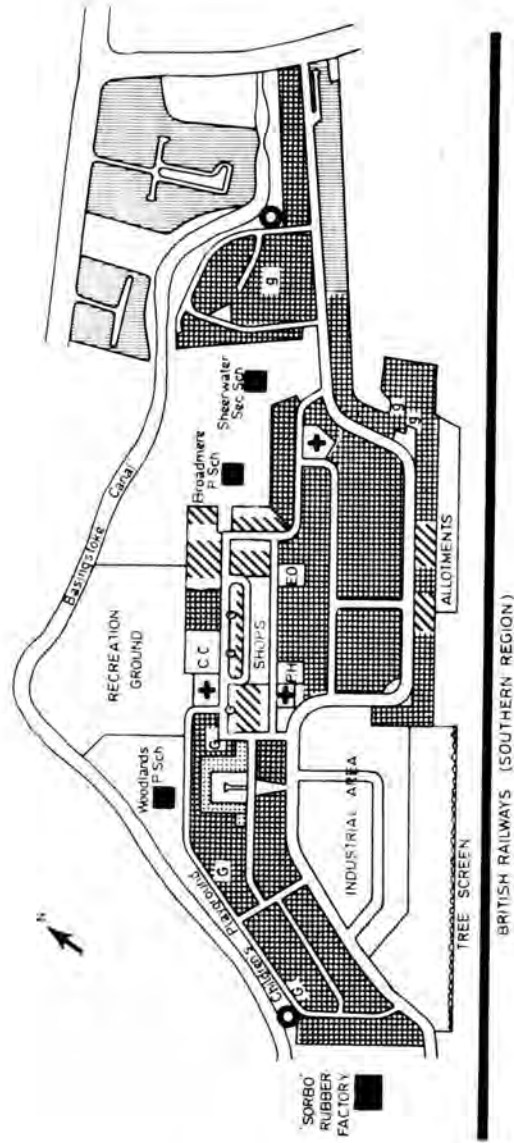
+

CHURCH

○ CAR PARK

G GARAGE SPACE

g PROPOSED GARAGE SPACE



The estate was well defined, socially distinct, and of sufficient size to be designed as a functionally self-sufficient neighbourhood (A). Its design is similar to contemporary L.C.C. out-county estates. Monotony is avoided by an informal layout and the careful variation of architectural detail. In most of the estates existing landscape features were incorporated into the scheme and the emphasis on open space and grass verges (Plates 25 to 32) contributes to the overall impression of spaciousness. Sheerwater was particularly fortunate in its abundance of pine and birch trees which are one of the features of the estate (B) (Plates 25 to 32).

The gross acreage of the site (231.23 acres) was divided up among the various land uses as follows:-

Housing		126.00
Industry	30.23 acres	
Recreation	22.00	
Children's Playground	6.00	
Woodlands	2.50	
Allotments	4.50	
School Sites	27.10	
Community Centre *	3.10	
Churches (3)	2.10	
Shops (24)	2.50	
Cinema **	1.85	
Refreshment Houses (2) ***	1.75	
Reserved Sites ****	1.60	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>105.23</u>
		<u>105.23</u>
	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>231.23 acres</u>

- * Community Centre released 0.80 acres for housing (18 dwellings) in 1954.
- ** Land reserved for cinema released for 30 houses in 1953.
- *** Since only one refreshment house was eventually built, part of the smaller of the two sites was released for 8 houses in 1959.
- **** Includes site for the Estate Office.

- (A) Despite their varying size most of the estates were conceived as single neighbourhoods. Harold Hill, however, was planned as two separate neighbourhoods.
- (B) "What immediately impresses the observer is the graceful character of the landscape design as a whole, with its wide green-verged crescents, elegant little squares, and everywhere the ornamentation of trees, firs, beeches and chestnuts, whose preservation has been regarded as a matter of such importance that the very siting of the roads was often altered and the houses set back so as not to lose the beauty of the trees. That imaginative approach has been well rewarded by the charming effect achieved". The Scotsman, 17th September 1952.

Since the estate was developed there have been only minor changes in the land use pattern, mainly to incorporate an additional 56 dwellings (see footnotes in above Table). Unlike a number of other cottage estates (A) Sheerwater has little room for further development though some speculation has been aroused on the subject of further building (B).

LAYOUT (see Maps 8 and 9)

The layout of Sheerwater is dictated by its elongated site. The main road, Albert Drive (Plates 26, 27 and 28) forms the southern boundary and runs from east to west forming three shallow curves. South of its western curve lies the Industrial Estate. Most of the open space of the estate is concentrated on its northern side, the large Recreation Ground occupying the apex of the triangle which bounds the site.

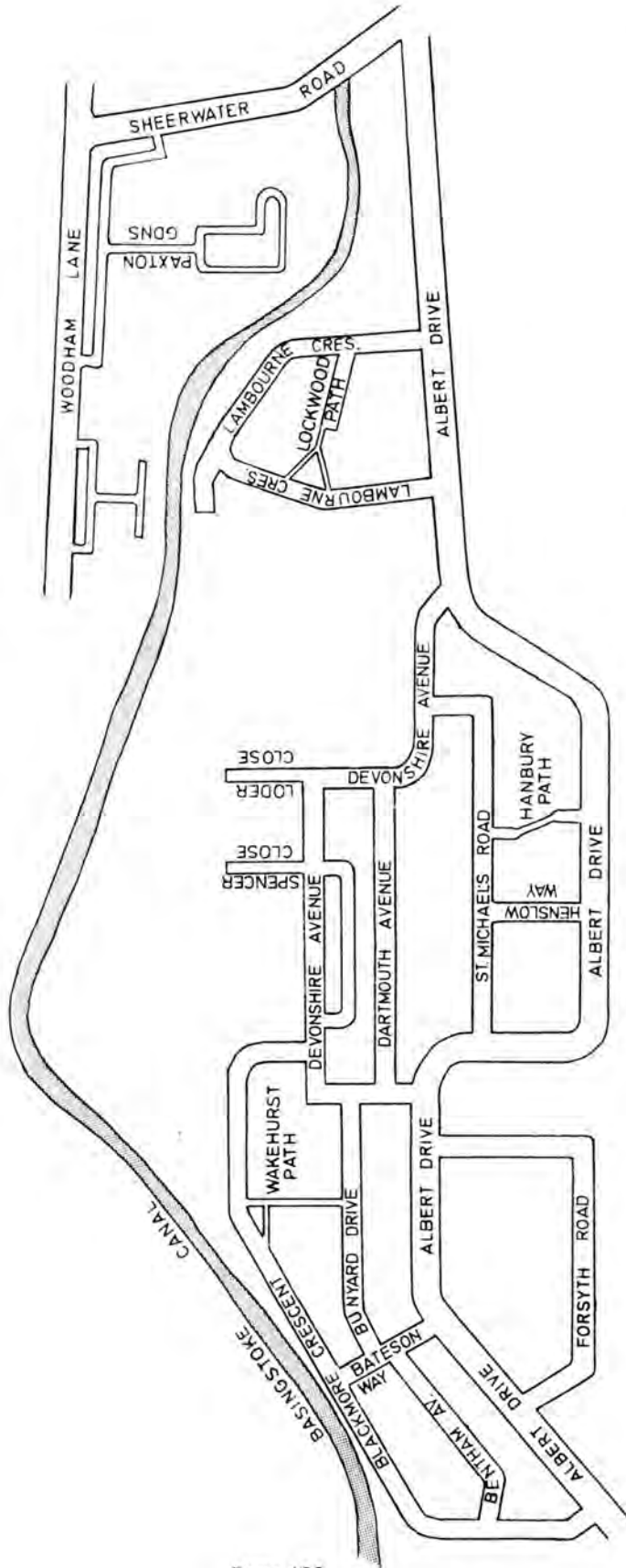
The housing area is thus confined to a broad band running across the estate and attaining its greatest width in the central area where it is partly enclosed within the central curve of Albert Drive. The housing area is served by a series of streets, crescents, cul-de-sacs and pedestrian pathways. On the western side a number of these are contained within the curved rectangle formed by Blackmore Crescent and Albert Drive while, in the east, Lambourne Crescent contains another housing cluster. Three parallel east to west roads (Devonshire Avenue, Dartmouth Avenue and St. Michael's Road) and their associated greens, pathways, and cul-de-sacs, form the central part of the estate and one of these, Dartmouth Avenue, includes the estate's shopping centre.

Detailed landscaping has produced an estate which is aesthetically pleasing (C). There are an abundance of trees, well kept grass verges, and a number of greens leading off the roads around which houses are grouped (e.g., Bunyard Drive with its old people's group (Plate 33) Dartmouth Green (Plate 30), Murray Green, off St. Michael's Road, Lambourne Crescent, and at several points along Albert Drive. The pathways (e.g., Wakehurst Path, Hanbury Path (Plate 34), Dartmouth Path) fronted by dwellings afford some segregation of vehicles from pedestrians. In the few long stretches of straight road on the estate, monotony is carefully avoided by the staggering of dwellings, and architectural device. (Plates 35 and 36).

- (A) For details of proposed further development of out-county estates see notes to Table 2.1.
- (B) No firm proposals have been made but some further development on small sites is possible. Article in "Surrey Herald" 4th July 1969.
- (C) See above Page 104.

MAP 9

SHEERWATER ESTATE: STREET PLAN



BRITISH RAIL (SOUTHERN REGION)

HOUSING (See Table 2.2)

Sheerwater has one of the lowest housing densities of all the out-county estates despite its high proportion of flats (27%) (A). The average dwelling size (3.57 rooms per dwelling) is high the result of Sheerwater's high proportion of large dwellings and higher rented houses (6.6%, a higher proportion than normally authorised by the Council). Table 2.2 gives full details of all the dwelling types found at Sheerwater.

It might at first appear from the Table that there is a great variety of cottage types on the estate. In many cases differences are matters of detail and very difficult to detect by the untrained eye. For example, type LV.4 is slightly larger than LV.4N (floor area 1,128 sq. ft. compared to 1,080 sq. ft.) which was specially designed for north-aspect sites. Type LV.5, although similar in area to LV.5A has three rather than four bedrooms and a different ground-floor layout. Although there are four types of higher rented dwellings represented on the estate (Plates 37 and 38) they each have four bedrooms and a garage. The main differences here are again in details of layout, the most distinctive being Type V.6C designed as a corner unit with an L-shaped ground plan with the kitchen and sitting room each occupying a projecting wing on the ground floor.

Considerable ingenuity has resulted in a subtle variation in the external treatment of the dwellings. Although brick is the dominant material visual interest is provided by the details of porches, the intermittent use of bay windows, the pitch of the roofs, the articulation of the facades, and the mixture of colours used in the paintwork. The dwellings are sometimes paired and sometimes in terraced rows which further adds to the planned informality of the design (Plates 34, 35 and 39).

Higher density housing (Plate 40) is concentrated in the centre of the estate near the shops and other community buildings in an area roughly bounded by Dartmouth and Devonshire Avenues (Map 9). The majority of these are three-storey blocks of flats with entrances serving either six flats (two per floor, each of one or two bedrooms) or nine flats (three per floor, two of one bedroom and one bedsitter) (Plates 29 and 41). Over the shops in Dartmouth Avenue are three storeys of flats (making four storeys in all, the highest building on the estate) containing 48 flats of various sizes and grouped along rearward facing balconies (Plates 42 and 43). In addition there are isolated blocks of two storeys containing one bedroom flats (P.2) (Plates 36 and 44). Apart from these flats in the central part of the estate there are two three storey blocks on the southern side of Albert Drive.

The estate has an old people's group of dwellings surrounding a broad green off Bunyard Drive (Plate 33). The dwellings here include a mixture of bungalows with a bedsitter, kitchen and bathroom (Types P.1A, P.1C) or more spacious two storey flats (P.1B). The group has a resident warden and includes an old people's club.

(A) See above Page 98 and Table 2.1.

Community Association off Devonshire Avenue, Blackmore Crescent and Lambourne Crescent and further sites are to be developed. Even so the provision remains inadequate and parking in the narrow streets of the estate is one of the problems of Sheerwater (Plate 47).

COMMUNITY FACILITIES

Industrial Estate

The out-county estates were created in areas which offered a wide range of employment opportunities but in addition industrial estates were built on several of them to ensure that the new estates would not add to the already large number of dormitory satellites which encircle the metropolitan area (A). The firms attracted to these estates came from London and thus contributed to the planned decentralisation of the conurbation.

Sheerwater, though one of the smallest of the out-county developments, has the fifth largest industrial estate (B) which, apart from one small site, is fully occupied by a range of light industries (C) (Plate 48). Their location reflects the increasing population growth in the outer metropolitan area and the outer country zone of which Woking is a part.

Schools

One of the early problems of the out-county estates was the lack of school provision (D) and Sheerwater was no exception. By 1954, however, three new schools had been opened on the estate - a primary school in Blackmore Crescent ("Woodlands" Plate 49), and a primary ("Broadmere" Plate 50) and a secondary ("Sheerwater" Plate 51) school on a large site between Devonshire Avenue and Lambourne Crescent. In the late 1950's and early 1960's there were 800 children in the primary schools but the numbers have since declined to around 500. Sheerwater

- (A) "Post-War Housing" op.cit. Page 19. The pre-war estates had, in some instances, become dormitories.
- (B) The largest, all in Essex, are at Harold Hill (82 acres), Hainault (45 acres), Debden (42 acres) and Aveley (33 acres).
- (C) For example, manufacturers of copper fittings, farm machinery, electrical and electronic components and plastics - S.P.D. Ltd. own a warehouse on the estate which is one of five (the others being at Chesham, Chelmsford, Aylesford, and Redhill) serving the London area and the countryside around and illustrates the locational opportunities of the area.
- (D) See Margot Jeffreys op.cit. and below Pages 112-113.

secondary school serves an area larger than the estate and half its 700 pupils come from elsewhere. It has a sixth form strength of 30 pupils. About 10% of the estate's population attend grammar schools.

In 1968 the schools were reorganised, Woodlands becoming a First School taking pupils aged 5 to 7, Broadmere those aged 7 to 11, and Sheerwater those aged 11 to 18. An evening institute also operates in the secondary school and includes examination and non-vocational courses.

Other Community Services

Until the block of 24 shops in Dartmouth Avenue (Plates 42 and 52, and Figure 1, Page 111) was opened in February 1955 residents had to depend on mobile stores or the shopping centres of Woking and West Byfleet. By 1961 all but two of the shops had been let and in 1968 all were occupied except one (see Diagram 1). The shops cater for daily and weekly household needs though some are more specialised (e.g., radio and T.V., menswear). The lack of a large supermarket (the shops are all of equal size) or of a chain store (apart from the Co-operative the tenants are independents) is a noticeable feature of the shopping centre.

Opposite the shops is the estate's only public house - the "Birch and Pines" (Plate 53). Originally two sites were allocated but the only acceptable bid came from Trumans who took the larger site on condition that the smaller was not developed in a similar way. The smaller site was later (1959) used for eight dwellings. Thus, Sheerwater has only one public house for a population of over 5,000 (the usual ratio on estates is about 1: 2,500). It was felt that since there were three other public houses within three-quarters of a mile that one would be sufficient on the estate itself.

There are three churches on the estate. The newest is the Catholic Church (Plate 54) next to the "Birch and Pines". The other two churches, the Anglican in St. Michael's Road (Plate 55) and the Methodist Church in Blackmore Crescent (Plate 56) attract small congregations and plan to merge and erect a church next to the Estate Office in Dartmouth Avenue to serve both denominations. Of the three buildings the Anglican is the most unusual and was built as a temporary church made of timber-oak frames and laminated wood with an external cladding of waney edged elmboard (A).

The Sheerwater Community Association used a hut built in 1953 in Devonshire Avenue until a permanent hall and lounge were erected (Plate 57). This was financed by voluntary contributions and by grants from the Ministries of Education and Housing, Surrey County Council and Woking Urban District Council. The Association has a membership of about 900 and runs a series of social clubs which include Bingo, Keep-fit classes, table tennis and dancing. Its premises are licensed and also

(A) See "A Temporary Church in Timber": "Wood", July 1957.
The ground plan is L-shaped thus linking the Church to a Hall.

FIG. 1
SHEERWATER ESTATE :
DISTRIBUTION OF
SHOPPING TYPES

EAST	
Confectionery, News-papers, Tobacco.	
Post Office / Groceries	
Fruit & Vegetables	
Fish & Chips	
Butcher	
Baker	
Footwear	
Pharmacy / Optician	
Clothing	
Radio & T.V.	
Cycles & Accessories	
Hairdressing	
Menswear	
Cafeteria	
Launderette	
Butcher	
Fruit & Vegetables	
Hardware	
Toys, Fishing tackle, etc.	
Confectionery, News-papers, Tobacco.	
Cleaners	
Grocers	
Wines & Spirits	
WEST	

Dartmouth Avenue

used for receptions. An affiliated organisation, the Tenants' Association, acts as a pressure group dealing with questions such as rents, repairs, bus and railway services, telephones, etc. There is also a Gardening Association which rents allotments from the G.L.C. on two sites, one adjoining the Community Centre and the other bordering the railway line. The Old People's Club in Bunyard Drive runs a number of social events and its members have free access to the Community Centre.

The Youth Club situated in Blackmore Crescent has a varying membership (about 90 to 100) more of girls than of boys and aged between 14 and 20. Other youth organisations (e.g., Scouts) are sponsored by the Church though membership is small.

Lastly the large Recreation Ground was transferred to Woking U.D.C. in 1954 and includes tennis courts, football and cricket pitches and a racing track with a small stand. (Plate 58).

Early History of the Estate

The first tenants of Sheerwater were confronted by a number of problems. Many of these were typical of the transitional problems experienced on all estates before they become fully established (A). Apart from the social and psychological problems consequent upon removal from London there were difficulties that had to be faced arising from lack of amenities. Despite the hopeful assertion of the L.C.C.'s Director of Housing in 1952 that "the estate fits into the general development of Woking and with the help of so many in the area is quickly becoming part of the district" it was inevitable that there would be, initially, some reserve on the part of the local population at the prospect of an influx of Londoners into Surrey. The local newspaper, aware of the difficulties, was able to forecast in March 1952 that "we shall hear much about Sheerwater's problems in the coming months". (B).

One of the most serious deficiencies of the estate in its first years was the lack of schools (C), for the population was largely composed of young families. Grammar school pupils continued to attend schools in London and other pupils were first given temporary accommodation in Pyrford Village Hall and in West Byfleet Congregational Methodist Hall (sic) as the local schools were already full. Secondary pupils later entered the new Fulbrook Secondary Modern School in New Haw.

(A) See Introduction Pages 6, 8 and 9.

(B) Woking News and Mail. March 14th, 1952.

(C) See above Page 109.

The situation became sufficiently serious for the Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Labour and National Service to complain to the L.C.C.:- "I am very disturbed at the way in which the problem, added to other difficulties, is creating unrest on an estate which I had hoped would have been a model of its kind".

There were other problems too - among them, the long journey to work which many residents experienced and the lack of nearby shops or adequate social provision.

Such problems were highlighted by a social survey (unpublished) undertaken by Surrey County Council in November and December of 1952. By this time over half the dwellings (745) had been completed and 100 families were interviewed. Of these, more than half (58) liked the estate particularly its healthy atmosphere and the easy access they had to the countryside. Of the rest, 23 gave qualified approval but complained of the higher living costs and lack of shops, schools and social activity, and the remaining 19 were unsettled preferring their former life in London with its nearby shops and entertainment. This latter group found life at Sheerwater too quiet and lonely, a feeling exacerabated by the lack of suitable employment and the cost and inconvenience of travel to work or the shops.

The survey was particularly concerned with the employment pattern of the 100 families sampled. It found that 88 of these were families with at least one child aged under 16. Altogether there were 111 in full-time work (104 male, 7 female) in the sample and their occupations and workplaces are summarised in Table 6 below:-

Sheerwater Estate - Table 6

Social Survey 1952 by Surrey County Council

Occupation and Workplaces (Generalised) (100 families sampled)

Occupation Workplace	Clerical, Business Retailing etc. (1)	Skilled Manual	Unskilled	TOTAL
Working	12	14	5	31
Local Area (2)	1	16	-	17
Other Surrey (3)	3	5	1	9
Middlesex	-	2	-	2
London (4)	27	18	4	49
Unemployed	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	44	57	10	111

- (1) Includes General Business (21), Sales Reps. (3), Central and Local Government (13), Retailing (3), Post Office (4).
- (2) Includes Chertsey, Walton and Weybridge, Guildford, Esher areas.
- (3) Includes Surbiton, Merton and Morden, Wimbledon, Croydon.
- (4) London defined as L.C.C. area but most were employed in Central area.

Nearly half the employed within the sample continued to work in London mainly in white-collar or skilled manual occupations. Most of those working in Woking and the local area were employed in skilled or unskilled work and 9 of these were employed at Vickers Aircraft Works (now British Aircraft Corporation) at Weybridge.

The separation of workplace and residence meant a long and expensive journey for many of the workers (A). The survey found that more than half went to work by train and almost as many faced a journey of over an hour (Table 7). Comparatively few were able to walk to work though nearly a quarter used their own transport. The small number (7) travelling by bus indicates the poor bus service available at the time and the difficulty of reaching many workplaces by public transport. A number of workers who faced a long journey to work were unsettled and would have preferred to work locally (24 of the 63 working outside Woking and the local area).

Sheerwater Estate - Table 7

Social Survey 1952 by Surrey County Council

The Journey to Work (100 families sampled (111 workers))

1. Time taken to travel

Greater than 1 hr.	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1hr.	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ hr.	No Information	TOTAL
55	16	32	8	111

2. Mode of Transport

Train	Own Transport	Bus	Walk	No Information	TOTAL
60	26	7	11	7	111

The survey pinpointed a number of other problems. Not only were there no shops on the estate the tenants missed the markets, large stores and generally greater shopping opportunities of London. There were other deprivations, too, for at this time there were no churches, few social or entertainment facilities and a poor library service (B). There were also minor inconveniences such as a lack of telephone kiosks, a poor postal service, inadequate street lighting and both the unprotected canal, and the traffic along Albert Drive were seen as potentially dangerous to children.

(A) See above Page 99 and below Pages 121 and 122.

(B) The estate still has no public library but a mobile unit visits the estate twice per week.

The survey concluded that many of the criticisms would abate in time, implying they were symptomatic of the transitional phase through which the estate was then passing. Since that time new factories have opened on the estate and many of the facilities then lacking have been supplied. A few of the criticisms made then are still voiced as the later analysis will show.

Sheerwater, like many estates, early developed a community spirit born of the common needs of the residents (A). A tenants' association was quickly formed and its first Chairman outlined the role it would play:- "New residents are coming in every day. Many of them have been living in very crowded and trying conditions and were very near breaking point when they were offered a house here. We feel that we can help them settle down in what is, to them, almost a new world" (B). At first the association was small and had no accommodation until the hut was erected in 1953 (C).

The association, aside from its social function, focussed estate opinion and by 1953 was publishing a monthly newsheet called "The Pylon" (D), and petitioning for improved amenities. Among its main concerns were road safety, street lighting, and house maintenance. The lack of schools and the infrequent bus service were other major grievances (E).

Most of the problems have been overcome or eased but the bus service remains a source of complaint (F). The service from Woking to West Byfleet or Addlestone only operates from Monday to Friday during the morning and evening rush hours and is the only route linking the estate with West Byfleet. The service between Guildford or Ripley via Woking to Chertsey and Staines is more frequent (every half hour) and links the estate to important shopping centres. The estate is also served by a Green Line coach route from Woking to Addlestone, Weybridge, Walton, Kingston and London (hourly).

Although in its first years Sheerwater appears to have engendered a sense of common purpose partly fostered by its community association, by 1960 this had, it seems, largely evaporated (G). A report in the

- (A) This point is discussed in the Introduction Page 9.
- (B) Quoted in "Woking News and Mail". March 14th 1952.
- (C) See above Page 110.
- (D) No longer published.
- (E) In 1953 a march to County Hall was considered on this question. And in 1969 residents campaigned for another operator to replace London Transport. Control passed to National Bus Co. on 1st January 1970.
- (F) See later section on "The Use of Public Transport".
- (G) For discussion of the decline of community spirit once an estate is settled see Introduction Pages 8 and 9.

"Woking News and Mail" (A) emphasised the decline of social participation on the estate:- "The social functions were not supported, money that was necessary for the building of new halls, for the individual clubs and associations was no longer forthcoming. The community spirit seemed lost. The Community Association began to lose sway and the leaders began to despair at their fallen attendance figures". Since that time, however, a new hall has been built and the association has found renewed strength. The strong sense of identity that the tenants have with their estate has remained. It is with this sense of identity and especially with the attitudes of Sheerwater tenants to place that the following survey, undertaken in 1968, has to deal.

(A) 19th August 1960.

III. THE SURVEY

THE POPULATION OF SHEERWATER

Method

The investigation of Sheerwater estate was based, in large measure, on a random sample survey of 70 households. Such a sample, though inadequate to enable statistical generalisation for the whole estate to be made, was small enough to be covered by one person and to encourage depth interviews using a schedule as the foundation upon which an open interview could be developed (A). The figures quoted here, therefore, refer only to the sample and do not necessarily express the pattern for the estate. This would have required a much larger sample which would, inevitably, given the constraints of time, have reduced the scope of the interviews. The results of the survey, however, are suggestive and some of them indicate lines of further productive enquiry.

The 70 households interviewed were selected from the Register of Electors for the Sheerwater Polling District which includes the Sheerwater Estate minus the 71 Higher Rented dwellings situated north of the Basingstoke Canal. Selection was based on a table of random numbers (B). In addition to the 70 households from whom interviews were obtained there were eight who refused to co-operate.

The 70 interviews were distributed as follows among the various dwelling types:-

Flats

<u>Bedsitter</u>	<u>1 Bedroom</u>	<u>2 Bedrooms</u>	<u>Flat over Shops</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1	7	4	1 (3 Bedrooms)	13

Cottages

<u>2 Bedrooms</u>	<u>3 Bedrooms</u>	<u>4 Bedrooms</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
21	33	1	55

Higher Rented Houses
(4 Bedrooms)

2	<u>TOTAL</u>
	2

GRAND TOTAL 70

(A) The survey methods are discussed in the Introduction and in Appendix II.

(B) R.A. Fisher and F. Yates: "Statistical Tables". 1963. Table XXXIII Random Numbers (III).

Household Composition

The estimated population of Sheerwater in 1966 was 4,900. When first occupied, like most council estates, Sheerwater's population was mainly composed of young parents and their children. This pattern is still dominant on the estate though most of the parents tend to be middle-aged and two person families are becoming more common (see Table 2.3 - Household Composition). As has been seen (see Page 99) on all the out-county estates there has been a tendency for occupation densities to decline and overoccupation to be rare. In the Sheerwater sample there were only two severely overcrowded families, one with five, and one with six children living in three bedroom houses. Families are rarely of this size, however, as the Table below indicates:-

Sheerwater Estate - Table 8

No. of Persons per Household

(No. in sample 70)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
4	17	12	19	12	4	1	1	70

The estate was built to house families and the two or three bedroom dwelling is thus typical (74.7% of the total (A)). As much of the population enters what D.V. Donnison describes as Phase 4 (B) of the housing cycle it will become increasingly difficult to utilise the housing stock efficiently, a problem which has already been referred to (C).

