

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF
SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN THREE SCOTTISH NEW TOWNS**

VOLUME I

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**Maps Illustrating Geographical distribution of
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Abstract

The New Towns Act 1946 was one of a number of legislative measures which were passed in the immediate post-war period and which can be said to have marked the beginning of a new era in the field of social policy in Britain. The Reith Report, which formed the basis of the New Towns Act was concerned with all aspects of development of the new towns, i.e. economic, physical and social. This thesis concentrates on certain aspects of social development and examines some of the assumptions regarding this area, which were formulated in the Reith Report, in the light of developments in the three Scottish New Towns of Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston.

The Reith Report expected the various statutory and voluntary organisations (here collectively termed "social organisations") to make a significant contribution to the welfare of the new town population by providing opportunities to make full use of the increased leisure-time, which was to be an inherent advantage of living in a new town; furthermore, at an "ideological level", these organisations were to be instrumental in bringing about "social cohesion", the lack of which was seen to be one of the disadvantages of some of the inter-war housing estates, which were not to be repeated in the new towns. A great deal of information has therefore been collected about these organisations (for the first time) in these three new towns.

Although this study draws on the disciplines of

Sociology and Planning, it is a study of aspects of social policy, as related to new towns, and is as such firmly in the field of social administration, which has been defined as "the study of social problems and society's response to them by statutory provision and voluntary action". One of the main problems of new towns, particularly in the early days, has been said to be the lack of social amenities and the absence of opportunities to pursue leisure interests. This lack often resulted in dissatisfaction with living conditions in the new town. But if a new town is to succeed and achieve its population target, it is essential that existing and prospective residents should enjoy living there. This study shows that there exist today in these new towns a great variety of opportunities for purposeful leisure pursuits, and that the population do make use of these opportunities, albeit to different degrees. The level of participation found depends on many factors, including the age-structure of the population, the time at which an organisation was first started, the social stratification of the membership of a particular organisation and the siting of the meeting places available. These aspects have been investigated in this study in the three towns and the findings compared with each other.

Since Glenrothes and East Kilbride particularly, have been built largely on the neighbourhood principle, certain assumptions regarding the siting of community facilities have been tested in this study. By asking organisations about their ideal location for a meeting place, and by plotting

the distribution of members' addresses in relation to their meeting place on maps, it was found that the availability of premises at neighbourhood or precinct level is only important to three distinct groups within the population, i.e. Young children, their mothers and old people. These were the three who wished their premises to be within "toddling, pram-pushing and hobbling" distance of their homes. For most of the other organisations in all three towns the need would appear to be for more central facilities.

Since the role of the Development Corporation in the provision of facilities, and to some extent the promotion of social organisations has been regarded by the Reith Committee as a central one, the corporations' policy and administration (in this field has been examined in these three new towns. In the early days, due to economic restrictions which determined government policy, there were serious limitations on what the Development Corporations could do in the field of social development. Most of these restrictions have now been lifted, giving the corporations powers to contribute to the provision of facilities, to appoint Social Development Officers, and through them, to promote social organisations and citizen participation in them. The extent to which each one of these three Development Corporations has chosen to exercise these powers has been examined in this thesis, and where appropriate, recommendations regarding their future social policy have been made on the basis of the data collected.

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Preface

The focus of this thesis is the study of social organisations in the three Scottish New Towns of Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston. Since the Reith committee expected social organisations to form one of the main vehicles of social development, it is the analysis of the growth and characteristics of social organisations, and their contribution to social development, which forms the core of the thesis. Titmuss¹ defined social administration "as the study of the social services whose object is the improvement of the conditions of life of the individual in the setting of family and group relations. It is concerned with the historical development of these services, both statutory and voluntary." Usually research in this field deals with the development or evaluation of a specific social service. However, as Donnison² put it, social administration is concerned "with an ill-defined but recognisable territory: the development of collective action for the advancement of social welfare." Donnison³ also saw as the first strand in the history of the social services "the continuing endeavour to provide the environment required for industrial purposes." New Towns are concerned with "the improvement of the conditions of life of the individual" and with "providing the environment

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1. R.M. Titmuss "Social Administration in a Changing Society" in *Essays on the Welfare State*, Unwin University Books, London, 1958.
 2. D.V. Donnison, "Development of Social Administration" Inaugural Lecture published by London School of Economics, 1962.
 3. op.cit.

required for industrial progress", and the social organisations within them can be seen as "collective action for the advancement of social welfare." It therefore follows that a piece of research of this kind can rightly be considered a study in the field of social policy.

In this thesis the objective has been to test as critically and as carefully as possible the underlying assumptions of that part of the Reith Report which was concerned with the area of social development in New Towns. These assumptions provide an opportunity to use social research for the purpose of testing their relevance in the light of subsequent history. All too frequently in social policy the assumptions of important Government documents have gone untested and unexamined. The result has been that the ideas and the policy recommendations of government committees acquire an unchallenged position and often fail to be re-stated and re-thought in the light of changing needs. But sometimes, such ideas stand up to the test of time, and only relatively require minor amendments in order to continue to be as relevant today as when they were first formulated.

The main social problem which faced the Reith committee was the lack of social balance and cohesion as found in dormitory suburbs, and inter-war housing estates, such as Dagenham and Becontree, the continued repetition of which should be avoided as far as possible. The main objective of the committee was therefore the achievement of social balance and social cohesion in the "promotion of New Towns". To this end the recommendations of the Reith Committee

placed major emphasis on the need for opportunities of social participation. The role of social organisations was seen as providing these opportunities and acting "as strong binding forces" in facilitating this general objective.

This thesis is therefore an attempt, not to evaluate the economic success of the three new towns of East Kilbride, Glenrothes and Livingston, or their achievement in terms of physical planning, but to assess them in terms of the "Reith Committee assumptions" relating to social development, and in doing so, as Chambert de Louwe⁴ put it: "...provide material for deciding on means of establishing new institutions, or modifying existing ones in order to cater for new needs".

4. Chambert de Louwe, P.H. "Voluntary organisations and planning in response to new needs". Chapter 7, Unesco Handbook of Social Research in Urban Areas, Paris 1965.

PART I

**The Reith Report - The Development of
Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston.**

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and Review of Literature

The Reith Report - Ideas of social development in new towns

The legislative "foundation stone" for the building of new towns in Britain, was laid on October 19th, 1945, when the so-called New Towns Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Reith, with the following terms of reference:

"To consider the general questions of the establishment, development, organization and administration that will arise in the promotion of New Towns in furtherance of a policy of planned decentralisation from congested urban areas; and in accordance therewith to suggest guiding principles on which such towns should be established and developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living."¹

The fact that these new towns should be developed as "self-contained and balanced" communities for work and living" was particularly emphasized since they were intended to become the antithesis of the "dormitory suburb";² of which the inter-war housing estates had become examples, and which now, at all costs, were to be avoided.

Apart from considerations as to the physical lay-out and the economic life of the new towns to be built, the final report,³ which the Minister of Town and Country Planning and the Secretary of State for Scotland presented to

1. First Interim Report of New Towns Committee, 1946, HMSO p. 3.

2. op.cit., p. 3.

3. Final Report of New Towns Committee, 1946, HMSO paragraphs 185 - ff.

parliament in July 1946, incorporated a number of suggestions, as to the kind of social life and recreational opportunities which should be available to the people living in the new towns.

These suggestions were based on a number of assumptions, some of which were intended to serve as desirable policy goals to the bodies responsible for the development of the new towns. For instance, in paragraph 185 p. 42 the committee observed:

"Of the groups and societies to which men and women are attached, perhaps the most important, next to the family, is the local or geographical community. In great cities and towns the sense of community membership is weak and this is one of the most serious of modern urban ills. In a true community, everybody feels, directly or through some group, that he has a place and a part, belonging and counting. He cannot put down roots in, nor become conscious of responsibility for a place that does not give him that feeling."

Underlying the statement of this particular paragraph is the assumption that people need a sense of belonging and an opportunity for participation. If this assumption is accepted, it follows that social policy in a new town should be directed towards encouraging a sense of participation amongst individuals and groups. The next paragraph in the committees' report therefore deals with the social life in the new towns, and particularly the function of the voluntary association as a strong binding force, and the creation of clubs and societies. Thus paragraph 186 states:

"Social life in a new town has to be built up, and while this has disadvantages, it also has advantages. Where so many people are strangers to each other, there cannot for some time be the social cohesion of a long-established community, with its known and tested public personalities and its habits and

traditions of collective life. All the institutions have to be created, and errors of popular judgment in choosing leaders, officers and representatives are likely. On the other hand, the small size of the initial community, and its necessary dependence for a time on voluntary associations for many purposes are strong binding forces. The building of the town itself is a common interest of a novel and compelling character. And, though strangers to each other, the habitants will have much in common. They will quickly select associates, sharing their diverse interests in religion, politics, social welfare, sports and games, study, gardening, and the arts and hobbies; and the creation from the void of societies and clubs for all these things is an absorbing interest in itself. Men and women coming from districts in large towns where community life is weak may indeed appreciate its meaning and value for the first time."

Here the committee presented their vision, of what they thought ought to happen regarding social life in new towns. The assumptions on which this "vision" was based could best be summarised as follows:

- a). that social cohesion is a desirable goal of social policy.
- b) that societies and clubs have a rôle to play in bringing about participation, and through it, social cohesion.

Following on from these assumptions, the committee then recommended that certain facilities should be made available, as early as possible, by the development corporations. Thus paragraph 187 states:

"It is not possible, and even if it were, it would not be wise, to prescribe the social and cultural pattern of a new town. The interests, groupings and cultural activities of citizens must grow of themselves and may differ between one new town and another as widely as between one old town and another. It is this variety that gives character to towns, and any thought of standardizing the equipment must be dismissed. There are however, certain facilities that are found in any fair-sized town in Britain, and that have come to be regarded as indispensable for a fully developed urban life. Obviously the quantity and quality of these facilities depends on the size of the population."

The committees' assumptions about buildings and facilities, which are contained in the above paragraph could probably best be summarised as follows:

- a) that certain facilities are to be regarded as essential, and
- b) that a diversity of buildings is desirable.

The subsequent paragraph, 188, takes the point about the desirability of diversity a step further, and relates it not only to buildings and facilities, but also to the type of activities and organisations, which would use them, and the different people they would be expected to cater for. Thus paragraph 188 states:

"As the majority of inhabitants will have come from urban environments and many of them from the inner parts of large cities, they will wish to have available, at the earliest possible date, facilities equivalent to those to which they have been accustomed, though not necessarily of the same range or in the same proportions. In a town where houses and gardens prevail, where space for outdoor recreation is available, and where the country is within easy reach, there will not be the same uses of leisure. Experience in the new towns built already, confirms however, that many of the same facilities will be wanted."

The above paragraph contains the assumption, that incomers into the new towns will come from diverse cultural backgrounds, and that the provision of facilities should take due account of the culture that people brought with them.

Paragraph 189 once again returns to the discussion about buildings, and particularly relates to the characteristics of the buildings, which in the view of the committee are required:

"At the very beginning it is essential to provide a building containing several rooms, capable of being used for a variety of purposes. This should include

at least one large room for social gatherings, dances, concerts, plays, church services, temporary schools, lectures, political meetings, and possibly for cinema shows. There should also be several smaller rooms for meetings of committees and societies. The building should be so placed and constructed that it would remain useful for a number of years; indeed if the right situation can be found for it at the beginning it might be permanent though its multiple use would be temporary."

Once again, the assumptions relating to the buildings as described in the above paragraph were quite specific, and could be summarised as follows:

- a) buildings should be multi-purpose in nature, initially, but adaptable to single purpose use later; and furthermore, should contain a number of smaller rooms.
- b) the siting of the building is of considerable importance.

The report⁴ goes on to suggest that permanent buildings should be provided in advance of full demand, (para 190); suggestions are made for buildings for theatre, music, the arts and dance halls, (paras. 191-196); there should be an adequate library service, (paras. 197-199); arrangements should be made for preserving local archives and archaeological remains, (para. 200); special attention should be paid to places of refreshment, including hotels and a variety of restaurants as well as tea-shops and cafes (paras. 201-204); licensed premises should vary in character and size, and restaurants serving substantial meals should be able to obtain licenses, etc. A further five paragraphs are devoted to the question of licensing laws in new towns.

In paragraph 219 however, the committee returned to a

4. Final Report summary, p. 67 op.cit.

discussion on facilities for young people:

"Though schools' playing facilities are the concern of the local education authority, the provision of playgrounds and of premises suitable for boys' and girls' clubs and for other activities of young people may be largely a matter for the agency (i.e. development corporation) itself. The need must be assessed and the means for meeting it planned at the outset."

The committee, in making this specific recommendation, were assuming that young people have special needs, which require special consideration. However, in paragraph 221, which is complementary to the above one, they make it clear that young people are not their only concern:

"For those who are older, provision must be made for voluntary activities, complementary to their daily work in school or factory, and no less important in moulding character. Their needs are by no means uniform. To one it is for physical recreation; to another for a quiet place to read or study; a third demands a workshop in which to pursue some hobby; to a fourth the team activities of scouts, guides, brigades and cadet corps have a strong appeal. It is essential to ensure the provision of suitable ground and buildings for all these purposes, not merely for the established organisations, but for others that will emerge spontaneously as time goes on."

Once again the committee stresses the point about buildings, in the form of a further assumption, i.e. that there will be a need for a diversity of buildings in relation to a diversity of activities.

The committee then went on to emphasise that for certain groups the possession of quarters of their own is essential; thus in paragraph 222 they state:

"We do not imply that it is good for boys and girls to find ready made and to hand buildings equipped for any and every enterprise that may take their fancy. There is virtue in improvisation, and we believe that the more they can be encouraged to equip, decorate and perhaps even help to build their own premises, the better. But we deprecate that variety of "community building and social centre" to be found in some urban

areas, in which the same scanty accommodation is made to serve a long programme of youth and adult services in turn. Apart from the fact that certain activities, notably an effective young people's club, need to be carried on every night of the week, including Sundays, such an arrangement is inimical to that pride in corporate ownership which begets in young people a sense of corporate responsibility."

The recommendations contained in this particular paragraph appear to have as their basis the assumption that certain groups will only flourish, if they are able to have quarters of their own.

It is of interest to note that the Reith committee on the question of ownership of premises anticipated research findings of people such as Nicholson,⁵ Willis,⁶ Sykes and Woldman,⁷ and Morley,⁸ who all show, together with this present study, that uniformed organisations especially, because of the nature of their programme, prefer to have their own premises, and that where groups are required to pack up all their equipment after every meeting to make way for some entirely different activity, friction arises. Furthermore, although the Reith committee in the above paragraph stated that in their view, "there is virtue in improvisation", there is, as Nicholson⁹ confirms, considerable opposition by some

5. Nicholson, J.H. "New Communities in Britain, NCSS, London, 1961.

6. Willis, M. "Meeting places for Hire in New Towns - a social survey" Ministry of Housing and Local Government, London 1966.

7. Sykes, A.J.M. & Woldman, E. "Irvine New Town Area - a summary and report on leisure activities", University of Strathclyde, Occasional paper No. 2, 1968.

8. Morley, K. "Social Activity and Social Enterprise - a study of voluntary social organisations in the New Town of Redditch, 1966.

9. Nicholson, J.H. op.cit. p. 127.

Development Corporations against the erection of huts and small club buildings, both on aesthetic grounds and on grounds of space.

Having already indicated in previous paragraphs, what kind of social life the committee envisaged for the new towns, they then returned to the theme of social development:

"Paragraph 223 states: But from what we have said, we must not be thought to oppose the principle of community centres, if established for what we conceive to be their proper purpose, namely the provision of certain important communal buildings to which all social groups, adult as well as juvenile have access at appointed times. Although we believe that each group should be encouraged to develop separately on its own lines, the additional provision of some common facilities at centres of this kind seems to us invaluable. Social activities in which all members of a family can share, help to strengthen the unity of family life by giving it a common loyalty."

This last line states a further assumption about the purpose and potential of social activities.

The above extracts from the Reith report have been deliberately quoted at some length, since these recommendations were closely observed in the New Towns Act, which followed, and therefore became a kind of blue-print, not only for the physical and economic development, but also as a model for the social development of new towns.

Summary of assumptions:

- 1) People need a sense of belonging and an opportunity for participation
- 2) a) Social cohesion is a desirable goal of social policy.
- b) Voluntary organisations have a role to play in bringing about opportunities for participation, and through it, social cohesion.

- 3) a) Certain minimum facilities are to be regarded as essential in a new town from the very outset.
b) A diversity of buildings is desirable.
- 4) a) New town residents will come from diverse cultural backgrounds.
b) Facilities and activities should take due account of the culture that people brought with them.
- 5) a) Characteristics of buildings required at early stage: Need to be both multi-purpose in nature, and contain a number of smaller rooms.
b) Siting of buildings is important.
- 6) Young people have special needs, which need special consideration.
- 7) There is a need for a diversity of buildings in relation to diversity of activities.
- 8) Certain groups will only flourish if they are able to have quarters of their own.
- 9) Social activities in which all members of a family can share, help to strengthen the unity of family life, by giving it a common loyalty.

These then are some of the assumptions underlying the Reith committees' recommendations regarding the social development of New Towns. This study of three Scottish New Towns will attempt to test some of these assumptions in the light of almost 25 years of experience, which have passed since the deliberations of the Reith committee. Nicholson¹⁰ points

10. Nicholson, op.cit. p.79.

out, "that it is possible to compare the achievements of the new towns with the proposals of the Reith committee, what matters more is the extent to which they meet the needs of those rehoused there". This does not mean to say however, that these proposals do not provide a useful yardstick, against which present day provision and policy can be measured.

The Reith committee has been criticised for the fact that its proposals were not based on sufficient research. This may be true, although one also has to accept that at the time the social sciences in this country were still in their infancy, and that therefore research facilities and methods were not as readily available, as they are today. Furthermore, Appendix 2 of the Final report¹¹ lists the considerable number of government bodies, local authorities, learned societies and learned individuals with whom discussions were held or from whom written evidence was received, and this would suggest that the Reith Committee did go to great lengths in an attempt to have its findings supported by a considerable body of opinion. Nevertheless, the criticism, regarding lack of research must be allowed to stand, but should perhaps be levied at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, whom Lloyd Rodwin¹² accused of being "penny-wise and pound foolish" for not promoting socio-economic research. Apparently the Ministry's attitude at the time was the one quoted in Town and Country Planning, 1943-1951,¹³ i.e.:

11. New Towns Committee, Final Report, op.cit. pp. 70 and 71.

12. Rodwin, Lloyd: The British New Towns Policy, Harvard University Press, 1956, Chapter 5, p. 61.

13. Town & Country Planning, 1943-1951, pp. 165-166.

"research contributing to thought and knowledge about town planning is primarily the responsibility of universities and non-governmental bodies. For the ministry and for local planning authorities, concerned as they must be to keep their staff demands to a minimum, the question must always be whether any particular study makes a direct and demonstrably useful contribution to their planning administration." This attitude in Rodwins' view, allowed a dangerous gap to develop. However, this has to be seen within the context of economic stringency prevailing at the time, where according to the ministry's instruction¹⁴ every proposal for capital expenditure had to be judged by its contribution to the "dollar earning and dollar saving projects". The post-war economic crisis had indeed an influence on new towns policy, which will be discussed later. What however seems to be more important, is not whether the committee based its proposals on a great deal of theoretical research, but whether these proposals have stood the test of time. Sir William Hart¹⁵ for one seems to think so and suggests that the report will "repay reading again".

Apart from anything else, the speed, with which the committee produced its reports was exceptional by any standard. On October 19th, 1945 they were appointed. In March 1946 they presented the first Interim Report,¹⁶ a month later, in April 1946 the second Interim Report¹⁷ was put before.

14. Contained in circular CMND 8204.

15. Hart, Sir William, "Administration and new towns" Town & Country Planning, Vol. 36, No.1-2, 1968.

16. Interim Report of the New Towns Committee, March 1946, HMSO, London CMND 6759.

17. Second Interim Report of the New Towns Committee, April 1946, HMSO CMND 6794.

parliament and in July of the same year there followed the Final Report.¹⁸

According to one member of that committee, Sir Fredric Osborn,¹⁹ the "speed and efficiency with which information was collected and converted into practical recommendations, was largely due to the skill of Lord Reith's chairmanship." But one also has to point out that he had the advice of two members who had had experience in developing the Garden cities of Letchworth and Welwyn,^{*} and another member^{**} had been resident architect of Welwyn. However, this did not appear to prevent the committee from being objective. According to Osborn²⁰ "nothing that these members advised, was accepted on their evidence alone. Every element of policy and practice, of methods and standards, was studied ab initio, and examined in the light of the views of the bodies and persons concerned with the relevant aspect of urban affairs, from religion to finance, from family life to art, from drainage to landscaping, from work to leisure, from pubs to universities - in short, from A - Z". Nevertheless, the almost "idyllic" vision of the social life and character, which the committee would appear to have had, is closely reminiscent of Osborn's description of the social atmosphere which had prevailed in Letchworth,²¹ and which he described as follows:

18. Final Report of the New Towns Committee, July 1946, HMSO, CMND 6876.

19. Osborn, F.J. in Osborn & Whittick "The New Towns" Leonard Hill, London 1969, p. 101.

20. Osborn, op.cit., p. 101.

21. Osborn, F.J. op.cit.p.59.

* W.H. Gaunt and F.J. Osborn

** A.W. Kenyon.

"Yet an extremely vigorous and enjoyable community life sprang into being from very early days. The absence of commercial entertainment threw people back on their own resources, and there was no lack of spontaneous leadership in running a wide variety of societies and clubs - for music, drama, politics, religion, sports, rambling, dancing, gardening, natural history, arts and crafts and serious study."

This was a kind of social life, which clearly the committee had hoped would repeat itself over and over again, in each of the new towns. A good deal of their optimism and enthusiasm carried over into the debate of the New Towns Bill in the House of Commons, which took place on May 8th, 1946. Once again, the Minister of Town and Country Planning, the Rt. Hon. Lewis Silkin put the emphasis on providing a better life:²² "Many towns have built new housing estates on the outskirts. These have largely failed in their purpose of providing a better life for their people and have almost invariably become dormitories consisting of members of one income group, with no community life or civic sense". "I am most anxious that the planning should be such that the different income groups living in the new towns will not be segregated. when they leave to go home I do not want the better off people to go to the right, and the less well-off to go to the left. I want them to ask each other, "Are you going my way"? "I want to see the new towns gay and bright, with plenty of theatres, concert halls and meeting places. The new towns should provide valuable experience in the best use of leisure", a commodity which is, and should become, more and more plentiful." Another M.P.,

22. Hansard, May 8th, 1946.

* Authors own underlining.

Mr. Wilfred Roberts,²³ reiterated the Reith Committee's concern for the needs of young people and children²⁴ when he said the following: "I look forward to seeing good-looking towns in which it is possible to live a good life; towns which are well planned for children and young people. Appallingly little thought has been given in the past to the development of town life to meet the needs of children and young people". In the House of Lords, which debated the bill on July 11th, 1946, the same enthusiasm and good intentions for this new instrument of social policy were to be found. Thus the Earl of Listowel:²⁵ "Finally, we want a community free from the occupational and income snobberies of town life to-day. There must be no West Ends and East Ends, no suburban villas for the professional and black-coated workers, and central tenements for the factory hands. Each of the neighbourhoods, into which the new towns will be divided, will be planned as a cross-section of every occupational and income group in the population."

A slightly more realistic note, (or was it veiled scepticism?) was introduced by the Earl of Munster,²⁶ when he pointed out that the realisation of these plans will take a great deal of time: "New towns, like new port, take many years to mature, and it must be some considerable time before any new town contemplated under this bill will be provided

23. Hansard, May 8th, 1946.

24. Reith Report, op.cit. paragraph 219.

25. Hansard (HL) July 11th, 1946.

26. Hansard (HL) July 11th, 1946.

with all the essential, modern requirements which will be agreeable to the taste of the multitudes for whom it is to be provided."

And yet, in spite of all the enthusiasm and good will, which launched the new towns programme, a good many problems, particularly in the field of social development, still have to be overcome. Lord Reith himself, in a recent article²⁷ commented: "The new towns were seen as "an essay in civilization", and the reports set standards of living conditions appropriate to that aspiration. I am told that twenty-four new towns have already been started in Great Britain, and that as a result of British initiative, new towns are being built or are under consideration in many other countries; and that these British reports are being studied all over the world; This is something to the good, but one wonders if this country is moving fast enough, and the standards are high enough. I should be more pleased about my part in the initiation if I could be sure that the original intentions and ideals were being regarded and preserved."*

The leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, in the same journal²⁸ pinpoints the issue thus: "In spite of all that the Reith committee had said, the provision of community buildings was too little and too late to foster a rapid growth of social cohesion."

27. Lord Reith, "An essay in civilization", Town & Country Planning Vol. 36, No.1-2, 1968.

28. Thorpe, J. Town & Country Planning, Vol. 36, No.1-2, 1968, p. 21.

* Author's own underlining.

In Mr. Thorpe's terms, what did the Reith committee say? It stressed the importance to people of belonging to some group or other. It foresaw the necessity for many purposes, of voluntary associations, and the need for facilities to be ready at the very beginning. Furthermore, it emphasised the importance of the right situation of amenities. The needs of children and young people were particularly singled out. The committee showed a great deal of insight into these needs by underlining the importance of premises of their own to youth organisations. It also anticipated the inappropriateness of the Youth Service age range, (14-20 years), as laid down by the Albemarle Report,²⁹ which has prevented youth organisations depending on grant-aid, from doing work with the whole family. The Youth Service Development Council in only 1969³⁰ "repealed" this particular regulation.

But whatever the shortcomings, particularly relating to the Mark 1 New Towns, they are not necessarily due to faults in the original concepts of the Reith report, or in their own master plans, but are partly due to stringent financial control by the government in the late forties and early fifties. This has been borne out by comments obtained from officials of the Development Corporations of the new Towns of East Kilbride and Glenrothes which, together with Livingston, are the subject of this study. In a recent report

29. Albermarle Report on the Youth Service, HMSO, 1960.

30. Youth and Community Work in the 70's, page 1, para 2c.

by the Scottish Education Department,³¹ this financial stringency was acknowledged as one of the main hindrances to the creation of more community facilities. Thus paragraph 30, referring to powers in respect of grants reads: "For some years the prospects were good. However, as a result of economic difficulties and financial restrictions, which began in 1948 only little progress was possible". Dame Evelyn Sharp in her foreword to Viet's Bibliography on New Towns³² highlights the problem in this way:

"One of the most difficult problems in the new towns has arisen over the provision of recreation and entertainment. All concerned with new towns would like them to have the best in the way of playing fields, meeting places, dance halls, swimming baths and so on; but who is to pay for them? It is a responsibility of the local authorities to provide for recreation in so far as private enterprise cannot do so; but the local authorities of the new towns are faced with heavy expenditure on educational, health and welfare services, and while their revenue from rates is building up, they do not yet feel able to spend much money on amenities. They tend to think that the corporations should see to these; but the corporations are commercial undertakings, trying to pay their way, and while they will contribute to the provision of amenities, they will not undertake the whole cost. In the result, provision lags."

Wyndham Thomas, then Mayor of Hemel Hempstead wrote in an article in the "Times" in 1959:³³

"It is in its social equipment that the town has lagged. The Development Corporation has never had the freedom of operation in this field many feel it should have had. It seems to be preferable that the authority providing the housing, should also provide the community buildings."

31. Community of Interests, HMSO, 1968.

32. Viet, Jean, "New Towns" - a selected annotated bibliography, UNESCO No. 12, 1960, page 11.

33. Thomas, Wyndham, "In praise of a New Town", "The Times", April 4th, 1959.

Both these highly relevant comments were made in 1959 and 1960 respectively. Since then however, legislative measures have been passed which now make it possible for the development corporations and local authorities to get together and co-ordinate their priorities relative to community buildings. The extent to which development corporations choose to exercise their spending power is a kind of indicator of their social policy and of the priority they give to social development within that policy. Broady³⁴ illustrates this point. "Perhaps more typical of present British practice, however, is the fact that so few schemes have been developed that take advantage of the £ 4 per head of population which since 1963 it has been possible to levy for social development projects in the new towns; and that this has mostly been because the development corporations, the public authorities and local organisations have been unable to find a formula for co-operation and finance."

This is one of the aspects which will be examined within the context of this thesis in relation to the three above mentioned new towns. (See Part V). A further aspect is the development and "Availability" of social organisations, although it is realised that not all social intercourse is necessarily organised in formal activity. As Professor Wilson put it:³⁵ "A good community is not necessarily one which hums with universal activity" - but under the conditions which make for a good community he lists

34. Broady, M. "Planning for people" NCSS, 1968, page 71.

35. Prof. Roger Wilson in Lomas' "Social Aspects of Urban Development NCSS, 1966, pp.29-30.

inter-alia: "It should be as easy as possible for voluntary associations to be formed for cultural, recreational and philanthropic purposes. Local authorities should appoint community development officers.....their function should be to ease into life any promising efforts, even if only temporary, that private citizens may be making for mutual benefit." This applies equally to development corporations of new towns - and again one could consider it to be an indicator of their priorities whether or not they have appointed a social development, or social relations officer, such as was suggested to them in Circular XT/290/5/2, issued by the Ministry of Housing and local Government in August, 1963. (Only one of the three new towns in this study have in fact appointed one.) Again Broady:³⁶ comments on this: "The ambiguity of the idea of social development in British Town Planning is indicated by the fact that by no means all new and expanding towns have appointed social development officers; and even when they have done so, their departments have often become the dumping grounds for residual functions such as public relations, attending to visitors and collecting social statistics". This again is particularly true regarding the situation in Scotland.

The Reith Committee (para 189) stresses the importance of amenities, such as meeting places being in the "right situation". So far there have been few studies trying to evaluate this and thereby test the planning assumptions which decided upon the location in the first place. Thus,

36. Broady, M. op.cit.

G. Brooke-Taylor³⁷ stated: "New Towns usually require the creation of a hypothesis, (for a master plan, is a hypothesis), which attempts to project forward an existing social situation and at the same time to forecast a future social situation. While social science has invented techniques for analysing present patterns in society, it has failed as yet to find satisfactory ways of predicting future behaviour. Thus master plans can only be based on hunches and require rigorous testing and analysis." This thesis is one such attempt.

37. G. Brooke-Taylor: "What price an enlightened social policy?" Paper given at conference on "Social Implications of Life in New Towns. Edinburgh Dec. 7th, 1968.

CHAPTER 2

The emergence of new towns policy

New towns have been built and old ones renewed since earliest times. But a national policy of building within a few years complete communities is, according to Rodwin¹ something quite unique in urban history. Only in Britain in 1946, with the Report of the Reith Committee and the passing of the New Towns Act, did this first become official government policy. But even the Reith Committee was in a sense only the last of a series of government committees, which intermittently had examined various problems to which the new towns would seem to provide an answer.

The new towns as such however, do not owe their existence to any government committee or act of legislation in the first instance, but to "a man, a movement and a unique set of historical conditions."² Ebenezer Howard started the modern new towns movement when in 1898 he published his book: "To-morrow: A peaceful path to real reform"³ and then founded the Garden City Association^{*} in 1899. Howards' proposals were governed by four fundamental principles: the limitation of numbers and area, planned growth by colonisation, variety and sufficiency of economic opportunities and social advantages, and control of the land in the public interest.

1. Rodwin, Lloyd: The British New Towns Policy, Harvard University Press, 1956, p. 15.

2. Rodwin, Lloyd: op.cit. p. 22.

3. Revised and re-issued in 1902 as: "Garden Cities of Tomorrow".

* Now the Town & Country Planning Association.

The concept of the new town resulting from these proposals was fairly summed up in the definition adopted in 1919 by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association:*

"A garden city is a town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community."

Most important however, were not Howards' proposals as such, but his empirical bent of mind, which led him to develop first Letchworth in 1903 and then Welwyn Garden City in 1919-1920. Here were now specific examples of Howards ideas for all the world to see. This meant, when the Reith committee and indeed earlier government committees were thinking of a policy of dispersal, and employing the creation of new towns as an instrument in this policy, they had two examples before them, and indeed the experience of people who were involved in the building of these towns.

The first government committee to take evidence from the Garden City and Town Planning Association and the garden city companies, was the Chamberlain committee on Unhealthy areas.⁴ This committee recommended the restriction of factory industry in the London area, along with the movement of some employment and persons to garden cities where the inhabitants could live "close to their work in the best possible conditions". Although these recommendations were not implemented at the time, it was the first official contemplation in Britain of the idea that control of the location

4. Report of the Unhealthy Areas Committee, HMSO, London, 1920.

* Now Town & Country Planning Association.

of employment is the key to the redistribution of population.

In 1935 again a departmental committee was set up under Lord Marley's chairmanship, of which the then chairman of Welwyn Garden City Ltd., Sir Theodore Chambers was a member. This committee once again recommended the building of new towns with government encouragement in its report.⁵ No immediate action resulted, but the idea was now, as Osborn put it,⁶ "in the political air".

In the following year the commissioner for the "special areas" (of high employment), Sir Malcolm Stewart once again reiterated the suggestion of the Chamberlain committee of 1920, by recommending that London should be placed "out of bounds" for new factories.

Osborn concludes⁷ that it was probably a combination of Welwyn's prestige which by then had become world-wide among planners, and the ideas of the Marley and Stewart reports, as well as Chamberlain's own report in 1920, which caused him, on becoming Prime Minister in 1938, to appoint a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Anderson Montague - Barlow, whose report⁸ in 1940 raised the problem of large towns for the first time to the status of a major public issue. The Barlow report once again pointed in the same direction as its predecessors - towards the necessity of limiting great city congestion and further growth. The

5. Report of Committee on garden cities and Satellite Towns, HMSO, London, 1935.

6. F.J. Osborn and A. Whittick, op.cit. p. 86.

7. Ibid., p. 87.

8. Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribution of the Industrial Population. Report and Evidence, HMSO, London, 1940.

promotion of garden cities, by a new Ministry, for which the minority report called, was again seen as the answer to the problem; particularly since by now the new housing estates, built in the inter-war years, were seen to produce new and difficult problems. In paragraph 36, for instance the Barlow report points out that "high prices in the shops are one of the common disadvantages of new estates; and the asbestos and corrugated iron huts, erected with extreme difficulty by voluntary effort, which still serve many areas for churches and halls, are a standing reminder of the neglect of the spiritual and social side of those mainly responsible for development." The Barlow report can therefore be seen to have concerned itself not only with economic considerations, but with social considerations, and problems caused by insufficient amenities as well. In this respect, it had become an important fore-runner to the Reith report.

By the time however the Barlow report was published in January 1940, war had broken out and it was shelved. In his account of that time, Osborn⁹ gives credit to Lord Reith, then Minister of Works and Buildings for getting the report off the shelf again, when he was charged to study and report to the cabinet on methods of physical reconstruction after the war. As a result of Lord Reith's efforts, the Barlow recommendations were accepted in the short space of 14 months and in 1943 the Ministry of Town & Country Planning was established.

9. op.cit., p. 89.

Two more committees were set up during Lord Reith's period, which need to be mentioned here for the sake of completeness of the "lineage" which preceded the Reith report. One was the so-called Uthwatt Report¹⁰ and the other the Scott Report.¹¹ The terms of reference of the Scott and Uthwatt committees arose directly out of recommendations of the Barlow report. These three reports can therefore be regarded as complementary parts of a single whole. G.D.H. Cole¹² called them "a trilogy of vital importance in relation to post-war planning." All three are however mainly concerned with physical planning, and the kind of machinery required to make plans workable; the issues they covered were for the most parts issues of means and not of ends.

In 1943 the interest of the public in planning was given a further stimulus by the publication of the County of London Plan,¹³ which was prepared for London County Council at Lord Reiths' instigation, when he was Minister of Works. This plan advocated "decentralisation and overspill" of population into new towns. Chapter two contains the following significant statement:

"The ideal situation for people to live in is within reasonable distance of their work, but not such close proximity that their living conditions

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10. Expert Committee on compensation and betterment, Final Report, HMSO, 1942.
 11. Committee on Utilization of Land in Rural Areas, Report, HMSO, 1942.
 12. G.D.H. Cole, in Britains' Town & Country Pattern: Re-building Britain series, No. 2, London, Faber & Faber, Limited, 1953.
 13. County of London Plan: prepared for the LCC by J.H. Forshaw and Patrick Abercrombie, Macmillan, 1943.

are prejudiced by it; this ideal can be closely realized when planning a new town of limited size in which the time, money and energy spent in means of locomotion are reduced to a minimum."