(A) "The builders of houses, public and private alike, have generally catered principally for the family with young children".
D.V. Donnison: "The Government of Housing". London 1967. Page 67.

(B) D.V. Donnison op.cit., Pages 215-216 and 276 to 278, describes five phases in the housing cycle. Whereas many Sheerwater families are at present in Phase 3 (i.e., the conventional family of parents with children) some will shortly enter Phase 4 where all or most of the children have left home and the household is thus reduced.

(C) See above Page 98.

PATTERN OF EMPLOYMENT

General

In the sample 60 households had at least one member at work. In most there were two or more working (including part-time) and 9 families had four or more at work (see Table 9 below):-

Sheerwater Estate - Table 9

No. at Work per Household

(Sample size 70)

	1	2	3	4	5
Number working full-time	12	17	4	3	0
Including part-time	13	27	11	8	1
TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS WITH AT LEAST ONE MEMBER WORKING = 60					

Retired Households	
1 Person	2 Persons
4	6
TOTAL NON-WORKING HOUSEHOLDS = 10	

In all but three of the active households there was a male head of household at work. The household working pattern is fully documented in Table 2.4 and the high incidence of families with at least one child at work (31) is clearly disclosed. This table when examined in conjunction with Table 2.3 emphasises the "middle-aged" nature of Sheerwater households many of whom, as we shall see later, have lived on the estate since its inception (A). Of the 49 households which included children there were only 18 in which all the children were dependent (B).

Working Wives

The working pattern of housewives is particularly interesting (see Table 10 below). In 58 households the housewife was in the active age group. In 31 there was at least one dependent child and in 12 of these there was also at least one working child. Well over half the housewives sampled (32) were working though most had part-time occupations (25). Such a high activity rate reflects the employment opportunities which, for women, are good in the Woking area.

(A) See below, section on Previous Residence, Page 126.

(B) i.e., in which children were all at school or were under school age.

It is also a product of the freedom from family commitments which older wives, especially, have experienced. Less than half the 32 wives at work (15) had dependent children and 7 of these had at least one working child. There were, however, only 7 women in full-time jobs and these included a widow with no dependents, a family where the only child was at University and only two cases where there were dependent children at school (A).

The emphasis on part-time work emphasises two situations in particular. One is where the housewife has dependent children and other family commitments but finds it necessary, mainly for financial reasons, to work for part of the day. The other case is where families may already have two or more at work, where the financial incentive to work may be less, but where reduced domestic commitments free the housewife for part-time employment. Some housewives in this latter group (8) prefer to remain at home as is clear from Table 10, Column 6.

There were relatively few instances in the sample where women found it impossible to work because they have young dependent children. As Column 5 of the table shows there were only 11 in this category and even among these two had very specific reasons for not working (one was hospitalised and one training to be a teacher). These facts further underline the older age structure of families on the estate and the comparative lack of young families (B).

Sheerwater Estate - Table 10

Working Pattern - Housewives in Active Age Group

(Sample size 70. No. of Housewives in active age group 58)

	A T W O R K				N O T W O R K I N G	
	P A R T - T I M E		F U L L - T I M E		With dependent children	Without dependent children
	With dependent children	Without dependent children	With dependent children	Without dependent children		
Without working child	5	7	3	1	11	2
With one or more working children	5	8	2	1	5	8
TOTAL	10	15	5	2	16	10

WORKING PART-TIME 25 WORKING FULL-TIME 7 NOT WORKING 26

TOTAL 58

(A) In one of these the wife was a teacher.

(B) Though not strictly comparable the working experience of North Kenton housewives shows a number of parallels and contrasts with that of Sheerwater.

Retired Housewives:-

Living alone	4
Living with retired husband	6
Living with working husband	1
Living with working son	1
	<hr/>
	12
	<hr/>

Working Children

In the sample there were 45 children at work, 23 boys and 22 girls. These were drawn from 31 households, just over half the households where at least one member of the family was in the active age group. The number of children working per household was as follows:-

1 child working	-	20 households
2 children working	-	8 households
3 children working	-	3 households

TOTAL = 31

Occupations

Among men, manual occupations requiring varying levels of skill accounted for 33 of the total of 57 interviewed who were working (see Table 2.5). There were, however, a substantial number in supervisory (10) or clerical (8) occupations. In some cases special housing provision was made for key workers moving with their firms to Sheerwater (e.g., Wandsworth Electric Ltd.) or for those in essential occupations (e.g., teachers, policemen).

Part-time working wives were employed in cleaning or domestic work (11), in nearby factories, or in other occupations which offered congenial hours. The few full-time working wives sampled (7) included some in clerical occupations where the hours were more rigid. Among boys manual workers constituted the main group (14 and 4 apprentices) and most of these had acquired particular skills (e.g., metal working, upholstery, tinsmith, millwright). Girls, on the other hand, tended to be employed in clerical work (9) or service occupations (see Table 2.5).

Place of Work

In the light of what has already been said on the strategy of decentralising people and industry from London (A) it is instructive to examine the changes of workplace experienced by the sample of Sheerwater residents.

(A) See earlier sections on out-county estates (Page 99), the Industrial Estate (Page 109) and the discussion of the Surrey County Council Survey (Pages 113 and 114).

The Industrial Selection Scheme was not applied in out-county estates although it did prove possible to co-ordinate the decentralisation in a few cases by offering tenancies to the key workers of relocated firms. As the estate grew so the Industrial Estate expanded while in the surrounding area there were considerable employment opportunities in Woking and in particular at the B.A.C. Works, Weybridge. The communities surrounding Sheerwater, however, and, to a lesser degree, the estate itself have substantial numbers of commuters encouraged by the rapid suburban rail service to Waterloo (25 minutes).

The 1952 Social Survey revealed that about half its sample were working in London. Since then the pattern has altered radically as men have found work nearer home. Margot Jefferys found a similar tendency on the Oxhey estate and that the first year was the decisive period. The working men interviewed at Sheerwater were asked what changes of workplace they had made and their replies may be grouped as follows:-

No change	14
Change of workplace at or about time of move.	26
Change of workplace since move	12
No information	4
Unemployed	1
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>57</u>

Three of the fourteen who had not changed their jobs were already working in the local area before they moved to the estate, one was self-employed, and two had peripatetic occupations. The remainder had continued to travel to work in the London area (Waterloo, Battersea), Middlesex, or Surrey and in one case to Havant.

Those who had changed their jobs at or about the time of moving had all found jobs nearer their new home. Four of them had been offered tenancies as a result of a change in workplace. Some, having found work nearer home later found jobs further away (e.g., one moved from the Industrial Estate to Guildford) but still within easy travelling distance. Nearly all of those who changed jobs sometime after their move had found work locally except one who had taken a job in London, and one who had been unable to work at first through illness.

A high proportion of the men (36) worked within four miles of the estate (A). A quarter (14) had jobs on the estate itself and about a fifth worked in the Woking/Byfleet area (see Table 2.6). Of those who had to travel some distance to work, 8 were employed within the Inner London area and most of the rest in Middlesex or Surrey. The workplace pattern testifies to the variety of local employment opportunities in what might at first appear to be a suburban dormitory.

Working housewives, particularly those in part-time employment, are, as might be expected, even more dependent on the local area for work. Half the part-time working wives in the sample worked on the estate and Chessington was the farthest any wife had to travel (see Table 2.7). While all but three of the working girls were employed in Surrey, relatively few of them (6) worked on the estate. Boys, likewise, showed a dispersed workplace pattern but here again few had to travel far to work (see Table 2.7).

(A) At Oxhey in 1954-5 the figure was 4.0%. Jefferys op.cit.

PLACE OF BIRTH AND PREVIOUS RESIDENCE

(See Appendix Tables 2.8, 2.9, 2.10 and Map 10 (A))

Place of Birth

Tenants of out-county estates are, in the main, drawn from those in housing need resident within the London administrative area. Prospective tenants fall into one of four categories for housing allocation - Slum Clearance, Other Clearance (i.e., to make way for the development of essential services - roads, schools, parks, etc.), Special Quotas and the Waiting List. The numbers drawn from each vary according to the supply of accommodation and according to the emphasis of planning policy at any particular time. Thus in the early post-war years most tenants were drawn from the Waiting List but by the mid-1950s when clearance operations began on a large scale the emphasis had shifted somewhat. Tenants who receive greatest priority are those in clearance areas and those in the Special Quotas category whose claims rest on the grounds of ill-health, family separation, homelessness, etc. In all cases, except where transfer between local authorities may be arranged, residence within the administrative area of London is a pre-requisite.

Sheerwater's population, then, is dominated by Londoners, though the term "Londoners" does not admit to very precise definition. If the definition be restricted to a person who was born and who has lived for most of his life in the inner districts of London (the former L.C.C. area) many Sheerwater households would still qualify as Londoners. In fact, over half the male heads of households (34-54.8%) were born in inner London, and 4.3 (61.4%) of the housewives. Altogether the G.L.C. area accounted for the birthplaces of about two-thirds (40 - 64.5%) of the male heads and 4.8 (68.6%) of the housewives. If, however, we regard the area defined by the London postal districts as a suitable definition of London (and this is a definition frequently accepted by Londoners themselves) then 62.9% of both male heads (39) and housewives (44) were born in London.

It is not, perhaps, surprising when we consider the location of Sheerwater relative to the London conurbation that a large proportion of these Londoners were born in South London. Using the postal districts S.W. and S.E. to define South London then exactly two-thirds (26 - 66.6%) of the male heads of households born within the London postal area and 63.6% (28) of the housewives were born within a relatively small area encompassing such districts as Lambeth, Walworth, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Brixton, Battersea and Clapham. Curiously, though, there were only 16 cases where both husband and wife had been born in the same district.

There remained a significant number who were not born in London, some of whom had migrated from the more depressed parts of the country to find work. Among the male heads 4 had moved from the North East Coast, and, altogether, 15 had been born outside the Home Counties (3 of these abroad). Housewives who were born in the Provinces and elsewhere showed a very dispersed pattern although 3 had been born in the North East and 4 in Ireland.

(A) Map 10 shows the administrative boundaries of Greater London.

Since Sheerwater is an overspill estate very few of its residents are likely to have been born in the local area. Three had been born in Woking and two in that part of Surrey outside the G.L.C. area.

Previous Residence

The vast majority of Sheerwater tenants lived previously in the G.L.C. area (60 - 85.7%) and over two-thirds of them in the former L.C.C. area (46 - 65.7%). A majority in fact had lived in inner South London prior to moving. This geographical linkage between South London and the estate is, apparently, paralleled elsewhere. Margot Jefferys found on the Oxhey estate that, although tenants had come from all over London, the majority had previously lived in the north-west London boroughs, and Young and Willmott described the movement of families from Bethnal Green to the Debden estate in Essex. In the Sheerwater sample 39 (55.7%) of the households had lived previously in the S.E. and S.W. postal districts (A) and 31 of these had lived within the area now covered by the London boroughs of Lambeth, Lewisham, Southwark and Wandsworth.

Although the previous residence of tenants tends to be restricted by the residential qualification, the very size of the G.L.C. (and of its predecessor) gives them, theoretically at least, a wider choice of places in which to live than any other council tenants (B). This accounts for the dispersal of tenants prior to moving to Sheerwater. There was a tendency, however, for most to come from "twilight areas" where housing need is most acute and where clearance and redevelopment is active. Including those from South London, 46 of the families had moved from the inner districts.

Apart from these a number of Sheerwater tenants had lived previously in the outer London suburbs, again mainly from those on the southern side of the conurbation. In all 10 had moved from those parts of Surrey and Kent absorbed into the G.L.C., four of them being transferred from the inter-war out-county estate of St. Helier at Morden/Carshalton.

Only 9 households had come from areas outside the G.L.C. and of these one had been transferred from another out-county estate at Slough, and three had married since living on the estate having thus no former family residence. Only one household had previously lived in the Woking area. Sheerwater children who marry usually must leave the estate (C) and thus tenancies which fall vacant are likely to be filled by tenants from G.L.C. Clearance Areas or the Waiting List. In this way the estate continues as an overspill area and may keep the generations geographically separate (D).

- (A) In some cases S.W. postal districts are north of the Thames, e.g., Westminster, Fulham.
- (B) The opportunities for transfer or exchange are considerable.
- (C) They enjoy no housing priority, and for housing purposes, are the responsibility of the local authority, not the G.L.C. Arrangements may be made between the two authorities, however.
- (D) See below, section on Relatives and Friends, Pages 130 and 131.



Map 10
Map showing Greater London administrative units
and Woking

That Sheerwater's population is relatively stable is evident from the table of length of residence below. This is a reflection both of housing management practice (A) and of the estate's popularity. Only 10 households (14.3%) in the sample had been resident on the estate less than 5 years, whereas 29 (41.4%) had lived there for 15 years or more, and a sizeable number had been among the original tenants of the estate (B).

Sheerwater Estate - Table 11

Length of Residence

(Sample size 70)

No. of Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
No. of Households	2	-	3	5	2	1	3	1	2	2	2	7

No. of Years	13	14	15	16	17	18	No Information	TOTAL
No. of Households	6	5	7	10	5	2	5	70

Reasons for Moving

Apart from subjective preferences for Sheerwater which will be dealt with in the next section there is for every tenant an officially designated reason for his moving to a council house. As Table 12 shows a substantial number were moved to Sheerwater for reasons of health (Special Quotas) and a large number were taken from the Waiting List, composed mainly of people with one housing problem or another. Few were moved here as a result of slum clearance for the clearance programme was not really under way until the mid-1950s in London by which time Sheerwater had been completed. Clearance families could therefore only

(A) See above Page 124.

(B) The Census (Migration Tables) for 1961 reveals that in Woking Urban District 47.5% of the population had lived there for less than 5 years and only 16.1% had been in residence for 15 years or more. In the L.C.C. area a similar number, 16.7%, had been resident for over 15 years though in some inner districts such as Deptford (31.2%) and Battersea (31.1%) the population was much higher. These figures cannot be directly compared with those from the sample since the Census relates to the total population and thus accounts for changes in population structure (births etc.).

move to Sheerwater as tenancies fell vacant. Some indication of Sheerwater's popularity is implied by the high figure for transfers though care must be taken in interpretation since transfers are often arranged by the Council as part of its management policy and often represent an exchange of different sizes of dwellings which will better accommodate the family size. However, in an authority as large as the G.L.C. the possibilities of transfer to a favoured estate are greater than in smaller authorities.

Over half the sampled families (38) had moved three or more times since marriage (see Table 13), many of them between various G.L.C. estates. A few tenants had endured several moves in poor housing conditions before securing a tenancy at Sheerwater (A).

Sheerwater Estate - Table 12

Reasons for Moving

(Sample size 70)

Waiting List	18	
Clearance	7	
Transfer	25	
Priority Cases	14	usually health grounds
Key Workers	3	includes Teacher and Policeman
No Information	3	
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>70</u>	

Sheerwater Estate - Table 13

Number of Moves since Marriage

No. of Moves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Services	TOTAL
	2	27	22	10	4	1	1	3	70

* N.B. Moves refers to places not dwellings.

Moves within Sheerwater: 1 move - 17 households } Usually to get
2 moves - 1 household } bigger house.

- (A) The worst case found was of a husband and wife whose daughters had recently left home. They had lived in 2 places in Shepherd's Bush, moved to St. Albans during the war and were then put into temporary accommodation in Ealing followed by a communal hut at Perivale from which they were evicted. Eventually they were housed in an outworn flat in Bermondsey and, after several years, were offered a house at Sheerwater on grounds of ill health.

SUMMARY

On the basis of a sample of 70 household it was found that Sheerwater households usually consisted of middle-aged parents and children, some of whom were already at work. Many of the families had lived on the estate for several years, some of them since it was built. The cohesiveness of the estate was further strengthened by the fact that most of the families had been born in or had previously lived in London, usually in South London.

Having settled on Sheerwater men had tended to seek employment locally though some continued to commute over considerable distances. Housewives, especially those whose children had grown up, were able to take up local employment often on a part-time basis. There were considerable employment opportunities offered locally.

So far we have examined the origins and economic attributes of the community. In the sections that follow the social patterns which help to mould attitudes to the environment are investigated.

THE COMMUNITY

Relatives and Friends

Successful adaptation to an environment will be partly conditioned by the degree of social integration the individual can achieve. This will depend both on his ability to adjust and on his need for social interaction. However, the proximity of relatives and friends, and the opportunity they have of exchanging visits will help to shape attitudes to the estate. Unlike North Kenton, Sheerwater is a considerable distance from the former home of most of its residents, and, like other out-county estates, is isolated from other large council housing estates.

Active Age Group Relatives

Sheerwater's residents were themselves sometimes members of large families and of 59 housewives in the active age group 23 had three or more siblings, and only 4 had no siblings. The most important relatives, however, are usually parents or children and only seven tenants in the sample had neither parents nor children living separately. The residence of the nearest parents or child of active households (where living separately) is analysed in Table 2.11. (Where more than one close relative lives separately, only the one nearest Sheerwater is included). From the table the following facts can be deduced:-

1. No. of respondents with children living in separate residence	= 23 (Column 1 of Table 2.11)
2. No. of respondents with parents living in separate residence	= 41 (Columns 2 and 3)
3. No. of respondents with parents and children living in separate residence.	= 13 (Column 3)
4. No. of respondents with children only living in separate residence.	= 10 (Column 1 minus Column 3)
5. No. of respondents with parents only living in separate residence.	= 28 (Column 2)
6. No. of respondents with siblings only living in separate residence.	= 7 (Column 4)
7. No reply.	= 1

TOTAL (Lines 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 above) = 59

As is to be expected a large number of the households have at least one parent still alive and living separately. That the average household is of relatively mature age is underlined by the number (23) who have married children living elsewhere. Few of these children live on the estate (5) for, as has been noted, they have no housing priority and must either set up home in the surrounding area where property is expensive and where there are proportionately few council houses (6 live in the Woking/Byfleet district) or further afield.

(N.B. Since only those married children living nearest Sheerwater are recorded in the Table the proportion living nearby is exaggerated)

The parents of Sheerwater tenants usually remain in their familiar district, though some have been able to live near their children. Altogether 7 of the households interviewed had parents living in separate dwellings on the estate and in one case (not recorded in the Table) the parent was living with the family and was the householder. Most parents, however, live at a considerable distance and in half the cases (20) the nearest parent lived in the G.L.C. area, usually in areas where their children had lived previously.

It is the degree of contact with relatives that is important and here distance is often critical. While it is not the only conditioning factor it is easier to measure and less subjective than the more sociological and psychological factors. Distance, for an individual, is compounded of time, cost, and convenience, and it may be considerably shortened by car ownership. Thus in the following analysis the 59 active households are divided into car owners (36) and those without a car (23). Residents were asked whether they found it easy to visit their relatives and secondly how frequently visits were exchanged. The results are summarised in Table 2.12. It does not correlate exactly with Table 2.11 since it is concerned with relatives with whom visits were actually exchanged and not solely with those living nearest the estate.

It is clear from the Tables that car ownership confers wider geographical horizons, for only 2 of the 36 having a car found it difficult to visit their relatives (in one case the nearest relative lived on the Isle of Man). Only 5 of those without a car found exchanging visits easy and 4 of these had relatives on the estate or in the Woking area. Six found visiting fairly easy though for those with relatives in London it was usually a case of their car owning relatives visiting them. For 8 of those without a car visiting relatives proved difficult (though in one case, where the relative lived on the estate, this clearly had nothing to do with mobility), and two found it very difficult. These were all, except one, cases where the nearest relative did not live in the Woking area. (A)

The frequency of contact also reflected the degree of mobility though here again sociological factors (the desire for contact, the opportunity etc.) modify any direct correlation and render a cautious interpretation necessary. For both those with a car and those without, increasing distance, other things being equal, reduced the frequency of contact. The importance of car ownership is suggested by the fact that 7 of 15 of those with a car are able to visit London relatives weekly whereas none in the groups without a car are able to do so.

(A) Apart from visiting parents or children 16 of the active households visited other relatives as well.

Active Age-Group - Friends

The degree of intercourse with friends was also examined. The number, location and frequency of contact with friends will depend on length of residence, socio-economic status, degree of family centredness, sociability, the establishment of common interest groups, the propensity to write or telephone and so on, though here again personal mobility may reduce dependence on the local area as a source of friendships. Thus we might expect, other things being equal, that those without a car would either draw their friends from the local area, or would infrequently visit those who lived elsewhere. Broadly, this is true (Table 2.1).

Even families with a car often depend on Sheerwater for their friendships. Thus half (15) of those who visited friends (30) only had friends on the estate and of the remainder 7 had friends on the estate. Visits with friends were exchanged frequently and even London friends were seen at least once a fortnight. Visits to more distant friends could often be combined with a visit to relatives and, occasionally, husbands visited friends on their way home from work.

Those without a car were not restricted to friends from the estate (7 had friends on Sheerwater only) but did find it more difficult to maintain contact with friends living elsewhere. For example, London friends were visited (except for one case) at monthly or greater intervals. Others had found that moving to a new area had caused them to lose contact with former friends. This was not confined to those without a car for 6 families in both groups said they had no friends. Phrases such as, "I am a loner", or, "We lost touch with our London friends when we moved", indicated the problem. For some, the sense of isolation is acute and this is especially true of the retired group.

Retired Households

Of eleven households with a retired head only one had no relatives and one seldom exchanged visits with relatives. On the other hand, none of these had close relatives on the estate (A), and only three had a relative in the surrounding area (at Byfleet, Woking and New Haw respectively) enabling frequent visits to be exchanged. Among the remainder were some whose children came to stay with them at regular intervals. Two of the group felt positively isolated from relatives living in London although in both cases visits were maintained on a fairly regular basis.

As far as forming friendships were concerned the retired people, none of whom had any means of private transport, were largely dependent on the estate. Seven of the eleven said they had no friends though only two volunteered reasons. One woman felt her loss of sight had dissuaded people from befriending her. One couple recognised the difficulty of making friends late in life, though they had no complaints about the people on the estate. Those old people who had found friends had done

(A) That there are cases of parents and children living on the estate was indicated, however, by the sample of active households.

so usually through old people's clubs, and only one saw a friend from outside the estate (living in North London). The old would seem, therefore, (though the sample was very small) to have fairly limited horizons as far as friendships are concerned.

Neighbours and Neighbourliness

The quality of life in a community may be perceived in terms of friendliness and atmosphere. In its early years a new community often evolves a neighbourliness which may not be sustained as it grows in size or as the first tenants move or grow apart. There was evidence to suggest that this had happened at North Kenton. Neighbourliness may not involve everyone but the friendliness of a community can be recognised even by those who do not participate and is an important determinant of attitudes to place.

Tenants were asked whether they knew their next door neighbour, anyone else in the street, or anyone else on the estate. The active households (59) as a group were on speaking terms at least with people living nearby and on other parts of the estate (A). Most agreed that people would stop and talk and the sense of a close-knit community was expressed in remarks such as "You know everybody in a place like this".

Further evidence of the cohesiveness of people on Sheerwater was obtained by asking tenants whether they thought they knew more or fewer people than they had in their former home. Answers here depended on their length of residence, their age and degree of involvement in the estate's affairs, and the type of community they had lived in before. Bearing these factors in mind Sheerwater again showed up favourably for 37 of the active families said they knew more people and only 13 knew fewer (seven said they knew roughly the same number, one didn't know, and one had begun married life on the estate). Work, shopping, the church, or other social activities had been the catalysts of friendship. Occasionally the estate was disparaged as by a schoolmaster from Braintree who said, "I know fewer intimately. This is typical London. People don't take you on". There was, though, little of the isolation and introspection found by researchers on new communities elsewhere (B).

Most of the active households (46) found Sheerwater a friendly estate, six were uncertain (C), leaving only seven who found it unfriendly.

- (A) 3 did not know their neighbours, 6 did not know anyone apart from their neighbours and 7 did not know anyone outside their street.
- (B) The findings by other researchers are discussed in the Introduction and in "North Kenton", Page 161.
- (C) "It's not so much friendliness as superficial. They're wrapped up in themselves and in what they've got and what they haven't".

This latter group either admitted to being anti-social themselves, found the people of the estate unfriendly, or found because of their age that they could not integrate very easily. One said "They like to pretend they've got something. We moved in much later. Someone said we seemed to be too young for a council house".

When asked why the estate was friendly, several (15) attributed it to the fact that people had come from different districts within London, many of them at the same time, and, being cut off from familiar surroundings, had become mutually dependent. "We were so rejected by the local people that we stuck together. They thought that Londoners would make it a slum" said one (A). Another also remembered the early years, "Most of us came when the estate was being put up. The kids used to go to Byfleet school. Then they started the Community Centre. There were street parties at first to get them together". That the friendliness had continued was, according to some, due to the uniform age, class and aspirations of the inhabitants. "This is a community. All those here come down to the same level. They all start off from scratch. Most were overcrowded before. Here they got their first house", was a representative remark. Another group (16) regarded the friendliness as inherent in the people themselves: "They are closely knit. You begin with a mole hill and end up with a mountain", was how one expressed this. Other tenants considered the compact and isolated nature of the estate had been instrumental in stimulating its self-consciousness. All referred to the estate as a whole except one who felt that some roads were more friendly than others.

With such a favourable attitude to the estate it is not surprising that instances of isolation and loneliness are relatively rare. Among the active group only 9 admitted to feeling lonely and only three felt lonely often. Their reasons varied - some were housebound, others found it difficult to make friends, but none complained that people were hostile to them.

The retired people interviewed had more mixed views. Six of them thought the estate friendly, two did not, and three were uncertain. Five admitted to being lonely and two - both widows - were clearly isolated. "I feel so miserable by myself now that he's dead", said one. Such a condition would seem to be exceptional for old people are often grouped together in flats or live in the old peoples' dwellings in Bunyard Drive, where they have considerable opportunity to mix.

Though isolated from relatives and former friends many Sheerwater people, especially those with private transport, are able to continue contact with them. This very isolation, coupled with other factors, has inspired a pervasive community spirit and is one of the most noticeable features of the estate.

(A) A similar rejection was found by Margot Jefferys at Oxhey.

PERSONAL MOBILITY

In the preceding section the degree of personal mobility emerged as a critical factor in maintaining the social contacts of Sheerwater residents. Car ownership confers a potential mobility denied to those without a car and will help to determine the individual's social habits, attitudes to his environment, and perception of space which are the concluding themes of this survey.

Use of private Transport

For housewives the significance of car ownership varies considerably. There were 36 car owning families interviewed and in 9 the wife was able to drive but in only 2 cases was the wife the main user and able to visit shops and friends daily. In most cases (25) the car was used by husbands for work and at weekends for family shopping trips, visiting or for pleasure trips to country, coast, or London. For the rest, 4 cars were employed solely on journeys to work, two for pleasure trips only and two were used only occasionally.