This statement very closely resembles Howards' ideals and embodies the notion that among the benefits to be gained by residents is an increase in leisure, through reduction of travelling time. A year later, in 1944, Patrick Abercrombie published an alternative to the County of London plan, of which he was the co-author. His Greater London Plan¹⁴, was considered an improvement on the previous plan since it made definite proposals for the location of the "overspill" population and a corresponding number of industrial jobs. Of the 1½ millions to be displaced, 125,000 were to be housed in satellite suburbs on the outskirts of the conurbation, about 260,000 in additions to existing towns in the Outer County Ring, i.e. beyond a reserved green belt, another 270,000 or so at a distance of 40 or 50 miles from the centre, and nearly ½ million in 10 new towns for which specific sites were suggested. This was precisely the point on which the Greater London Plan of 1944 excelled the County Plan of 1943 - it converted the concept of metropolitan redevelopment into clear, practical propositions.

The groundwork for the establishment of the first new towns under government legislation was therefore done before the Reith committee had even submitted its report, and indeed before the first New Town Act was passed. The number of proposals and government reports, which were submitted in

14. Patrick Abercrombie: Greater London Plan, 1944, HMSO, London, 1945.

the 25 years or so, preceding the Reith report, and which included in their recommendations the establishment of new towns, make it clear that the Reith committee did not have to start its deliberations completely from scratch, but was able to build on a considerable body of previous work.

It is also interesting to note that the chairman, Lord Reith, had been involved personally in a number of developments which culminated in the Reith report and subsequent new town legislation. He was therefore not in any way new to the idea. But if, as Cole suggested in relation to the Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt reports, most of the previous proposals were about means rather than ends, the Reith report most definitely was about ends. The amount of specified detail, which went into its recommendations, not in the least regarding the social development of new towns, demonstrates that the committee were not merely concerned with the setting up of the machinery, which would make the creation of new towns possible, but that they also cared about the kind of life it should, in their view, become possible for residents to lead in these new towns.

Although the Scottish New Towns were of course established under the same legislation as the English ones, and the Reith report is therefore equally relevant to their situation, the developments and ideas, which led up to their creation were different. In England, the discussions regarding the creation of new towns were largely following the Abercrombie Plan for Greater London, where "dispersal" was the key-note. This was true also of the plan which led to the building of

East Kilbride, but, as we shall see later, is less applicable to the other two new towns in this study, i.e. Glenrothes and Livingston.

According to P.J. Smith,¹⁵ Scottish interest in New Towns was derived from three sources. In the late war years regional planning committees were organized in Central Scotland. Consultants were engaged to prepare plans, and as a result draft versions of those for the Forth¹⁶ and Clyde¹⁷ valleys were submitted in 1946. In both, quite independently, new towns were advocated. Since these committees were set-up by the Secretary of State for Scotland in 1943, we can assume that they arrived at their conclusions independently of the Reith Committee. However, Abercrombie, who at the same time was preparing his London plan, realised that Glasgow and the lower valley of the Clyde with its large congested areas constituted a prima facie case for a policy of dispersal. Concurrently, officials of the Department of Health for Scotland were giving active and favourable consideration to the validity of the New Towns concept for Scottish conditions.¹⁸

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15. P.J. Smith: Changing objectives in Scottish New Towns Policy: *Journal of Ekistics*, Vol. 23, No. 134, January, 1967.
 16. F.C. Mears: A Regional Survey and Plan for Central and South East of Scotland, Edinburgh: The Central and South-east Scotland Regional Planning Advisory Committee, 1948.
 17. P. Abercrombie and R. Matthew: The Clyde Valley Regional Plan, Edinburgh, HMSO 1949.
 18. Department of Health for Scotland: Report for period July 1945 to December 1946, HMSO 1947, pp. 72-74.

In the Clyde Valley plan, Abercrombie and Matthew were primarily concerned with the accrued physical problems of Glasgow, and of the industrial towns, which are closely associated with it in a sprawling conurbation of some two million people. Their proposals included the enlarging of certain small towns and the building of new ones, with the reservation of open country around and between them. One of the sites proposed for a new town was East Kilbride, and it was provisionally designated by the Secretary of State for Scotland in the autumn of 1946, and after a public inquiry the designation order was confirmed on May 6, 1947. Whilst East Kilbride's primary function was conceived as helping with the decongestion of the Glasgow conurbation, the purpose of Glenrothes was to provide a centre for mining expansion in the East Fife Coalfield, as proposed in the Report of the Scottish Coalfields Committee in 1944.¹⁹ The implementation of this programme of development, which was to counteract the decline of the industry mainly in the Lanarkshire fields, pre-supposed a considerable migration of miners and their families, which of course meant that the problem of housing commanded a good deal of attention. Sir Frank Mears, who was a member of the coalfields committee, and was then preparing a regional plan for the Forth basin²⁰ expressed the belief in a preliminary report in 1945²¹ that new collieries could best be served by completely new, planned towns.

19. Report of the Scottish Coalfields Committee, HMSO, Edinburgh, 1944.

20. See under 17.

21. F.C. Mears: Interim report on Population trends in Relation to Industrial development and Housing needs. Edinburgh, HMSO, 1945.

From these examples it can be seen that the Reith report was an important starting point, since it directly led to the first legislation on new towns and therefore signalled the acceptance of new towns by the government as an instrument of social policy. But in another sense, it signified a historic point in which the movement towards new towns culminated, having started almost exactly 48 years earlier with Howards' proposals, which in turn led to the foundation of Letchworth and Welwyn, and a series of government reports, which first tentatively suggested new towns, till finally definite plans like the Greater London Plan and the Clyde Valley Plan emerged and began to take it for granted that new towns were to make an important contribution to post-war building and planning. In a very real sense it can therefore be said that the Reith report represented the essential features of most of the above-mentioned reports, and then went a step further, by making concrete proposals, which not only covered the questions of economic and physical development, but those relating to social development as well, thereby adding a new dimension to the goals of social policy set by earlier proposals.

CHAPTER 3

The development of the three New Towns of Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston.

3.1 Glenrothes

Glenrothes was initially planned as a centre for mining expansion in the East Fife Coalfield, as part of the post-war coal industry development in Scotland.

When the coal-industry was nationalised and the National Coal Board established in 1947, it was found that more than half the Scottish collieries were outmoded or uneconomic. But the East Fife Coalfield, as one of the richest in the Forth Basin, was to be developed; Seafield at Kirkcaldy and the Rothes Colliery were to be an important part in this new development. It was then estimated that this programme would create employment for 6,600 additional miners by 1975.

The implementation of this programme pre-supposed a considerable movement of miners and their families, mainly from the declining Lanarkshire Coalfield. The problem of housing this additional population was raised in the report of the Scottish Coalfields Committee in 1944.¹ The committee, supported by the miners' representatives and local authorities recommended however, that the traditional concept of the miners' village at the pit-head should be abandoned. This was partly for reasons of amenity, and partly to avoid subsidence, which was a continuous threat to building sites.

1. Report of the Scottish Coalfields Committee, Edinburgh, 1944.

But above all, it recommended that miners' should be accommodated in mixed communities, so that more varied employment would be available to their families, and that the population would be more socially balanced. The idea of social balance is of course central to the concept of new towns, and indeed it was one which was incorporated in Sir Frank Mears report in 1945.² He argued that a "balanced community" should not have more than one miner for every eight persons in the total population. This figure took account of non-productive population, a full range of commercial and public services, and some industrial employment, mainly for the female members of the miners' families. P.J. Smith³ however maintains that the term "balanced community" as used by Mears in relation to Glenrothes, referred to the range of facilities and services available to the miners and their families, and did not entail the idea of a more broadly diversified economic base. This distinction is important to an understanding of the original concept of Glenrothes, and indeed the subsequent efforts to attract other industries. In other words, the Rothes, and to a lesser extent the Seafield Collieries, were going to be the main employer of male labour and there was not as much necessity, at least as far as could be foreseen at the time, to attract further industrial concerns, as was the case with other new towns.

2. F.C. Mears: Interim Report on Population Trends in Relation to Industrial Development and Housing Needs. Edinburgh, 1945.

3. P.J. Smith: Scottish Geographical Magazine, April, 1967.

From estimates of employment increases and from known limitations on the expansion of existing towns on the margins of the East Fife Coalfield, such as Kirkcaldy and Buckhaven-Methil-Leven, it was calculated that some 3,700 miners would require to be housed in Glenrothes. On the basis of a ratio of 1:8 it was calculated that a population of 30,000 should be planned for. Unlike for instance in the case of East Kilbride, and other new towns, the size of Glenrothes was determined from anticipated needs and not from a hypothesis of optimum town size as such. Following Mears' recommendations, the Department of Health for Scotland agreed that a statutory new town was necessary for East Fife and decided that a site in the vicinity of Leslie and Markinch was the most suitable location. On October 25th, 1948, the Glenrothes Development Corporation was established and work was begun immediately on a detailed version of the outline plan. Construction was to begin in the towns' centre originally, but in fact in 1950 a start was made at Woodside, one of the outer circle of precincts, because this was a site which had road access and was already partially occupied by a County Council housing scheme.*

The purpose of the town was again stated in the first annual report:⁴

"Primarily to meet the needs of the expanding coal industry in the County by providing homes for the miners, who will be employed in the neighbouring Rothes Colliery, now in course of construction and

4. First Annual report of Glenrothes Development Corporation for the period October 1948 - to March 31st 1950.

* for further details regarding the phasing of construction, see map Fig. 6.1.

in other collieries. In order to give effect to the aim of having a balanced community, the detailed planning of the New Town will be based on a proportion of one miner in eight or nine of the population. In this way, a repetition of the faults to be found in mining communities in other parts of the country, will be obviated."

The report does not give any details of these faults, but mentions as one of the main social problems, which at that time was foreseen the difficulty in achieving a balanced community.

As early as 1951 the corporation had been notified that revised estimates now meant that the population of Glenrothes was not likely to exceed 18,000 within twenty to twenty-five years. Yet the corporation was also instructed to prepare for development accommodating up to 23,000.⁵ This reduction had serious implications for the planning of the towns' growth, particularly since the future was very much in doubt. Chiefly responsible for much of the controversy and confusion at that time were the National Coal Boards own projections relating to expansion and manpower needs, which were less than had been expected in the 1940's.

The third Annual Report⁶ hopefully expected the Rothes pit to commence operation in 1954/55, but in 1954 it was still three years from completion. Nevertheless the corporation was assured that there was a long term need for over 3,000 houses in East Fife and Glenrothes was to be the centre for miners within a ten-mile radius. In 1955 it was

5. See Second Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation for year ended 31st March, 1951.

6. Third Annual Report, Glenrothes Development Corporation for year ended 31st March, 1952.

thought again however, that the population was not likely to exceed 18,000.⁷ To counteract the uncertainties resulting from the changing manpower requirements of the National Coal Board the corporation now wanted to build factories in advance of requirements, but at that time were unable to do so, since this had not become government policy yet. The report concludes:

"It may be gathered from these pages that from a material point of view the position of Glenrothes in contrast with other New Towns is less than satisfactory".

The corporation then called upon the Secretary of State to act in order to "allow reasoned progress". It is interesting to note that the report emphasised that from the "material" point of view the position was less than satisfactory, although in terms of social facilities and organisations in the community, the position was much brighter. St. Margarets Church was dedicated during that year, the Auchmuty and Woodside community halls had become available, and a group of volunteers were building another hall, attached to the above church. Kirkcaldy District Council agreed to make playing fields available and the Coal Industry Social Welfare Organisation agreed to build a bowling green and tennis courts. Furthermore the recently formed Community Association was given responsibility for the running of the Auchmuty room and for the production of a newsheet.

The following year, the "general uncertainty as to the eventual size and the direction of future planning" prevailed,⁸

7. Sixth Annual Report, Glenrothes Development Corporation, for year ended 31st March, 1955.

8. Seventh Annual Report, Glenrothes Development Corporation, for year ended 31st March, 1956.

and the report once again ended on a strong, gloomy note:

"The present difficulties, unseen and unsought by the corporation will be exasperated by undue delay in their solution and the social ideals attendant on the conception of the New Town of Glenrothes largely sacrificed".

This feeling of economic depression however, did not seem to affect the development of social activities adversely. Work on the "self-help" hall at St. Margaret's Church was proceeding, the British Legion had completed premises and a number of other organisations had started up. The community association was now officially recognised as the voluntary body representing local opinion in the town vis à vis the development corporation. It is interesting to note in this context, that in the face of common problems, feelings of solidarity must have developed along similar lines as were described by the authors of a study of social relationships on Housing Estates.⁹ Similarly, it would appear that once these pressures ceased to exist, support for the type of organisation, which was the focal point of co-operative action, diminishes. This, as we shall see later, also was the situation in the case of the community association.

Throughout the 1950's the development programme of Glenrothes was related directly to the National Coal Board Manpower needs, but in 1956 the Scottish Council (Development and Industry)¹⁰ delivered a strongly worded attack on the government for its negative attitude toward Glenrothes, claiming that despite the original policy of a balanced

9. Neighbourhood & Community - Liverpool University Press, 1954.

10. The Scottish Council (Development and Industry) Report of the Fife Working Party, Edinburgh, 1956, pp.26-29.

community the town was in practice viewed as "a mining settlement". The council itself then took a more active interest in the promotion of Glenrothes and was instrumental in bringing the first industrial employer to the town in 1957. It is also interesting to note that the corporation in that year was approached by a national cinema organisation, who offered to have a cinema built and completed within two years from February 1956. In the meantime of course there has been a recession of cinema-going throughout the country. Glenrothes does not have a cinema to this day - and the one which was opened recently in East Kilbride is in fact the first cinema to be built new in Scotland since the end of the war.

In June 1957 the Rothes Colliery started working, and under the new Housing and Town Development Act 1957, the corporation was now authorised to act as a receiving authority for overspill from Glasgow. Table 1, which shows the origin of immigrants however, illustrates the fact that Glasgow never did emerge as an important "supplier" of population and indeed industry to Glenrothes. However the population now started to increase again, after a year during which there had been almost a standstill.*

In the annual report covering 1957¹¹ it is interesting to note that the community association was passing through some difficult times, thus confirming the theory about pressure

11. Ninth Annual Report, Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1958.

* See also Table 2 attached to this section.

TABLE 1
ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS

	At 31.10.67	At 1.7.68	At 1.1.69
Glenrothes	8.7	9.4	9.0
Constellation (i.e. Leslie, Markinch)	11.7	11.0	10.6
Kirkcaldy/Dysart	10.9	10.7	10.8
Levenmouth	6.1	6.0	6.0
Cowdenbeath Lochgelly District	5.4	5.8	6.0
Dunfermline and S.W.	4.3	4.5	4.4
North Fife	7.9	7.8	8.0
Lothians, Stirling, Clacks.	8.0	8.4	8.2
Angus, Perth, Kinross	7.6	7.4	7.7
Glasgow Overspill	4.9	4.5	4.3
Glasgow Others	5.5	5.1	5.5
West of Scotland	6.0	5.9	6.0
Aberdeen, Banff	3.0	3.1	3.1
Highlands, Borders, Islands	2.6	2.6	2.6
England and Wales	7.0	7.4	7.7
Abroad	0.4	0.4	0.6
Total	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Data received from Glenrothes
Development Corporation.

and group cohesion referred to above. During the following year, industrial expansion continued at a modest but encouraging rate.** The function of Glenrothes was now

** For further details of industrial expansion see also Table 3 attached to this section.

beginning to change with an orientation towards manufacturing industries. In the same year, an action committee was formed among residents to fight an increase in house rents. Glenrothes Art Club received a special mention in the corporations' report.¹² Sic:

"There has been continued growth of social and cultural activities in the town. In particular Glenrothes Arts Club deserves a special mention because of the good work which its members are doing in encouraging interest in the arts".

In May of that year the playing fields provided by Kirkcaldy District Council were formally opened. And yet, if there was a shift in economic orientation, it was one which took effect only gradually. For in 1959 still, the corporation reported that the ratio of miners to total population was 1:7.8, which meant that at that time, it was still clearly a mining community. However the next annual report¹³ refers to the impending change of policy, which resulted from a review of estimates of coal consumption. The population had now reached 11,500 (See also Table 2) and this was considered to be the half-way stage. The Recreation Centre and Social Club, which was erected at the expense of CISWO** was now in operation and was considered a great boon to Glenrothes. Leadership for the various organisations did not appear to be a problem since the report specifically mentioned that the

12. Tenth Annual Report, Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1959.

13. Eleventh Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1960.

** Coal Industry Social & Welfare Organisation.

"town was fortunate to have so many public spirited people in its midst who are prepared to devote a considerable amount of their spare time to the advancement of societies and organisations directed towards the general welfare."

The following year was the "first full year of activity under the changed policy whereby Glenrothes development was no longer dependent upon the coal industry's expansion.¹⁴ This turned out to be a timely change for in the following year the Rothes Colliery closed. Although this was a great disappointment, few miners were made redundant, since, as the annual report¹⁵ put it, many were "phased out" over the previous two years. Indeed in June 1962, after the closure only 424 miners were found to be resident in Glenrothes, giving a ratio of approximately 1:32.

In May 1961 a new local authority, the Glenrothes District Council was created, with all new councillors living in the New Town. The new council continued the programme of recreational facilities provided by Kirkcaldy District Council. The closure of the colliery was however not followed by a retrenchment in development plans, but by an increase in the target population to a minimum of 55,000. The report covering that particular period¹⁶ welcomed this as follows:

"Perhaps the most significant event in the towns history since its original designation occurred in

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- 14. Twelfth Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation - Year ended 31st March, 1961.
 - 15. Thirteenth Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1962.
 - 16. Fifteenth Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1964.

TABLE 2

POPULATION GROWTH, 1950-1968 - GLENROTHES
(At end of December)

Year	Population
1950	1,000
1955	6,704
1960	12,499
1965	18,579
1970 (Feb.)	28,523

Data received from Glenrothes Development Corporation

October 1963 with the announcement that the target population had been raised from 32,000 to a minimum of 55,000".

During that year, an upsurge of interest in Glenrothes occurred, and indeed the social development of the town shared in this new optimism. Glenrothes District Council started construction of an 18 hole golf course, a ten-pin bowling centre was under construction and a football club was founded of which it was felt "that it will have a not insignificant effect in developing the sense of community in the town".

During the following year the corporation set up its own research unit, which in the first place was to provide data for the planners on such matters as requirements for school places, parking spaces and other facilities. In the report¹⁷ which described this new venture it was also regretted that in Scotland there did not exist a central research or record unit to collect and codify data on problems

17. Sixteenth annual report, Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1965.

relating to all New Towns.* In the same year the former Preston Primary school in Woodside had been converted into a Youth Centre. The corporation also showed signs that they were aware of further pressures for provision of more club premises. Since the Secretary of State has to approve of any capital expenditure on social facilities, the report, which is addressed to him, stresses this need for further buildings:**

para 27: "The success of the local social and cultural clubs is a special feature of town life. There is however a demand from many clubs for premises of their own. The ideal kind of building has a finish that is robust, perhaps even rough, so as not to inhibit club activities. The photographers, the boxers, the drama groups, etc. need places to which they can fix their equipment and leave it out for use at any time."