That housewives with no private transport were restricted both physically and psychologically was evident when they were asked how often they were able to get off the estate. Since the answers were not categorised replies were both factual and subjective. Five of the housewives with a car left the estate daily (4 to work), 7 did so two or three times a week and 7 weekly. In families without a car no housewife left the estate daily, one did so several times a week, two once a week and one once a month. More revealing, perhaps, were the subjective replies. Eight of those with a car felt they were able to leave the estate enough and 6 were not, whereas only one of those without a car said she got away from the estate enough. The rest of this group left the estate occasionally (6), rarely (7), or never (1) (A). Though not the only factor responsible, car ownership was obviously important and was sometimes mentioned explicitly. As one housewife said: "You become conscious of not getting out but I don't let it bother me. If I had a car for a fortnight I'd see all the people I haven't seen in years. Then I'd go to the coast and then to Box Hill". The impression that car ownership releases Sheerwater housewives from dependence on their immediate surroundings was underlined when 21 (58.3%) of those with a car as opposed to 10 (42%) of those without said they did not wish to get out more.

Retired households were restricted by age (and sometimes infirmity) as well as by a lack of personal transport. Even so only three felt they could not get out of the estate enough. One never left the estate at all, three rarely did, two got out occasionally, but five managed to leave it at least once a week. None were able to travel far, however. Four went to Woking usually and the rest took bus rides to other nearby towns and only one ever travelled as far as London.

(A) There were 5 (2 with a car and 3 without) who did not reply to this question.

The old and those without cars are thus limited in their mobility by the quality of the public transport service.

Use of Public Transport

The demand for public transport (and therefore its supply) is governed by the workplace, age, shopping patterns and social habits of the community and the availability of an alternative. Only 11 of the housewives in the active age-group (all in car owning families) claimed never to use the bus service (A). Of those in this group who did (25) 16 considered the service very unsatisfactory, and 8 rather unsatisfactory, as against 5 who thought it fairly satisfactory and one very satisfactory, commenting that people did not know how to use it properly. Housewives without cars (23) had to use the bus service and none of them found it very satisfactory. Occasionally some favourable comments were made such as "The service is pretty good considering it's the country", or "The time keeping is excellent".

Detailed criticism of the bus service concentrated on such aspects as the poor frequency (15) and the long waits between buses after which two might arrive together, one of them empty. This was a problem of timing (11 mentioned this) and the fact that buses were taken off without warning (3). In consequence people were made late for work or unable to connect with their train. Sometimes buses arrived too full (8), especially after school and on Saturdays and occasionally when not full they failed to pick up passengers at scheduled stops. Other criticisms included the cost of bus travel and that the last bus from Woking left too early for young people or for those at the last house at the cinema. The Byfleet service was condemned as totally inadequate. Some comprehensive criticisms were made, as for example: "One bus every half hour is not enough for an estate of this size. You can't get on a bus between 3.30 and 5.00 p.m. The Sunday service is every hour which makes it very difficult to get to Church". One indignant passenger concluded: "They know it's the only service we can use".

The train service by contrast was popular and used by 40 of the active housewives and by 35 of them fairly often. Only one regarded the service as rather unsatisfactory (because her daughter had difficulty in reaching New Malden by train). In all 34 described the service as very satisfactory emphasising its frequency, speed and regularity. Those using the rail service were able to visit relatives or spend a day in London (27) or at other accessible places such as Guildford, Kingston, Walton-on-Thames or Portsmouth.

For old people the bus provides (apart from car owning relatives) the only means of escape from the estate and 10 of the 11 retired households used it. Four of them thought the service "very unsatisfactory", two "rather unsatisfactory", and one commented, "It doesn't seem like a public service any longer". Again their complaints focussed on the

(A) One said: "I wouldn't know what a bus looks like".

poor timing, infrequency and expense of the service, some of them feeling that concession fares should be offered to old age pensioners.

Seven of the retired households used the train service which they praised and were thus able to get farther afield to Portsmouth and Bournemouth as well as to London.

In an estate like Sheerwater, already somewhat remote, a sense of isolation can result for those who must depend on an inadequate bus service, though this tendency is mitigated at Sheerwater by the quality of the rail service. The spatial horizons of the individual and his degree of dependence on the immediate environment are governed by mobility and vary for different types of activity. The resulting patterns vary for different kinds of activity but each contributes to the individual's awareness of and attitude towards his environment.

SOCIAL LIFE AND SHOPPING PATTERNS

Social Life

The social life of a community is governed by mobility in its widest sense. Sheerwater parents are more able to participate since their children are growing up and only 19 of those in the active age group said they never had an evening out. For those who did go out, visiting a social club, drinking, eating out, Bingo, the theatre or cinema, or visiting friends and relatives, were the most popular ways of spending their leisure time.

Those with personal transport were more able to spend evenings away from the estate. This was indicated by memberships of social clubs. Altogether 32 housewives were members of social clubs and societies (21 in car owning families) which (except in the case of the Townswomen's Guild and the Church Women's Group) they visited with their husbands. Whereas in the car owning group half (11) belonged to clubs outside Sheerwater (A), housewives without a car, except in one case, were restricted to membership of Sheerwater clubs (the Community Centre, Townswomen's Guild and the Church Women's Group). Among this group men were more likely to spend an evening out without their wives.

Membership of institutions such as the Church, or political parties (B) was not affected by mobility. Only 16 households were churchgoers (10 Anglican, 4 Roman Catholic, 1 Methodist, 1 Christian Scientist).

Sheerwater's sense of community and vigorous social life was emphasised by the fact that 45 said they had taken a more active part in life on Sheerwater than they had in their former homes. While allowance must be made for those who would have been preoccupied in their former homes rearing young families and who may have been hampered by difficult living conditions, it was clear that the Sheerwater environment with its integrated social structure and ample provision of facilities stimulated an active social life and overcame the problems of isolation on the estate.

Old people, too, had often experienced greater participation since moving to Sheerwater. Five of them belonged to the old people's club on the estate, and five were members of one of the estate's three churches, and only one (an ailing widow) did not get out at all.

- (A) These were Woking Working Men's Club, Byfleet Working Men's Club, Maybury Ex-Servicemen's Club, the Police Club, the Lion Works Club, Vickers Club, the R.A.F.A. the W.R.V.S., the Anglo-American Friendship League and a Sailing Club. Though near to Sheerwater they were difficult to reach by public transport.
- (B) There were 5 households belonging to the Labour Party in the sample.

For both middle-aged families and old people social provision on Sheerwater was generally sufficient and those who wished to participate could do so. For adolescents, of whom there was a large and growing number, social provision was poor and was the subject of considerable discussion.

Shopping Patterns (see Map 11)

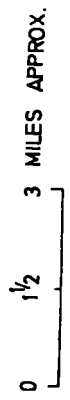
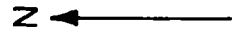
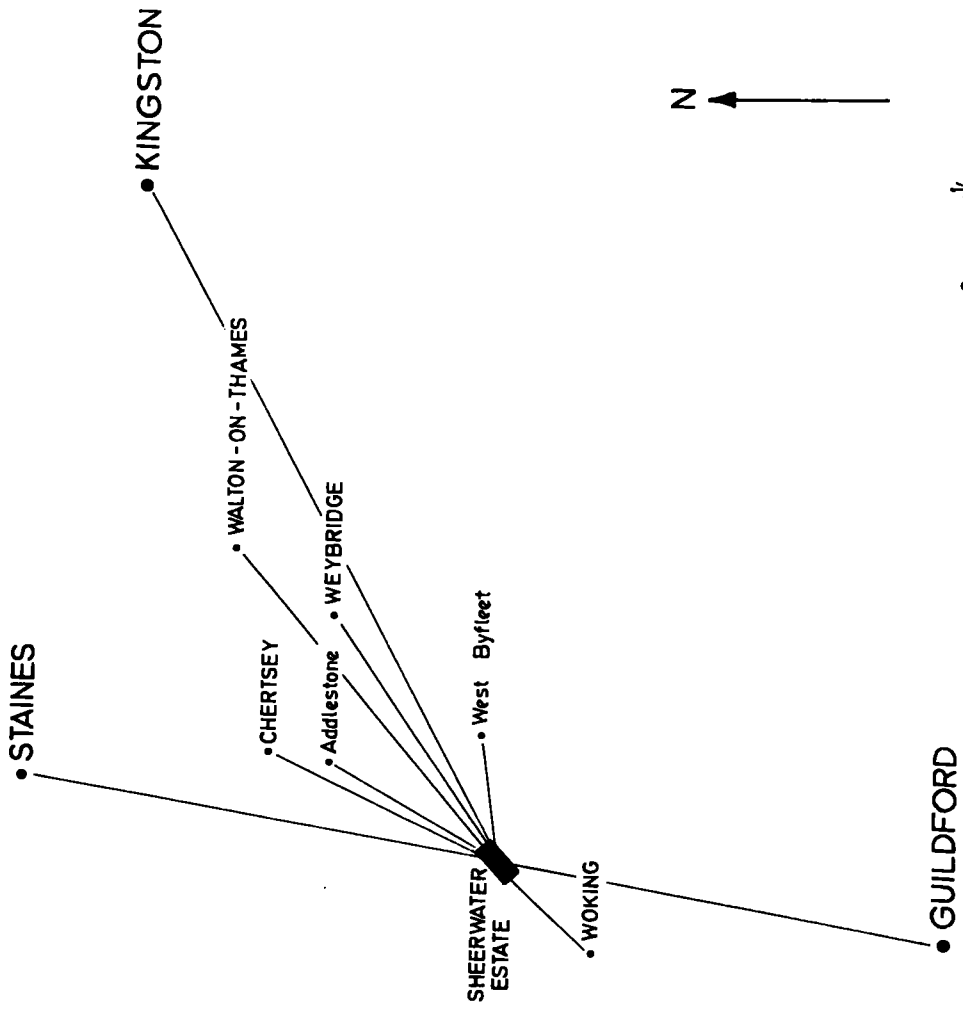
Since shopping, in most cases, involves some movement from the home a study of the shopping pattern of a community will yield useful information about its geographical inter-relationships and spatial attitudes. At the same time it will provide data on the shopping provision of an area, the attachment of people to particular centres, their willingness to "shop around", and the impact of personal mobility. The pattern of daily, weekly and occasional shopping demands will result in a graded hierarchy of shopping centres and on this subject there is a small but growing literature.

Sheerwater, like most planned suburban communities, possesses a neighbourhood shopping centre (A). The estate is surrounded by several centres, which, being on the fringe of Greater London, have considerably developed their shopping facilities in recent years. These centres vary in size and scope and a hierarchy of retail provision is clearly discernible. Of the studies made of the urban hierarchy of England and Wales, one group, including the work of Smailes (B), and Smith (C), ranks centres according to the quality and quantity of a range of functions. Other writers have concentrated primarily on shopping provision alone and in this group, Smailes and Hartley (D), Carruthers (E and F), and Thorpe (G) are the most important. Unfortunately comparability of data over time and between the various studies can only be approximate.

- (A) See above Page 110, Fig. 1, and Plates 42 and 52.
- (B) A.E. Smailes: "The Urban Hierarchy of England and Wales" Geography 29, 1944, Pages 41-51.
- (C) R.D.P. Smith: "The Changing Urban Hierarchy". Regional Studies, Volume 2, No. 1, 1968, Pages 1-19.
- (D) A.E. Smailes and G. Hartley: "Shopping Centres in the Greater London Area". Trans. Inst. of Brit. Geog. 29, 1961, Pages 201-13
- (E) W.I. Carruthers: "Service Centres in Greater London". Town Planning Review 33, 1962.
- (F) W.I. Carruthers: "Major Shopping Centres in England and Wales 1961", Reg. Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1 1967, Pages 65-81.
- (G) D. Thorpe: "The Main Shopping Centres of Great Britain in 1961: Their Locational and Structural Characteristics". Urban Studies, Vol. 5 No. 2, 1968, Pages 165-206.

MAP 11

SHEERWATER ESTATE - LOCATION OF MAIN SHOPPING CENTRES



This is particularly the case for the area under discussion which is part of the metropolitan fringe. Both Carruthers (1962), and Smailes and Hartley deal with the shopping centres of Greater London, but whereas the latter merely classifies the presence of certain retail facilities in 269 centres, Carruthers includes the type of trade, rateable values, and bus services and is thus "able to indicate the variation of size more adequately" (Thorpe, Page 198) in his analysis of 99 centres.

Apart from problems of comparability these papers present other difficulties. Although Smailes and Hartley took as their boundary the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London's Review Area this only includes districts to the north east of Woking. In addition, the findings of both the London surveys are being rapidly outdated by the pace of change within the region, noted in a later paper by Carruthers (1967). The provision of shopping space would appear to be lagging behind demand leading to the intensification of sales at existing premises (A). A number of towns in the region have developed new shopping centres in recent years, as for example, at Walton-on-Thames, West Byfleet, and Addlestone. As a result the pattern of services and the ranking of centres will be in process of reformation.

For those parts of the region not covered by the London Surveys we must rely on the more generalised national studies of the urban hierarchy provided by Smailes (1944) and latterly by Carruthers (1967) and Smith (1968) who has attempted to update Smailes's classification. Despite the deficiencies of the available material it does provide a guideline to the central place system of the region.

Apart from London's West End which, under any classification is in a class by itself, the outstanding regional centre is Kingston which ranks with Croydon as the highest order centre in Greater London according to Smailes and Hartley, Thorpe, and Carruthers (1962 and 1967) who describes it as "a centre renowned for its mammoth department store" (1967, Page 69) and gives it a 3a ranking (B). Guildford ranks next in the region and is accorded 3B status by Carruthers and 3A in Smith's scheme, a case of promotion from the inferior status conferred on the town by Smailes. Of other towns in the area surrounding Sheerwater, Staines is given 3C status by Carruthers while Chertsey and Weybridge achieve 4B status in Smith's scheme, and Walton-on-Thames is 4C.

- (A) Carruthers (1967) notes that his "amount of trade" index "exceeds that for provision of facilities" in many south-eastern centres indicating a "build up in trade". (Page 80).
- (B) Provincial capitals rank as Second-order (2B and 2C) centres and Third-order centres rank 3A, 3B and 3C, (or 3a, 3b, 3c in the case of suburban centres). Smith's orders are somewhat similar and he includes a fourth order. Smailes and Hartley rank A, B and C with sub-divisions in each group.

The ranking of these latter three is inverted by Smailes and Hartley who classify Walton as C+, Weybridge as C, and Chertsey as C-. This illustrates the problems of ranking centres of a low order where positions are constantly changing. It is to be expected that Walton has risen in status as a result of its new shopping centre and that places such as Addlestone, unmentioned in any of these studies, have come more into the picture in recent years.

Woking itself seems to rank somewhere between Kingston, Guildford and Staines on the one hand and the smaller suburban centres on the other. It is probably more akin to the latter for whereas it is absent from Carruther's list, Smith places it in his 4A sub-group.

Given this regional framework of centres how far do the shopping habits of Sheerwater residents confirm our expectations? In choosing a centre for shopping the housewives must arbitrate the often conflicting factors of range of choice, and cost and convenience of transport. However, upon their collective decisions will rest the commercial fortunes of the competing centres.

Nearly every household surveyed (66) used the Sheerwater shops (Plates 42 and 52) and all of these, except five, did so regularly. The shopping centre on the estate had a varying appeal though most customers viewed it favourably and praised its comprehensive selection. Some thought it expensive and occasionally recognised why ("The extra 1d. or 2d. keeps the local shops going for our convenience") although one blamed the cupidity of the shopkeepers ("They're a shower of fiddlers"). The grocers, greengrocers, butchers, bakers and variety stores were well used and even the more specialised shops (hardware, shoes etc.) had sufficient customers to justify their location (A). The popularity of the Sheerwater shops combined with their lack of nearby competition has caused people to rely on them for their daily shopping needs (58 households did their daily shopping on the estate). The old and those without cars were rather more dependent on the local shops than more mobile families six of whom shopped elsewhere for their daily needs (3 in Woking, 3 in West Byfleet) as against two of the families without cars (both in Woking). Four families did all their shopping on a weekly basis.

For weekly household shopping needs Sheerwater families relied largely on the estate and the two nearest towns of Woking and West Byfleet. Woking (31 families) was the most popular of the three, followed by Sheerwater (23) and West Byfleet (12). Once again families with a car were relatively less dependent on the estate for only a fifth of them (7) as against half (11) of the active households without a car, and half (5) of the retired households, did their weekly shopping on the estate. Households with a car visited more centres than

(A) 17 did nearly all their shopping on Sheerwater.

those without for 9 of them went to West Byfleet (which is difficult to reach by bus) one went to Guildford, one to Chessington and 5 visited different centres among which Woking, Addlestone, Walton, Staines, Tolworth (with its gigantic supermarket), Morden and Aldershot were mentioned. Clearly some families without a car felt restricted. One, largely confined to Sheerwater, said, "If I had transport I could shop differently", and several felt Woking deficient as a shopping centre ("You can't get anything at Woking") (A).

It is for occasional shopping and for items such as clothing that the pull of the larger centres becomes apparent. Kingston and Guildford are the main regional centres, and while Kingston ranks somewhat higher it is more distant (about 14 miles as opposed to 11) and therefore more expensive to reach though both have comparable accessibility by bus (by Green Line it takes 44 minutes to reach Kingston, by Green Country bus 47 minutes to reach Guildford, both services having an hourly frequency) though Guildford can also be reached by train (11 minutes from Woking station). Of these two centres Guildford was used for special shopping by slightly more families (43) than Kingston (40), though some of these used both towns. Among car owners Kingston was slightly more favoured while the reverse applied to non car owners and retired people (see Table 2.14).

Some residents - 14 in all - shopped occasionally in the West End for special items and six (all car owners) went to various large London suburban centres often in areas where they had been brought up or had lived previously (3 went to Clapham Junction, and one each to Brixton, Peckham and Lewisham). Among the smaller suburban centres visited were Walworth, Deptford and Catford.

The remaining households did their special shopping nearer home in the smaller centres. They went to Staines (4), Godalming, Walton, and Addlestone. By far the largest number, however, relied on Woking (20) and again, as the Table shows, those without a car and especially the old were proportionately more dependent upon the town. Many criticised the poor level of provision in Woking (Plate 59) and regarded it as generally inferior to neighbouring Guildford.

Housewives were asked which of the shopping centres within 15 miles they preferred. In order not to bias their answers it was not indicated at first that Kingston was within this limit and this may account for Guildford being slightly the more favoured (by 37 as against 33 for Kingston). (Included in these totals are 6 who favoured them equally, and four where Guildford was linked with Woking (2), Walton (1), or Staines (1) as the best centre.)

(A) For general criticism of Woking see Pages 149 and 162.

Other towns were markedly short of support. The most popular was Staines preferred by 5 housewives while Addlestone and Walton were each liked by one housewife. Woking was rated very low and only two housewives regarded it as the best shopping centre in the area. Some respondents, though not specifically asked to do so, gave a second choice and here Guildford was the most popular and in one case Aldershot was mentioned as the third best centre in the region.

In general, then, the shopping pattern of Shoerwater residents is a fairly predictable one. General shopping needs are fulfilled in the estate and the nearby towns while for the wider variety required of more specialised shopping the regional centres assert their influence. Among the more interesting features of the shopping pattern are the signs that new local centres are emerging such as Addlestone and Walton, and that the possession of a car is sometimes critical to the scope of an individual's shopping pattern.

ATTITUDES TO THE ESTATE

In the North Kenton survey considerable emphasis was placed upon layout and design as a factor influencing attitudes to the estate. Sheerwater is in its design more homogeneous than North Kenton and, though various housing types are mixed together, physical contrasts are not as obvious or significant as those on the Newcastle estate and therefore play a lesser role in determining attitudes. So far, in this survey, attitudes have been discussed in terms of social habits and the factors which condition them such as personal mobility, age, and length of residence. In this section tenants' general attitudes to the environment are assessed from a series of questions requiring a direct or comparative appraisal and from individual opinions expressed during informal interviews (A).

Comparative Assessment

One way of gauging attitudes is to compare the previous home to the present one. In general Sheerwater compared favourably. Over two-thirds (47) of the sample had wanted to move there though some had been prepared to move to any estate outside London. Many had wanted to move to escape the dirt and congestion of the city. Some had specific reasons such as bad health, the wish to be nearer the husband's workplace, or to relatives. Only 3 of those who had wanted to move preferred their former home.

It is quite possible that the question: "Did you wish to move here"? on which the above comments were based was too vague. It allows confusion between the dwelling and the district and while a number of tenants might have been living in unsatisfactory dwellings they might at the same time have been attached to the district in which they lived (and vice-versa). In order to eliminate this ambiguity tenants were asked to state their preferences in terms of both the dwellings and districts they had lived in (B). As many as two-thirds (47) preferred Sheerwater to other districts they had lived in. They praised its clean, open, quiet and healthy atmosphere, its community life, and its physical layout. A substantial number (20) preferred the districts they had previously lived in though only 6 of 37 who had moved from Inner South London preferred that area. Other districts that were favoured were the East End, Croydon, Chislehurst, Caterham, Portsmouth, Ipswich, Braintree, Windsor and Ireland. Those who chose

- (A) Attitudes tend to be subjective and based on an individual's experience of house, neighbours, local services, his nearness to relatives and friends etc.
- (B) A degree of ambiguity must, inevitably, remain for tenants would reply in terms of their current attitudes and not those at the time of the move. Some would concentrate on the merits of the estate, others would emphasise the drawbacks of the previous area.

London districts did so because of their convenience, friendliness and close-knit way of life while other places were preferred for a variety of reasons such as nearness to the sea (Portsmouth) or "market town atmosphere" (Braintree).

A similar number preferred their Sheerwater dwelling to their former home (A). Among the reasons for liking Sheerwater's dwellings were that they were larger, more convenient in layout, and had a garden. For those tenants who had been in poor accommodation (4), or who had moved from flats to a cottage (13) the estate's dwellings were a very distinct improvement.

In general, then, tenants had wanted to move to Sheerwater and once there found the estate preferable to their former home. For some, particularly the old, the transfer had brought problems. One retired couple, who had spent most of their working lives in London (the husband was a Park Keeper), summed up the problem in the following way:-

"When we lived in Chelsea we were struggling. Then, when we got to the Park (Ken Wood) we were alright. Now we're here (Sheerwater) we miss the family. We feel cut off and listless here".

In their case a move to a North London estate nearer their married sons would solve the problem. For others the solution is more difficult as, for example, in the case of the ailing retired widow who lived with her son in a flat which she regarded as too damp to live in (she slept elsewhere) and who was preoccupied by her desire to return to Lambeth where she had spent all her life. Such individual problems must be quoted in order to qualify the general conclusions reached.

Environmental Aspirations

In an attempt to gain an appreciation of the estate less dependent upon tenants' immediate experience (B) they were asked to state their aspirations in terms of dwelling type and place. Given a choice nearly half (31) would have preferred to live in a detached house for the privacy it affords (20), or for the extra room (5) or garden space (2) available. A bungalow was the choice of 14 mainly because of its convenient layout on one level. Most of the remaining tenants were quite content (11) with their existing dwelling or would not state a preference (6).

- (A) Usually the same tenant preferred both district and dwelling though 4 favoured their Sheerwater dwelling but not the estate and 10 liked the estate but not the dwelling better.
- (B) It is impossible to eliminate this factor altogether as the results show.

Half the sample (36) were content to remain on the estate or somewhere in Surrey indicating a general satisfaction with the surrounding environment or a lack of awareness of alternatives (see Table 2.15). In all, 60 answered the question, "If you were able to choose, which part of the country would you like to live in?", by stating a district, county, or region. Over half of these (32) were able subsequently to state a specific location within their chosen area that they would like to live in. Of the 10 who did not name a specific place in their reply, two named "The South", one "The South East", and one "The East Coast", and one answered vaguely "the sea"(A).

The answers tend to confirm the preference for the home area found by Gould and White (B) in their survey of school leavers. At Sheerwater half (36) preferred the home area although, apart from Sheerwater, a variety of places were deemed desirable. Among these Guildford was regarded as an attractive market town, Carshalton as a modern town, and the Kingston by-pass was extolled as full of movement and life. Some highly exclusive places were mentioned like Virginia Waters (sic) and St. George's Hill, Weybridge, about which a housewife inverting a conventional phrase said: "If I lived up there I would have money".

As in Gould and White's survey the most favoured areas outside the home region were the South West (9) especially Devon where the pace of life was felt to be slower and the coast attractive, and the South Coast (7). Otherwise a wide variety of places were chosen, and, among the most prominent factors affecting choice were proximity to relatives, acquaintance with the area, and its visual attractiveness. A full list of the places chosen is given in Table 2.15.

Despite their apparent aspirations few people were able to move, and for the great majority the idea of moving was rarely even consciously considered. Only 7 of the sample were intending to move and 3 of these were looking for larger or smaller dwellings to approximate to their altered family size. Of the others one was determined to leave the estate, one wished to buy a house, one had family reasons for moving, and one was intending to emigrate.

- (A) Apart from illustrating the problems of framing a schedule these replies indicate the different conceptions of place that people have. See below Pages 155 to 163.
- (B) P.R. Gould and R.R. White: "The Mental Maps of British School Leavers". Regional Studies. Volume 2, No. 2, November 1968, Pages 161-182.

Sheerwater - Tenants' Opinions

In order to gain a clear impression of tenants' reasons for liking or disliking the estate informal interviews were employed (A). Some tenants were only able to express their attitude in vague generalisations while others saw things in very specific terms and formulated their opinion on the basis of a particular satisfaction or grievance. Some were more expansive and sought to offset their likes against their dislikes. All, however, implicitly or explicitly had to draw on personal experience and thus, in many cases, Sheerwater was being compared with the quite different environment of Inner London.

It was clear that the estate was well liked. Out of 70 interviews there were 127 favourable comments made (B) as against 85 that were unfavourable. Over half the tenants (39) admitted to a general satisfaction but were unable to express it very precisely. Many spoke of the estate's open country atmosphere, its healthy air and so on. Comments such as: "It's just nice - I can't put my finger on it", or "It's just somewhere to live - I wouldn't want to move", or "It's one of the very best estates I've ever seen" were representative of this group. Some were aware of the suburban setting of the estate and remarked: "You have the best of both worlds here - you're in the country but can get to the town quite easily". A number of tenants (12) emphasised the slow pace of life in the area, its quietness in contrast to the noise and hurry of their former homes. For some (12) the sense of community and the friendliness of the people was the outstanding feature of the estate.

It is possible to classify broadly the more detailed appreciation given by the tenants into two groups - (a) opinions concerned with the internal layout and amenities of the estate, and, (b) those deriving from the estate's location.

(a). In the former group the most often remarked feature (13) was the estate's open layout and recreation space especially for children. "It's not all packed and squashed in" said one tenant and others made remarks such as "It's nice and green with plenty of trees". Other features of the layout which had impressed tenants were its variety of housing styles, the green verges, the trees and gardens, and the lack of tall buildings. Ten tenants commented on these points making observations such as: "As soon as I get into London I get a phobia because of its massive buildings. I've gone through many estates and haven't seen any as well laid out as this", or, "It's not all regimented. There's plenty of green and trees. I like seeing all the gardens. The houses are not all in one dead straight line or identical".

(A) This method is discussed in Introduction Pages 19, 20 and Appendix II.