In order to facilitate the joining of organisations a system was instituted during the same year whereby the Housing Officer informs secretaries of organisations about newcomers who expressed an interest in a given activity.

Several West Fife collieries were now closing, which meant that there was a surplus of male employees in Fife, for which Glenrothes made strenuous efforts to attract industries. Table 1 which shows the origins of immigrants to Glenrothes in recent years, demonstrates that by far the greatest number of newcomers come from the surrounding County of Fife, rather than Glasgow or any other conurbation. Glenrothes' function had now become to "take up the slack" in the Fife economy.

* In Scotland, such a unit is now under way. In England no similar unit exists. This is in fact a recommendation of the Reith report, i.e. the establishment of a central authority for new towns, which was not taken up.

** See also Part V.

During the following year these efforts showed remarkable results in that eleven new industries were set up.¹⁸ The population was now on the 20,000 mark and the 5,000th Corporation House was opened. The same year also saw the unveiling of an imposing piece of sculpture, symbolising growth and vitality, in the Town Centre, which was commissioned after the closure of the Rothes Colliery in 1962, on the premiss that "in the effort to produce the practical framework for life in the New Town the visual arts should not be neglected." This surely was a courageous and in a sense prophetic gesture at that time. Since then the town has grown and developed as an important regional centre, and has become the most important growth point in Fife. In the following year this upsurge in the development of Glenrothes persisted. So for instance, the year saw the highest number of houses (930) completed so far in the towns' history. The Golf Course was about to be completed and the Glenrothes District Council took over Balbirnie Wool Mill for adaptation for use by various sports and social organisations.

Once again the question of "social balance" was raised by the corporation, this time not in connection with employment, but housing in the town. Up to then very few houses were available for sale, with the effect that people, who were traditionally owner-occupiers chose to live outside the town. Thus paragraph 24 in the annual report:¹⁹

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18. Seventeenth Annual Report of the Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1966.
19. Eighteenth Annual Report of the Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1967.

"One of the most intransigent problems with which the New Town is faced is the "five o'clock executive" exit. In the surrounding County of Fife, with its cosy villages and little pantiled seaports, there are within easy reach of Glenrothes numerous attractive places in which to set up home. This appeals to many executives, who have come to work in the town; yet socially there is a need to encourage such people and their families to live within its boundaries."

This statement very closely resembles one of the assumptions contained in the Reith report and reiterated during the debate on the New Towns Act in parliament twenty years earlier, namely that social balance is a goal, the attainment of which should be as far as possible part of the policy of a New Town Development Corporation. It was further assumed that for a new town to be "successful" in every respect, people had to be happy living there, and for that, they needed a sense of belonging.* The corporation would appear to have been very conscious of this and stressed the point again in paragraph 34 in the same annual report: "The town continues to earn a reputation for its social activity despite the perennial attempts of journalists to find the 'elusive New Town Neurosis'." Furthermore, as the Reith Committee did, the corporation acknowledge the contribution voluntary organisations could make in fostering this sense of belonging. Thus in paragraph 93 of the above report: "A sense of belonging to the New Town continued to be fostered by many active clubs and organisations". On the economic front however, the corporation still felt a sense of grievance since by now Glenrothes, which as the northernmost New Town in the United

* See also assumption No. 1 on page 8 of Chapter 1.

Kingdom had in their view enough difficulties to overcome, was now the only new town which had not been granted a special development order, by the government.

The following year, as Table 3 relating to the expansion of new manufacturing industry shows, saw no dramatic increase, but could be considered to have been a period of consolidation. But progress was reported in the field of social development, "on construction or in the planning of such projects as the golf course and club house, the town park, Technical college, theatre and swimming pool".²⁰ The District Council and the Development Corporation agreed that tenants' meeting rooms in precincts more properly fell under the formers' sphere of activities. Existing buildings were therefore transferred to their ownership and supervision, and future projects will be undertaken by them. The report for the year ending March 31st, 1969,²¹ as some of its predecessors, contained again the dual concern of the corporation over the lack of balance in employment on the one hand, and feelings of government neglect on the other. Thus in the introduction to the report they state:

"The corporation will continue of course to use every endeavour to attract new industry, but at the same time wishes the fact noted that while other new towns have had various types of Government agency directed to them, no such assistance was given to Glenrothes, where the need was patently greater."

They were particularly disturbed about the lack of non-manufacturing industry since this resulted in "too many people

20. Nineteenth Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1968.

21. Twentieth Annual Report of Glenrothes Development Corporation - year ended 31st March, 1969.

TABLE 3
EXPANSION OF NEW MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

Year	No. of Firms	Total Floor-space (sq. ft.)	Persons employed Total
1958	3	38,952	110
1959	5	92,612	225
1960	6	131,820	483
1961	6	144,250	630
1962	7	226,778	940
1963	7	289,590	1,030
1964	11	438,184	1,644
1965	15	638,161	2,414
1966	23	1,015,251	3,984
1967	28	1,096,407	4,401
1968	33	1,213,662	4,652

Figures relate to 31st December of each year.
Date received from Glenrothes Development Corporation.

travelling to work in service employment outwith the town". Nevertheless, the revised Master plan now suggested that the population target should be raised above 55,000, since site capability was now put in excess of 95,000.

As far as amenities were concerned, further progress was noted. A start had now been made on the Physical Training and Recreational Centre, which was to be part of the Glenrothes Technical College. This was notable for two reasons:

"Firstly the variety of excellent facilities which it will provide, including a swimming pool of international standard; and secondly because the project is an example of what can be achieved when various authorities come together in single-minded and

determined co-operation. While the heaviest burden and future administration will be undertaken by the County Council, the District Council and corporation will also make a substantial contribution, thus making the large scale of the project possible."

In the same year the District Council decided to sponsor the theatre-cum-community auditorium, and apply to the Scottish Arts Council for grant aid. In this way, it was reported, "this local desire to have a theatre came a significant step nearer to realisation". It was also reported that the Little Theatre Group and Junior Football Club each failed narrowly to win its respective national trophy. The corporation particularly commended the enthusiastic support of the townspeople, and took this as a sign of further proof of the "town spirit", which prevailed in Glenrothes. "And yet", so the report goes on, "despite that town spirit and energetic work, which goes into the towns' multitude of clubs and societies, the Festival Society was forced to decide not to hold a Festival Week in 1969."

Regrettable though this may have been, in a sense it reflects and sums up the development of the town. The Festival Society found its origin in the traditional miners' gala day. After the closure of the Rothes Colliery it sought to continue this tradition, and succeeded in doing so for some time. Now Glenrothes had become, after a radical change in policy and after surmounting innumerable difficulties, a centre for the electronics industry. It therefore follows that miners' galadays and their successors have to be able to adapt to the needs of the new situation, or become redundant like the industry it came out of in the first instance.

This account of the development of Glenrothes New Town, which was largely based on the reports which are annually presented by the Development Corporations' Chairman to the Secretary of State for Scotland, who in turn submits it to the House of Commons, is by no means complete. Much more could be said for instance about economic policy and physical planning; but within the context of this study it is merely meant to provide background information, which is considered to be essential to an understanding of the discussion of social policy, focussed on voluntary organisations, which will follow.

3.2 East Kilbride

As has already been mentioned, East Kilbride was conceived on the basis of the recommendations of the Clyde Valley Regional Plan.¹ In the preamble to this plan the authors reiterated the basic intentions and assumptions expressed in the Reith Report, when they said:

"Physical planning is not an end in itself. The shape and size of towns and villages and their relation to each other, the intricate pattern of roads and bye-ways, railways, canals, harbours and docks, the use of the land, its exploitation and preservation, even the very appearance and quality of urban and rural architecture - all these are meaningless except as the expression of human needs. For this reason, and especially so in the Clyde Valley Region, physical planning to be fully effective should go hand in hand with economic and social planning."²

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1. P. Abercrombie and R. Matthew: The Clyde Valley Regional Plan, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1949.
 2. Abercrombie & Matthew. op.cit. p.2.

On August 8th, 1947 the Development Corporation was appointed, and in their first annual report³ the purpose of establishing a New Town at East Kilbride was summarised as being in accordance with the following four principles in the Clyde Valley Regional Plan:

- 1) that a planned policy of decentralisation from congested urban areas is essential to proper planning of the region,
- 2) prevention of a physical link-up of further urban sprawls by means of green belt areas,
- 3) adequate provision must be made for new industries
- 4) that to give effect to the above principles a planned policy for reconcentrating population and industry, decentralised from congested areas in the Clyde Valley Region, one or more new towns is essential.

It can therefore be seen, that from the very beginning East Kilbride's purpose differed widely from that of Glenrothes. The respective policy differences could be summarised as follows: In the case of East Kilbride the population, which was to be accommodated from congested areas was the first given factor. Industry therefore had to be found and attracted to East Kilbride to offer employment opportunities for the people to be housed there. In Glenrothes, it could be said, the situation was the other way round. Industry, or more specifically the coal industry was the first given factor, and people had to be found and attracted to the new town to facilitate the expansion of this

3. Annual report of EKDC covering period August 9th, 1947 to March 31st, 1949.

industry. This difference, which might at first appear to be a play on words, is in fact fundamental to the different development of the two towns. It found its first expression in the different target population sizes. In Glenrothes the original figure of 30,000 was based on the then calculated requirement of the coal industry. The figure of 45,000 for East Kilbride however, was based on a hypothesis of optimum size. Once that figure was decided upon, the corporation then had the task of attracting industry commensurate with the growing population. This meant of course that the East Kilbride Development Corporation was unaffected by restrictions and uncertainties such as were experienced by Glenrothes through being closely linked to a single industry, the fortunes of which turned out to be different from initial expectations. Another advantage East Kilbride had over Glenrothes was the fact that it started with a broader base. The original village of East Kilbride, together with other populated parts of the designated area, provided a population of 2,400 in 1950, and with it, a number of social organisations. One of the first tasks therefore, the corporation faced in the field of social development was the "blending of old associations with new ones."⁴ It was felt that this could best be done under the aegis of a community association, which was formed during the following year under the chairmanship of the local County Council representative.⁵

Whilst Glenrothes Corporation repeatedly expressed dis-

4. Second Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1950.

5. Third Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1951.

satisfaction with economic aspects of government policy related to the town, which kept them dependent for a long time on the coal industry and restricted their possibilities of achieving social balance through diversified employment opportunities, East Kilbride Development Corporation felt that their efforts to achieve the standards set by the Reith Report were being thwarted by government restrictions in another sphere. Thus they wrote in paragraph 26 of the third annual report:

"The Reith Committee on New Towns envisaged that the opportunity afforded by construction on a new site should not be missed, but rather that a high standard of design should be demanded. The corporation however, have found that the central control over housing expenditure and over constructional details is so stringent that it is hardly possible to find the means whereby such a standard may be achieved".

This was the first of many more complaints to come, directed against the financial stringency, which the corporation felt hampered their work. It is also interesting to note that this report contained the first of many reminders to the Secretary of State, as to the urgency of the requirement of a modern cinema in the town.

By the end of the following year the population had increased by 800 to 3,200. 700 workers were now employed in local industry and 343 new houses occupied. Public demand for a cinema was now described as being "clamant".⁶ The Fifth Lanarkshire District Council had provided Tennis Courts and a pavilion. The economic stringency imposed by the government and which was commented upon in the

6. Fourth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1952.



previous report still prevailed and would appear to have prevented the corporation from implementing its own priorities.

The report therefore concluded:

"The present emphasis on construction of houses excludes nearly all the other developments which are needed for the growth of a balanced community. As well as provision of jobs, it must be remembered that churches, shops and offices, cinemas and community buildings among others must have their place in the New Town programme."

It becomes apparent that the central government restrictions on capital expenditure continued for some time, for in the following report⁷ the corporation again stressed the fact that they "are anxious to construct premises for community purposes".* The population now totalled 5,400, which represented an increase of some 3,000 since New Town operations began. Some twenty clubs and societies were now operating and the demand for a cinema continued unabated. The same question about the need for more co-ordination, which was also raised by Glenrothes Development Corporation, was stressed again by the East Kilbride Development Corporation in the conclusion to the report:

"The corporation feel that there could be greater co-ordination between departments concerned in implementing the policy of developing new towns as recommended in the Reith Report. For example, by the end of 1955 the population of East Kilbride will reach 12,000 and such a town will require town centre shops, a cinema, an hotel, and other amenities. In order to provide the buildings by that date it is necessary for the decisions to be taken now".

This impatience with central government restrictions continued and found renewed expression in the seventh annual

7. Fifth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1953.

* The question of provision of social amenities and the financing thereof will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 17.

report.⁸ The population (at 31.3.55) was now 12,000, but only 4,000 people were employed in East Kilbride itself. The pattern of commuting, which is a feature of East Kilbride, due to its proximity to Glasgow and Lanarkshire towns, such as Hamilton and Motherwell, had already become established. The central government restrictions on the building of a cinema had now been removed and negotiations were started. It was expected to have one cinema ready by the end of 1956. The corporation still called the need for a cinema as one of "the most insistent requirements of the people, old and young." However, they also noted that some residents had stated that now that they had a Television set, they did not depend on the cinema any more. Undeterred by these indications of an impending change of leisure habits, at least as far as cinema-going was concerned, the corporation continued to press for at least three cinemas within the next 15 years. The report goes on to mention that still more community buildings were required, since in spite of willingness to improvise, the accommodation available was far from able to satisfy the demand, which was continually growing, as new societies and clubs were formed by the incoming population.

To overcome this shortage of accommodation for community purposes the corporation felt that "New Towns ought to have more power to provide community service halls, and the impression is that English New Towns are better served in this respect."* The report goes on to say that,

8. Seventh Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1955.

* for more details on this see Part V.

"The churches have been generous in helping with their halls but the town itself should be able to furnish community services to keep pace with the growth of population."

This last point particularly illustrates the very important role the churches played in the initial stages of the social development of each of the new towns.

The policy adopted by the corporation at the time is summed up in the following statement contained in the same report:

"There has been a big increase in the number of cultural and mutual-aid societies, and it is the purpose of the Development Corporation to encourage the growth of such organisations on the principle that true self-government means that the citizens should help themselves as much as possible."

The corporations' resources for providing buildings, and it would seem staff as well, to support various organisations in their efforts were obviously limited; the clubs and societies therefore had to be self reliant, whether this was official policy or not. To some extent it would therefore seem that the corporation were making a virtue out of necessity. Nevertheless, they once again objected very strongly to being kept on a tight financial rein by central government, which prevented them from doing the things they felt were necessary. In fact they accused central government of apparently having two opposing policies, in the conclusion to the seventh annual report: "On the one hand they want this to be a showplace - but put pressure on the corporation to reduce housing costs, thereby lowering standards and eliminating architectural features, that give character to housing lay-outs."

In the following year the population rose to over 16,000⁹ and over 3,800 houses were now completed. Glasgow, as was intended, continued to supply the largest proportion of the population. (See Table 4). Once again the corporation

TABLE 4

POPULATION GROWTH (at end of December) - EAST KILBRIDE

Year	Population
1950	3,000
1955	14,500
1960	32,000
1965	45,000
1970 (Feb.)	65,200

states that it believes it to be better for self-governing groups to be left free to "organise culture and recreation for themselves". It would appear that here the corporation were providing a rationale for not employing anyone specifically to foster and develop organisations of this kind, such as a social development or social relations officer.* The companies, who only a year earlier submitted plans for the building of a cinema have now declined to start building on the grounds that competition from Radio and Television would require more than a population of 16,000.

By the following year more than 50 "cultural and social organisations" were in existence in the town. The population had risen to 18,000, 90% of which were reported as being under 40 years of age. Furthermore 22% of all the

9. Eighth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1956.

* for further details on the role and function of a social development officer see Chapter 16.

children were under the age of 5. The climate of financial stringency continued to prevail, to the extent that even the building of public conveniences was delayed due to government restriction on capital expenditure.¹⁰

The following year marked the tenth anniversary since designation, a period in which the population rose from 2,500 to 20,000, 5,000 houses were built, five schools and seven churches opened and eleven industrial establishments were providing employment in the town. In their report¹¹ the corporation once again showed concern over their inability to implement the recommendations of the Reith Report to the extent they would have wished to, due to the continuing restrictions on capital expenditure. Their frustration over this was vented in the conclusion to the report which read:

"Two main features of a well provided and balanced community are a live centre for its social, cultural and business life, and adequate employment opportunities. A great deal is still lacking. There is for example no sign of any place of public entertainment, such as a cinema, ballroom, theatre or concert hall; nor office accommodation for business or professional purposes, nor of central accommodation for community activities, such as meetings of societies, clubs and similar organisations. The corporation consider that in the special circumstances of the rapid growth of a New Town, provision of the buildings required for some of these purposes should not be left entirely to private enterprise or to other bodies. They hope to be allowed to make their own contribution."

The corporation in raising this problem show evidence that they accepted the Reith report assumption* which postulated that certain community buildings were required from an early stage in the town development. By now the

10. Ninth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1957.

11. Tenth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1958.

* see for instance assumption 3a, Chapter 1.

corporation had been in existence for ten years and were obviously showing signs of impatience because so far they were not able to do more in this direction due to government restrictions, and the lack of special provision for what they considered to be special problems of new towns. In this they re-iterated Wyndham Thomas' and Dame Evelyn Sharps' views which they expressed around about the same time.* In doing so, EKDC also anticipated legislation by some eight years, which at last made it possible for them to spend capital on amenities.

The eleventh annual report¹² took up the same theme again. There were now over 60 voluntary bodies, and the lack of accommodation was an increasing problem. By now it was assumed that the town had reached its halfway mark with a population of over 23,000. However it is interesting to note that at that time only about 50% of workers employed in East Kilbride factories also lived in the town, a fact which was largely explained by the discrepancy in house rents between East Kilbride and surrounding areas. The lack of local facilities was also given as one of the main reasons which helped to bring about the formation of a "Burgh Status Association". At that time the competent local authority was the Fifth District Council (Lanarkshire) and it was felt that East Kilbride, by becoming a Burgh of its own, would be able to provide better facilities, more speedily.

12. Eleventh Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1959.

* See refs.No. 32 and 33 on page Chapter 1.