(B) Each comment - favourable and unfavourable - was noted and some tenants made a number of points.

(b) There were 26 tenants who stressed the situation of the estate and its accessibility. Its nearness to the main line brought it within easy reach of London (13) and it was also close to the countryside, coast, employment, Woking and other towns.

Other praiseworthy features of the estate mentioned were its appearance in springtime and summer, and the fact that it seemed unlike a council estate.

Although there were 85 unfavourable comments made about the estate for several reasons this does not indicate any considerable dissatisfaction. There was only one tenant who made a general condemnation of the estate (as against the 39 who had praised it in general terms). The remaining criticisms concentrated on special features of the estate and many critics had voiced their approval of other aspects. It is also true that tenants found less difficulty in exposing the estate's failings than in categorising its virtues. Some of the adverse comments were trivial in nature and the few who were obviously dissatisfied were those, who, for personal reasons, could not adjust to the environment of Sheerwater. The criticisms tended to concentrate on the lack of amenities, the inaccessibility of Sheerwater and its layout and appearance (A). Once again the comparison with London is often evident. Although the absence of certain features of city life was regretted few (as we have seen) were prepared to return to London.

Among the deficiencies of the estate the most prominent was the lack of certain shops (7) particularly a large supermarket (B). Other drawbacks mentioned were the small number of garages, the absence of parking space, poor street lighting, and the need for public conveniences and a swimming pool to be provided on the estate. It was not only the estate that was found wanting, however. There was too little to do especially in the evenings and for young people (8 comments) (C). Woking, the nearest large town, was singled out for criticism by 8 respondents. The town lacked the range of functions expected of a town of its size, had a poor shopping centre and the proposed central area schemes had failed to fructify despite the rapid growth of population in the area. "What other people have achieved in three years they haven't achieved in fifteen", said one tenant, while another averred: "Woking is dead, The council is dead and the councillors are too old".

(A) Questions in the schedule had drawn comments on features such as shopping, the town of Woking, the bus service, the use of amenities etc., and may have prompted further discussion of them here.

(B) For fuller discussion of shopping habits see preceding section. Pages 139 to 144.

(C) See preceding section on social life. Page 139.

Several respondents felt the estate to be remote and inaccessible, "You are on your own here. There's only one way in and out" was a typical remark. This inaccessibility was aggravated by the inadequacy of the bus service which received more adverse comments (13) than any other individual feature although it had already been the subject of a question in the formal interview (A). Some people found difficulty in reaching London (4), their relatives (2) or the shops.

Although the layout of the estate was generally highly regarded, individual features were singled out for criticism. The through road - Albert Drive (Plates 26,27 and 28) - which was used as a short cut by heavy vehicles, the siting of garages, and the use of narrow streets for parking were one group of defects. The lack of playspace in some parts of the estate, and evidence of vandalism (surprisingly little in fact) formed another. One tenant summed up some of the points: "The flats are far too far from the Park. Playspace should be near the flats where the children can be seen. The garages are inconveniently sited. Roads like this (Bunyard Drive, Plate 47) are stupidly narrow".

Rarely were criticisms levelled at individual parts of the estate as had been the case at North Kenton (B). A few tenants considered their part of the estate to be preferable to other parts, as, for example, a resident of Lockwood Path (Plate 45) who remarked: "I call this end the posher end. It does get a bit "you know" at the other end". Most tenants visualised the estate as a whole. Only one part of the estate - Dartmouth Avenue - in the vicinity of the shops (Plates 42 and 52) was singled out by several tenants for criticism. One woman living in a flat above the shops was clearly anxious to live elsewhere on the estate: "The person who designed these flats over the shops was said to be mad. They overlook the back of the shops and all the rubbish there (Plate 46). Children play all along the balconies" (Plate 60). These and other problems such as the refusal of merchants to deliver coal to the flats, the banning of animals in them, the rubbish disposal system, and the need for a caretaker were features seldom criticised elsewhere although the design and number of flats on the estate initiated some comment: "They should have made bungalows instead of great blocks of flats. It's like living in a town", or, "The flats are like chests of drawers with the drawers sticking out" (Plates 41 and 43).

(A) See above Pages 136 and 137.

(B) See "North Kenton Estate". Pages 86 to 90.

The major failings emphasised by the tenants were inherent in the design and location of the estate. Even the higher living costs and the lower wages which were mentioned (9) could be related to the estate's position. Only four tenants found the people on the estate unfriendly. ("I don't like the people here. You go to the Community Centre and they don't speak to you for about six months". "The people are too snobby. They won't talk. We're not that common. I've been in service all my life. I can tell the ladies and the common people".)

Summary

Attitudes to the estate may be summarised as follows:-

- (a) Most of the sample had wanted to move to Sheerwater though some had been prepared to move to any estate outside London.
- (b) Once arrived they had usually found both the estate and its dwellings preferable to those in which they had previously lived and few Londoners had regretted their move.
- (c) Very few were actively considering a move and half wished to remain in their home area (Surrey).
- (d) In general there was satisfaction with the estate and especially with its appearance and location in the countryside. As Margot Jefferys had found at Oxhey "there was considerable agreement on the positive features of the estate (while) the list of criticisms was rather more varied and clearly more subject to individual tastes" (A). Except in a few cases however the criticisms did not engender an active dislike of the estate as a whole.

(A) M. Jefferys: "Londoners in Hertfordshire - The South Oxhey Estate" in 'London Aspects of Change'. Centre for Urban Studies. Report No. 3. 1964. Ch. VII.

SPATIAL AWARENESS

Spatial awareness or perception is an emerging field of geographic study. It is "at the fringe of geography" (A) and links the discipline with others such as psychology, sociology and architecture each of which is interested in some aspect of space (B). Perception of space or its components, direction and distance, is both intuitive and gained through experience. For each individual a pattern or schema of space is built up which is "related to, but by no means coincident with, the physical reality that lies outside us" (C). It is thus a subjective thing and perception of, for example, a neighbourhood will depend on the individual's social class, age, workplace and length of residence. His perceptual clarity will be influenced by his ability to distinguish the reference points upon which his image of the neighbourhood is based.

So far this study has concentrated on attitudes to environment as manifested in various social patterns. These patterns imply a developed spatial awareness of such features as shopping facilities for example. In this section awareness is studied in terms of, (a) knowledge of the location of various institutions on the estate and, (b) conception of the general region in which the estate is situated.

Awareness of Institutions

The tenants were given a list of institutions (D) and asked which of them were to be found on the estate. Their replies may be summarised as follows:-

- (i) Public House (Plate 53). All those replying (66) knew the estate had a public house.
- (ii) Churches (Plates 54, 55 and 56). All knew there was at least one church and some volunteered the precise number - 3 said there was one, 18 said there were two and 29 answered correctly, three.
- (iii) Youth Club. Although only one claimed there was no Youth Club, there was some uncertainty as to whether there was more than one, where they were sited, and who was responsible for their organisation.

- (A) Yi-Fu Tuan: "Attitudes toward Environment: Themes and Approaches". In R. Lowenthal (ed.). "Environmental Perception and Behaviour". Chicago 1967. Page 16.
- (B) There is a wide range of literature on aspects of spatial perception. As examples might be quoted: T.R. Lee: "Psychology and Living Space". Trans. of Bartlett Society. Vol.2, 1963-4. Kevin Lynch: "The Image of the City". Cambridge Mass. 1960. R. Lowenthal (ed.) op.cit.
- (C) In T.R. Lee, op.cit.
- (D) The estate's institutions are described above Pages 109 to 112.

- (iv) Clubs for Other People. Although the question was unselective all but 4 mentioned at least one club. Several organisations were mentioned though the Community Centre (Plate 57 - only one did not know of it) and the Old People's Club (Bunyard Drive Plate 33) were well-known.
- (v) Clinic. Only five people (two retired) were unaware of the estate's clinic and most knew it was held in St. Michael's Church Hall.
- (vi) Library. All except one recognised the mobile library which visited the estate twice per week.
- (vii) Schools (Plates 49, 50 and 51). All knew of the estate's schools.
- (viii) Surgery. All respondents were aware of the surgery in Albert Drive.

Awareness of Neighbourhood and Region

Perception of space and its hierarchical ordering is developed in some form in every individual. It is very difficult to measure the quality of perception or to isolate the factors that influence it. Here the image that residents have of surrounding space as revealed in their knowledge of places, local newspapers, and administrative boundaries is concentrated upon.

Most Sheerwater tenants were able to name the district and neighbourhood in which they lived. The terms were defined for them to avoid inconsistency - 'district' as 'this part of Surrey' and 'neighbourhood' as 'this part of Woking'. Almost three-quarters (52) described the district as 'Woking' and an even larger number (59) called their neighbourhood 'Sheerwater'. The remainder used a variety of terms calling the district 'Surrey' (5), 'Sheerwater' (4), or 'Byfleet' (2) and the neighbourhood 'West Byfleet', 'Byfleet End', or 'Woking'. In exceptional cases attempts were made to describe the area rather than name the location. The district was called 'a residential area on the outskirts of Woking', and 'the heart of the country', while the neighbourhood was referred to as a 'council estate', or 'two miles out of Woking'.

Most people, then, conceived their home area (neighbourhood) to conform to the estate. This tends to confirm the findings of a community attitudes study undertaken for the Royal Commission on Local Government in England. This concluded that the unit of local government which corresponded most closely to the home area conceived by people was

"the present ward or parish equivalent, or possibly even smaller than this" (A). Sheerwater estate corresponds to a polling district and its distinct physical and social character enables most people to recognise it as an entity and to perceive it as their neighbourhood.

Local Newspaper

The local press plays a unique role in establishing an identity with the local area (B). Though differing in quality, size, and layout their range of content is broadly similar since all concentrate on local affairs. The individual, through the local press, is able to participate, albeit passively, in the wider community beyond his own neighbourhood. Indeed his awareness and knowledge of this wider community may be largely received through the local newspaper.

The Woking area has no local daily newspaper but is well served by weekly newspapers published at rival centres. Their areas of circulation overlap though each is well defined and is reflected in the news coverage of each paper. Thus the "Woking News and Mail" (established 1894, published Fridays, 4d.)(C) concentrates on Woking and its surrounding villages. The "Surrey Herald" (1892, Fridays, 4d.), published at Chertsey, covers a wider area mainly north-east of Woking and including New Haw and Addlestone, and Walton and Weybridge for which there is a separate edition. Its stablemate in the Woking area is the "Woking Herald" (1913, Fridays, 4d.). Similarly the long established "Surrey Advertiser" (1864, Saturdays, 3d.) based on Guildford is partnered by the "Woking Advertiser" introduced in 1963, the only mid-week (Wednesday) local newspaper circulating in the Woking area. In addition to these weekly papers is the monthly "Woking Review" (1933, 6d.).

While opinions differed as to the quality of the local press all except one tenant could name a local newspaper and 25 could name more than one. Most people (62) mentioned the "Woking News and Mail". The "Herald" was mentioned 30 times either as the "Surrey Herald" (16) or "Woking Herald" (14) and the "Advertiser" was referred to 13 times (12 as the "Surrey Advertiser", and once as the "Woking Advertiser"). In addition two non-existent papers the "Surrey News" and "Surrey Press" were named.

(A) "Community Attitudes Survey: England". Research Studies 9. Prepared for the Government Social Survey by Research Services Limited. H.M.S.O. 1969.

The survey found that in Urban Districts (Woking is a U.D.) 44% of informants conceived their home area to be of polling district size (like Sheerwater) and 29% thought in terms of ward size equivalent.

(B) "A local newspaper is, without doubt, one of the main sources of information for local news and events and, therefore, readership of the local press may be a good indication of people's interest in the community around them". Community Attitudes Survey: England op.cit. Page 65.

(C) These and subsequent details are from Willings Press Guide 1968.

Readership of the local press was high - 56 (80%) saw a local paper - 38 bought one every week, 5 bought more than one, and 13 occasionally bought one (A). The most widely read paper was the "Woking News and Mail" (41 bought it weekly, 12 occasionally), and was the recognised paper for the district. Other papers had a miniscule readership, the "Herald" having 4 readers in the sample, the "Advertiser" 3, and the misnamed "Surrey Press" one.

Most informants were unable to express their reasons for taking a local paper except in vague terms. "I take it to keep up with the local news", or, "to find out what's going on", or, "for the local scandal" were typical replies. Some, however, took a paper for a specific reason such as to look for a job, to obtain details of local entertainment, or to read the sports news. A few who were more active in local affairs looked for news of themselves or their families while some wished to read about other people in the neighbourhood. Those who read a local newspaper occasionally (13) were more likely to have a special reason for doing so. They would buy a paper when anything interesting had happened or when looking for work or when wanting to buy something. They were deterred from regular readership by the cost of a paper or through lack of sustained interest in local affairs. This was especially true of those who never bought local newspapers. They were highly critical of the quality of the local press and satisfied their need for local news at the shops ("You hear all you need to know there") or on the radio.

Spatial perception is shaped, in part, by media such as a local newspaper. Accordingly tenants were asked to define the area served by the local newspapers they had mentioned. Some were able to answer with confidence and perceived the different catchment areas of the various papers. They were aware that the "Woking News and Mail" had a restricted sales area, that the "Herald" concentrated on the area north and east of Woking, and that the "Advertiser" covered a wide area of south-west Surrey.

In detail, however, there was a lack of consensus. The "Woking News and Mail" area was generally agreed to cover Woking, Byfleet, and villages such as Maybury, Pyrford, Woodham, New Haw, Addlestone etc., but other places at greater distance were mentioned also, including Walton and Weybridge (5), Chertsey (5), Guildford (6), Godalming (2), even Camberley (2) and Dorking (1) and furthest of all Aldershot (1). This lack of precision suggests that surrounding space is, by most people, but dimly perceived.

Perception of Surrounding Space

Surrounding space may be described by its various place names. Accordingly Sheerwater residents were asked to name some of the districts (in this case not defined) nearby. The interpretation of

- (A) This accords closely with the findings of the Community Attitudes Survey where 81% of the people in Urban Districts of 60-100,000 regularly read the local newspaper.

this question gives some idea of how surrounding space is conceptualised. Some thought in terms of the immediate area around Sheerwater, some considered a wider area naming villages within easy reach of the estate, while others thought in still wider terms naming places (usually towns) at a considerable distance. Some respondents restricted their answers to places of similar rank (e.g., all villages, or all towns) but most did not discriminate, naming villages, neighbourhoods (especially those of Woking) and larger settlements together. This implies that there is no automatic recognition of the size and status of settlements.

Answers were obviously influenced by a number of factors which included age, length of residence, residence of relatives and friends, workplace, and so on. There was, too, an understandable tendency for places named to be grouped, one place suggesting a number of places near to it. In particular groups west of Woking and north-east of Sheerwater were recurrent. Similarity of place-names also influenced answers, thus 6 who mentioned Chobham also named Cobham, Maybury and Mayfield were likewise paired, and Walton and Weybridge (twin towns) were normally considered together also.

The number of places people were able to mention varied but only one respondent, old and confined to the estate, was unable to mention any nearby districts. The mode was six places and seven and five were next most popular as the table below shows:-

Sheerwater Estate - Table 14

Number of Nearby Places named by sample

<u>No. of places named</u>	<u>No. of respondents</u>
No places named	1
1	1
2	4
3	6
4	6
5	10
6	14
7	11
8	6
9	5
10	2
11	3
12	1
	<hr/>
	<u>TOTAL</u>
	<u>70</u>

Full details of the places mentioned are given in Table 2.16 and their distribution is illustrated on Map 12, Page 158. The following examples give some indication of the range of variation in perception of surrounding places:-

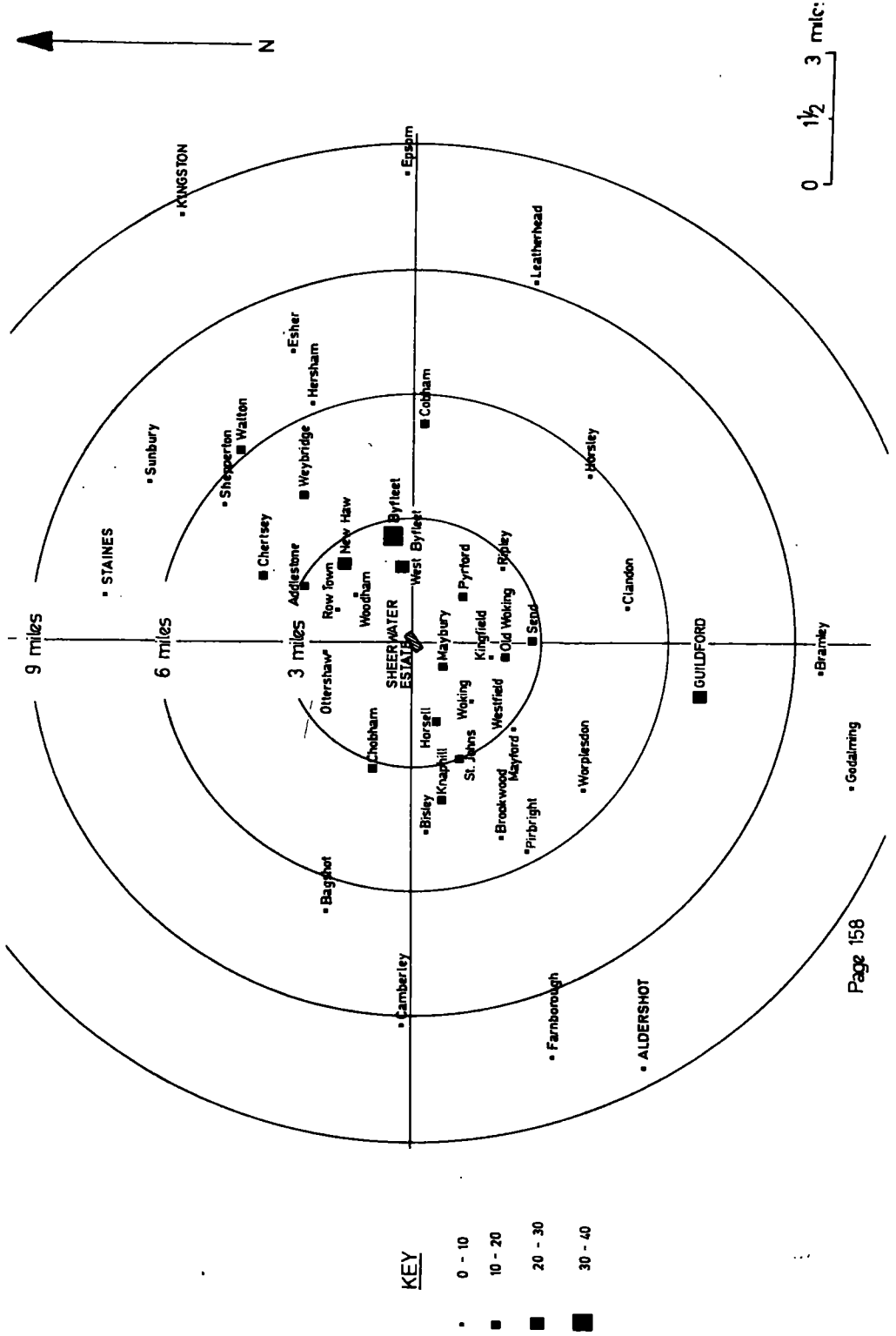
- Ex. 1 - Byfleet, West Byfleet, Weybridge, New Haw, St. Johns, Horsell.
- Ex. 2 - Byfleet, West Byfleet, New Haw, Woodham, Row Town, Addlestone, Knaphill, Maybury, Mayford, St. Johns, Horsell.
- Ex. 3 - Chertsey, Chobham, Ripley, Walton, Weybridge.
- Ex. 4 - Woodham, Byfleet, Addlestone, New Haw, Guildford, West Clandon, Staines.
- Ex. 5 - Byfleet, Pyrford, Maybury, Send, Ripley, Bagshot, Aldershot, Shepperton, Chertsey, Staines, Sunbury.
- Ex. 6 - Kingston, Guildford.

These examples are set down exactly in the order they were given. Ex. 1 shows a fairly typical pattern including districts on both sides of Woking. Ex. 2 at first concentrates on areas north-east of the estate (with the curious inclusion of "Row Town", a small isolated district within Addlestone) and then changes to neighbourhoods west of Woking. Ex. 3 defines a rather wider area and includes three sizeable towns north-east of the estate, which Ex. 4 ranges further still embracing Staines and Guildford at its extremes. The fifth example is very mixed incorporating both local villages and reaching north of the Thames to Sunbury, Shepperton and Staines and far to the west to Aldershot, 16 miles away (no doubt suggested by the assonance of Bagshot). The last example, demonstrates the vagueness of the term "district" which may, in some cases, be interpreted as a large town.

When all the answers are aggregated an interesting - if at first confusing - pattern emerges. As the summary (Table 2.16) shows, the most frequently mentioned districts were Byfleet (38) and West Byfleet (27). The latter is nearest the estate but many people failed to properly distinguish the two and there was a tendency to mention them together. The next most quoted districts were, in order, New Haw (25) and Addlestone (20) both sizeable, mainly post-war communities to the north east, Guildford (20) a large if somewhat distant town, Chobham (19) a village north-west of Woking, Chertsey (19) and Weybridge (18), large nearby towns.

The group of suburbs around Woking were frequently mentioned - Horsell (19), St. Johns (17), and Knaphill (16) to the west, Maybury (17) near the estate but south of the railway, and Old Woking (15) to the south on the River Wey. Only five other districts were specified more than 10 times - Pyrford (14), and Send (12), both on the Wey, Cobham (12) and Walton (10) more distant towns, and Woking itself (10), mentioned so few times presumably because it was implicit in the survey having been mentioned several times during the interviews and because of its size and proximity. Woodham (9) also received little mention perhaps because it was virtually contiguous with the estate.

SHEERWATER ESTATE SPATIAL PERCEPTION DIAGRAM



KEY

- 0 - 10
- 10 - 20
- 20 - 30
- 30 - 40

The remaining places remarked on (32 in all, including 3 non-places Walton Road, Woodham Lane and Shore Road) were widely scattered. They included Woking suburbs (Mayford 3, Kingfield 4, Westfield 3), villages nearby (Ripley 9, Worplesdon 2, Clandon 2, Horsley 2) or further afield (Bagshot 3, Bramley, Brookwood 5, Lightwater) or distant towns (Camberley, Aldershot, Farnham, Farnborough, Godalming, Epsom, Leatherhead and Staines).

These results give certain clues as to the spatial thinking of Sheerwater people. They show, firstly, that people conceive of surrounding space in terms of groups of settlements (e.g. those west of Woking). Second, they demonstrate that people do not necessarily distinguish between types of place, for towns, neighbourhoods, villages, and hamlets were often indiscriminately grouped. Third, the map evidence (Map 12) suggests that knowledge of surrounding space is considerably influenced by the main transport routes (people using public transport are largely confined to these) since the greatest density of places mentioned has a N.E. to S.W. axis conforming to the main railway and class 1 roads through the area. Lastly, it is clear that the area of surrounding space varies according to the individual. Some consider the area close at hand while others think in terms of surrounding towns. Beyond a certain distance (about 6 miles in this case), as the map shows, only the larger settlements are likely to be mentioned.

Knowledge of Administrative Areas

Most tenants were aware of their local authority and the rent and rating authorities. Woking was correctly named as the local authority by 44 tenants, while 5 referred to the county authority, Surrey. The rest either did not know (13) or thought that London (5 calling it the G.L.C. and 3 the L.C.C.) was their local authority. In fact, the G.L.C. was their landlord and 49 tenants knew this and a further 11 erroneously referred to the L.C.C. Among the rest, one thought rents were paid to Woking, one to Surrey, 5 did not know and 3 had bought their houses.

Rates are included in rent payments and, consequently, tenants were less successful in naming the rating authority. Over half (38), however, gave a correct reply (34 named Woking and 2 Surrey, both of whom levy rates in the estate, and 2 knew that the G.L.C. acted as a collecting agent for the local authorities). Perhaps not surprisingly several thought that the G.L.C. (11) or the L.C.C. (1) took the rates. The rest either knew they were collected with the rent (9) or had no idea as to who the rating authority was (11).

Only 21 respondents named all three - the local authority, the rent and rating authorities - correctly. This implies that many people have a confused comprehension of the nature of local government.

Tenants found it even more difficult to define the relationship between the estate and Greater London and their confusion had been increased by the reorganisation of London's government in 1965 (A). Few people fully appreciated these changes for only 26 were positive that the estate was not part of Greater London. Almost as many (24) thought that it was, thus reflecting the anomalous position of an out-county estate. Other answers were more qualified. Four felt the estate was officially in Greater London but ventured their opinion that it should not be, while 7 said it was supposed to be in the G.L.C. Four thought part of the estate was in because it was in the London telephone area. A few tenants had a clearer idea of the estate as an enclave of Greater London surrounded by Surrey, or as indirectly attached to the G.L.C. (B).

Only a minority of tenants were able to indicate the extent of administrative Greater London. The most accurate replies were those which defined Kingston (9) or Kingston and Surbiton (3) as the furthest extension of the G.L.C. Another 11 named areas further inside the boundary (Raynes Park, New Malden) or areas just outside (Esher, Hersham, Staines). The remaining answers (47 in all) were compounded of guesswork, hearsay, and misinformation. Six claimed that the G.L.C. ended at Wimbledon or Wandsworth (the limits of the former L.C.C.). As many as 14 thought that Sheerwater was the outer boundary and five of these thought the boundary corresponded to the London telephone exchange area. One resident described the boundary with impressive exactitude: "It ends at our front garden (Lambourne Crescent) or so a man with a pole told us". Others chose local districts as the boundary - Chertsey, Walton and Weybridge, Woodham, Byfleet and Woking. Two felt the G.L.C. incorporated Farnborough (the latest out-county estate) and one named Slough (two out-county estates) as the limit of the authority.

Other answers revealed underlying misconceptions for Bow (inside the L.C.C. area), Harlow (a new town), and Thetford (an expanding town for London overspill) were each recognised as the London boundary (and in a sense they are). There were some interesting attempts to define Greater London. One thought it coincided with the area covered by London transport red central double-deck buses (a shrewd observation), while another sought to distinguish between town and country. "Beyond Woking

- (A) As a result of reorganisation areas formerly within Surrey such as Kingston-upon-Thames, Surbiton, and Chessington were incorporated into the G.L.C. Esher, and Walton and Weybridge, though included in the Review area, remain as does Woking, in Surrey.
- (B) There was occasional speculation on the relationship of the G.L.C. to the county authorities and the prospect of Sheerwater being relinquished to Woking U.D. - "I do hear that Woking is taking over from the G.L.C. who built this estate. This is a separate part and surrounded by Surrey" was one comment.

you are getting into the country a bit. If you go on a Green Line bus you are going through houses all the time". The sense of urban sprawl and administrative aggrandisement was expressed by one tenant who said: "In a few years time England will be split into three sections - Greater London, Greater Manchester, and Teeside".

Such a confused spatial awareness reflects the incoherent structure of the suburban fringe. Beyond the immediate neighbourhood it becomes increasingly difficult to grasp the relationship of places in space, or the functions and extent of local authorities. Even the largest settlements (in this case Guildford, or perhaps Kingston, or even Woking) are unable to provide a readily accepted focus for a definable hinterland. Though only a limited investigation has been possible here it is sufficient to demonstrate the great variation in individual spatial perception and orientation. Such a brief study poses many further questions and exposes an inviting field of further research (A).

(A) The relevance of such research to geography is discussed briefly in the Conclusion. See below Pages 168 to 170.

SHEERWATER - CONCLUSION

We already have a fairly clear idea of what kind of environment Sheerwater is, and what attitudes its people have towards it. As a final comment on the estate the sample were given four terms which might be used to describe the location and type of community they lived in. The four terms were - "an estate"; "a suburb"; "the edge of the city"; and, "the outskirts of a town".

All except one considered Sheerwater to be an estate. A high proportion (59) thought it was on the outskirts of a town, most of them (52) naming the town as Woking (A), though among these some were dubious about Woking's claim to urban status (B). Fewer people (39), however, regarded Sheerwater as a suburb. Of those who did some clearly felt it to be a suburb of London ("This is outer suburbia to me") rather than of Woking. Only a minority (16) felt Sheerwater was on the edge of the city and while most of these regarded London as the city some named Guildford. The very term city was clearly evocative of dense urban development. "It is not on the edge of the city - it is in the country" said one resident while another emphasised its distance from London - "Twenty-six miles is a long way".

Only nine people thought that Sheerwater fitted all four descriptions, and 22 described it as an estate, a suburb, and on the outskirts of a town. The combinations in the replies were as follows:-

Sheerwater Estate - Table 15

Description of Place
(Sample Size 70)

<u>Description Used</u>	<u>ESTATE</u>	<u>SUBURB</u>	<u>EDGE OF CITY</u>	<u>OUTSKIRTS OF TOWN</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Replies Given	Yes	No	No	No	3
	Yes	Yes	No	No	5
	Yes	No	No	Yes	15
	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	2
	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	22
	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	4
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	9
	Yes	D.K.	D.K.	D.K.	1
	D.K.	D.K.	D.K.	Yes	1
	Yes	No	D.K.	Yes	1
	Yes	D.K.	No	Yes	4
	Yes	D.K.	D.K.	Yes	1
	Yes	Yes	D.K.	Yes	1
	Yes	D.K.	Yes	Yes	1
				<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>70</u>

D.K. = Don't Know

(A) Other towns named were West Byfleet (1), Guildford or London (1), London (1). Four did not name a town.

(B) For comments on Woking, see Pages 143 and 149.

Nearly all the residents recognised a contrast between city and country (one saw no difference, and one thought the difference only slight). Many were able to qualify their opinion regarding Sheerwater as quieter, less noisy, less hurried, and cleaner than the city (A). "There is not the same time-watching, rush and tear, or wear on nerves here", or, "This smells of country, London smells of smoke", were representative comments. Living conditions were better, there was more space and less overcrowding than in the city. "The city to me is not gay lights - it represents a dirty, scruffy, tenement building" was a typical comment. Some (10) emphasised the friendliness of the estate and contrasted it with London, "There's a kind of anonymity about London - it is such a big place. Here you can't help but know what's going on. It's such a close-knit community. It's just like a village really".

Not all the comments were favourable, however. The city had certain advantages, more facilities, better transport, a lower cost of living, and less social competition. Such viewpoints may be represented by the following remarks:- "I'm paying the rates of the city but haven't got the same facilities", or, "It's dearer to live in than London. It's a farce that the country is cheaper". Few, however, would have agreed with the conclusion of one resident who said: - "It's amazing the number of people, who given the chance, would go back to the smoke". It is this awareness of the contrasts with the city and the general approval that people feel for their new environment that is one of the abiding characteristics of the estate.

(A) These attitudes often repeat those already observed.
See Pages 148 to 151.



PLATE 24. The Basingstoke Canal.

The canal (now disused) forms the northern boundary of the estate.



PLATE 25. Dartmouth Path.

One of the green pathways that are a distinctive feature of the estate.



PLATES 26 and 27. Albert Drive looking west.

Houses stand well back from the road and are separated from it by trees and greens.



PLATE 28. (above)
Entrance to the
estate on Albert
Drive.



PLATE 29. (left)
Devonshire Avenue.
Higher densities
offset by open space.



PLATE 30. Dartmouth Green.



PLATE 31. Spencer Close.

Here flats and houses face each other across a cul-de-sac.



PLATE 32. Blackmore Crescent.



PLATE 33. Old People's Group in Bunyard Drive.



PLATE 34. Hanbury Path.

Self-contained dwellings facing a traffic-free path.



PLATE 35. Self-contained dwellings in Bentham Avenue.



PLATE 36. Blackmore Crescent.
The central block contains one bedroom flats.



PLATE 37. Higher rented house (Type V6) in Albert Drive.



PLATE 38. Higher rented house in Albert Drive.
These houses (92 in all) are on the eastern
side of the estate.



PLATE 39. St. Michael's Road.
Cottages arranged informally around a cul-de-sac.



PLATE 40. Group of flats seen from Devonshire Avenue.
The block in the background contains the shopping parade.



PLATE 41. Devonshire Avenue looking west.
An area of higher density in the central part of the estate.



PLATE 42. Flats surmounting shops in Dartmouth Avenue.
This block is the highest in the estate.



PLATE 43. Rear view of four storey block containing
shops.



PLATE 44. Two storey flats in Devonshire Avenue.



PLATE 45. "Scottwood" type permanent prefabricated houses in Lockwood Path.



PLATE 46. (left)
Rear of shops,
Dartmouth Avenue.

A group of lock-up
garages can be seen
in the distance.



PLATE 47. (below)
Bunyard Drive.

Lack of garages
results in parking
in narrow streets.



PLATE 48. The Industrial Estate.

A variety of light manufacturing firms are concentrated at the western end of the estate.



PLATE 49. Woodlands First School, Blackmore Crescent.



PLATE 50. Broadmere Middle School, Devonshire Avenue.



PLATE 51. Sheerwater Secondary School, Albert Drive.



PLATE 52. The shopping parade, Dartmouth Avenue.

There are twenty four shops situated on one side of the street.



PLATE 53. The "Birch and Pines" public house.



PLATE 54. Roman Catholic Church, Dartmouth Avenue.



PLATE 55. St. Michael's Anglican Church.
Designed as a temporary church in timber.

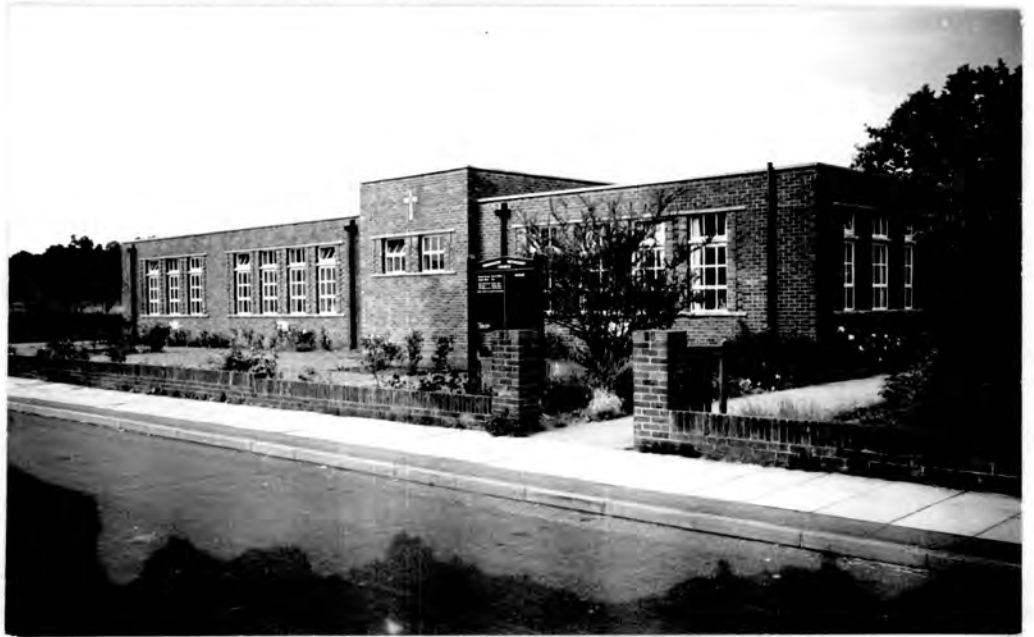


PLATE 56. The Methodist Church, Blackmore Crescent.
The building also includes a hall.



PLATE 57. The Community Centre, Devonshire Avenue.
On the left is the original temporary building.



PLATE 58 (left)
The Recreation Ground.

This includes an
athletic ground for
the Woking area.

PLATE 59. (below)
Chertsey Road, Woking.
Woking's main shopping
street leading to the
railway station.





PLATE 60. Access balcony at rear of four storey block, Dartmouth Avenue.

Lack of playspace in the centre of the estate has made this balcony attractive to children.

4.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

At the outset three hypotheses were introduced and have formed the underlying themes of this research. These themes (A) are composite and inter-related. Thus, the nature and size of the neighbourhood is conditioned by its layout and design and is reflected in the attitude of its inhabitants towards it. Each urban community is the unique result of the complex interplay of human and physical elements. These elements have been considered by reference to two communities broadly similar in age, size and location (B) though differing in a number of important respects. In each of these studies it has been possible, implicitly or explicitly, to reach certain conclusions which lend support to the initial hypotheses. From these conclusions a number of implications follow, some of which suggest a need for further investigation.

Although both estates had been planned as neighbourhoods and were functionally self-sufficient, North Kenton, unlike Sheerwater, has developed little corporate community spirit. Some of the reasons for this contrast are reasonably clear. Both estates had been peopled by families from "twilight areas" many of whom came from similar districts thus having some traditions of common origin and length of residence. Sheerwater tenants, detached from Greater London and surrounded by an area of predominantly expensive middle-class housing were unable to maintain close links with their old homes. Many of the men sought work locally and families became dependent on the estate or the nearby area for much of their social life. Relative isolation has here inspired a sense of identity with the estate. In contrast North Kenton is only a short distance from the former homes of most of its inhabitants and near to a number of council estates of similar age and size. The change of environment has created new problems and opportunities for its people but they continue to participate in the life of the wider urban community.

There is a further reason for North Kenton's lack of corporate identity and it lies in the design and layout of the estate. The high proportion of maisonette and flat blocks scattered in groups throughout much of the estate have broken it up into distinct physical units. This fragmentation has led to recognisable social subdivisions.

- (A) i.e., the nature and size of the neighbourhood; the social implications of layout and design; and, attitudes to place.
- (B) Although both are urban-fringe estates the greater scale of Greater London compared to Tyneside has led to important locational contrasts.

McKenzie recognised the possibility of this as early as 1921 when he stated that "the neighbourhood sentiment is most easily engendered where the physical basis of life affords a unitary character sufficient to differentiate the neighbourhood from the larger community" (A). He found that the average city dweller conceived of his neighbourhood as a closely confined area "the limits of which seem to be determined by the extent of his personal observations and daily contacts" (B). This view has been corroborated by a number of surveys already referred to. While there is some argument as to how the size of each will be determined (C) it is generally agreed that these intimate neighbourhoods will respond to conspicuous physical forms such as blocks or well defined groups of dwellings. At North Kenton both the blocks and the self-contained dwellings form segregated groupings. All this suggests that on large estates conceived as neighbourhoods and which have developed functional self-sufficiency it does not necessarily follow that there will be a corresponding social integration. The important groupings will be smaller and frequently related to physical forms.

From this it is clear that design and layout may be significant in shaping the social pattern of a community. What is arguable is the degree to which the pattern may be predetermined, or, put another way, how far may what are considered desirable social goals be determined by architecture. On this point, as we have seen (D), there is considerable debate. Some maintain that architects "do not just facilitate human behaviour they change it" (E). Others are more cautious averring that "architectural design is complementary to human activity; it does not shape it" (F). The evidence of North Kenton would tend to support the

- (A) R.D. McKenzie: "The Neighbourhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio". American Journal of Soc. 27, 1921. Pages 344-363.
- (B) Ibid.
- (C) For example, T.R. Lee considers that area is the crucial factor. "If a planner resolved on a particular area it could be filled at almost any population density without affecting the way in which it is perceived and reacted to by its residents". "Psychology and Living Space". Trans. Bartlett Soc. Vol.2, 1963-4. Page 17.
The Community Attitudes Survey concluded that population density was all important as the concentration of community facilities varies directly with density. "Community Attitudes Survey, England". H.M.S.O. 1969.
- (D) See Introduction Pages 7 to 15.
- (E) T.R. Lee, op.cit.
- (F) M. Broady: "Social Theory in Architectural Design". In "Planning for People". London 1968. Page 22.

latter view. However attractive the idea of mixing young and old together as at North Kenton may sound it is unlikely that it will ever prove acceptable to the people involved. Again, children will often need to play near their homes whatever provision is made for them elsewhere. Maisonette blocks, however well designed internally, will never prove as attractive to the majority of tenants as a self-contained dwelling with its own garden. Even where similar layouts occur they may evoke quite different responses. Architecture thus provides the background upon which the social pattern develops. The way in which it develops rests largely with the people themselves and their attitudes.

Attitudes to place are expressed in both general and specific terms and reflect the experience and expectations of the people. Thus while Sheerwater was generally liked specific criticisms were made of its poor communications, lack of certain shops, inadequate parking facilities and so on. Tenants at North Kenton were frequently ambivalent in their attitude towards the estate for the factors praised by some were condemned by others.

There were also marked contrasts in individual spatial perception. His perception operates at several levels varying upwards from the home and the neighbourhood, to the town, region, and country in which he lives. A preliminary attempt to investigate these perceptual levels was made at Sheerwater. From this it was obvious that some views of surrounding space are held in common. Almost all tenants, for example, were aware of the extent of the estate. Beyond this, apart from the widespread recognition of Guildford and Kingston as major shopping centres perceptual awareness varied considerably (A). People were confused about the role of local authorities and of the G.L.C. and concepts such as "suburb" and "edge of the city" often had little meaning for them. There was also a striking lack of correspondence in the way individuals expressed surrounding space in terms of nearby districts (B).

Although the multitude of factors affecting spatial perception were not investigated, this much is clear. Beyond the immediate locality spatial awareness was unsystematised and indeterminate. Such confusion reflects the undifferentiated nature of the surrounding area itself which is so lacking in obvious reference points. At the same time it is indicative of the incoherent image most people possess of their environment.

(A) Awareness of other parts of the country depended largely on the areas visited for holidays. See Sheerwater Survey Page 147.

(B) See Pages 155 to 159.

It is this that offers greatest scope for further research. So far the little work that has been done has been mainly confined to psychologists and educationists. They have begun to explore, by means of tests, such questions as directional sense and orientation and the maturation of spatial ability (A). In particular Piaget and Inhelder concluded that the ability to think in abstract (geometrical) (B) terms of space is not intuitive but "is a process which takes place at the perceptual level and at the level of thought or imagination" (C). Spatial knowledge is thus based on individual ability to construct a mental image of the environment which can be retained and reproduced when required.

Geographers have tended to neglect the study of spatial perception (D). It is not difficult to see why. In the past the subject was rooted in classical tradition and its links with other subjects were weak. Recently new methods and theories have been introduced some of them from other social sciences. Psychology has, however, as yet made little impact. Yet geographers, like psychologists, are concerned with man's reaction to his environment. The geographer's particular concern with the way man organises himself in space could derive much from the work of psychologists in the field of spatial perception.

- (A) For example, T.R. Lee: op.cit.
F.E. Lord: "A study of Spatial Orientation in Children".
Journal of Educ. Research. Vol. XXXIV,
March 1941, No. 7.
W.F. Smith: "Direction Orientation in Children". Journal
of Genetic Psych. Vol. XLII, No. 1, March 1933.
W.M. Hudson: "On the Sense of Direction". The Century
Magazine 104. 1922.
- (B) As opposed to topological (subjective) space.
- (C) J. Piaget and B. Inhelder (transl.): "The Child's Conception
of Space". London 1956. Page 3.
- (D) There are signs of a growing interest in spatial perception
among geographers, however. In the USA, M.R. Gould and others
have undertaken a number of specific studies. In Britain the
approach, so far, has been mainly conceptual. See, for
example:-
W. Kirk: "Problems of Geography". Geography. Volume 48,
Part 4, November 1963.
J.P. Cole and others: "Notes on Perception in Geography".
Bulletin of Quantitative Data for Geog. No. 18. Nottingham
University. 1968.
H.C. Brookfield: "On the Environment as Perceived". In
"Progress in Geography". Ed. Board C. and others. London
1969.

The point may be illustrated by returning to an earlier theme. An overspill population transplanted to an out-county estate must adjust itself to its new surroundings. In doing so new friends will be made, new centres visited for shopping, jobs may be changed, and a new pattern of leisure will evolve. This process will stimulate a new spatial awareness and create demands upon the environment some of which will be unforeseen. The resulting pattern is the subject matter of social geography.

The subject of this thesis has been the relationship between people and place. In order to fully comprehend it recourse has been had to the work of researchers in other fields, namely, Sociology, Architecture, Planning and Psychology. Although geographers must be aware of the work done in these fields it is no less true that they have much to offer these other disciplines. As Eric Reade puts it: "It is a curious fact that though urban/rural sociology, like planning, has a strong interest in geography, it is often the spatial aspects of social patterns which it tends to neglect. Geography tends to be seen as "given facts" ('the setting') rather than becoming, as distance, one of the major variables in a pattern of social interaction" (A). In their central concern with space geographers may fairly claim to intensify the scope of social enquiry.

(A) E. Reade: "Community and the Rural-Urban Continuum - Are the Concepts Outdated?". J.T.P.I. Vol. 54. No. 9. November 1968.

APPENDIX I

The Neighbourhood Unit Concept

APPENDIX I

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT CONCEPT

Clarence Perry is generally regarded as the first to have formulated the neighbourhood unit concept (A). The neighbourhood had always existed, as Lewis Mumford observes, and could be discerned in the "quarters" of the medieval city (B). Interest in neighbourhood as a theoretical concept derives from the work of Ferdinand Tönnies (C), whose central idea was the theory of the "Gemeinschaft" or community in the primary sense and the "Gesellschaft" or wider social group whose members are linked by association. Tönnies recognised the importance of place as the foundation of neighbourhood. "Neighbourhood, the fact that they live together, is the basis of their union" (D). Although, as he demonstrated, villages and towns have distinctive social characteristics they both "have in common the principle of social organisation in space" (E). C.H. Cooley, writing in 1909 was conscious of the threat to the intimate association of neighbourhoods from "the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts" though "it is remarkable what vitality they show" (F). He felt there was something in human nature which "is developed and expressed in those simple face-to-face groups that are somewhat alike in all societies; groups of the family, the playground and the neighbourhood" (G).

On a more practical level there was the growing belief at the turn of the century that the cohesiveness of the primary group should have, as far as possible, a territorial expression. This was particularly necessary in the cities which lacked the stability and integrity of the village. Ebenezer Howard, whose book (H) was to have enormous influence on planners, sought a solution in the fusion of town and country in the Garden City. In his plan Garden City was divided into wards each of which was contained between radial boulevards and possessed a range of community institutions.

- (A) Clarence Perry: "The Neighbourhood Unit. Regional Survey of New York and its Environs". Vol. VII. New York 1929.
Also "Housing for the Machine Age". New York 1939.
- (B) Lewis Mumford: "The Neighbourhood and Neighbourhood Unit". T.P.R. Vol. XXIV. No. 4. January 1954.
- (C) Ferdinand Tönnies: "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft" 1887.
Translated by C.P. Loomis as "Community and Association. London 1955.
- (D) Ibid. Page 26.
- (E) Ibid. Page 272.
- (F) C.H. Cooley: "Social Organisation". 1909 and New York 1962.
Pages 26/27.
- (G) Ibid. Page 30.
- (H) Ebenezer Howard: "Garden Cities of Tomorrow". First published under this title 1902. Previously "Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform". 1898.

C.B. Purdom commented on this:- "Undoubtedly the most interesting features of the plan were the wards which were intended to be more or less self-contained Thus Howard anticipated the neighbourhood unit, which has become a favourite notion of town-planners in the present decade" (A).

Another element in the neighbourhood unit concept - that of social balance - may be traced back to the work of Canon and Mrs. Barnett (B) in the East End of London. They advocated social mixing by encouraging the educated and privileged to live among the poor. This philanthropic notion was to have considerable influence on planners at a later date. More immediately it led to the development of Hampstead Garden Suburb (1905) designed by the architect Raymond Unwin.

Unwin was influenced both by the Barnetts and Howard. He was a great designer on the small scale and attracted by the idea of localised communities (C). With Barry Parker he was responsible for the design of Letchworth Garden City, the first of two cities inspired by Howard's work. The plan was one which foreshadowed the neighbourhood unit. "It would not be unfair shortly to describe the Letchworth plan as a group of connected villages around a civic centre, with a factory district on the outskirts" (D).

The rapid growth of suburbs and their apparent anonymity gave the impetus to the demand for a physical expression of the social neighbourhood within cities (E). It is for this that Perry was chiefly responsible.

- (A) C.B. Purdom: "The Building of Satellite Towns". 1925. Page 33.
- (B) Canon and Mrs. S.A. Barnett: "Practicable Socialism". London 1915.
- (C) "How far is it possible to secure an end so desirable as the greater localisation of life". (R. Unwin. J.P.T.I. 1920-21).
- (D) C.B. Purdom op.cit. Page 89.
- (E) "From the suburbs as well as from the historic quarters of the city came the notion that the neighbourhood should have a certain coherence of architectural expression, both through the general plan and through the individual design of buildings". (L. Mumford op.cit.)

"Though Perry no more discovered the neighbourhood principles alone than Le Corbusier discovered modern architecture, the work of each of them has a characteristic value in crystallising many diffuse efforts" (A). At about the same time (1929) Clarence Stein and Henry Wright had designed at Radburn, New Jersey, a residential layout which had residential districts where pedestrians and vehicles were segregated.

It was the essence rather than the detail of Perry's ideas that was adopted by planners in this country. In Perry's plan the neighbourhood was based on school catchment areas, which, though often adopted in this country, for reasons of changing population structure "were not particularly suited to be the central feature of the neighbourhood in Britain" (B). Perry made quite specific recommendations as to the size, boundaries, open space, road layout, and the siting of various community institutions. His shops were located in clusters on the edge of the neighbourhood where the traffic burden within the neighbourhood would be reduced and where several neighbourhoods could be served from the same centre while still retaining the principle of local amenities within walking distance of all residents. The centre of his neighbourhood was devoted to the school and open space. Although neighbourhood planning in this country has varied, in most of the New Towns the neighbourhoods had a central shopping precinct thus giving a commercial rather than a social emphasis.

The "neighbourhood unit" received official endorsement during and after the war in the Dudley Report (C) and the New Towns Committee Final Report (D) which accepted it as the basis for the design of residential areas in New Towns. As well as these a number of semi-official reports and surveys also promoted the concept and added their own definitions of the neighbourhood unit (E).

- (A) Mumford op.cit.
- (B) A. Goss: "Neighbourhood Units in British New Towns". T.P.R. Vol. XXXII. April. 1961.
- (C) "Design of Dwellings". H.M.S.O. 1944.
- (D) New Towns Committee Final Report. H.M.S.O. 1946.
- (E) R. Glass: "Social Background of a Plan". London. 1948.
Sir Halley Stewart Trust: "The Size and Social Structure of a Town". For Nat. Co. of Soc. Service. Community Structure and Assoc. Survey Group.
L. Wolfe: "The Reilly Plan - a new way of life". London. 1945.

The Dudley Report quite specifically envisaged a physical form to stimulate the "full development of community life" which had been partially destroyed by the process of industrialisation. It laid down its well-known guideline for the neighbourhood as a desirable social unit "with a population not exceeding 10,000 persons" living in an area where every house is within about 10 minutes walk of the neighbourhood centre (A). At this level of population there would be two primary schools and a mixed secondary school. The Report then went on to make recommendations on the density and layout and design of the neighbourhood unit. Its emphasis on "social balance" echoes the views of the Sir Halley Stewart Trust which suggested units "each fitting in with the town to which it belongs and each containing a socially balanced population" (B). This idea became the central theme of the concept and had the dual attraction of simplicity, and, so it seemed, logic. Instead of one-class suburbs the intermixing of the classes would provide the variety, leadership and community spirit felt to be lacking in urban life.

In her proposals for Middlesbrough (C) Ruth Glass offered two definitions of the neighbourhood unit both of which incorporated the physical and social characteristics of the concept. Her definitions were:-

- (i) "A distinct territorial group, distinct by virtue of the specific physical characteristics of the area and the specific social characteristics of its inhabitants".
- (ii) "A territorial group the members of which meet on a common ground within their own area for primary social activities and for organised and spontaneous social contacts".

- (A) Dudley Report op.cit. Perry's estimate of the probable population was about 10,000. The Reilly Plan (op.cit.) talks in terms of much smaller units - 30-60 houses around a green with groups of these making up a unit of perhaps 1,000-1,200 people. The importance of this idea has only latterly been realised (see Introduction) and accords with the observations made at North Kenton.
- (B) The Sir Halley Stewart Trust (op.cit.).
- (C) Ruth Glass op.cit.

Neighbourhoods, then, are areas which can be physically defined and which have measurable social characteristics; for example, income group, social class, race, religion, etc. (definition (i)). More than that they are areas where face-to-face contacts occur among inhabitants and where formal or informal association takes place as a result (definition (ii)).

By the time neighbourhood planning had been generally accepted two ideas had become inextricably mixed. One was the idea of a functionally self-sufficient, geographically determined, planning unit. The other was the ideal of a socially balanced area in which the interaction and common interests of the population would develop spontaneously through the stimulus of careful planning. The first idea, in a modified form, remains the basis of much planning today. Neighbourhoods are planned with recognisable boundaries and with a central focus containing the necessary institutional equipment. It is the social ideal which has been gradually abandoned though many sociologists assert that the physical environment may have an important influence on people's lives (A).

The ready acceptance of the concept in the early post-war period rested on the belief that "our modern urban civilisation can be rebuilt by recovering all that is worthwhile in the small 'primary' group with its face-to-face contacts as typified in the village tradition" (B). The neighbourhood unit was grasped as the antidote to the inadequately serviced and socially stagnant inter-war housing estates (C). With its local services and logical and economic layout it was decidedly attractive.

The social suppositions in the concept were attacked from various angles. Marion Hall (D), as early as 1946, recognised that many trends - commuting, mobility, the growing importance of large local government units among them - militated against the independence of the small neighbourhood unit which was "out of tune with the spirit of the age - a wistful looking backward to a tradition which is no longer valid". E.A. Ross had pointed out (E) that many people regard their home as a retreat and do not wish to participate. In fact neighbouring for them is an unwarranted intrusion.