The following years' report¹³ would appear to bear out the above contention, because the corporation were trying to build a community building, the government offered to contribute up to a third of the cost, but "progress was very slow due to the District Council."¹⁴ On the other hand the same council took the initiative in showing films in a public hall, since there was still no cinema. The population was now approaching 30,000 among which the proportion of teenagers was considered to be very low. Although the report does not give actual figures, this would be characteristic of the age structure of a new town at that particular stage of development.

In the course of the next year the Secretary of State announced that the target population figure was now to be changed from 55,000 to 70,000.¹⁵ The District Council now decided in principle to provide community halls in each of the neighbourhoods, and the Development Corporation welcomed this decision warmly. However, as it turned out these plans had to be shelved for another year due to borrowing difficulties. A Community Centre Association was now formed for the purpose of promoting the idea of a community building in the town centre.¹⁶ Members of the corporation together with representatives of other Scottish New Towns met with Dr. Nicholson, author of "New Communities in Britain" and arising out of this meeting "it was considered that more should

13. Twelfth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1960.

14. Paragraph 77, Twelfth Annual Report - EKDC.

15. Thirteenth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1961.

16. Fourteenth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1962.

be done in the way of provision for clubs and facilities". Once again the corporation emphasised the point that a new town faces special needs in terms of community buildings, for which it should be possible to make special provision. They summed up the predicament which to more or less the same extent applied to other new towns, thus in paragraph 115:

"Every year that passes there are more young people in the town seeking outlets for their energies and aspirations. Equally there are more adults freed from the obligations of looking after young children, and therefore are able to participate in community activities beyond the family circle. Plans must be made immediately to provide the meeting places which will be in increasing demand. The town has shown that even with limited accommodation there are plenty of activities taking place; it would be regrettable if the future of social development of the town were stunted through lack of community buildings. It is hoped that the local residents will make substantial contributions to the community centre fund. Some help, however, from outside is to be expected in a town lacking the social equipment which established places enjoy as a result of past patronage and capital investment."

The corporation here clearly highlight a problem common to new towns, namely that a new community, which corporately and individually has to face a great deal of initial expenditure, in providing essential services and furnishing new homes, is not in a position to raise sufficient capital for community buildings, particularly since there are no former members and previous investments which in an established town can be counted upon for support. Help from "outside", such as central government funds, is therefore required.

Throughout these reports, it can be observed how on this very theme the pressure on central government is steadily building up, and, as will be seen later, eventually leads to

legislation, which makes such "outside help" possible. In June 1963, East Kilbride acquired the status of a small burgh,¹⁷ and the first town council was elected. With a population of 39,000 it had become the most populous small burgh in the country. The Town Council now took over the responsibility for the community hall, which the District Council began to build at the Murray. At the same time it took over the recreational facilities for which the District Council was previously responsible. It would appear that one of the hopes which the Burgh Status Association had, when campaigning for East Kilbrides' "independence" from the Fifth Lanarkshire District Council, namely a speedier provision of facilities, was justified. This is not surprising, since for a District Council, the new town which happens to be situated within its boundaries is only one of a number of priorities, which has to be considered. The special claims of a new town can therefore not be given the special consideration, which it is reasonable to expect. A Town Council on the other hand, can concentrate fully on the development of its own town, particularly, when, as was the case in East Kilbride, the Development Corporation carries the deficit on the housing account, but the Town Council collects the rates.

During the first year of the operation of the town council plans were drawn up for a recreation centre at Torrance House, construction on an olympic size swimming pool, costing

17. Sixteenth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1964.

£550,000 was started and the Town Council jointly with the local YMCA and the Inland Revenue Board built a hostel for employees of the Inland Revenue Computer Centre, which also included recreation facilities for the local YMCA.

The corporation reported that they were committed to make grants towards the provision of the following sports and recreational amenities:¹⁸

£12,000 - towards Football Club, Bowling Club and Youth Centre

£80,000 - towards Swimming Pool, and

£31,000 - were already spent on greenway recreation areas and similar features.

The population had now reached 45,000; there were 87 industrial companies, (over twice the number in existence 5 years earlier).*

The Town Council now had become anxious to obtain Large Burch status, under which they would become responsible for such functions as Town Planning, Health, Welfare and Childrens' Services etc. The report concluded that the seventeenth year had been the most successful yet in the towns history.

In the following year the population had increased to 49,000; 12,500 houses had been completed, 18,000 jobs were occupied and the number of Industrial companies had risen to 115.¹⁹

It is however interesting to note that a third of the people employed in the town were commuters. Despite the economic freeze, which by then prevailed again, full employment was maintained throughout the following year. In the field of

18. Seventeenth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1965.

19. Eighteenth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1966.

* for further details of East Kilbrides' progress see Table 5.

TABLE 5

EXPANSION OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES - EAST KILBRIDE

Year	No. of firms.	Total floor-space (sq.ft.)	Persons employed
1950	3	100,000	2,500
1955	8	1,000,000	6,250
1960	40	1,600,000	9,500
1965	87	2,900,000	14,800
1970 (Feb.)	189	4,500,000	24,245

Data received from East Kilbride Development Corporation.

housing all previous records were broken and no fewer than 1,486 dwellings were completed.²⁰ Construction on the swimming pool continued and the corporation and the Town Council were examining the possibilities of establishing a number of social clubs, but the lack of suitable sites created a problem. They therefore decided to give priority in their support to those clubs which already served the "widest cross-section of the community." This particular reference to the "widest cross-section of the community" is of interest, since it is the only statement of policy in any of the new town reports, which specifically mentions the desirability of clubs which serve as wide a cross-section of the community as possible, and accordingly make them particularly worthy of the support of the Development Corporation, or, as in this case, the Town Council.*

20. Nineteenth Annual Report - EKDC for year ended 31st March, 1967.

* The question of occupational status of the membership of various organisations will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.

The following year again allowed the EKDC to record satisfactory progress in the field of housing, where for the fourth successive year they built more new houses than any other new town in the United Kingdom.²¹ Progress in industry was "steady, but not spectacular", but the "crisis of business confidence caused by the events leading to devaluation, the gold crisis and higher taxation" somewhat inhibited commercial development. The town had now become a large Burgh and the Town Council took immediate steps to take over the extra responsibility from the County Council. This also gave them the opportunity to anticipate the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1969, by appointing a Director of Social Work, the first one in Scotland, who was responsible for the creation of a single social work department from the very outset. The swimming pool was also opened in March 1968, and it is of interest to note that the corporation states that "an increasing amount of time will also be devoted to more sophisticated social developments to supplement those recently completed or under construction."

During the following year the town celebrated its 21st anniversary. With a population of 62,000 it had become the eighth largest town in Scotland. With a total of 164 companies, East Kilbride had attracted more than any other New Town in Britain.²² At last, a cinema, the first entirely new one since the war in Scotland, was opened, and the new YMCA hostel, built by the Towns Council, managed by the YMCA

21. Twentieth Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1968.

22. Twenty-first Annual Report - EKDC - year ended 31st March, 1969.

and partly paid for by the Inland Revenue Board was opened, together with three new community halls in Westwood, Calderwood and West Mains. The target population now stands at 100,000, which includes the natural increase on the immigrant population. East Kilbride can be described a success, industrially, commercially, and, as will be seen later, socially as well. According to P.D. McGovern²³ this success is largely due to its geographical situation on the fringes of the Glasgow conurbation, and within easy reach of the main trunk road from the South. (A 74). Of the 189 companies in East Kilbride,* 78 are industrial manufacturers. The other 111 are non-manufacturing service industries (including warehousing because of good accessibility). Of these companies 30 came from overseas. Of the approx. 25,000 people employed in East Kilbride about 50% work in the manufacturing industries, about 10% in non-manufacturing service industries and a further 10% work with public authorities. The building industry absorbs some 5% and the remaining 25% are employed in a variety of occupations from agriculture to insurance.

Once again, as was the case with the summary of the development of Glenrothes, it would have gone far beyond the result of this particular piece of research, to give a full account of the economic growth and the physical development of East Kilbride. Nevertheless, it should become clear from this resumé that East Kilbrides' problems were different from those Glenrothes encountered. East Kilbride was

23. P.D. McGovern: Scottish Geographical Magazine, April, 1968.

* as per 31st December 1969.

unfettered by the kind of government policy which too closely linked the future of Glenrothes with the economic prospects of the coal-industry, which had a restricting effect not only on the possibilities of attracting other, more diversified industries but also made the planning and completion of an appropriate housing programme almost impossible at times. None of these disadvantages existed for East Kilbride. One of its main purposes, was to act as a recipient for Glasgow overspill population. The figures given in Table 6 show how East Kilbride fulfilled this function over the years. It will be noted that the proportion of immigrants from Glasgow was at no point less than 34.3% (1952-53) and at one time as high as 68% (1960-61). East Kilbride did not have to undertake a complete change of policy, as Glenrothes had to, when the Rothes Colliery ceased to operate. All this does not mean that East Kilbride did not have any problems to face. There were many, and not in the least the problem of capital finance for amenities, which for a long time appears like a recurring theme through the reports, and which prevented the corporation from spending money on community buildings to the extent they appear to have wished to. This only changed, once legislation had been introduced, which made it possible for corporations to spend up to £4.-. per head of the target population.* Furthermore, once the Town Council was called into existence, they had both the funds and the determination to spend capital on amenities.

* See Chapter 17 for more details.

TABLE 6
ORIGINS OF IMMIGRANTS TO EAST KILBRIDE

	at 31.3.67	at 31.3.68	at 31.3.69
Glasgow	54·0	52·0	54·0
Lanarkshire	26·0	27·0	26·0
Rest of Scotland	13·0	13·0	14·0
Elsewhere	7·0	8·0	6·0
Total	<u>100·0</u>	<u>100·0</u>	<u>100·0</u>

Incomplete though this summary is, it is hoped that it will provide an overall picture of the development of East Kilbride, and thereby make available the necessary background information against which the findings of this study should be seen.

3.3 Livingston

Throughout the fifties, with the exception of Cumbernauld, no new town was designated in the United Kingdom. By 1960 however, it had become clear that another new town would have to be built to provide for Glasgow's overspill. Detailed studies were commissioned by the Scottish Development Department, and the proposals for siting a new town at Livingston were published in 1962.¹ The area was designated on April 6th, 1962, by the Secretary of State for Scotland, but it had already been proposed as a possible site, along with Glenrothes in the Mears Plan of 1948.²

1. Draft New Town (Livingston) Designation Order 1962: HMSO 1962.

2. F.C. Mears: A Regional Survey and Plan for Central and South East Scotland, Edinburgh HMSO 1948.

Apart from providing accommodation for Glasgow Over-spill it was also intended that Livingston should become a new industrial growth point in Central Scotland, but away from the congested regions of Glasgow and Edinburgh. To investigate how this could best be done, the Secretary of State commissioned planners from the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, together with representatives of the two County Councils of West and Midlothian, and members of the New Town Development Corporation, to prepare an advisory plan for an area of some 80 square miles around the new town. Their report was published in 1966,³ although advantage was taken of interim reports from 1964 onwards. Basically the original purpose of building a new town at Livingston was similar to the purpose of building other new towns. But the original concept of an "overspill town" grew and became the "focus for a region", according to the Lothians Regional Plan and Survey.

In the White Paper: "Central Scotland - a programme for development and growth",⁴ the Board of Trade took this concept a step further, and now saw Livingston not only as a regional focal point, but "as the centre of economic growth of a complete region". They therefore revised the target population to one of 185,000 for the Greater Livingston Area. This belief in the potential of the area for industrial development must have been strengthened by the construction at Bathgate, near Livingston, of a truck and tractor factory,

3. The Lothians Regional Survey and Plan, HMSO, 1966.

4. Board of Trade: Central Scotland: a programme for development and growth, HMSO, 1962.

by the British Motor Corporation, which was employing 4,600 workers within three years of its opening in 1961.

In the first Annual Report of the Livingston Development Corporation⁵ the purpose of the town was defined as follows:

a) To provide over 1,000 houses per annum from 1965 onwards to house families displaced by the redevelopment plans of Glasgow Corporation who cannot be accommodated within the city boundaries, or by other authorities, who have entered into overspill agreements with the corporation.

and b) To create a new focus of industrial activity in the central belt of Scotland and thereby link the industrial west with centres of expansion in the Forth Basin, and at the same time revitalise with modern industry an area hitherto largely dependent on the mining of coal and of shale, which has now ceased.*

However, the Lothians Report suggests that very little of the employment needed for growth can be expected to come from Glasgow, and that some of it may even be attracted from Edinburgh. It also foresees a considerable number of immigrants to come from Edinburgh in spite of the fact that the Master Plan⁶ anticipated about 80% of the population to come from Glasgow. As Table 7, relating to the household origins shows, the forecast of the Lothians Survey turned out to be essentially correct. It will be noted that at each

5. First Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1964.

*. See also, LDC Masterplan, 1963, p. 24.

6. op.cit., p. 7.

TABLE 7

ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS - LIVINGSTON

Origin	% Nov. 66	% Aug. 67	% Dec. 68	% Dec. 69
Within Designated Area	16.0	11.4	12.5	11.34
Rest of Midlothian	5.4	7.2	10.0	9.08
Rest of West Lothian	15.6	10.6	23.0	21.63
Edinburgh	14.8	16.4	17.9	19.51
Glasgow	14.0	14.1	11.4	11.99
Lanarkshire	7.0	8.7	6.5	6.04
Rest of Central Scotland	13.2	15.6	9.2	10.35
Borders	2.4	2.6	1.8	2.14
Highlands	3.8	5.2	2.7	2.42
North England	3.2	4.0	1.0) * 5.50
Elsewhere	4.6	4.2	3.9	
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

* Remainder: including categories - other new towns, North of England, Elsewhere, Abroad, not stated.

Figures are quoted from 1968 LDS Household Analysis.
 Figures for December 1969 are abstracted from 17 categories given in 1969 LDC Household Analysis.

stage of the towns' growth examined, a major source of immigrants has been Edinburgh and the Lothians, whereas Glasgows' contribution has been consistently lower than the expected 80%.

The actual building of the New Town started at Livingston Station, since it had already an existing population of some 1,400 persons from the time when it was a mining village, and certain rudimentary facilities such as shops, a post office, a church, a community hall and a pub. But progress was slow, since the building firm with whom the first contract for 267 houses was placed, failed to honour the agreement and went into liquidation in the course of the following year.⁷

In the meantime planning continued for Craigshill, which was to be the first major district to be developed on a virgin site, some 2 - 3 miles east of Livingston Station, which continued to be very much an entity of its own, orientated towards Bathgate, rather than towards the remainder of Livingston. This was not surprising, since out of a working population of 518, some 240 worked in Bathgate, at the time of designation.⁸ Indeed Livingston Station was to be the main recipient area for workers at the BMC plant, which were to be housed there.

This tendency towards a westward orientation, i.e. towards Bathgate and the rest of West Lothian, which would appear to prevail at Livingston Station is also illustrated

7. Second Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1964.

8. See also Table IV, p. 65, in the Master Plan LDC, 1963.

by Hume's study of the area.⁹ Table 8, which is reproduced from her thesis shows that very few people indeed take part in any social activities in any other New Town District.

TABLE 8

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS BY DEANS RESIDENTS (Total Households 74)

A = more than once a week; B = weekly; C = fortnightly; D = monthly; E = less than once a month						
	A	B	C	D	E	% of house- holders
<u>Husbands</u>						
Deans	2	2	5	1	2	16.2
Other Districts	-	-	-	1	-	1.4
Elsewhere	2	2	-	2	4	13.5
<u>Wives</u>						
Deans	2	4	5	7	1	25.7
Other Districts	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elsewhere	1	-	1	1	2	6.8
<u>Girls under 16 years</u>						
Deans	-	4	-	-	-	5.4
Other Districts	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elsewhere	1	-	-	-	-	1.4
<u>Boys under 16 years</u>						
Deans	-	8	-	1	-	12.2
Other Districts	-	-	-	-	-	-
Elsewhere	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Others</u>						
Deans	-	2	-	-	-	4.1
Other Districts	2	1	-	1	-	5.4
Elsewhere	-	1	1	1	1	4.1

9. V. Hume, "Neighbourhoods in Scottish New Towns",
Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1969, Table 16.15.

She also found that the area indicated as "elsewhere" in this table, usually meant Bathgate. The maps, showing the place of residence of members in various organisations, as will be seen, demonstrate this lack of communication between Livingston Station, (which has since been re-named as Deans District in the face of strong protests) and the rest of the new town, notably Craigshill. The reasons for this are two-fold. The Livingston Station District was at the time, when the first planned development started at Craigshill, some 4 miles (by road) distant from that area. On the other hand, Bathgate, which is an established town of some 15,000 of a population,* with good shopping and social facilities is also only 4 miles to the west of Livingston Station, and is readily accessible by an hourly bus-service. Over a long time therefore, the residents of Livingston Station, from the time when it was a mining settlement, have always looked to Bathgate as their nearest centre for shopping and social activities, and in some cases, work.** Furthermore, the occupants of the new houses built at Livingston Station were frequently old residents, whose cottages, which formerly belonged to the Scottish Oils Shale Mining Company, and which were pulled down in the course of redevelopment. These residents have lived at Livingston Station for a considerable number of years, and therefore followed an established

* Latest estimate published in Rating Review of Institute of Municipal Treasures and Accountants, March 1970, 14,717.

** This was also borne out by J. Pilgrim: Chapter 17 "Some Social Problems" contained in the Lothians Regional Survey and Plan, Vol. I, published by Glasgow University.

pattern of "orientation" towards Bathgate.*

In November 1963, the total population of Livingston Station numbered 1401, a quarter of which were over 50 years old.¹⁰ According to the latest Household Analysis,¹¹ as at 31st December 1969 there were 1301 people living in the Deans District, (which is the same District, but re-named.) In other words over a period of some six years there has in fact been a decline in population in that District. This in itself is unusual for a new town district: but this situation is not likely to alter till such time that the planned development which started in the Eastern part of the designated area, and is progressing along an East-West axis, will have reached Deans District. It also underlines, that in the meantime, to all intents and purposes, Deans District continues to be an independent entity, which has little or no interaction with the rest of the new town. This also applies to the existing social organisations. It is significant that of the organisations published in the list which is being distributed to newcomers by the Welcoming Committee, and from which the sample for this study was taken, only two have a secretary residing in the Deans District. However, too much should not be made of this, since officials of the Development Corporation and voluntary leaders of various organisations are confident that in time, as the town grows, the balance, which prevailed at the time of this research, is likely to alter.

* This fact was also confirmed in a private communication with the Planning Research Unit of LDC.

10. Source: Table 1 Appendix 1, Master Plan LDC 1963.

11. Planning Research Unit, LDC May 1970.

As part of the "equipment" designed to help the social development of the town the Development Corporation took over an 18th century mansion, Howden House, and proceeded to adapt it as a community centre. Initially this was done with a grant from Carnegie UK Trust of £12,000. When however in the following year the neighbouring local authorities declined to contribute to this, the Carnegie grant went up to £15,000 as a contribution to the estimated cost of £21,000.¹² Up to the end of the period covered by this report only 22 houses had been let at Livingston Station. 6 Industrial Companies were now committed to operate in the New Town (3 in the building industry sector), and a total of 268 new industrial jobs were available.

This also marked the end of the initial planning period. In the field of social relations the corporation reported that "steps are being taken to encourage organisations, both statutory and voluntary, to provide facilities in the town at an as early stage as possible." To help to solve the problem of leadership, "enquiries are being made of all new tenants regarding any experience they have had in working with voluntary organisations." It is therefore interesting to note once again, as in the case of the previous two new towns, and indeed as suggested in the Reith Report, that the Development Corporation looked towards the voluntary organisations to make a major contribution to the social life of the town.

During the following year the corporation moved into

12. Third Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1965.

permanent offices at Livingston Village, which they felt "made relations with Local Authorities, statutory bodies, churches and voluntary organisations easier."¹³ Progress in the field of housing was again slow - 124 houses were completed and 115 of those were let at Livingston Station (at 31st March, 1966). Table 9, which indicates the growth of the town in terms of house completions, size of population and number of industrial jobs (as at 31st December in each year), shows that up to the end of 1968 the completion figures fell considerably short of the planned 1,000 per annum starting in 1965. This table also illustrates the decline, both in numbers and in proportion of population figures in so-called "non-Development Corporation Housing", (referred in the table as Non-LDC population). These figures were mainly made up of housing at Livingston Station, and to a lesser extent, Bells-quarry and Livingston Village.

TABLE 9

GROWTH OF POPULATION - LIVINGSTON
House Completions. New Industrial Jobs.

	Dwellings Completed	Total Population	Non-LDC Population	New Industrial Jobs
31st Dec. 1964.	8	18	2,000	20
1965	96	252	2,000	268
1966	707	1,911	1,750	777
1967	1,566	4,281	1,500	1,378
1968	2,195	6,220	1,350	1,694
1969	3,307	8,560	1,350	2,275

Data supplied by Livingston Development Corporation.

13. Fourth Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1966.

By 31st March, 1966, 7 new industries were now committed to operate in Livingston, 4 of which were actually now in operation, providing (at 31st Dec. 1966) 777 industrial jobs. The corporation also reported that considerable interest was shown by voluntary organisations, as a result of their approaches. Several Youth Organisations were reported "to be awaiting an opportunity to commence operations when premises are available and tenants have moved in."

Indeed in the course of the following year these plans came to fruition in a number of fields. Tenants now began to move into Craigshill, where 427 new dwellings were let. Riverside Primary School opened, and so did its community wing, "serving the need of 400 families." In the field of social relations, significant progress was also reported.¹⁴

Thus paragraph 47:

"Social activities began to thrive soon after the first tenants arrived at Craigshill. Midlothian County Council appointed a full-time Youth and Community officer, and the Church of Scotland appointed an officer with a similar remit."

The impact these two people had on the growth and development of social organisations in general and youth organisations will be referred to in another part of this thesis.* Furthermore the social relations department of LDC "played a part in this by listing from application forms persons with common leisure-time interests, by house-to-house visits and by giving advice on all aspects of social development."

14. Fifth Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1967.

* See for instance Chapter 8.

As far as community buildings were concerned significant advances were made. Howden House was opened in July, and the Church of Scotland Home Board rented Craigs Farm from the Development Corporation. As was to be expected initially, Howden House was made little use of since it was too far removed from the first housing developments, (About two miles walking distance along unlit roads) in Craigshill. With this in mind, the Church of Scotland took over Craigs Farm, an all but derelict farm house, with some outbuildings, and started to convert it into a community centre, largely using volunteers from the neighbourhood as a work force. The development of Craigshill Farm is described in more detail elsewhere,* but it is of interest to note that in the original master plan¹⁵ the corporation proposed to develop the Craigs Farm buildings for community purposes, but in the event this was left almost entirely to voluntary effort.

The following year the corporation was able to report "satisfactory progress in all departments."¹⁶ In the course of the year, 895 houses were completed, making a cumulative total of 1713 (as at March 31st, 1968).** Craigshill, the town's first major housing district was now developing into an "urban community with its planned quota of public buildings." The second primary school (Letham) was opened during the year and the building of the secondary school was

* See Part V.

¹⁵ Livingston Development Corporation Master Plan, 1963, p.45.
¹⁶ Sixth Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1968.

** Note that Table 9 gives figures as per 31st December of each year listed.

begun, and so was the Church of Scotland's new church. Furthermore, building operations started in the Howden District. There were now 10 industrial firms working, providing jobs for approximately 1,000 male workers and 350 female workers. As far as community buildings were concerned, once again Letham Primary was equipped with a so-called "Youth & Community Wing" which is available for the use of the community for social purposes. Although the Development Corporation warmly welcomed the provision of these Youth wings, their use is not without its problems, as will be seen later.

Social activities continued to expand. It was reported that the Social Club, which grew out of the Sunday morning "Forum", was negotiating for a site to erect its own multi-purpose building. The adaptation of Craigs Farm continued to progress thanks to "the enthusiasm of a number of volunteer workers." Another group, also originating in "Forum" run the weekly news-sheet, "Newsflash", containing news of all organisations and events in the town, which is being distributed to all households in the Craigshill District. (As an indication as to how much use is made of Newsflash, it was found in connection with this study, that a number of secretaries of organisations do not consider it to be necessary to keep a list of their members' addresses, since they could always be reached by way of "Newsflash", if the particular club had any announcements to make.) Furthermore, as a reaction to a particular need in the community, created by the large number of children of pre-school age, pre-school play groups

were set up. Each of these has its own parents committee, which is responsible for the policy, standards of conditions and conduct of the staff, augmented by the parents of the children and other interested persons, who take turns to provide additional assistance. This in a sense is a classic case of "collective action being taken for the advancement of social welfare",* within the context of a new community and its special needs.

Livingston's progress continued to accelerate, and it was therefore with some pride that the corporation referred to this in their seventh annual report.¹⁷ Thus they state in the introduction:

"It is noteworthy that in the period of little more than four years since buildings began to appear on the ground, 19 factories have been completed and occupied, providing employment for 1,352 male workers and 494 female workers."

As Table 7 illustrates, however, the contribution Glasgow overspill made to the growth of the population continued to be small, and well below the 80% originally envisaged. The same report also contains a policy statement of the corporation, which is of particular interest within the context of this study. Thus in paragraph 43:

"The Board have always been conscious of the important role of social relations in welding the community together and so assisting families to settle down and take a wider view of the town. The practical help which the department** has been able to give has undoubtedly been encouraged by the selfgeneration of

17. Seventh Annual Report - LDC - year ended 31st March, 1969.

* The study of which has been defined by Prof. Donnison in his inaugural lecture as the territory of "Social Administration".

** Of Housing and Social Relations.

community activity which is essential in this field. One example last year was the setting up of a welcoming committee, the main task of whose members is to visit all newcomers."

It was this welcoming committee, which under the guidance of the social development officer produced the first comprehensive list of organisations, which also formed the sample in this study.

However, although economic circumstances differed somewhat from the time when both Glenrothes and East Kilbride were in their early developing stages, Livingston Development Corporation too, were not given permission by the Secretary of State for Scotland to implement their own plans concerning community buildings: Thus in paragraph 48, they state:

"The corporation regret that it was only possible for your Department to permit the provision of community centres such as small tenants' meeting rooms serving 300-400 houses. The corporation felt that it would be more economic and of greater value if in some cases larger community centres, providing for much larger groups of houses could have been permitted, instead of individual meeting rooms."

The question raised here, as to whether a number of smaller centres are preferred to fewer larger and more central ones, is one which will be dealt with in the course of this study. However, it is interesting to note that in the same report, as if to avoid undercutting their own case regarding these community centres, the corporation emphasise that the Craigs Farm Centre, which was now administered by the Craigshill Community Development Project, was designed to "complement" existing social facilities, and not to take their place. Their case however is also well supported by the report, which was commissioned by the Secretary of State himself and which

was published as the Lothian Regional Survey and Plan. Among the principles involved in the provision of recreational facilities suggested by the special committee on Recreation, which was set up by the respective Working Party for the above plan stated:¹⁸

"Because of the rapid changes expected to take place in the population structure of the region, e.g. changing jobs, places of residence and social affiliations, the recreation and community facilities will be used daily to facilitate the integration of families into unfamiliar surroundings. Recreation and community facilities must be provided, but provided in an accessible and inviting way, to serve as social stabilizers in an area which will be characterized by accelerated immigration."

Underlying this statement is again the Reith Report assumption* about the importance of facilities being made available early in the town's development. The statement further implies that provision of such facilities should be made for social reasons, even if it is not justified on economic grounds.

Experience in East Kilbride, Glenrothes and now also in Livingston would however suggest that economic grounds, particularly as related to the rent structure in Scotland, were the stumbling block in Scottish New Towns, which prevented the respective development corporations from providing the facilities they would have wanted to. It is clearly not possible at this stage in Livingston's development to assess success or failure, by whatever criteria, in the same way as might be feasible for East Kilbride and Glenrothes. At the time of this study just over 4 years had passed, since buildings began to appear on the ground. In that period the

18. Lothian Regional Survey and Plan: Scottish Development Department, op.cit., p. 183.

* 3c in summary, Chapter 1.

population in the designated area grew from just over 2,000 to approximately 10,000 and some 2,275 new industrial jobs were created.

P.D. McGovern¹⁹ chose to evaluate the Scottish New Towns in terms of the contribution they are making to the governments dispersal policy. The curbing of the growth of population and employment in large cities has been one of the most important constituent factors in Ebenezer Howards' concept of the garden city, and has remained so, in spite of changing planning concepts, from the garden city to the compact "walled town", to the linear-town, as the chief *raison d'être* of new towns. McGovern's choice of criterion is therefore relevant, for if, as he points out, "the New Towns had not existed, some part at least of the natural increase of the population and economic growth which has taken place in them, would have been added to the congested areas. He further suggests that New Towns also should be assessed with "reference to the provision made for flexibility and growth."²⁰ The early idea was that a new town should be held to a maximum of 50,000 of a population. Today there is less certainty of what constitutes the ideal size for a town, but it has been realised that a much larger population is necessary to achieve any real measure of balance and self-containment; it is also becoming evident that the growth of a dynamic community cannot easily be stopped at some arbitrary target population

19. P.D. McGovern: "The New Towns of Scotland" - Scottish Geographical Magazine, April 1968, p. 42.

20. McGovern, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

or date. Thus, as was noted, the targets for East Kilbride and Glenrothes have been intermittently changed. In order to avoid this, Livingston itself has been given a target twice the size of the original ideal, and allowance has been made for further growth in the adjoining area. Livingston therefore has been able to benefit from earlier mistakes in this respect. The Development Corporation were also able to build advance factories, which in the initial stages neither East Kilbride nor Glenrothes could. Furthermore, because of its function as focal point for a whole region, Livingston is able to stimulate growth in the surrounding Bathgate and Calders Area, and also benefit from it. (Vide the BMC plant at Bathgate, which provides work for Livingston residents.)

As far as the "social development" of the town is concerned, it is of interest to note that Livingston was the first among the Scottish New Towns, (and at the time of this study the only one) to include among its staff a social development officer, albeit not in accordance with the suggestions contained in the circular, published by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government on that subject.²¹ There the Ministry propose that the person appointed to the post of social development officer should be made a chief officer, "of sufficient calibre to join on equal terms in discussion with professional colleagues."

Similarly, the Gulbenkian Foundation Report on "Community Work and Social Change"²² in their definition of the role of a

21. Ministry of Housing & Local Government, Circular NT/290/5/2; op.cit.

22. Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Report: Community Work and Social Change, Longmans, 1968.

social relations officer, (by which they mean exactly the same function as the Ministry's "Social Development Officer), suggest that he should be one of the chief officers of the corporations' staff.* However, in Livingston this is not the case. There the social development officer is on the staff of the Housing and Social Relations department, and is junior to the Housing officer, who himself is not a chief officer. Nevertheless, Livingston, as the only Scottish New Town have employed a member of staff, whose remit it is to assist with the social development of the town. This, as will be seen, has had an effect on the growth and diversity of social organisations at an early stage in the town's development.

The closeness to Glasgow, in the case of East Kilbride has frequently meant that certain facilities were late in being made available to the new residents, and the proximity to Kirkcaldy, according to McGovern²³ makes it difficult to decide on the appropriate balance of service activities between Glenrothes and that town; but in the case of Livingston he feels that the location is just right. Thus, he states:

"The situation of Livingston and the amount of growth forecast for the town and its surrounding region, make it an attractive location for firms and families wishing to be in the Edinburgh area. The economic advantages are that it is close enough to the city for firms to tap the labour resources and service industries to be found there, and yet the town is perhaps just far enough away and a large enough unit in itself to attract the balance of age and social groups and range of social facilities that go to make a town."

23. McGovern, op.cit. p. 43.

Progress so far would suggest that McGovern's interpretation of the situation was correct - but a more final verdict can only be passed in years to come.

Meantime, as in the case of East Kilbride and Glenrothes, economic considerations, and achievements in the field of planning, important aspects though they are, cannot give the complete answer as to whether a town is a "success" or not. As important a criterion ultimately is whether people are happy living there. For if this is not the case, they will move away again, and the flow of applicants, which is essential for a new town to maintain its growth momentum, will cease. In a democratic society, where freedom of mobility exists, this would mean that New Towns, which can only entice but not coerce people to move there, would fail in their essential purpose. The development corporations therefore have a responsibility to provide a framework where the kind of social life can develop which will make people want to continue living in the new towns. These considerations therefore have long-term implications which should not be overruled by (relatively short-term) economic expediencies, as would appear to have been the case repeatedly in the Scottish New Towns.

In order to be able to do this, the corporations need the co-operation of voluntary organisations, catering for a great variety of interests. These groups will then make it possible for residents to achieve a sense of belonging,^{*} and

* See Reith Report Assumptions No. 1, Chapter 1, of this study.

which means, as the psychologist, Reginald Isaacs has put it,²⁴ "that a better psychological outlook and increased social values can be promoted by participation in community life, which can be encouraged by the provision of well organized cultural and recreational facilities and activities." As has been previously stated, it would be beyond the remit of this study to measure the "success" of the above Scottish New Towns in terms of physical planning or economic progress. But an attempt has been made to evaluate how far, within the framework of government policy on the one hand, and the social policies of the respective development corporations on the other, social organisations have developed, and thereby contributed towards creating conditions under which the ideals as outlined by the Reith Report can be achieved.

24. R. Isaacs in "culture and recreational services"
Ann. Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sc. 129-139.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology: Sample, methods of data collection, Response rate, classification of organisations.

Sample

The sample used in this study consists of social organisations* in the new towns of East Kilbride, Glenrothes and Livingston, which are generally open to membership for any newcomer to the town. The names and addresses of the secretaries of these organisations were taken from the Tenants' Handbook in the case of East Kilbride, from the list of organisations maintained by the Housing Officer in Glenrothes, which is distributed to every newcomer, and the list published by the Welcoming Committee in Livingston. In each case the most up to date list available was used. It was assumed that an organisation featuring in any of the three documents mentioned above, would generally be open to any resident or newcomer to the town, and on these grounds they were included in this sample. Social clubs, which are attached to specific firms were not included, and neither were organisations attached to specific churches, unless they were open to wider recruitment. Similarly, Trade Unions were not included, since membership is restricted to clearly specified occupational groups. On the other hand, political parties were asked to participate, since they seek to recruit members from a wide cross-section of the public.

* For full list of organisations see Code Lists in Appendix I.

Methods of data collection

In consultation with officials of the Research Section of the Scottish Development Department, and the Planning Research Unit of Glenrothes Development Corporation, a questionnaire was designed,* containing three sections, relating to:

- a) Characteristics of the organisations
- b) Premises used/preferred, by organisations.
- c) Characteristics of membership of organisations.

The questionnaires were then sent to the secretaries of each organisation together with a covering letter and an explanatory note. (see Appendix I). Apart from being asked to fill in the questionnaires, secretaries were also invited to submit lists of addresses of their members, which formed the basis of the "ecological" part of this study.

In order to ensure as high a response rate as possible, which according to Moser,¹ is not always attainable in postal questionnaires, an "agent" was appointed in each of the towns, who followed up secretaries, after the first reminder had been sent out, and who were also able to answer queries on the spot. Some considerable time was therefore spent with these agents, till they were fully conversant with the study.

The schedule of data collection for each of the new towns was as follows:

* for specimen copy, see Appendix I.

1. C.A. Moser, "Survey Methods in Social Investigation, Heinemann, London, 1958" on page 178: "Mail surveys with a response as low as 10 per cent are not unknown."

Glenrothes:

Questionnaire sent by post: 5.4.1968.

Reminder: 15.5.1968.

followed up by individual letters, (particularly regarding the lists of addresses of members) and personal calls by the agent, and in some cases also by the author.

Collection of questionnaires closed: 15.8.1968.

Response:

Number of questionnaires sent out: 61

Number of questionnaires returned: 59

No information received: 2

Response rate: 96.7%

The information received by way of the questionnaires was then further supplemented by data obtained from the Planning Research Unit of the Development Corporation. In cases where question XXIII had not been answered in the questionnaire, but a list of addresses was available, it was possible to determine the socio-economic group of members, by sifting through data which the Planning Research Unit had just collected on each household.* Furthermore, 12 visits were paid to Glenrothes, collecting information, visiting respondents and discussing matters relating to the questionnaires with the agent.

* At the time, this information had not been processed; the author therefore spent a number of days in Glenrothes, sifting through the individual questionnaires. This however was not possible in the other two new towns since at the time, no such data was available.

East Kilbride:

Questionnaires sent by post: 22.10.1968.

Reminder: 4.2.1969.

Followed by individual letters, and personal visits by agent.

Collection of questionnaires closed: 12.3.1969.

Response:

Number of questionnaires sent out: 135

Number of questionnaires returned: 89

Number of organisations defunct: 13

Number of organisations refused: 4

No information received: 29

Response rate: 65.9%

In each case listed under "no information received", the agent paid two visits, after a written reminder, complete with extra copy of questionnaire and S.A.E. had been sent. Again, as in the case of Glenrothes, the information obtained through the questionnaires was supplemented by population data received from the Development Corporation Planning Section. Furthermore, 10 visits were paid to East Kilbride, for consultations with Development Corporation officials, the Provost, and meetings with respondents and the agent.