- (A) See Introduction Pages 11 to 15. The North Kenton survey is, in part, concerned with the impact of the built environment on people.
- (B) L.E. White: "Community or Chaos: New Housing Estates and Their Problems". N.C.S.S. London. 1950.
- (C) Ruth Durant expatiates on the lack of identity of Watling which had "become blurred through losing its former sharply cut boundaries".
- (D) M. Hall: "Community Centres and Associations in Manchester". Manchester. 1946.
- (E) E.A. Ross: "Principles of Sociology". New York. 1938.

In cities people do not have to depend on their immediate locality for contact but may draw on the wider community to form special-interest groups. Dependence on the locality varies according to the stage in the life-cycle (A). It is greatest for children, young mothers and for old people, and least for husbands, childless and older couples and for teenagers. The whole pattern of life within the city and its geographical expression is thus much more complex than the principle of the "neighbourhood unit" recognises.

The early post-war years saw the rapid creation of many large estates, two of which are the subject of this thesis. Many were built on neighbourhood unit principles. Since housing was at a premium it often proved difficult to co-ordinate the development of these new communities and their amenities were built later, if at all. It was the lack of amenities that often caused the discontent prevalent on these estates and which led to the formation of residents' associations to act as pressure groups. Community spirit was fostered by the common age, origin and length of residence of the people. Later, when the population became more mixed and when most of the residents' needs for amenities had been met the voluntary associations often declined or disappeared. This was the pattern observed by Ruth Durant in Watling and in the present study at North Kenton, though it was not the case at Sheerwater. From this we can infer that social participation is aroused by specific needs and in certain circumstances rather than spontaneously and may disappear when these needs have been met.

In the "first generation" new towns a conscious attempt at neighbourhood planning was made although the interpretation varied from town to town (B). Social balance was never fully achieved, however, for the majority of houses were rented (C) from the Development Corporation and accommodated overspill populations (D). Their population structure was not so homogeneous as Becontree, Watling, St. Helier and other pre-war out-county housing estates however. The few high rented houses that were provided were concentrated into separate areas. In the more recent new towns greater provision is to be made for owner-occupied housing but this is in response to consumer demand rather than any theory of social integration.

- (A) P. Mann: "An Approach to Urban Sociology". London. 1965.
- (B) In Crawley, for instance, each neighbourhood is identified by name and colour on street signs.
- (C) According to Goss (op.cit.) 90% of the housing was of a standard type.
- (D) B.J. Heraud in "Social Class and the New Towns". Urban Studies, Vol. 5, No. 1. February, 1968 examines social balance in the context of Crawley.

The debate about neighbourhood units has now largely ceased. As Perry had conceived it it was a means of relating amenities to population on a localised scale and as such it was a reasonable technical solution. In its assumptions that architecture could determine social characteristics lay its great weakness. It did, however, lead to the planning of functionally self-contained communities and to the more cautious, and less dogmatic, social planning of today.

APPENDIX II

The Method of Survey

APPENDIX II

THE METHOD OF SURVEY

The research into the two estates was accomplished in three ways. These - the collection of existing information, direct enquiry of the residents, and observation - have been outlined in the Introduction (A). Here the method and purpose of the direct enquiry is elaborated and some of its inherent problems indicated.

For each estate a sample population was chosen and a schedule (B) drawn up and used as the basis for a series of interviews. A number of questions dealing with basic facts about the economic and social characteristics of the population were common to both schedules. In addition, each contained a number of more subjective questions designed to elucidate particular themes of the research. The North Kenton survey was concerned with the impact of housing design and estate layout on people and the resulting socio-geographic subdivisions of the estate. By contrast, the Sheerwater survey emphasised attitudes to place and spatial perception. In both cases where possible certain questions were asked which provided a check on previous answers and an opportunity for respondents to amplify their replies (C).

The different emphasis of the two surveys necessitated a different sampling procedure. For the North Kenton survey it was essential that a proportion of households from each dwelling type were interviewed. 10% was chosen as a sample of sufficient size to enable some comparisons between dwelling types to be made. At the same time it was small enough for one interviewer to cover the whole estate (D). Since the North Kenton survey was also interested in the socio-geographic subdivisions of the estate interviews were spread evenly through its eight Census Enumeration Districts. A stratified quota sample of this type was considered most suitable in circumstances where dwelling types were not evenly spread but clustered in various parts of the estate.

- (A) See Pages 19 and 20.
- (B) The schedules are included at the end of this Appendix.
- (C) For example in the Sheerwater sample tenants were asked at an early stage to state which of the dwellings and places they had lived in they preferred. Towards the end of the interview they were able to particularise their likes and dislikes about the place they lived in.
- (D) The number of interviews per dwelling type is given in Chapter 2, Page 34.

At Sheerwater, a physically more homogeneous estate, where the requirements of the survey were different a random sample survey was used. It was clear after tests had been made (A) that unless a large sample was taken it would be impossible to generalise for the households of the entire estate with any degree of precision. Since the intention of the survey was to gather a great deal of subjective, non-quantitative information it was desirable that it should be undertaken by one researcher who could base conclusions on observations, background knowledge, and experience, as well as upon the interviews themselves. As a result a relatively small sample of 70 households (5% of the estate) was interviewed out of a total of 78 selected, eight of whom refused to be questioned.

Thus the tables compiled for both estates relate specifically to the samples chosen and inferences drawn from them must bear this in mind.

The survey as a whole is an attempt to explore a field rather than a specific problem. Both required a comprehensive approach. In Mogey's words, "we have many observations, few measurements, and our instruments are not precise though they serve a useful purpose" (B). Each schedule contained a number of "open" questions and the method of interviewing had certain similarities to that adopted by Mogey in his Oxford survey. He abandoned the schedule altogether in order to ensure complete informality in the interview situation. In the present survey the schedule was retained but was, for many of the questions, used as an interview guide allowing every opportunity for full and frank expression to take place. Without this freedom the variety of the answers would have been unduly restricted.

(A) The two tests used were the simple proportions test and the chi-squared test and they were based on data from 38 completed interviews.

(B) J.M. Mogey: "Family and Neighbourhood". Oxford 1956.
Page 32.

APPENDIX III

North Kenton Estate - Tables

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.1

Number of Persons per Household
(No. of Households in sample 193)

1. Household size (No. of Persons per Household)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	TOTAL
2. No. of Households	27	28	20	32	34	24	15	7	4	1	1	193
3. Percentage (%)	14.0	14.5	10.4	16.6	17.6	12.4	7.8	3.6	2.1	0.5	0.5	100
TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS (Columns 1 x 2)	27	56	60	128	170	144	105	56	36	10	11	803

(Referred to on Page 42)

North Kenton Estate Table 1.2

Birthplace of Male Heads of Households
(Number of Male Heads in Sample 158)

	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL AREA</u>			
	Coxlodge	2	1.3
<u>NEWCASTLE (CENTRAL OR NOT SPECIFIED)</u>		32	20.2
<u>NEWCASTLE (WEST END)</u>			
Postal District 4	Arthurs Hill	2	} 36 22.8
" " "	Benwell	6	
" " "	Elswick	9	
" " "	Spital Tonques	1	
" " "	Westgate	5	
Postal District 5	Denton	1	
" " "	Scotswood	12	
<u>NEWCASTLE (EAST END)</u>			
Postal District 2	Jesmond	2	} 29 18.3
" " "	Sandyford	2	
" " "	Shieldfield	2	
Postal District 6	Byker	13	
" " "	Heaton	3	
" " "	Walker	6	
" " "	Walkergate	1	
<u>TYNESIDE</u>			
Postal District 5	Throckley	1	} 20 12.7
" " 8	Gateshead	7	
" " 9	Low Fell	2	
" " 9	Sheriff Hill	1	
" " 10	Felling	2	
" " 11	Dunston	1	
	Hebburn	1	
	North Shields	1	
	Ryton	1	
	Wallsend	2	
	Willington Quay	1	

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>		<u>%</u>		
<u>NORTH EAST</u>					
<u>Northumberland</u>					
Amble	1	}			
Blyth	1				
Capheaton	1				
Newbiggin	1				
Morpeth	1				
Pegswood	1				
<u>Co. Durham</u>					
Chester-le-Street	1	}	16 10.1		
Chopwell	1				
Crawcrook	1				
Middlesbrough	3				
Pelton	1				
Quebec	1				
Sunderland	1				
Washington	1				
<u>OTHER</u>					
<u>Scotland</u>	5	}			
<u>North England</u>					
Yorkshire	4				
Other	3				
<u>London</u>	4			}	20 12.7
<u>Horn Counties</u>	1				
<u>Wales</u>	2				
<u>Ireland</u>	1				
<u>DONT KNOW</u>	3				
<u>TOTAL 158</u>					

(Referred to on Page 44.)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.3

Birthplaces of Females (Heads of Households and Wives of Male Heads)
 (Total in Sample 186 of which Wives of Head 151, Widows 29, Separated/
 Divorced 5, Single 1)

	<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>		<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL AREA</u>				
	Blakelaw	1	} 2	1.1
	Cowgate	1		
<u>NEWCASTLE</u>	(Central or not specified)	40		21.5
<u>NEWCASTLE (West End)</u>				
Postal District 4	Arthurs Hill	1	} 48	25.8
" "	Benwell	15		
" "	Elswick	14		
" "	Fenham	1		
" "	Westgate	7		
Postal District 5	Scotswood	10		
<u>NEWCASTLE (East End)</u>				
Postal District 2	Jesmond	1	} 25	13.4
" "	Sandyford	1		
" "	Shieldfield	5		
Postal District 6	Byker	10		
" "	St. Anthony's	1		
" "	Walker	7		
<u>TYNESIDE</u>				
Postal District 5	Lemington	1	} 25	13.4
Postal District 8	Gateshead	9		
Postal District 9	Sheriff Hill	1		
Postal District 10	Felling	2		
Postal District 11	Dunston	1		
	Blaydon	3		
	Hebburn	1		
	Jarrow	3		
	South Shields	2		
	Swalwell	1		
	Tynemouth	1		

/continued

	<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>		<u>%</u>
<u>NORTH EAST</u>				
<u>Northumberland</u>	Alnwick	1	}	
	Amble	2		
	Berwick	1		
	Morpeth	1		
	Newbiggin	1		
	Prudhoe	1		
	Seaton Sluice	1		
	<u>Co. Durham</u>	Birtley		
Chopwell		1		
Durham		3		
New Brancepeth		1		
Ouston		1		
Shotley Bridge		1		
Stanley		1		
Stockton		1		
Sunderland		5		
<u>OTHER</u>		SCOTLAND	4	}
	NORTH ENGLAND	3		
	LONDON	4		
	SOUTH ENGLAND	2		
	IRELAND	2		
	FOREIGN	2		
	DONT KNOW		6	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>186</u>		

(Referred to on Page 45)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.4

Previous Residences
(No. in Sample 193)

	<u>Place</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL AREA</u>	Blakelaw	11	} 20 10.4
	Coxlodge	1	
	Fawdon	4	
	Kenton	1	
	Montagu	3	
<u>NEWCASTLE (Central)</u>		10	5.2
<u>NEWCASTLE (West End)</u>	Arthurs Hill	6	} 103 53.4
	Benwell	24	
	Cowgate	4	
	Denton	4	
	Elswick	31	
	Fenham	7	
	Scotswood	22	
	Spital Tongues	2	
	Westgate	3	
<u>NEWCASTLE (East End)</u>	Byker	19	} 53 27.5
	Heaton	6	
	Jesmond	2	
	Sandyford	1	
	Shieldfield	6	
	St. Anthony's	2	
	Walker	16	
	Walkergate	1	
<u>TYNESIDE</u>	Bensham (Gateshead)	1	0.5
<u>NORTH EAST</u>	Acklington	} 2	1.0
	Dudley		
<u>OTHER</u>	London	} 4	2.0
	St. Albans		
	Chatham		
	Australia		
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>193</u>	

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.5

Occupations of Male Heads of Households
(No. in sample 143)

Unskilled Manual	28
Skilled Manual	<u>77</u>
<u>TOTAL MANUAL</u>	<u>105</u>
Supervisory	13
Clerical	7
Salesmen	4
Self-Employed	1
Nurse	1
Teacher	1
Manager	1
Others	<u>5</u>
<u>TOTAL NON-MANUAL</u>	<u>33</u>
Disabled	4
Unemployed	<u>1</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>OVERALL TOTAL</u>	<u>143</u>

(Referred to on Page 50)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.6

Occupations of Boys
(No. in Sample 58)

Unskilled Manual	12
Skilled Manual	<u>30</u>
<u>TOTAL MANUAL</u>	<u>42</u>
Clerical	6
Draughtsman	2
Catering Manager	1
Chemist	1
Services	3
Other	<u>2</u>
<u>TOTAL NON-MANUAL</u>	<u>15</u>
Unemployed	<u>1</u>
<u>OVERALL TOTAL</u>	<u>58</u>

(Referred to on Page 50)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.7

Occupations of Girls
(No. in sample 55)

Factory Workers	19
Other Manual	<u>8</u>
<u>TOTAL MANUAL</u>	<u>27</u>
Shop Assistants	9
Clerical/Typists	10
Telephonist	1
Nurses	4
Bacteriologist	1
Services	2
Other	<u>1</u>
<u>TOTAL NON-MANUAL</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>OVERALL TOTAL</u>	<u>55</u>

(Referred to on Page 50)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.8

Occupations of Married Women
(Total in Sample 139)

(No. in sample working part-time	52
No. in sample working full-time	9
No. in sample not at work	76
No. in sample retired	<u>2</u>
<u>TOTAL IN SAMPLE</u>	<u>139)</u>

With Dependent Children		Without Dependent Children					
Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time		
Factory Workers	8	Factory Workers	2	Factory Worker	1	Domestics	2
Domestics	17	Shop Assistants	2	Domestics	2	Clerical	1
School/Canteen	5	Clerical	2	Canteen Workers	2		
Barmaids	5	Pharmacist	1	Typist	1		
Shop Assistants	5	Other	1				
Collectors	2						
Cashier	1						
Supervisor	1						
TOTALS	44		8		6		3

(Referred to on Page 50)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.9

Occupations of Other Groups

A. Female Heads of Households (No. in sample at work 7
No. in sample not at work 4)

<u>Widowed</u>	Part-time Domestic	1	TOTAL 3
	Full-time Domestic	1	
	Full-time Factory work	1	
<u>Separated/Divorced</u>	Full-time Factory	1	TOTAL 3
	Full-time Clerical	2	
<u>Single</u>	Full-time Clerical	1	TOTAL 1
	<u>TOTAL AT WORK</u>		7

B. Others

Brothers of Householder	Manual	4
Sisters of Householder	Factory Work	1
	Librarian	1
Father of Householder	Gardener	<u>1</u>
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>7</u>

(Referred to on Page 50)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.10

Workplaces of Heads of Households

(Number in sample 143
Number working 138)

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>JOURNEY TIME</u> (Public Transport)	<u>NUMBER OF</u> <u>WORKERS</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL</u>			
Kenton	No travel	2	} 27 19.6%
Fawdon Industrial Estate *	" "	21	
Coxlodge	" "	1	
Kenton Bar	3 minutes	3	
<u>CENTRAL NEWCASTLE</u>			
C.B.D.	17 minutes	28	} 33 23.9%
Quayside	" "	4	
Jesmond	" "	1	
<u>WEST END</u>			
Arthur's Hill	27 minutes (a)	1	} 10 7.2%
Elswick	29 minutes (a)	6	
Scotswood	35 minutes (a)	3	
<u>EAST END</u>			
Benton	22 minutes (a)	1	} 17 12.4%
Byker	24 minutes (a)	4	
Heaton	28 minutes (a)	9	
Walker	29 minutes (a)	3	
<u>OUT CITY</u>			
Gosforth	7 minutes	1	} 10 7.2%
Westerhope	13 minutes (b)	5	
Ponteland	17 minutes (c)	2	
North Walbottle	18 minutes (b)	1	
Newburn	32 minutes (a)	1	
<u>OTHER TYNESIDE</u>			
Gateshead	24 minutes	1	} 18 13.1%
Felling	30 minutes (a)	1	
Wallsend	30 minutes (a)	5	
Team Valley	35 minutes (a)	5	
Hebburn	39 minutes (a)	1	
Willington Quay	43 minutes (a)	1	
Blaydon	44 minutes (a)	2	
North Shields	52 minutes (a)	2	

* Rowntrees (14), Winthrops(7).

/continued

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.10(continued)

Workplaces of Heads of Households

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>JOURNEY TIME</u> <u>(Public Transport)</u>	<u>NUMBER OF</u> <u>WORKERS</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>NORTHUMBERLAND</u>			
Hazelrigg	9 minutes (d)	1	} 3 2.2%
Dinnington	22 minutes (d)	1	
Seaton Burn	22 minutes (d)	1	
<u>CO. DURHAM</u>			
Birtley	39 minutes (a)	1	} 2 1.5%
Billingham	116 minutes (a)	1	
<u>WORKING AWAY</u>			
London		1	} 4 2.9%
East Goodwin Lightship		1	
East Africa		1	
Sierra Leone		1	
<u>PERIPATETIC</u>			
Local		7	} 14 10.1%
North East		5	
London		2	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>138</u>
DISABLED		4	} 5
UNEMPLOYED		1	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>143</u>

(For Notes see foot of Table 1.14)

(Referred to on Pages 50 and 52)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.11

Workplaces of Working Girls

(Number in sample 55)

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>JOURNEY TIME (Public Transport)</u>	<u>NUMBER OF WORKERS</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL</u>			
Kenton	No travel	8	} 25 45.5%
Fawdon Industrial Estate *	" "	14	
Coxlodge	" "	3	
<u>CENTRAL NEWCASTLE</u>			
C.B.D.	17 minutes	16	} 17 30.9%
Jesmond	" "	1	
<u>OTHER CITY</u>			
Benton	22 minutes (d)	4	} 6 10.9%
Denton	38 minutes (a)	2	
<u>OUT CITY</u>			
Gosforth	7 minutes	1	} 3 5.5%
Ponteland	17 minutes (c)	2	
<u>NORTHUMBERLAND</u>			
Killingworth	17 minutes (d)	1	} 2 3.6%
Prudhoe	50 minutes (e)	1	
<u>WORKING AWAY</u>			
Services		2	3.6%
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>55</u>	

* Rowntrees (3), Winthrops (11).

(For Notes see foot of Table 1.14)

(Referred to on Pages 50 and 53)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1,12

Workplaces of Working Boys

(Number in sample 58)

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>JOURNEY TIME</u> (Public Transport)	<u>NUMBER OF</u> <u>WORKERS</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL</u>			
Fawdon Industrial Estate *	No travel	7	} 8 13.8%
Coxlodge	" "	1	
<u>CENTRAL NEWCASTLE</u>			
C.B.D.	17 minutes	13	} 15 26.0%
Quayside	" "	1	
Jesmond	" "	1	
<u>WEST END</u>			
Fenham/Cowgate	6 minutes	2	} 8 13.8%
Arthurs Hill	27 minutes (a)	2	
Scotswood	35 minutes (a)	2	
Denton	38 minutes (a)	2	
<u>EAST END</u>			
Benton	22 minutes (d)	1	} 5 8.6%
Byker	24 minutes (a)	2	
Heaton	28 minutes (a)	2	
<u>OUT CITY</u>			
Gosforth	7 minutes	1	} 3 5.2%
Westerhope	13 minutes (b)	1	
Newburn	32 minutes (a)	1	
<u>OTHER TYNESIDE</u>			
Gateshead	24 minutes	4	} 9 15.5%
Wallsend	30 minutes (a)	2	
Team Valley	35 minutes (a)	1	
Jarrow	49 minutes (a)	2	
<u>NORTHUMBERLAND</u>			
Seaton Burn	22 minutes (d)	1	1.7%
<u>WORKING AWAY</u>			
Filey		1	} 3 5.2%
Services		2	

/continued

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.12 (continued)

Workplaces of Working Boys

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>JOURNEY TIME</u> <u>(Public Transport)</u>	<u>NUMBER OF</u> <u>WORKERS</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>PERIPATETIC</u>			
Local		3	10.3%
North East		3	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>58</u>	

* Rowntrees (4), Winthrops (3).

(For Notes see foot of Table 1.14)

(Referred to on Pages 50 and 53)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.13

Workplaces of Working Wives

(Number in sample working full-time 11
part-time 50)

I. PART-TIME WORKING WIVES

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>JOURNEY TIME (Public Transport)</u>	<u>NUMBER OF WORKERS</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>LOCAL</u>			
Kenton	No travel	19	} 31 62.0%
Fawdon Industrial Estate *	" "	10	
Coxlodge	" "	2	
<u>CENTRAL NEWCASTLE</u>			
C.B.D.	17 minutes	10	} 12 24.0%
Jesmond	" "	2	
<u>OTHER NEWCASTLE</u>			
Benwell	35 minutes (a)	1	2.0%
<u>OUT CITY</u>			
Gosforth	7 minutes	5	} 6 12.0%
Ponteland	17 minutes (c)	1	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>50</u>

* Rowntrees (6), Winthrops (4).

II. FULL-TIME WORKING WIVES

<u>LOCAL</u>			
Fawdon Industrial Estate *	No travel	2	
<u>CENTRAL NEWCASTLE</u>			
C.B.D.	17 minutes	3	} 5
Quayside	" "	1	
Jesmond	" "	1	
<u>OTHER CITY</u>			
Benton	22 minutes (a)	1	} 2
Elswick	29 minutes (a)	1	
<u>OUT CITY</u>			
Gosforth	7 minutes	1	} 2
Newburn	32 minutes (a)	1	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>11</u>

* Rowntrees (2)

(For Notes see foot of Table 1.14)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.14

Workplaces of Female Heads and Other Workers

(Number in sample at work 7)

<u>WIDOWS</u>	1 part-time Kenton	}	3
	1 full-time "		
	1 full-time "		
<u>SEPARATED/DIVORCED</u>	1 full-time Rowntrees	}	3
	1 full-time Central Newcastle		
	1 full-time Quayside		
<u>SINGLE</u>	1 full-time Gosforth		<u>1</u>
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>7</u>

OTHER WORKERS

7 other workers: 4 working locally, 2 in Newcastle and 1 at Whitley Bay.

NOTES: All times refer to travel time given in time-tables of various bus companies.

No allowance is made for time taken to change buses.

- (a) Change in Newcastle City Centre.
- (b) Change at Cowgate.
- (c) Change at Kenton Bar.
- (d) Change at South Gosforth.
- (e) Change in Newcastle City Centre. In this case there is a considerable distance between stops ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile).

(Referred to on Pages 50 and 53)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.15

Mode of Travel to Work - Heads of Households
(No. in sample at work 138)

<u>MODE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Walk	22	16.0%
Bus	71	51.5%
Car	23	16.6%
Motor Cycle/Scooter	3	2.2%
Cycle	9	6.5%
Working Away	10	7.2%
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>138</u>	

(Referred to on Page 54)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.16

Mode of Travel to Work - Boys
(No. in sample 58)

<u>MODE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Walk	8	13.7%
Bus	31	53.5%
Car	7	12.0%
Motor Cycle/Scooter	4	6.9%
Cycle	3	5.2%
Working Away including 2 peripatetic	5	8.6%
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>58</u>	

(Referred to on Page 54.)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.17

Mode of Travel to Work - Girls
(No. in sample 55)

<u>MODE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Walk	22	40.0%
Bus	30	54.5%
Car	1	1.8%
Working Away	2	3.6%
	<hr/>	
	<u>TOTAL</u>	
	55	

(Referred to on Page 54)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.18

Mode of Travel of Working Wives

(Number in sample - Working part-time 50
Working full-time 11)

I. Part-time Working Wives

<u>MODE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Walk	32	64.0%
Bus	17	34.0%
Car	1	2.0%
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>50</u>	

II. Full-time Working Wives

<u>MODE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Walk	2
Bus	7
Car	2
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>11</u>

(Referred to on Page 54)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.19

Residences of Nearest Relatives (Households of Working Age)

(Number in sample 154 of whom 153 had relatives)

1. Nearest Parents of Working Households

Parents living on -

ESTATE	LOCAL AREA (Fawdon, Montagu Coxlodge)	NEWCASTLE	TYNESIDE	N.E.	ELSEWHERE	TOTAL
15	3	75	3	7	2*	105

*Devon, Aberdeen

2. Nearest Married Children of Working Households
(excluding children "living in")

Married children living on -

ESTATE	LOCAL AREA	NEWCASTLE	TYNESIDE	N.E.	ELSEWHERE	TOTAL
6	2	20	3	2	1*	34

*Southampton

3. Nearest Siblings of Working Households

(only counted where no parent or married children occupy separate residence)

Sibling living on -

ESTATE	LOCAL AREA	NEWCASTLE	TYNESIDE	N.E.	ELSEWHERE	TOTAL
1	3	9	-	-	1*	14

*Edinburgh

4. No Relatives - 1

TOTAL	22	8	104	6	9	4	153
%	(14.4%)	(5.2%)	(68%)	(3.9%)	(5.9%)	(2.6%)	

(Referred to on Page 57)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.20

Residences of Nearest Relatives (Retired Households)

(Number in sample 39 of whom 37 had relatives)

1. Nearest Children of Retired Households

Children living on -

<u>ESTATE</u>	<u>LOCAL AREA</u>	<u>NEWCASTLE</u>	<u>TYNESIDE</u>	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>ELSEWHERE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
10	5	8	3	1	2	29

2. Nearest Sibling of Retired Households

(only counted where no children occupy separate residence)

Sibling living on -

<u>ESTATE</u>	<u>LOCAL AREA</u>	<u>NEWCASTLE</u>	<u>TYNESIDE</u>	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>ELSEWHERE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1	2	3	1	1	-	8

3. No Relatives - 2

North Enton Estate - Table 11.21

Residences of Nearest Friends (A)

A. Friends of Households where Heads of Working Age

(Number in sample 154 of whom 94 had friends)

Friends living on -

<u>ESTATE</u>	<u>LOCAL AREA</u>	<u>NEWCASTLE</u>	<u>TYNESIDE</u>	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>NO FRIENDS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
49	14	24	5	1*	1 ^x	60	154
					*Whitburn xLondon		
31.8%	9.1%	15.6%	3.2%	0.65%	0.65%	39.0%	100%

B. Friends of Retired Households

(Number in sample 39 of whom 21 had friends)

Friends living on -

<u>ESTATE</u>	<u>LOCAL AREA</u>	<u>NEWCASTLE</u>	<u>TYNESIDE</u>	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>NO FRIENDS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
11	1	6	2	1*	-	18	39
					* Greenside (Co. Durham)		

GRAND TOTAL 193

(A) See text for problem of definition.

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.22

Contact with Neighbours

(Number in sample of Working Age 154
Number Retired 39)

	<u>GROUP A</u> <u>(WORKING HOUSEHOLDS)</u>	<u>GROUP B</u> <u>(RETIRED HOUSEHOLDS)</u>
Friendly	49	9
Speak to	21	6
Unfriendly	1	-
Don't Know Neighbours	22	14
Not Mentioned	61	10
	<u>154</u>	<u>39</u>

N.B. This table was based on spontaneous comments and is therefore only indicative.