Livingston:

Questionnaires sent by post: 18.3.1969.

1st reminder 30.4.1969.

2nd reminder 13.6.1969.

followed by individual letters and personal calls.

Collection of questionnaires closed: 4.8.1969.

It will be noted that in Livingston a 2nd reminder was sent out by post. This was considered to be necessary, due to the fact that after an agent had been appointed, this arrangement had to be changed. The person concerned had in the meantime been offered a permanent full-time post,* and was therefore unable to continue to follow-up non-respondents. After the 2nd reminder, the author continued to call twice on every non-respondent. All in all some 12 visits were paid to Livingston, for the above purposes and for consultations with the Social Development Officer, and other leaders in the community.

Response:

Number of questionnaires sent out: 42

Number of questionnaires returned: 33

No information received 9

Response rate: 78.6%

It will be noted that the response rates, although high overall, differ widely from town to town. In Glenrothes the response rate achieved is exceptional; this may be attributable to the fact that the agent, who undertook the follow-up collection of the questionnaires which were not returned by post, was known personally to a great many of the secretaries concerned, who, it can be assumed, were more likely to fully co-operate

* The agents, who participated in the collection of data for this study, were selected, partly as a result of personal contacts in Glenrothes or East Kilbride, or on the advice of the Social Development Officer in Livingston. They were paid on the basis of the number of questionnaires to be collected.

with him than with a stranger. Furthermore, the list of addresses was up to date at the time the questionnaires were sent out, which would account for the fact that none of the organisations had ceased to exist between the date of publication of the list, and the time the questionnaire was sent to them.

In the case of East Kilbride, this unfortunately was unavoidable. The only list of addresses available in October 1968 was published in November 1967. The number of organisations (13), which in the event turned out to have ceased operating in the interim period, illustrates the rapidly changing scene of social organisations in the new towns year by year, and also the speed with which such lists get out of date. Since at the time, no one within the Development Corporation staff, or the Town Council staff was responsible for keeping such a list up to date, the tracing of organisations was very difficult. The thirteen organisations listed as "defunct" however, have positively indicated, through their former secretaries that they had ceased existence. It can however be assumed that among the number, (29), for whom no information was received, there would be some, who had also stopped operating. An attempt was also made to try and trace new secretaries, in the cases where the organisation still existed, but the officials had changed - and in most cases this was successful.

In Livingston it was found, that although the list was up-to-date, some of the organisations had literally only just started activities, and were not able yet, to give the information required.

Nevertheless, since even the lowest response rate was 65.9%, it can be said that the conclusions drawn about the social organisations in this study should be reasonably valid; particularly since the statistical tests of significance (Chi-Square) which were done on tables 23, 24 and 25 showed that the probability value in each case was less than .0001%.* It is of interest to note that the response rate in three other studies relating to social organisations were: Willis:¹ 96.5%; Morley:² 66.5%, and Sykes & Woldman:³ 87.6%.

The information gathered through these questionnaires, was then transferred on to two sets of 80 column ICL punch-cards, and the organisations themselves grouped into the following ten categories, according to their purpose and primary activities: 1) Youth, 2) Arts & Cultural, 3) Social Services, 4) Womens' Organisations, 5) Hobby, 6) Political, 7) Sport, 8) Social & Dancing, 9) Old People, 10) Other. A list of the organisations in each category is attached in Appendix I, for each new town. In order to facilitate comparison with the above-mentioned studies, as far as possible, the same categories were used. Secretaries of organisations

* These tables relate to the size of the population covered by these organisations. According to advice received from the Department of Statistics, at Edinburgh University, even allowing for multiple membership, it is not likely that the findings are in any way chance occurrences.

1. Margaret Willis, "A Social Survey - Meeting Places for Hire in New Towns" Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1966.
2. Kenneth Morley, "Social activity and Social Enterprise", Redditch College, 1967.
3. G. Sykes and E. Woldman, University of Strathclyde; Occasional Paper No. 2, 1968.

were also asked, apart from answering the set questions; to make any additional comments. These, together with the information gathered in informal talks and conversations, were often illuminating.

PART II

**Characteristics of Organisations and their
Membership**

CHAPTER 5

Dates of Foundation

In this chapter, relating to the dates of foundation of organisations, it will be shown that as the town increased in size, so the number of social organisations multiplied. Whilst it is not possible to establish an exact relationship between these growth patterns, nevertheless the general trend can be observed. As was noted in Chapter 3, the size of the population increased rapidly, albeit at different rates over a relatively short period, in these three new communities. Furthermore it would seem, that certain types of organisations will only come into existence once the population of that particular community has attained a certain size. Herbert Goldhammer illustrated this point when he described some factors affecting participation in voluntary associations. One of these factors is the size of the community:¹

"The voluntary association flourishes in a social setting in which the community can no longer function as an all-inclusive social group. When a community is small and each member is known and accessible to the other, and when racial, national, religious and economic differences are absent, the voluntary association can have but few functions. There is in such a community too insufficient specialization of interest, too little social exclusiveness, too great a degree of direct communication to provide a basis adequate for its existence."

Raymond Unwin, the Architect responsible for the Letchworth Town plan claimed on the other hand in 1921 that the range

1. H. Goldhammer - "Urban Sociology" Edited by Burgess & Bogue, University of Chicago, 1967, p. 138.

of social opportunities was not so much related to the size of the town, as to the general level of education and intelligence of the population.² Thus he stated that:

"There is one point which should not be overlooked in regard to size. The higher the general level of education and intelligence, the smaller need be the city unit which will give the greatest cultural and social opportunities. If the whole population have sufficient education and culture to appreciate music, the drama and the higher arts of life generally, a relatively small number will provide the highly skilled few who can be leaders and instructors for their fellows in the different arts and sciences, and a small population only will be required to support the necessary institutions for giving expression to these arts."

These then are two different emphases as to the pre-conditions, which must exist, before "specialization of interest" can take place, in the view of these two authors. It will be seen later, how far these points are relevant in the New Towns under review. At the moment, suffice it to say, within the context of the present discussion, that from the evidence (dates of foundation) assembled, there seems to be a connection between the size of the population, and the development of social organisations.

East Kilbride

The associations were tabulated in order of date of foundation, in five yearly periods, by categories. It can be seen that many associations are of relatively recent growth; overall, 78.1% of all the organisations are known

2. Raymond Unwin, in C.P. Purdom: Town Theory and Practice: "Best size of a town for social life" - Benn Brothers, London, 1921.

TABLE NO. 10

Dates of Foundation - Organisations in EAST KILBRIDE

Year Founded	Type of Youth Org.		Art & Cult.		Social Service Org.		Women's Special Interest		Hobby/ Political		Sport & Dancing		Social Old People		Other		Total					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Pre-1950	3	17.6	1	14.3	-	-	1	12.5	3	21.4	2	50.0	2	13.3	1	50.0	-	-	-	-	13	15.9
1950-1954	2	11.8	-	-	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	4	4.9	-	-
1955-1959	2	11.8	3	42.9	1	10.0	3	37.5	3	21.4	1	25.0	2	13.3	1	50.0	1	50.0	-	-	17	20.7
1960-1964	2	11.8	1	14.3	6	60.0	2	25.0	6	42.8	-	-	6	40.0	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	24	29.3
1965-1969	5	29.4	2	28.6	3	30.0	1	12.5	1	7.1	-	-	5	33.3	-	-	1	50.0	1	33.3	19	23.2
Not known	3	17.6	-	-	-	-	-	1	7.1	1	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6.1
Total	17	7	10	8	14	4	15	2	3	2	2	3	82	2	3	82	2	3	82	2	3	82

Note: In this and the following tables, percentages are shown correct to 1 decimal place.
Totals are not always, therefore, exactly 100%.

to have been founded after 1950; i.e. 25.6% in the period from 1950-1959, and 52.5% from 1960-March, 1969. This however is not the result of any even development in all categories, as will become evident upon closer examination.

Pre 1950:

13 Organisations (15.9% of the total number of organisations) are known to have existed before 1950. 3 Of these were Youth Organisations, i.e. the YMCA, and the Boys Brigade, which both started in 1930 and the E.K. & District Young Farmers' Club which started in 1944. Furthermore, there was 1, the Choral Society in the "Arts & Cultural" category, which started in 1943, no "social service" group, 1 womens' organisation, the Auldhouse W.R.I. (1932), 3 Hobby/Special Interest groups, i.e. St. Andrew Lodge (Freemasons) (1872!), the Homing Club, (1926), and the Rangers F.C. Supporters' Club (1946). Then there were 2 political parties, i.e. the E.K. Conservative & Unionist Association (1939) and the EK Labour Party, (exact date not known - but pre 1950); 2 sports clubs, i.e. the Bowling Club (1872) and the EK & Hairmyres Curling Club (1930), and finally, the British Legion (1921) in the category "social/dancing".

1950 - 1954:

In this first five year period only 4 (4.9% of total) of the existing organisations are known to have been founded; 2 of these were Youth groups, i.e. Boy Scouts (1952) and Girl Guides (1953), 1 womens' organisation, the Ladies Loyal Orange Association, (1953), and the Whitemoss Residents' Association, (1952).

1955-1959:

In the next five year period a further 17 organisations, (20.7% of total), were founded, spread over all categories. 3 each in category "Arts & Cultural", Womens' org., and Hobby/Special Interest groups, 2 each in Youth and Sport and 1 addition each in the remaining categories (except "other"). These were: the EK Repertory Theatre Club (1955), the Rolls Royce Male Voice Choir, (1956) and the EK Light Opera Club; the Trefoil Guild (1956), the Towns Womens Guild, (1956), and the Bosfield Branch of the Co-op Women's Guild (1957); the Bridge Club, (1955), the EK Motor Club (1959) and the EK Photographic Club (1959); the E.K. Squadron of the Air Training Corps (1957), and the Heathery Knowe Co-op Youth Club; the W.R.V.S. (1958), the West Mains Labour Association (1956), the EK Old Time & Modern Sequence Dancing Club (1958) and finally the EK Branch of the National Federation of OAP's (1958).

1960-1964:

This period "produced" another 24 (29.3%) organisations; it was particularly marked by the growth of social service groups, Hobby/Special Interest groups, and Sports Organisations. The 6 "social service groups" were: the Round Table (1960), the Scottish Society for Mentally Handicapped Children (1962), the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (1962), the Educational Association (1963), the R.N.L.I. (1963) and the British Red Cross Society (1964). It would appear that by now, the population (32,000 in 1960, 39,000 in 1964) was large enough to "support" more specialised activities, such as those of

the Society for Mentally Handicapped children, or the Educational Association; and there now appeared to be room for two organisations, which both offered First Aid Training, such as the St. Andrews Ambulance Association and the Red Cross Society. Furthermore, it would appear that there were now sufficient young executives (under 40) in middle-management positions, which made it possible to start a "Round Table". Similarly, when looking at the new Hobby/Special Interest groups a trend towards a "more sophisticated" type of activity becomes apparent. In the period 1955-1959 3 groups in this category were known to have started; the Bridge Club (1955), the Photographic Club (1959) and the Motor Club (1959). Prior to that, a Freemasons Lodge (1872), a Racing Pigeon Club (1926) and a Rangers F.C. Supporters Club (1946) existed (and persisted) in the old village. No other clubs are known to have been founded, between 1946 and 1955, when the Bridge Club started. And now, between 1960 and 1964 6 Hobby/Special Interest groups were founded, as many again as had been recorded in this sample hitherto. This is a reflection of the increased rate of population growth East Kilbride experienced during this period. In March 1953 a population of 5,400 was recorded³ which represented an increase by over 3,000 since New Town operations began. By March 1955 the population had risen to 12,000.⁴ By March 1960 the population was said to be approaching 30,000⁵ and by the time the first Town Council was elected in June 1963,

3. Fifth Annual Report - East Kilbride Development Corporation.

4. Seventh Annual Report - East Kilbride Development Corporation.

5. Twelfth Annual Report - East Kilbride Development Corporation.

East Kilbride had become the most populous small burgh in the country, with a population of 39,000.

In 1961 an E.K. and District Savings Committee was formed, in 1962 the United Nations Association and Fabian Society were founded, followed by the Glasgow - E.K. Railway Development Association in 1963, which is a kind of vigilantes group, working for the retention and improvement of the rail service between Glasgow and East Kilbride, which was threatened with closure. These last three would seem to be the kind of specialised and "sophisticated" activity, which need a certain size of community before they can flourish. (Obviously, it would be impossible to put an exact figure, as to the size of population required, but there are indications that size is a determining factor, when it comes to the degree of social activity as expressed in voluntary associations.) Goldhammer's theory would therefore appear to have been borne out by the findings of this study.

In the field of sport too, the period 1960-1964 was a remarkable "growth era". Up to then there were 4 known organisations in this category: The Bowling Club (1872), the EK & Hairmyres Curling Club (1930), the Torrance Rifle Club (1956) and the EK & District Badminton Association (1959). And now, in the period from 1960-1964, 6 more organisations are founded. Again, there seem to be two relevant factors which would appear to be inter-linked, as was the case with the Hobby/Special Interest and Social Service groups. The size of the population has now reached a certain level, which makes it possible for more specialised activities to find

sufficient support, such as the Sub-aqua Club (1960), the Hamilton & District Gun Club (1960), the Cricket Club (1962) (in a traditionally non-cricket playing part of the UK), the Netball Club (1963) and the Ladies Hockey Club (1963). On the other hand, the increasing pressure of growing numbers of young people, in this case boys, called for the setting-up of a co-ordinating body, such as the Boys' Football League (1962).

1965-1969 (March)

The period 1965 - March 1969 to some extent maintained the momentum, gained in the preceding five years. A total of 19 organisations (23.2% of the total) are known to have been founded then. 5 of these were Youth organisations and 5 were sports organisations, and a further 3 were social service groups. The remainder were evenly distributed among the other categories, except "political" and "Social/Dancing", which show no increase in this period (as indeed in the preceding five years.). The new youth organisations, known to have been started during this period, are the Scouts (one new troupe in 1965, 67 and 68 each - but counting as only one - see classification of organisations, Appendix I), the South Parish Youth Club (1966), Baptist Church Youth Club (1968), the Catholic Youth Council (1968) and the South Park Youth Centre (1968). Again, this was a period of outstanding population growth. By March, 1966, the population was estimated to be approximately 49,000⁶ - by March 1969, this had grown to 62,584.⁷ Although data relating to the age and sex

6. Eighteenth Annual Report - East Kilbride Development Corporation.

7. Twenty-first Annual Report - East Kilbride Development Corporation.

distribution for the population of East Kilbride was not available for the earlier years, it was estimated that as per 31st March 1969, 32% of the population were within the 0-19 age range. It can therefore be safely assumed, that these above-mentioned Youth Clubs have arisen as a result of the pressure for more activities for young people. (see also "reasons for starting", Chapter 6). The five new sports organisations started in this period were: The E.K. Amateur Boxing Club (1965) and then in 1967 the E.K. Sports Club was set up, starting with two sections, the Men's Hockey and the Tennis Section. The E.K. Sports Club, together with the Sports Council, which started in the same year, can both be seen as co-ordinating bodies, trying to bring together various sectional interests in an attempt to rationalise resources, and combine efforts towards obtaining suitable facilities. There followed in 1968 the introduction of the first Rugby Club in East Kilbride. The cultural life too, received a boost in this period, when the Music Club was formed in 1968 followed by the Whitehills Group, a general "Arts Workshop" providing facilities for amateur drama, opera, films, studio work etc.

Glenrothes

Overall, 95% of all organisations are known to have been founded after 1950; i.e. 45.7% in the period 1950-1959, and 49.1% from 1960-1968 (August). If these figures are compared with those for the same periods in East Kilbride,

TABLE NO. 11.

Dates of Foundation - Organisations in GLENROTHES

Year Founded	Youth		Art & Cult.		Social Service Org.		Women's Hobby		Political		Sport		Social & Old Dancing People		Other		Total				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
Pre-1950	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	1	25.0	-	3	5.0		
1950-1954	5	71.4	-	-	4	44.4	-	2	33.3	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	12	20.3		
1955-1959	-	-	2	33.3	2	28.5	2	22.2	1	16.6	2	33.3	1	33.3	2	50.0	1	50.0	15	25.4	
1960-1964	-	-	1	16.6	4	57.1	2	22.2	3	33.3	2	33.3	1	16.6	-	1	25.0	1	50.0	15	25.4
1965-1968	2	28.5	3	50.0	1	14.2	-	4	44.4	1	16.6	3	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	14	23.7	
Total	7		6		7		9		6		6		3		4		2		59	100%	

Note: In this and the following tables, percentages are shown correct to 1 decimal place.
Totals are not always, therefore, exactly 100%.

(25.6% and 52.5% respectively), one might be led to think that the development of organisations in Glenrothes has been much more even, since the figures for the two ten year periods (45.7% and 49.1%) are very similar indeed. However, if these figures are examined within the context of the five-year periods, by categories, as given in Table 11 it appears that their chronological development has not been as even as the overall figures would suggest.

Pre 1950:

Only 3 organisations (5.0% of the total) are known to have been founded before 1950 in Glenrothes, (as compared with 13, i.e. 15.9% of the total in East Kilbride). This difference might be explained by the fact that East Kilbride was a village with a population of 2,400 when the New Town started. Glenrothes as such did not exist, but within the designated area were the villages of Cadham and Woodside, which by 1950 had a combined total population of 1,000. The 3 organisations concerned were: The Rothes W.R.I. (1916), the Alburne Knowe Scottish Country Dance Club (1947), and the "Old Folks Treat Committee" (1947).

1950-1954:

By contrast however, the first five year period in Glenrothes would appear to have been "livelier" than the equivalent period in East Kilbride. Whilst in East Kilbride only 4 organisations were founded, representing 3 different categories, in Glenrothes 12 organisations are known to have been founded during that time, spread over 4 categories. 5 of these organisations catered for Youth, and 4 were womens

organisations, the remainder being made up by two political parties and 1 organisation in category "Social & Dancing". Those for Youth were: The Boys Brigade, (1950), the YM/YWCA, (1954), the Leslie/Glenrothes Squadron ATC, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, which were all organisations founded in 1954. It would appear from the timing of the start of these that the needs of women and children were regarded as the first priority. It is also interesting to note that these 5 organisations represented 71.4% of all Youth Organisations in Glenrothes, and that no further groups in this category were known to have started until 1965. The 4 womens' organisations were: The Glenrothes Womens' Club, (1950), the Towns Womens Guild, the Co-operative Guild, and the Young Wives group of the YM/YWCA, who all were founded in 1954. The two political parties were the Communist Party, (1952), and the Labour Party, (1954). The population was now at 5,960 and one in nine of that number was a miner,⁸ hence this "monopoly" of the left-wing parties. There were still no new groups in the categories, "Arts & Cultural", "Social Service", "Hobby", "Sport" and "Old People". There would appear to be a parallel with East Kilbride here, which in the same period showed no new groups starting up in these categories.