(Referred to on Page 57)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.23

Association with Relatives and Friends

(Number in sample of Working Age 154
Number Retired 39)

	<u>GROUP A</u> <u>(WORKING HOUSEHOLDS)</u>	<u>GROUP B</u> <u>(RETIRED HOUSEHOLDS)</u>
Numbers who exchange visits with:-		
Relatives only	46	17
Friends only	1	3
Both	76	16
Neither	1	2
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>38</u>
No information	30	1
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>154</u>	<u>39</u>

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.24.

Frequency of Contact with Relatives and Friends

(Number in sample of working age 154. Retired 39)

1. Frequency of Contact with Relatives

	<u>GROUP A</u> (Households where Head is of Working Age)	<u>GROUP B</u> (Retired Households)
Daily	4	4
Frequently	55	18
Fairly Often	22	4
Occasionally	20	3
Rarely	14	3
Never	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	122	33

2. Frequency of Contact with Friends

	<u>GROUP A</u>	<u>GROUP B</u>
Daily	7	1
Frequently	24	10
Fairly Often	24	3
Occasionally	13	3
Rarely	6	2
Never	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	77	19

3. No Visitors at all 1 2

<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>GROUP A</u>	<u>GROUP B</u>
122 - Relatives (Col. 1)		33 - Relatives (Col. 1)
77 - Friends (Col. 2)		19 - Friends (Col. 2)
30 - No information *		1 - No information *
1 - No. Visitors (Col. 3)		2 - No Visitors
<u>230</u> - TOTAL		<u>55</u> - TOTAL
- 76 - (Subtract Households visited by both relatives and friends)*		- 16 - (Subtract Households visited by both relatives and friends)*
<u>154</u> <u>TOTAL WORKING HOUSEHOLDS.</u>		<u>39</u> <u>TOTAL RETIRED HOUSEHOLDS</u>

*See Table 1.23

(Referred to on Page 60)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.25

Shopping Survey (Analysed by Enumeration Districts E.Ds)

(Number in sample 193)

Household Shopping

1st Choice Centre

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Arndale House</u>		
E.D.6	17	159
" 7	17	
" 8	21	
" 9	22	
" 10	23	
" 11	22	
" 12	18	
" 13	19	
<u>Fawdon</u>		
E.D.6	2	2
<u>Coxlodge</u>		
E.D.6	3	8
" 7	2	
" 8	2	
" 9	1	
<u>Edgerfield Avenue</u>		
E.D.6	1	2
" 7	1	
<u>Gosforth</u>		
E.D.7	2	5
" 8	1	
" 10	1	
" 12	1	

/continued

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Newcastle</u>		
E.D.7	3	13
" 9	1	
" 10	2	
" 11	2	
" 12	4	
" 13	1	
<u>Wallsend</u>		
E.D.13	1	1
<u>Two Ball Lonnen</u>		
E.D.6	1	1
<u>Shields Road</u>		
E.D.8	1	1
<u>Benwell</u>		
E.D.12	1	1
	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>193</u>

<u>By E.D.</u>		
E.D. 6	-	24
" 7	-	25
" 8	-	25
" 9	-	24
" 10	-	26
" 11	-	24
" 12	-	24
" 13	-	21
		<u>193</u>

/continued

2nd Choice Centre
(in cases where second preference was expressed)

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Newcastle</u>		
E.D. 6	5	75
" 7	9	
" 8	13	
" 9	11	
" 10	7	
" 11	10	
" 12	13	
" 13	7	
<u>Arndale House</u>		
E.D. 6	2	23
" 7	5	
" 8	3	
" 9	2	
" 10	3	
" 11	1	
" 12	4	
" 13	3	
<u>Fawdon</u>		
E.D. 6	1	3
" 7	1	
" 9	1	
<u>Coxlodge</u>		
E.D. 6	5	5
<u>Edgefield Avenue</u>		
E.D.6	6	10
" 7	1	
" 8	1	
" 9	1	
" 12	1	
<u>Salters Road (Gosforth)</u>		
E.D.6	1	1

/continued

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Gosforth</u>		
E.D. 6	1	} 3
" 9	1	
" 13	1	
	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>120</u>

By E.D.

E.D. 6	-	21
" 7	-	16
" 8	-	17
" 9	-	16
" 10	-	10
" 11	-	11
" 12	-	18
" 13	-	11
		<u>120</u>

3rd Choice Centre
(where third preference stated)

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Arndale House</u>		
E.D. 6	1	} 2
" 7	1	
<u>Fawdon</u>		
E.D. 6	2	} 4
" 7	2	
<u>Edgefield Avenue</u>		
E.D. 6	1	} 3
" 7	1	
" 8	1	

/continued

	<u>NUMBER</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Gosforth</u>			
E.D. 7	1	}	3
" 13	2		
<u>Kenton Lane</u>			
E.D.12	1		1
<u>Newcastle</u>			
E.D. 6	2	}	8
" 8	2		
" 9	2	}	
" 10	1		
" 13	1	}	
<u>Shields Road</u>			
E.D. 6	1	}	6
" 9	1		
" 10	1	}	
" 11	1		
" 12	2	}	
<u>Raby Street, Byker</u>			
E.D. 7	1		1
<u>Newburn</u>			
E.D.12	1		1
<u>Coxlodge</u>			
E.D. 6	2	}	4
" 7	1		
" 11	1	}	
<u>Benwell</u>			
E.D. 6	1		1
<u>Gateshead</u>			
E.D. 8	1	}	3
" 11	1		
" 13	1		

/continued

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Durham</u>		
E.D. 7	1	1
<u>Whitley Bay</u>		
E.D. 8	1	1
<u>Darlington/Stockton</u>		
E.D.10	1	<u>1</u>
	<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>40</u>

By E.D.

E.D. 6	-	10
" 7	-	8
" 8	-	5
" 9	-	3
" 10	-	3
" 11	-	3
" 12	-	4
" 13	-	<u>4</u>
		<u>40</u>

4th Choice Centre
(where stated)

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>Newcastle</u>		
E.D.7	1	1
<u>Shields Road</u>		
E.D.13	1	1
<u>Gosforth</u>		
E.D.6	1	<u>1</u>
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>3</u>

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.26

Centres visited for "Big City" shopping

Darlington	1
Gateshead	5
Gosforth	3
Newcastle C.B.D.	183

C.B.D. visited:-

Often	31
Once/week	34
Fairly Often	57
Not Often	47
Rarely	14
Never	10

Total 193

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.27

Shopping Survey

Use of Mobile Shops

(Number in sample 193)

	<u>USE THEM</u>	<u>OCCASIONALLY</u>	<u>RARELY</u>	<u>NEVER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
E.D. 6	4	3	-	17	24
E.D. 7	6	3	2	14	25
E.D. 8	12	4	1	8	25
E.D. 9	6	5	3	10	24
E.D.10	6	2	1	17	26
E.D.11	9	3	3	9	24
E.D.12	3	1	8	12	24
E.D.13	2	-	-	19	21
<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>193</u>

(Referred to on Pages 63 and 64)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.28

Arndale House Shopping Centre Survey - Friday A.M.
(Number in sample 58)

Area of Residence of Shopper

	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
<u>North Kenton Estate</u>		
E.D. 6	1	} 37
" 7	1	
" 8	6	
" 9	4	
" 10	6	
" 11	10	
" 12	6	
" 13	2	
Unspecified	1	
<u>Montagu Estate</u>	8	8
<u>Blakelaw Estate</u>	3	3
<u>Coxlodge</u>	1	1
<u>Kenton (Owner-Occupiers)</u>	6	6
<u>Cowgate</u>	1	1
<u>Fawdon</u>	1	1
<u>Benwell</u>	1	1
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>58</u>

Frequency: -

Daily	-	32
Every Other Day	-	5
Twice/Week	-	5
Weekly	-	15
Monthly	-	1
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>58</u>

/continued

Shops Used:-

<u>Shop</u>	<u>No. of Mentions</u>
Fine Fare	26
Thompsons	25
Hadrian	14
Co-operative	20
Bookless (Greengrocer)	12
Woolworths	2
Graves (Baker)	1
Fishmonger	1
Post Office	4
Carricks (Baker)	4
Dewhurst (Butcher)	1
Chemist	1

Purchases:-

	<u>No. of Mentions</u>
Groceries	38
Meat	7
Tinned Food	7
Frozen Food	7
Others mentioned - Cakes, Soap, Bacon, Dairy Produce.	

(Referred to on Page 64)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.29

Schools

(Number of school children in sample 242)

	<u>PRIMARY</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>SECONDARY</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>GRAMMAR</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>OTHERS</u>	<u>No.</u>
E.D.6	Mountfield	- 7	Kenton Comp.	- 10	Heaton Grammar	- 2	Walker	- 1
	St. Cuthberts	- 2	St. Thomas More	- 3	Heaton High	- 1	(handicapped)	
	Edgefield	- 1			St. Cuthberts R.C.	- 2		
					Convent Sacred Heart	- 1		
					Fenham R.C.	- 1		
E.D.7	Hillsview	- 12	Kenton Comp.	- 7	Heaton High	- 1		
	St. Cuthberts	- 7			St. Cuthberts R.C.	- 1		
E.D.8	Mountfield	- 9	Kenton Comp.	- 11	Heaton Grammar	- 3	Remand Home	- 1
	St. Cuthberts	- 2	St. Thomas More	- 3	Heaton High	- 2		
					St. Cuthberts R.C.	- 1		
					Sacred Heart	- 1		
E.D.9	Mountfield	- 13	Kenton Comp.	- 9	Heaton High	- 1	Pendower Open	- 2
	Hillsview	- 1	St. Thomas More	- 4	St. Cuthberts R.C.	- 1		
	St. Cuthberts	- 3	St. Augl Walker	- 1				
E.I.10	Hillsview	- 11	Kenton Comp.	- 7				
	Mountfield	- 2	St. Thomas More	- 2				
	St. Cuthberts	- 6						
E.D.11	Hillsview	- 16	Kenton Comp.	- 8	St. Cuthberts R.C.	- 1	St. Marys Tech.	- 2
	Mountfield	- 2					Pendower Open	- 1
	St. Cuthberts	- 3					Stannington	- 1
							Orthopaedic	- 1
E.D.12	Hillsview	- 13	Kenton Comp.	- 7	St. Cuthberts R.C.	- 1	North Counties	
	Mountfield	- 1	St. Thomas More	- 4			School for Deaf	
	St. Cuthberts	- 4					North Road,	- 1
E.D.13	Mountfield	- 9	Kenton Comp.	- 4	Heaton Grammar	- 1	Jesmond	
	St. Cuthberts	- 4	St. Thomas More	- 2	Heaton High	- 2		
					Convent de la Sagesse	- 2		
<u>TOTALS</u>	<u>PRIMARY</u>	<u>128</u>	<u>SECONDARY</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>GRAMMAR</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>OTHERS</u>	<u>9</u>

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.29 (continued)

Schools.

TOTALS (E.D.'s 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13)

<u>PRIMARY</u>		
Mountfield	-	43
Hillsvlew	-	53
St. Cuthberts R.C.	-	31
Edgefield	-	1
<u>SECONDARY</u>		
Kenton Comp.	-	62
St. Thomas More	-	18
St. Aug., Walker	-	1
<u>GRAMMAR</u>		
Heaton Grammar	-	6
Heaton High	-	7
St. Cuthberts R.C.	-	7
Convent of Sacred Heart	-	2
Convent de la Sagesse	-	2
<u>OTHERS</u>		
Walker (handicapped)	-	1
Remand Home	-	1
Pendower Open	-	3
St. Mary's Tech.	-	2
Stamington Orthopaedic	-	1
N. Counties School for Deaf	-	1
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>242</u>

(Referred to on Page 66)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.30

Doctors Used

(Number in sample replying 183)

DOCTOR - Location of Surgery

<u>E.D. 6</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	5	<u>E.D. 9</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	2
	Edgefield	-	1		Edgefield	-	8
	Kenton Lane	-	3		Kenton Lane	-	2
	Meadows	-	2		Montagu	-	3
	Coxlodge	-	4		Elswick	-	1
	(various Doctors)				Benwell	-	5
	Gosforth	-	1		Central	-	1
	Elswick	-	1		Westgate	-	1
	Westgate	-	1		Heaton	-	1
	Benwell	-	4				<u>24</u>
			22				
			<u>22</u>				
<u>E.D. 7</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	3	<u>E.D.10</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	9
	Edgefield	-	8		Edgefield	-	2
	Kenton Lane	-	2		Kenton Lane	-	4
	Meadows	-	3		Meadows	-	2
	Gosforth	-	1		Gosforth	-	1
	Coxlodge	-	1		Elswick	-	1
	Westgate	-	1		Central	-	2
	Central	-	1		Westgate	-	1
	Sandyford	-	1		Denton	-	1
	Scotswood	-	1		Heaton	-	1
	Heaton	-	1				<u>24</u>
	Private	-	1				
			24				
			<u>24</u>				
<u>E.D. 8</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	7	<u>E.D.11</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	14
	Edgefield	-	5		Kenton Lane	-	2
	Meadows	-	2		Meadows	-	2
	Gosforth	-	3		Benton	-	1
	Cowgate	-	1		Heaton	-	2
	Fenham	-	1		Byker	-	1
	Elswick	-	1		Sandyford	-	1
	Denton	-	1				<u>23</u>
	Heaton	-	3				
			24				
			<u>24</u>				
				<u>E.D.12</u>	Hillsvie <u>w</u>	-	11
					Kenton Lane	-	8
					Westgate	-	1
					Walker	-	1
					Fenham	-	1
							<u>22</u>

/continued

North Kenton Estate - Table 11.30

Doctors Used (continued)

DOCTOR - Location of Surgery

<u>E.D.13</u>	Hillsview	-	7
	Kenton Lane	-	9
	Edgefield	-	1
	Meadows	-	1
	Benwell	-	2
			<u>20</u>

TOTALS

Hillsview	-	58
Edgefield	-	25
Kenton Lane	-	30
Meadows	-	12
Coxlodge	-	5
Gosforth	-	6
Montagu	-	3
Fenham	-	2
Cowgate	-	1
Westgate/Arthurs Hill	-	5
Elswick	-	4
Benwell	-	11
Scotswood	-	1
Denton	-	2
Central	-	4
Byker	-	1
Heaton	-	8
Walker	-	1
Sandyford	-	2
Benton	-	1
Private	-	1
		<u>183</u>

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.31

Church Affiliation

(Number of Households in Sample 193)
 Number of churchgoers in sample 66)

<u>CHURCH</u>	<u>HOUSEHOLD OF ACTIVE AGE</u>	<u>RETIRED HOUSEHOLDS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Roman Catholics	26	8	34
Church of England	11	6	17
Methodist	3	3	6
Presbyterian	1	1	2
Jehovah's Witnesses	2	-	2
Salvation Army	1	-	1
Christian Scientists	1	-	1
Quakers	-	1	1
Plymouth Brethren	-	1	1
Interdenominational (Edgefield Avenue)	1	-	1
			<u>66</u>

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.32

Membership of Local Organisations (excluding Youth Clubs)

(Number in sample 193)

<u>ORGANISATION</u>	<u>HOUSEHOLDS OF ACTIVE AGE WITH AT LEAST ONE MEMBER IN ORGANISATION</u>
Parent Teachers Association	6
Labour Party	1
Y.W.C.A.	1
Deaf Children's Society	1
League of Friends of St. Nicholas Hosp.	1
Music Club	1
Mission Work	1
St. John's Ambulance	1
<u>Women's</u>	
Women's League	1
Townswomens' Guild	1
Co-op Woman's Guild	1
Edgefield Hall Women's Section	1
<u>Men's</u>	
T.A.	2
Civil Defence	1
Assoc. Football Supporters Club	2

<u>ORGANISATION</u>	<u>RETIRED HOUSEHOLDS WITH AT LEAST ONE MEMBER IN ORGANISATION</u>
Over 60's Clubs	6
Women's Fellowship	3
Mothers Union	1
Pensioners Clubs	1
Luncheon Clubs	1
Buffaloes	2

N.B. In several cases one person has membership of more than one Organisation.

Number of households with no members of local organisations or churches

Active Households	-	91
Retired Households	-	<u>15</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>		<u>106</u>

(Referred to on Page 68)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.33

Entertainment and Leisure - Active Households

(Number of active households in sample 154)

MAIN TYPE OF ENTERTAINMENT (as stated)

Drinking	-	33
Bingo	-	34
Cinema	-	25
Theatre	-	4
Night Club	-	8
Dancing	-	5
Eating	-	4
Visiting Friends	-	3
Soccer	-	1
Music Hall	-	1
Coach Trips	-	2

Entertainers - 3
(at Clubs)

Bingo - various at:-

Globe, Gosforth
Catholic Church, Kenton
Fenham
West Road
Heaton
Kenton Lane
Coxlodge

NO ENTERTAINMENT

35

Reasons -

Widowed or separated
with children.

Lack of money.

Lack of time.

Some are otherwise busy
and may be in social
organisations noted
already.

Have children and
domestic commitments.

Working arrangements
inconvenient.

PUBLIC HOUSES

<u>Name of Public House</u>	<u>No.</u>
Kenton Quarry	35
Hawthorn	10
Duke of Wellington	12
Coxlodge Hotel	2
Kenton Bar	3
Jubilee (Coxlodge)	4
The Collingwood (Coxlodge)	1
City Pubs	5
Peacock (Montagu)	1
Runnymede (Newbiggin Est.)	1
The Three Mile Inn (Gosforth)	2
The Brandling Arms (Gosforth)	1
Harrogate (Shieldfield)	1
The Bay Horse (Dinnington)	1
Benwell	1
No particular local	8

SOCIAL CLUBS

<u>Name of Social Club</u>	<u>No.</u>
Coxlodge British Legion	11
Coxlodge	10
Byker British Legion	2
Ponteland	1
Benwell	1
Scotswood	1
Westgate Road	1
Throckley	1
Navy Club	1
Central	1
United Services (Gateshead)	1
Pendower	1
Crawcrook	1
T.A. Benton	1
A.E.U.	1
Not specified	2

North Kenton Estate - Table 1.33(continued)

Entertainment and Leisure - Active Households

LEISURE

Reading/Library	-	36
T.V.	-	31
Garden	-	10
Dressmaking etc.	-	16
Playing Cards	-	6
Records	-	4
Driving	-	4
Car Maintenance	-	3
Decorating	-	2
Slimming	-	2
Piano	-	1
Pigeons	-	1
Window Boxes	-	1
Tropical Fish	-	1
Fishing	-	1
Catalogues	-	1
Books	-	1
Dogs	-	1
Carpentry	-	1
Photography	-	1
Darts	-	1
Camping	-	1
Cycling	-	1
Supporters Club	-	1
Medal Collecting	-	1
Scooter Maintenance	-	1

(Referred to on Page 69)

North Kenton Estate - Table 1,34

Entertainment and Leisure - Retired Households

(Number of retired households in sample 39)

TYPE OF ENTERTAINMENT

Visiting Friends - 4
Cinema - 3
Soccer - 1

PUBLIC HOUSES

<u>Name of Public House</u>	<u>No.</u>
Kenton Quarry	4
City Pubs.	2

SOCIAL CLUBS

<u>Name of Social Club</u>	<u>No.</u>
Coxlodge British Legion	1
Coxlodge	1

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Walking - 9
Reading - 7
T.V. - 7
Knitting etc. - 6
Radio - 4
Gardening - 1
Cards - 1
Car Rides - 1
Sitting Outdoors - 1
Reading Newspapers - 1

APPENDIX IV

Sheerwater Estate - Tables

L.C.C. Out-County Housing Estates 1945-1956

Estates	Location (1)	Date (2)	No. of Dwellings (3)	Net Housing Acreage (4)	Dwellings per acre (3)	No. of Rooms (3)	Rooms per Dwelling	Estimated Population (5)	Persons per Acre (5)		Persons per Room	% Flats (3)	% Higher Income Dwellings (3)	% Dwellings 5+ Rooms (3)
									Actual	Planned				
WELLEY	Thurrock U.D. Essex	1950	5354	391.25	13.7	17899	3.34	17900	46	48	1.00	26.6	1.4	7.1
BORHAMWOOD	Elstree R.D. Herts Barnet L.B.	1951	4187	318	13.1	14285	3.41	14950	47	-	1.05	21.4	2.9	10.9
BRITWELL (Farnham Royal)	Fton R.D. Slough M.B. Bucks	1956	3011	205	14.7	9861	3.28	10790	53	-	1.09	15.5	None	4.1
DEEDEN	Chigwell U.D. Essex	1947	4151	325	12.8	13924	3.35	15070	46	48	1.08	16.9	1.3	10.0
FAINVAULT	Redbridge L.B.	1947	2881	242	11.9	9883	3.43	10310	43	52	1.04	14.8	0.6	4.4
HAROLD HILL	Havering L.B.	1948	7630	549	14.0	25278	3.31	28700	52	56	1.14	22.0	2.4	9.1
HEADSTONE LANE	Harrow L.B.	1947	1169	110	10.6	4173	3.57	4100	37	41	0.98	5.1	None	5.8
EUTTON	Brentwood U.D. Essex	1953	485	31.15	15.6	1615	3.33	1640	53	-	1.01	26.8	None	7.6
LANGLEY	Slough M.B. Bucks	1954	1980	136	14.6	6532	3.29	6630	53	-	1.01	24.1	1.7	5.4
MERSHAM	Reigate M.B. Surrey	1951	1511	106.685	14.2	5213	3.45	5300	49	51	1.01	24.0	3.7	12.8
OXHEY	Watford Rural Herts	1947	4224	335	12.6	13956	3.30	14010	42	-	1.00	18.5	0.5	10.0
ST. PAUL'S GRAY	Bromley L.B.	1948	3983	362.475	11.0	12957	3.25	13300	37	38	1.03	18.5	2.1	8.0
SHEERWATER	Woking U.D. Surrey	1951	1387	126	10.8	4819	3.47	4900	38	-	1.02	27.0	6.6	13.2

NOTES:

- (1) Denotes administrative area. L.B. = London Borough.
- (2) Date at which estate was opened.
- (3) Source "Housing Service Handbook" G.I.C. March 1967.
- (4) Includes greens and grass verges. Excludes parks and recreation grounds.
- (5) Population estimates based on G.I.C.'s occupancy survey 1967. Actual densities calculated on given population and acreage. Planned densities where further housing schemes are planned or in progress. (see below)

The following schemes of further development are planned or in progress:-

AVELEY:	1250 dwellings mainly on E.F.M.B.* site. 440 under construction. 96 completed 1969.
BOREHAMWOOD:	208 dwellings infilling. 162 completed.
BRITWELL:	74 dwellings.
DEBDEN:	423 dwellings, E.F.M.B. site.
HAINAULT:	556 dwellings. 164 under construction 1969.
HAROLD HILL:	1700 dwellings. E.F.M.B. site etc. 217 under construction. 65 completed 1969.
HEADSTONE LANE:	165 dwellings.
LANGLEY:	40 dwellings.
MERSHAM:	44 dwellings. 41 under construction. 3 completed 1969.
OXHEY:	131 dwellings.
ST. PAUL'S CRAY:	76 dwellings.

*E.F.M.B. = Emergency Factory Made Bungalow, i.e., Prefabricated houses built to overcome post-war housing shortage.

(Referred to on Page 90)

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.2

House Types

A. FLATS

<u>Type</u>	<u>Storeys</u>	<u>No. of Rooms</u>	<u>No. of Bedrooms</u>	<u>Floor Area</u>	<u>Total No.</u>	<u>Notes</u>
P1B	2	1	Bedsitter	360 sq. ft.	40	Old persons' flats. Puryard Drive.
P2	2	2	1	514-564 sq. ft.	24	2 room flats. Devonshire Avenue.
Flat over Estate Office	2	2	1	-	<u>1</u>	
					65	
Flat Blocks	3	1	Bedsitter	400 sq. ft.	9	Staircase access blocks with dwellings of varied size.
	3	2	1	511 sq. ft.	150	Devonshire Avenue etc. Albert Drive.
	3	3	2	646 sq. ft.	68	
	3	4	3	733 sq. ft.	<u>34</u>	
					261	
Flat Block over Shops	4	1	Bedsitter	-	12	Balcony access block with dwellings of varied size on three floors over ground-floor shops.
	4	2	2	-	8	Dartmouth Avenue.
	4	3	3	-	24	
	4	4	4	-	<u>4</u>	
					48	

TOTAL FLATS 374

B. COTTAGES (1)

Type	Storeys	No. of Rooms	No. of Bedrooms	Floor Area	Total No.	Notes
P1A	1	1	Bedsitter	360 sq. ft.	8	1 room bungalows for old people
P1C	1	1	Bedsitter	360 sq. ft.	3	Buryard Drive.
Warden's	2	1	1	-	2	
					<u>13</u>	
P3	2	3	2	746-792 sq. ft.	365	Terraced Cottages. All are traditional
P3/2A (2)	2	3	2	767 sq. ft.	12	" " houses varying in
P3/3A (2)	2	4	3	721-767 sq. ft.	76	" " internal layout and
V4	2	4	3	953-956 sq. ft.	160	" " external architectural
V4A	2	4	3	953-956 sq. ft.	20	" " details (often minor).
V4R(2)	2	4	3	876-906 sq. ft.	34	" "
LV4	2	4	3	1,128 sq. ft.	58	Semi-detached Found on all parts
LV4N	2	4	3	1,080 sq. ft.	36	" " of the estate.
V5	2	5	3	1,063 sq. ft.	54	" "
V5G	2	5	3	1,070 sq. ft.	15	" "
LV5	2	5	3	1,128 sq. ft.	10	" "
LV5A	2	5	4	1,129 sq. ft.	10	" "
TDH 3 INF	2	3	2	718 sq. ft.	6	Terraced Cottages produced for Town
TDH 4P	2	4	3	809 sq. ft.	2	Development schemes and adopted for out-
					<u>858</u>	county estates. Later infilling.
Scottwood	2	4	3	900 sq. ft.	50	Non-traditional terraced cottages.
V6	2	6	4	1,355 sq. ft.	28	Permanent pre-fabricated dwellings.
V6A	2	6	4	1,210 sq. ft.	23	Higher rented houses including a garage.
V6B	2	6	4	1,595 sq. ft.	32	Eastern side of estate - Albert Drive,
V6C	2	6	4	1,455 sq. ft.	2	Woodham Lane and Paxton Gardens.
					<u>92</u>	
					<u>TOTAL COTTAGES 1,013</u>	
					<u>GRAND TOTAL 1,378</u>	

(1) Using G.L.C. housing terminology "Cottage" here means self-contained dwelling.

(2) "Shrunken" types following Ministry circular of 1951.

SIZE DISTRIBUTION

<u>Bedsitters</u>	<u>1 Bedroom</u>	<u>2 Bedrooms</u>	<u>3 Bedrooms</u>	<u>4 Bedrooms</u>
72 (5.1%)	177 (12.6%)	459 (33.0%)	573 (41.7%)	106 (7.6)
				<u>TOTAL 1,387</u>

SOURCES

For details of dwelling types see "Housing Service Handbook" G.L.C. 1966. Pages 23-24 and Appendix A.
For details of layouts see "Post-war Housing" L.C.C. 1949.

NOTES - COTTAGES

The first post-war cottages were P types. The 3 bedroom variety (not present on Sheerwater) were soon replaced by V types with more generous space standards. The so called "Shrunken" types (P3/2A, P3/3A and V4R) were built as a result of a Ministry circular in 1951 in an effort to reduce costs without prejudicing the standards laid down in the Housing Manuals.

FLATS

The flats were specifically designed for cottage estates.

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.3

Household Composition

(Sample size 70)

Single person (female)	5
Husband and Wife	14
Husband, Wife and one Child	10
Husband, Wife and two Children	18
Husband, Wife and three Children	12
Husband, Wife and four Children	2
Husband, Wife and five Children	1
Husband, Wife and six Children	1
Husband, Wife, one Child, Mother	1
Husband, Wife (Divorced), and one Child	1
Husband, Wife, three Children, Sister	1
Wife and one Child	2
Wife and Sister	1
Husband, Wife and Lodger	1
	<hr/>
	70
	<hr/>

N.B. Relatives such as Mother or Sister are related to Head of house or his wife.

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.4

Household Working Pattern

(No. in sample 70)

Head (male) only	10
Head and Wife (Full-time)	4
Head, Wife (Full-time), one Child	1
Head, Wife (Full-time), two Children	1
Head and Wife (Part-time)	11
Head, Wife (Part-time), one Child	7
Head, Wife (Part-time), two Children	5
Head, Wife (Part-time), three Children	1
Head and one Child	9
Head and two Children	2
Head and three Children	2
Widow (Full-time) and one Child	1
Widow (Part-time)	1
Head and Lodger	1
Head and Mother	1
Head and Sister and one Child	1
Child only (Mother retired)	1
Unemployed	1
	<hr/>
<u>TOTAL ACTIVE HOUSEHOLDS</u>	<u>60</u>
	<hr/>
Retired households - one person	4
Retired households - two persons	6
	<hr/>
<u>TOTAL RETIRED⁽¹⁾ HOUSEHOLDS</u>	<u>10</u>
	<hr/>
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>	<u>70</u>

Male Active Heads	57
Active Housewives (Full-time)	7
Active Housewives (Part-time)	25
Children at Work	4.5
Mother, Sister, Lodger	3
	<hr/>
TOTAL AT WORK (including Part-time)	<u>137</u>

N.B. (1) Retired households here are those in which all members are retired.

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.5

Occupations of the Employed Population

(Total Workers in sample 137)

1. HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (MALE)

Semi-skilled and skilled Manual	22
Unskilled Manual	8
Supervisory	10
Clerical	8
Professional	2
Self-employed	3
Miscellaneous (Policeman, Dairyman)	2
Unemployed	1
No information	1
	<hr/>
	57
	<hr/>

2. WORKING HOUSEWIVES

<u>PART-TIME</u>		<u>FULL-TIME</u>	
Factory	7	Factory	2
Domestic/Canteen etc.	11	Domestic	1
Cashier/Shop Asst.	3	Typist/Clerical	3
Nurse	3	Teacher	1
Driver	1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	25		7
	<hr/>		<hr/>

3. WORKING CHILDREN

<u>BOYS</u>		<u>GIRLS</u>	
Skilled Manual	11	Factory	4
Apprentices	4	Clerical/Typist	9
Unskilled Manual	3	Shop Assistant	1
Clerical	2	Hairdresser	3
Shop Worker	1	Nurse	2
Draughtsman	1	Bank	1
Trainee Accountant	1	Supervisory	1
	<hr/>	Lab. Tech.	1
	23		<hr/>
	<hr/>		22
	<hr/>		<hr/>

/continued

4. OTHER WORKERS

Wife's Mother	Full-time	Waitress
Wife's Sister	Full-time	Typist
Lodger (male)		B.A.C.

3

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.6

Workplaces - Heads of Households (Male)

(Total sampled Male Heads of Households 57)

Estate		14
Woking/Byfleet		11
<u>Other Surrey</u>		
(a) <u>Local Area</u>		
Addlestone	2	
Chobham	1	
New Haw	1	
Weybridge	7	11
(b) <u>Rest of Surrey</u>		
Camberley	1	
Chessington	1	
Esher	1	
Guildford	2	5
Middlesex		3
Inner London (Postal areas)		8
Havant		1
Peripatetic		2
Unemployed		1
No Information		1
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>57</u>

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.7

Workplace of Housewives and Children

(Total sampled Housewives at work 32
Total working Boys 23
Total working Girls 22)

1. HOUSEWIVES

<u>PART-TIME</u>		<u>FULL-TIME</u>	
Estate	13	Estate	2
Woking	4	Woking	2
Byfleet	5	Byfleet	2
Chertsey	1	Chessington	1
Weybridge	1		
Guildford	1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	25		7
	<hr/>		<hr/>

2. CHILDREN

<u>BOYS</u>		<u>GIRLS</u>	
Estate	3	Estate	6
Woking	6	Woking	4
Old Woking	2	Old Woking	2
Byfleet	2	Byfleet	1
Addlestone	1	Walton	1
Weybridge	4	Guildford	1
Walton	1	Chertsey	2
Staines	1	Esher	1
Hayes	1	New Malden	1
Camberley	1	Central London	3
Peripatetic	1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	23		22
	<hr/>		<hr/>

3. OTHERS

Wife's Mother - Weybridge
Wife's Sister - Addlestone
Lodger - Weybridge

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.8

Birthplaces of Heads of Households (Male)

(Heads in sample 62)

Figures in parenthesis refer to instances where wife was born in same district.

INNER LONDON (Former L.C.C. area)

Central	(1)	<u>3</u>
S.E.1 Bermondsey	(2)	3
S.E.11 Lambeth/Kennington	(1)	2
S.E.17 Walworth	(1)	1
S.E.5 Camberwell	(2)	5
S.E.8 Deptford	(1)	2
S.E.18 Woolwich	-	<u>1</u>
	(7)	<u>14</u>
S.W.2&9 Brixton	(1)	2
S.W.11 Battersea	(4)	4
S.W.12 Balham		1
S.W.17 Tooting		2
S.W.18 Wandsworth		1
S.W.3 Chelsea		1
S.W.6 Fulham		<u>1</u>
	(5)	<u>12</u>
N.1 Islington	(1)	2
N.W.1 Marylebone		1
W.10 North Kensington		1
W.11 Kensington		<u>1</u>
	(1)	<u>5</u>

HOME COUNTIES

Kent	1
Hants	4
Woking	<u>2</u>
	<u>7</u>

REST OF ENGLAND

N.E. Coast	(2)	4
Lancs/Yorks		2
Midlands		1
South West		<u>1</u>
	(2)	<u>8</u>

SCOTLAND	1
WALES	1
IRELAND	2
FOREIGN	3
(Dutch, Spanish, Hungarian)	

GRAND TOTAL = 62

(16 wives in same district)

TOTAL INNER LONDON - 34

OUTER LONDON (areas included in G.L.C.)

E.13 West Ham	1
E.17 Walthamstow	1
N.W.10 Willesden	1
N.W.2 Cricklewood	1
N.W.9 Kingsbury	1
Mitcham	<u>1</u>
<u>TOTAL OUTER LONDON</u>	<u>6</u>

TOTAL G.L.C. 40

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.9

Birthplaces of Housewives

(Housewives in sample 70)

Figures in parenthesis indicate cases where husband was born in same district.

INNER LONDON (ex L.C.C. area)

Central	(1)	2	E.1	Stepney	2
S.E.1	Southwark	1	E.2	Bethnal Green	1
S.E.1	Bermondsey	(2)			3
S.E.11	Lambeth	(1)			3
S.E.17	Walworth	(1)			3
S.E.5	Camberwell	(2)	N.1	Euston	1
S.E.8	Deptford	(1)	N.1	Islington (1)	1
S.E.22	E. Dulwich	-	N.6	Highgate	1
S.E.6	Catford	-			1
				(1)	3
		(7)			15
S.W.2&9	Brixton	(1)	N.W.1	Marylebone	3
S.W.4	Clapham	-	N.W.1	Camden Town	1
S.W.11	Battersea	(4)	N.W.3	Hampstead	1
S.W.6	Fulham	-			5
S.W.18	Wandsworth	-	W.6	Hammersmith	1
		(5)	W.12	Shepherds Bush	1
					2

TOTAL INNER LONDON (14) 43

OUTER LONDON (areas included in G.L.C.)

N.W.10	Willesden	1
Middlesex		1
Morden		1
Kingston		2
		5

TOTAL OUTER LONDON 5

TOTAL G.L.C. 48

/continued

HOME COUNTIES

Surrey - Caterham	}	3
Woking		
Send		

Bucks	1
Hants	1
Kent	1
	<hr/>
	6
	<hr/>

REST OF ENGLAND

N.E. Coast	(2)	3
Lancs		3
Midlands		1
E. Anglia		2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(2)	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>

SCOTLAND	2
IRELAND	4
FOREIGN	1
	<hr/>
	7
	<hr/>

GRAND TOTAL 70 (16 husbands born in same district)

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.10

Previous Residence
(Sample size 70)

(Names in parenthesis indicate the London Borough in which district is located).

LONDON

INNER LONDON

S.E.1	Bermondsey	(Southwark)	3
S.E.17	Walworth	{ " }	2
S.E.5	Camberwell	{ " }	2
S.E.15	Peckham	{ " }	3
S.E.11	Kennington	(Lambeth)	4
S.E.8	Deptford	(Lewisham)	1
S.E.6	Catford	{ " }	1
S.E.9	Avery Hill	(Greenwich)	1
S.E.18	Plumstead	{ " }	2
			<hr/>
			19
			<hr/>
S.W.1	Westminster	(Westminster)	2
S.W.2	Brixton/Tulse Hill	(Lambeth)	4
S.W.16	Streatham	{ " }	2
S.W.4	Clapham	{ " }	1
S.W.11	Battersea	(Wandsworth)	3
S.W.18	Wandsworth	{ " }	1
S.W.15	Putney	{ " }	2
S.W.12	Balham	{ " }	1
S.W.17	Tooting	{ " }	1
S.W.7	Sth. Kensington	(Kensington and Chelsea)	1
S.W.6	Fulham	(Hammersmith)	2
S.W.6	Fulham	(Hammersmith)	2
			<hr/>
			20
			<hr/>
E.1	Stepney	(Tower Hamlets)	1
N.1	Islington	(Islington)	1
N.W.1	Marylebone	(Westminster)	2
W.2	Paddington	{ " }	1
W.6	Hammersmith	(Hammersmith)	1
W.10	Nth. Kensington	(Kensington and Chelsea)	1
			<hr/>
			7
			<hr/>

TOTAL INNER LONDON = 46

OUTER LONDON

E.17	Walthamstow	(Waltham Forest)	1
N.W.10	Harlesden	(Brent)	2
N.W.2	Cricklewood	(Barnet)	1
S.W.19	Wimbledon	(Merton)	1
	Carshalton	(Sutton)	4
	Croydon	(Croydon)	1
	Morden	(Merton)	1
	Kingston	(Kingston)	1
	Chislehurst	(Bromley)	1
	St. Mary Cray	(Bromley)	1
			<hr/>
			14
			<hr/>

TOTAL OUTER LONDON = 14

TOTAL GREATER LONDON = 60

SURREY

Woking	1
Caterham	1

HOME COUNTIES

Braintree (Essex)	1
Slough (Bucks)	1

ELSEWHERE

Ipswich	1
	<hr/>
	5
	<hr/>

SERVICES 1

NO INFORMATION 1

ON ESTATE SINCE MARRIAGE 3

GRAND TOTAL 70

Residences of Nearest Relatives of Active Households (1)

(Total Active Households in sample 59)

	ESTATE	WOKING/BYBLEET AREA	SURREY	G.L.C.	OTHER SOUTH EAST	ELSEWHERE	TOTAL
1. Residence of Nearest Married Child (excluding "living in")	5	6	5	3	1	3	23
2. Residence of Nearest Parent (where no married children occupy separate dwelling)							
(a) Housewife's Parents	3	1	1	9	2	4	20
(b) Husband's Parents	3	-	-	4	1	-	8
(c) TOTAL	6	1	1	13	3	4	28
3. Residence of Nearest Parents (where married children also occupy separate dwelling)							
(a) Housewife's parents	1	-	-	4	1	2	8
(b) Husband's Parents	-	-	1	3	-	1	5
(c) TOTAL	1	-	1	7	1	3	13
4. Residence of Nearest Sibling (where neither married children nor parents occupy separate dwelling)							
(2)		-	1	3	-	1	7

TOTAL (Columns 1 + 2 + 4 = 58 + 1 No Information) = 59

(1) i.e., where head of household is at work.

(2) In one case all 5 of wife's sisters in Woking area.

II. Frequency of contact with Relatives - Active Households

Residence of Nearest Relative with whom visits exchanged	ESTATE	WOKING	SURREY	G.L.C.	SOUTH EAST	OTHER	TOTAL
Daily	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
2 or 3/week	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Weekly	3	2	-	7	-	-	12
Fortnightly	-	-	2	4	-	-	6
Monthly	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
2 to 4/year	-	1	-	2	2	-	5
Yearly	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
Very Seldom	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
No Reply	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Respondents without Car							
Daily	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
2 or 3/week	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Weekly	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
Fortnightly	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Monthly	1	-	2	2	-	-	5
2 to 4/year	-	1	1	4	1	1	8
Yearly	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Seldom	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
No Reply - 1 No Relative	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTALS	12	7	7	25	4	2	59

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.13

Frequency of Contact with Friends - Active Households

Residence of Friends with whom visits exchanged	ESTATE	WOKING	SURREY	LONDON	ELSEWHERE	TOTAL
Frequency of visit						
Families with Car						
Daily	4	-	-	-	-	4
2 or 3/week	3	-	-	1 (unemployed)	-	4
Weekly	4	4(3)	1(1)	1(1)	-	10
Fortnightly	1	-	1(1)	1	-	3
Monthly	-	2	1	-	-	3
2 or 3/year	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yearly	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seldom	-	-	-	1(1)	1 (Southend)	2
No reply on frequency	3	-	1	-	-	4
Families without Car						
Daily	2	1	-	-	-	3
2 or 3/week	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weekly	3	1	1(1)	1(1)	-	6
Fortnightly	-	1	-	-	-	1
Monthly	-	-	-	1	-	1
2 or 3/year	-	-	-	2(2)	-	2
Yearly	-	-	-	1(1)	-	1
Seldom	-	-	-	1	-	1
TOTALS	22	9	5	10	1	47

NOTES: Figures in parenthesis indicate households also having friends on Sheerwater Estate.

Total households (with Car) having friends - 30

22 with friends on estate.

Total households (without Car) having friends - 17

12 with friends on estate.

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.14

Shopping Pattern

(Sample size 70. With Car 36, Without Car 23, Retired 11)

1. SHEERWATER SHOPS

	Use often	Use rarely	Do not use
With car	29	3	4
Without car	21	2	-
Retired	11	-	-
TOTAL	61	5	4

2. DAILY SHOPPING

	Sheerwater	Woking	Byfleet	Little or no Daily Shopping
With car	27	3	3	3
Without car	21	2	-	-
Retired	10	-	-	1
TOTAL	58	5	3	4

3. WEEKLY SHOPPING

	Sheerwater	Woking	Byfleet	Guildford	Chessington	Various Centres
With car	7	14	9	1	1	5
Without car	11	11	3	-	-	-
Retired	5	6	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	23	31	12	1	1	6

N.B. Numbers exceed sample size since some shop at Sheerwater and other centres on a weekly basis.

/continued

4. OCCASIONAL SHOPPING FOR SPECIAL ITEMS

	Kingston	Guildford	London	London Suburbs	Woking
With car	24	19	6	6	6
Without car	16	19	7	-	7
Retired	-	5	1	-	7
TOTAL	40	43	14	6	20

	Addlestone	Staines	Walton	Godalming
With car	-	2	1	1
Without car	1	2	-	-
Retired	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1	4	1	1

N.B. Some respondents use more than one centre.

5. "WHICH SHOPPING CENTRE WITHIN 15 MILES DO YOU PREFER?"

1st Choice

	Kingston	Guildford	Woking	Addlestone	Walton	Staines
With car	17	19	1	1	1	2
Without car	12	10	1	-	-	1
Retired	4	8	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	33	37	2	1	1	5

N.B. Some regarded two centres as equally good

2nd Choice: TOTALS = Guildford - 4, Staines - 1, Walton - 1, Addlestone - 1.

3rd Choice: Aldershot - 1

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.15

Preferred Place of Residence
(Sample size 70)

QUESTION ASKED: "If you were able to choose, which part of
the country would you like to live in?"

Local Area

Sheerwater	10
Surrey	26

London

North London	2
South London	1

Home Counties

Hampshire	3
Sussex	2
Kent	1
South Coast	2

West Country

Somerset	2
Devon	6
Cornwall	1

Other Areas

"The South"	2
"The South East"	1
"East Coast"	1
"Near the Sea"	1
Scotland	1
Wales	1
Isle of Man	1

No Preference	5
---------------	---

No. Reply	1
-----------	---

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>70</u>
--------------	-----------

Sheerwater Estate - Table 2.16

Knowledge of Nearby Places

(Sample size 70)

<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NO. OF TENANTS NAMING IT</u>		<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NO. OF TENANTS NAMING IT</u>	
<u>WOKING AREA</u>			<u>S. OF WOKING/BYFLEET</u>		
		<u>%</u>			<u>%</u>
Horsell	19	27.1	Guildford	20	28.6
Maybury	17	24.3	Send	12	17.1
St. Johns	17	24.3	Ripley	9	12.9
Knaphill	16	22.9	The Clandons	2	2.8
Old Woking	15	21.4	Worplesdon	2	2.8
Woking	10	14.3	The Horsleys	1	1.4
Kingfield	4	5.7	Bramley	1	1.4
Mayford	3	4.3	Godalming	1	1.4
Westfield	3	4.3			
Walton Road	1	1.4	<u>N.W. & W. OF WOKING</u>		
<u>BYFLEET AREA</u>			Chobham	19	27.1
Byfleet	38	54.3	Brookwood	5	7.1
West Byfleet	27	38.6	Bisley	1	1.4
New Haw	25	35.7	Hook Heath	1	1.4
Pyrford	14	20.0	Bagshot	3	4.3
Woodham	9	12.8	Pirbright	2	2.8
Woodham Lane	2	2.8	Camberley	1	1.4
			Lightwater	1	1.4
<u>N.E. OF ESTATE</u>			<u>OTHERS</u>		
Addlestone	20	28.6	Aldershot	3	4.3
Chertsey	19	27.1	Kingston	3	4.3
Weybridge	18	25.7	Epsom	1	1.4
Cobham	12	17.1	Farnborough	1	1.4
Walton	10	14.3	Farnham	1	1.4
Ottershaw	6	8.6	Leatherhead	1	1.4
Staines	6	8.6			
Esher	4	5.7			
Hersham	2	2.8			
Shepperton	1	1.4			
Sunbury	1	1.4			
Row Town	1	1.4			

APPENDIX V

North Kenton Estate - Schedule

NORTH KENTON ESTATE - SCHEDULE

ESTATE: NORTH KENTON ESTATE

ADDRESS:

DWELLING TYPE

1&2 HOUSEHOLD AND EMPLOYMENT

1.	HOUSEHOLD.								
	Relationship to Housewife	Age	M	S	W	D			
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									

2.	EMPLOYMENT.								
	Relationship to Housewife	Occupation	F.T.	P.T.	Place	Time in Present Occ.	Previous Occ.		
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									

<u>2a.</u>	NON-WORKING.							
	Relationship to Housewife	Unemployed	Retired	Not Working	School	Other		
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								

3. Where were you and your husband born?

Housewife

Husband

4. Where were you living before you moved here?
(Specify town, district, and length of residence)

5. Where do your parents and/or married children live?

6. Where do your other relatives live?

7. About how often do you visit them/they visit you?

8. Where do your friends live?
(Friends whom you would visit)

9. How often do you see them?

10. Have you many friends locally?

11. If 'yes' - where do they live?

12. Do you ever meet together in any local groups?
(for coffee, parties, outings, etc.)

13. Do you prefer this house to your previous one?

14. What do you like/dislike about your house?

15. Have you enough room?
16. If 'no' - what extra space do you need?
17. Have you enough privacy?
18. Is there much noise when you are inside the house?
19. How could the design of the house be improved would you say?
20. Would you prefer another type of house?
21. (For flats and maisonettes)
Would a garden be useful to you?
22. Have you got a car?
23. How do you travel to work?
24. Is the local bus service adequate?
25. Do you have an annual holiday?
26. Where do you do the household shopping?
27. Where else do you shop and how often do you shop there?
28. What do you buy there?

29. Would you say that the local shops are expensive?
30. Which doctor's surgery do you visit?
31. Would you say this area is well provided with
- a. Shops
 - b. Schools
 - c. Medical services
 - d. Entertainment for young people
 - e. Entertainment for other groups?
32. Did you wish to move here or were you content where you were?
33. Have you any intention of moving?
34. If 'yes' - where and why?
35. Do you like/dislike living here?
36. What is your opinion of the estate in general?
37. Are you or your family members of any local clubs
churches
societies
etc.?
38. Do you ever go out for entertainment?
(Give details)
39. Which 'local' do you visit?

40. What do you do in your leisure-time?

Children

41. How do you find looking after your children here?

42. Where do your children play?

Inside the home.

Outside the home.

43. Do they need supervision?

44. Can you watch them at play?

45. Are they safe from traffic?

46. What would you like to see done about play space?

Old People

47. Do you suffer from any illness or disability?

48. Are there any special problems facing you here?

49. Summing up, what would you say were the advantages/disadvantages of living here?

ADVANTAGES:

DISADVANTAGES:

APPENDIX VI

Sheerwater Estate - Schedule

APPENDIX VI

SHEERWATER ESTATE - SCHEDULE

ESTATE: SHEERWATER ESTATE,
WOKING,
SURREY.

ADDRESS:

DWELLING TYPE

1&2 HOUSEHOLD AND EMPLOYMENT

1. HOUSEHOLD.

Marital Status

Relationship to Housewife Age M S W D

Housewife

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.

2. EMPLOYMENT.

Relationship to Housewife Occupation F.T. P.T. Place Time in Present Occ. Previous Occ.

Housewife

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

2a. NON-WORKING.

	Relationship to Housewife	Unemployed	Retired	Not Working	School	Other
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						

3. Where were you and your husband born?

Housewife

Husband

4. Where were you living before you moved here?
(Specify town, district, and length of residence)

5. Can you tell me all the places your household has lived in previously and for how long?

	<u>Place</u>	<u>Time</u>
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

6. Why did you move from your previous address?
(Probe and tick for both columns if possible)

- 1. Waiting List
- Slum Clearance
- Unfit Dwelling
- Transfer

- 2. Husband's Job
- Needed/Wanted another house
- Other

7. Did you wish to move here?

7a. Why/Why not?

8. What do you call the DISTRICT you live in now?
(If requested define 'district' as 'this part of Surrey'.
Note whether answer is spontaneous or prompted.)
9. What do you call the NEIGHBOURHOOD you live in now?
(if requested define 'neighbourhood' as 'this part of Woking'.
Note whether reply is spontaneous or prompted.)
10. Perhaps insert: (A) "What local authority area is this?"
(B) "Who do you pay the rent to?"
(C) "Who do you pay the rates to?"
11. Have you heard this district/neighbourhood called by any other name?
12. Can you tell me the names of some of the DISTRICTS nearby?
13. Did you know this area before you moved here?
14. Which of the houses you have lived in (including this one) do you prefer?
- 14a. Why?
15. Which of the districts/places you have lived in (including this one) do you prefer?
- 15a. Why?

16. If you were able to choose, which type of house would you like to live in?

Detached
Semi-detached
Maisonette
Flat
Town house
Terrace
Other

Comments:

16a. Why?

17. If you were able to choose, which part of the country would you like to live in?
(Do not prompt.)

17a. Why?

18. Within that area which district, if any, would you prefer?

18a. Why is that?

19. Do you intend to move?

19a. When and why?

20. Where do your close relations live?
(Close means parents, children and siblings).

	<u>Relative - Place of Residence</u>	<u>Relative - Place of Residence</u>
House- wife's		Husband's

21. Is it easy to visit them?

22. About how often do you visit them/they visit you?

23. Have you any other relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins) whom you visit/who visit you?

23a. If 'yes' - where do they live and how often do you see them?

24. Where do your close friends live?
(Friends whom you would visit.)

25. How often do you see them?

26. Do you know your next door neighbour?

26a. Do you know anyone else a. in this street.
 b. on this estate?

a.

b.

27. Would you say you know more or fewer people here than in your previous home?

28. Would you say this is a friendly district?
- 28a. Why/Why not?
29. Do you ever feel lonely?
30. If 'yes' do you often feel lonely or only sometimes?
31. Why do you think you feel lonely?
32. Have you got a car?
33. Can you drive?
34. What is it mainly used for?
35. Do you ever go out in the car?
- 35a. If so, how often and where?
36. Do you ever visit the districts where you lived previously?
- 36a. Why/Why not?
37. How often do you get out of this estate?
38. Would you like to get out more?
39. When you go out where do you usually go?

40. What do you usually like to do?

41. When you go out for an evening where do you go and what do you usually do?

42. Do you have a holiday each year?

43. Where do you go and what do you like to do on holiday?

44. Do you use the bus service?

45. Is the bus service here very satisfactory
fairly satisfactory
rather unsatisfactory
very unsatisfactory
don't know?

Comments:

46. Do you every use the train?

47. Where do you go by train?

48. Is the train service very satisfactory
fairly satisfactory
rather unsatisfactory
very unsatisfactory
don't know

Comments:

49. Are there any shops on this estate?

50. If 'no' - where are the nearest shops?

51. If 'yes' - do you ever use them?

52. What do you buy there?

53. Where do you do your daily shopping

weekly shopping

shopping for special
item like clothes
for yourself?

54. Does this estate have any

- public houses
- churches
- clubs for young people
- clubs for other groups
- a clinic
- a library
- a surgery
- a primary school
- a secondary school
- a community centre
- a park
- a swimming pool?

	✓ No.

55. Where the answer is 'no' ask location of nearest one.

Amenity

Place

56. Which is the nearest town?

57. Which town in this area has the best shopping?
(Define 'area' as 'area within 15 miles').
58. Do you belong to any local clubs
 churches
 societies
 political parties
 other?
59. Do any of your family belong to any local clubs
 churches
 societies
 political parties
 other?
60. Did you take an active part in anything in the areas you have
previously lived in?
61. Is there a local weekly paper for this district?
62. What is it called?
63. Do you take it?
- 63a. Why/Why not?
64. What sort of area does it cover?
65. Would you say that this area is part of Greater London?
66. Where do you think Greater London ends?
(Do not prompt).

67. Would you say that you lived on:-
Yes No
An estate.
In a suburb.
On the edge of the city.
On the outskirts of a town?
(specify which).

68. Do you think that living here is the same as or different from living in the city?

69. If 'different' - why is it different?

70. Is there anything you especially like/dislike about this district?

LIKE:

DISLIKE:

71. Summing up, what would you say were the advantages/disadvantages of living here?

ADVANTAGES:

DISADVANTAGES:

72. If you have the opportunity do you intend to buy this house?

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