1955-1959:

The next five year period (1955-1959) saw the start of a further 15 organisations, (25.4% of total). This time,

8. Glenrothes Development Corporation Planning Research, Statistical Data, January 1969.

as compared with the last five year period, every category, (except Youth) was represented, i.e. the spread was now fairly even, as indeed was the case with East Kilbride for the same period.

There were no new Youth organisations, but for the first time, 2 organisations in the "Arts & Cultural" category, the Art Club, (1955), and the Gaelic Club, (1959). Also for the first time, in 1957 2 "Social Service" organisations, the Rotary Club and the W.R.V.3. started in this area. 2 more womens' organisations, the St. Pauls & St. Mary's Catholic Womens' Guild, (1958) and the Mustard Seed Woodside Womens Fellowship, (1959), commenced activities. For the first time also, 2 Hobby/Special Interest organisations; the Horticultural Society, (1956), and the Angling Club, (1957), were founded. In 1958 a further political group, the Women's Section of the Communist Party, was inaugurated. 1956 saw the start of 2 sports organisations, the Golf Club, and the (C.I.S.W.O.) Bowling Club. In 1959, the Glenrothes Recreation and Social Club was built, by the Coal Industry Social Welfare organisation; but since the run down of the coal industry, and particularly the closing of the Rothes Colliery in 1962, this has become a general community centre. Since 1959 no other such centre has been built. Two more old people's organisations, the first since 1947, were also started in 1959, the Sunshine Club and the Old People's Welfare Committee. Lastly, during that period, the community Association was formed in 1957. In 1955 (December) the population of Glenrothes stood at 6,704, by the end of 1959,

it had almost doubled to 11,120.⁹ It can therefore be said that the growth of organisations again reflects the growth of the population. It is also remarkable, how very similar the development of organisations in East Kilbride and Glenrothes appears to have been for the period 1955-1959. The same even distribution can be observed, i.e. no category exceeded more than 3 starts, and each category was represented, (bar one) in each case. Even the total number of organisations started, was very similar, i.e. 17 in East Kilbride, 15 in Glenrothes.

1960-1964:

The next five year period follows the same pattern as the preceding one. The total of organisations founded was again 15 (25.4% of overall figure), exactly the same as in the previous five years. The distribution too was very similar, except that twice as many social service organisations were now started. However, there were still no further new youth organisations. In the category "Arts & Cultural" a Film Society was founded in 1962, which in the absence of a cinema, filled a gap. (The nearest cinema is in Kirkcaldy, more than six miles away.) In the "Social Service" category, 1960-64 has been the most active growth period, just as was the case in East Kilbride. 4 organisations (57.1% of total) were founded during that time: in 1960 the St. Andrews Ambulance Association started and in 1962 the Red Cross Society followed. This again was an exact parallel to East Kilbride, where both these essentially first-aid associations

9. Glenrothes Development Corporation, op.cit.

were founded within the same period. Again it can be assumed that the population had now grown sufficiently to accommodate them both, although their appeal can be expected to be directed at the same kind of people. (Population in 1960: 12,499, in 1964: 16,670).¹⁰ The same could be said of the other two organisations in this category, which started during this period. Both the Toastmaster Club, (1960), and the Round Table, (1964), look for their recruits to the middle-management executive. Both these organisations are based in Glenrothes, but draw for their members on a wider region. (For reasons for including these two under "Social Service", see classification of organisations, Appendix I). The category "Womens' organisations" showed the same growth rate in this period, as in the preceding five years. 2 groups, (22.2% of total) were started, namely the Auchmuty Co-op Guild, (1960), and the South Parks Farmhouse Ladies Social Club, (1964). Both these groups are based in the locality indicated by their name, although they do not make residence in that part of the town a condition of membership. However, the dates of their foundation are a reflection of the dates of completion of their respective parts of the town. The Auchmuty precinct was completed in 1959, and the South Parks area in 1964. As can be seen, the foundation of these two Womens' groups followed very closely these completion dates. Among the "Hobby" "Special Interest" groups, further diversification can be observed as more specialised interests were now being

10. Glenrothes Development Corporation, op.cit.

catered for. Thus in 1961 the Aeromodelling Club was founded, followed by a Chess Club in 1962 and a Bridge Club in 1963.

The "Political Organisations" too, showed further diversification during this period. In 1960 the Conservatives started a Glenrothes Branch, (eight years after the Communist party, and six after the Labour Party, which hitherto dominated the political scene.). This provides an interesting contrast to East Kilbride, where the Conservative party has had a branch since 1939; a contrast which again could be explained in terms of the difference, which might possibly have existed in the original character of the villages before they were designated as New Towns. In 1963 the Scottish National Party formed a Glenrothes Branch, and at the time of the survey, reflected the experience of the SNP, which at that time enjoyed a considerable upsurge up and down the country. The strength of support the SNP enjoys in the Scottish New Towns is an interesting phenomenon, (in Cumbernauld's first Town Council for instance, it was the majority party) and would well merit a separate study. In the field of "Sport", 1964 was a significant year, in as much as it saw the start of the Glenrothes Junior Football Club, which was commented upon by the Development Corporation in these terms:¹¹ "It is felt that this will have a not insignificant effect on the developing sense of community in the town". Only four years later, they reached the final

11. Fifteenth Annual Report - Glenrothes Development Corporation, March, 1964.

of the Junior Football cup competition, an event which again was featured in the annual report¹² of the Development Corporation:

"Early in the year (1968) the Little Theatre Group and the Junior Football Club each narrowly failed to win the respective national trophy. The skill and dedication of the participants was matched by the tremendous and enthusiastic support of the townspeople. After these events let no one say that there is any lack of town spirit".

Still within the period 1960-1964 the Old People's Welfare committee opened a new centre for old people in the form of the Wayside Cottage Club (1963). During 1962, the Rothes colliery closed, an event which caused "great disappointment".¹³ In an attempt to alleviate some of this feeling of gloom, which had overcome the town, the Festival Society was formed, which would then carry on the tradition of the Miners Gala Day.

1965-1968:

This period is not strictly comparable with East Kilbride, since the collection of questionnaires finished in August/September in Glenrothes, but went on to Mid-March in East Kilbride. It is nevertheless interesting to note that the proportion of organisations which are known to have been founded in this last period is almost identical, namely 23.2% in East Kilbride and 23.7% in Glenrothes. In 1965, for the first time since 1954 a new youth organisation had been formed. The old Preston School was turned into a Youth

12. Twentieth Annual Report - Glenrothes Development Corporation, March, 1969.

13. Thirteenth Annual Report - Glenrothes Development Corporation, March, 1962.

Centre, by the local education authorities, with the aid of the Development Corporation. In 1967 the Exit Club was founded, catering for older teenagers and young people. In the category "Arts & Cultural", the above period turned out to be the most marked growth period yet, since it saw the setting up of 3 different organisations (50% of total in this category). In 1965 the Glenrothes Little Theatre and the Glenrothes & District Floral Art Club, were formed and in 1966 the Musical & Operatic Society followed. Whilst it would be rash to generalise too widely, it is interesting to note, that after the change of policy, which was forced upon the town at the beginning of the sixties with the run down of the West Fife coalfields and particularly with the closure of the Rothes Mine in 1962, the year March 1965-March 1966 had been hailed as the most successful year in the history of the development of the town so far.¹⁴ During that year 11 new industries were set up, which was considered to be the "most dramatic feature of the towns growth".¹⁵ The population had now reached 19,164 (March 31st). The ratio of miners to other persons, which was once 1 to 7.6 was now 1 to 19.8 and the proportion steadily decreasing.¹⁶ As if to celebrate this new found vitality a 23 ft. high piece of sculpture was unveiled in the Town centre. Thus the annual report stated:¹⁷

14. Seventeenth Annual Report - Glenrothes Development Corporation, March, 1966.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

"In the effort to produce the practical framework for life in the New Town, it is right that the visual arts should not be neglected. Thus in 1962, (in the midst of the gloom over the closure of the Rothes Mine)*, the corporation commissioned Mr. Benno Schotz, the Queen's Sculptor-in-ordinary in Scotland to produce a sculpture for erection in the Town Centre. The resultant work, an imposing feature 23 ft. high, symbolises the vitality and growth of the New Town."

Although it is not within the scope of this thesis, to give a detailed account of the demographic and economic development of these new towns, it can be seen that the growth and diversification of social activities and opportunities was a reflection of the new-found momentum of the growth of the town, and to some extent, of the new incoming population, bringing with itself new, and perhaps more diverse interests.

In the category "Social Service", one more group was formed in 1967, the Social Amenities Council, with a view to co-ordinate efforts for the provision of facilities for old people. There was no new "Womens Organisation", but the category "Hobby/Special Interests" experienced a similar growth period to the ones in the field of "Arts & Cultural" and "Sports Organisations". 4 new organisations were started, which represents 44.4% of the total in the Hobby/Special Interest category. 1965 saw the start of the Camera Club, and the Racing Pigeon Club, which had previously existed in nearby Leslie was re-founded in Glenrothes, and the Greenhouse Club started as a group splitting away from the Horticultural Society over a dispute. (see also "reasons for starting"

* Authors own parenthesis.

Chapter 6). In 1967 the Institute of Advanced Motorists set up a group in the town. The same year saw an addition in the category relating to political organisations in the form of a Young Conservatives Club. As was the case with the "Hobby/Special Interest" and "Arts & Cultural" categories, so also did the one relating to "Sports" undergo the most marked period of growth. 3 organisations were added to the existing ones (50% of the total). In 1965 two clubs, the Amateur Boxing Club and the Archery Club were started and in 1967 a Mountaineering Club followed.

During this period then, although overall it did not have a more marked growth pattern, than the five preceding years, there were 3 categories, namely "Arts & Cultural", "Hobby/special Interest" and "Sport", which at no other time experienced a more marked growth pattern. It is interesting to note that in East Kilbride the latter two categories experienced their strongest growth during the period 1960-1964. The Development in both towns however, seem to confirm the pattern, whereby once the New Town population starts arriving, the needs of young children and their mothers are being met first, and that only after a certain "maturity" of the town, and a certain level of population has been reached, do the more sophisticated type of activities begin to get catered for, thus confirming Goldhammer's theory mentioned above.

Livingston

Since Livingston New Town is a very much more recent development, dates of foundation cannot strictly speaking be

TABLE NO. 12

Dates of Foundation - Organisations in Livingston

Year Founded	Type of Org.	Youth No.	%	Art & Cult. No.	%	Social Service No.	%	Women's Special Interest No.	%	Politi- cal No.	%	Sport & Dancing No.	Social & People No.	%	Other No.	%	Total No.	%
1964		-	-	1	50.0	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.3
1965		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966		1	9.1	-	-	1	33.3	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	9.4
1967		3	27.3	-	-	1	33.3	1	20.0	1	100.0	4	80.0	1	100.0	-	12	37.5
1968		6	54.5	1	50.0	1	33.3	1	20.0	2	50.0	-	-	1	20.0	-	12	37.5
1969																		
as per March '69		1	9.1	-	-	-	-	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	9.4
Total		11		2		3		5		4		1	5	1			32	

compared with the other two New Towns. Nevertheless, it was felt that a year by year account of the number of organisations, known to have been started might be useful, as an indication as to whether the needs at the early stages of a New Town have in any way changed, compared with the first New Towns. Furthermore, there appears to have been very little carry over from pre-new town days, which might be explained by the fact that the villages of Livingston and Livingston Station are at the moment separated by a distance of about 3 miles from the first area to be developed, namely Craigshill. Most of the new organisations listed at the time of the "survey" (March 1969 - June 1969) are therefore organisations which have started up in Craigshill. This situation is totally different from the one found in East Kilbride and to some extent Glenrothes at the time when New Town operations started there. East Kilbride village was right at the centre of the new development, and even the village of Woodside in the case of Glenrothes was at the centre of the first precinct to be built. In Livingston, even now, the degree of social contact which exists between these three separated communities is therefore minimal, but this will no doubt change as the new town develops westwards, and when eventually Livingston Station and Livingston Village will become an integral part of the town. Instead of therefore grouping the various organisations into categories in five year periods, it was thought to be more relevant to give a year by year account of the development of new social organisations, as best as was possible from the sample of 32

organisations, which at the time represented 74% of all known groups.

1964:

Of the organisations recorded in this sample only 2 were known to have been founded in 1964, the Livingston Floral Art Club and the Caldera Camera Club.

1965:

There was no record of any organisation being founded in 1965, although the annual report for that year,¹⁸ stated that the scouts had been granted the tenancy of an old cottage for the use as local headquarters. The same report also pointed out that: "Several youth organisations are awaiting an opportunity to commence operations when premises are available and tenants have moved in." The population in the whole of the designated area as at November 1963 was about 2,000, the largest concentration being the community at Livingston Station, with some 1,400 persons, and Livingston Village contained about 100 persons, the remainder lived on farms and hamlets throughout the designated area.¹⁹ By December 1964, only 18 persons were added to this figure, and by December 1965 the new population numbered only 255. The first two years or so were therefore marked with a relatively slow rate of growth.

1966:

By December 1966 the new population had reached 2,212²⁰

18. Fourth Annual Report - Livingston Development Corporation, March, 1966.

19. Livingston Development Corporation, Master Plan, 1963.

20. Livingston Development Corporation, Statistical Research, Planning Department.

an almost tenfold increase over the previous year. Operations had now started in Craigshill and people were moving in at a fast rate. Predictably, going by the experience of Glenrothes and East Kilbride, the first 3 organisations to get off the ground were, a Youth organisation, namely the Riverside Youth Wing Over 15's Club; a Womens' Organisation, the Craigshill S.W.R.I., and a Social Service organisation in the form of a Citizens Advice Bureau, at Livingston Station.

1967:

By December 1967 the new population had almost doubled; there were now 4,586 persons.²¹ In terms of social organisations this was also the first real growth period. 12 Different organisations were founded during that year, which represent 37.5% of the total number in this sample. They were: 3 youth organisations, i.e. 2 Brownie Packs and 1 company of the Girls Brigade, all operating in Craigshill. There was still no new group in the category "Arts & Cultural", but a further "Social Service" group was formed, catering for the needs of young children and their mothers, in the form of a pre-school play-group association, which set up groups in Livingston Station and Craigshill, thus paragraph 44 of the annual report for that year stated:²²

"A gratifying reaction of the community to a particular need was the setting up of pre-school play-groups in Livingston Station and Craigshill. Each play centre has a parents committee which is responsible for the policy, standards of conditions etc."

21. Livingston Development Corporation, Statistical Research, Planning Department.

22. Sixth Annual Report - Livingston Development Corporation, March, 1968.

There was also a further womens organisation, which started activities during that year, the St. Andrews R.C. Church Guild, and a further Hobby/Special Interests group, the Livingston & District Model Railway Club was formed. In 1967 also the local branch of a political party was set up in Craigshill by the Scottish National Party.* In the category "Sports organisations" this was also an important growth year. Out of the activities of the Riverside School Youth Wing grew a Table Tennis Club, and a Football Club, and demand for badminton was such, that 2 groups formed themselves into the Grove Badminton Club and the Riverside Badminton Club. However, when only one court is available, the number who can get a game during any one evening is strictly limited. Both these clubs therefore operate a limit on membership. And lastly in 1967, the Craigshill Social Club was formed. Again it is interesting to note, that 7 out of these 12 organisations are specifically aimed at, and have developed in response to the needs of women and children.

1968:

This year maintained the same growth rate as the previous year, namely 12 organisations (37.5% of total sample), but whilst in 1967 only three categories saw no development, and the number was fairly evenly spread over seven categories, 1968 presented a different pattern. 6 of the 12 organisations were in the category relating to "Youth organisations", (54.5% of total of Youth organisations in sample), namely, the

* See also remarks about SNP popularity in new towns, above.

Letham Junior Youth Centre, YM/YWCA, the girl guides association, the 1st Calders Rangers Unit, the Cub Scouts and the Letham Youth Wing Under 15's Club. The increase in the population was also of the same order as in the previous year, and by December 1968 the figure stood at 6,220 which was divided into three districts as follows: Deans District: 1303 (formerly called Livingston Station - figure almost identical with that of the original population in 1963), Craigshill District: 4305, (this was in fact where most of the development has taken place) and Howden District:²³ 612. As far as the other categories were concerned, a marked diversification of interest could now be observed: In "Arts & Cultural" the Livingston Choir was added to the one group which existed in 1964. The St. Andrews Ambulance Association was added to the "Social Service Groups" and the Craigshill Co-op Womens' Guild maintained the steady growth of "Womens' organisations". The Hobbies/Special Interest category expanded the range of opportunities with the start of a Bridge Club and a Knitmaster Club and the Livingston & District Rugby Football Club was added to the existing "sports organisations".

1969 (up till March only)

In the first three months of 1969 another Youth organisation, the Boys Brigade, and another 2 Womens Organisations, the Howden Ladies Club and the "Church Womens' Meeting" started. By now Howden District had sufficiently developed to support a women's organisation of its own, (see also map, Fig. L.9),

23. Livingston Development Corporation, 1968, Household Analysis, Tabulated Results.

so once again as was the case with the Auchmuty Co-op Womens Guild and the South Parks Farmhouse Ladies Club in Glenrothes, the date of foundation was linked with the date of completion of a given locality. After approximately five years, by far the biggest number of organisations was to be found in the Youth Category (11 organisations) followed by 5 Womens Organisations, which was a pattern not dissimilar to the situation after the first five years in East Kilbride and Glenrothes. Similarly, the range and diversity of opportunities has not reached the same level yet, as the other two new towns have, after more than twenty years.

The fact that there does not appear to be an organisation concerning itself with Old People may at first seem a bit surprising. However, at the end of 1968 out of the total population of 6,220 only 1.86% (116) were aged 65 and over,²⁴ which may account for the fact that there was no such specific group in existence at that time.

24. Livingston Development Corporation, 1968 Household Analysis, Tabulated Results.

TABLE 13

Dates of Foundation of social organisations in different New Towns.
(or, as Morley²⁵ calls it - "The persistence of present organisations")

	Redditch ²⁶	Irvine ²⁷	New Towns ²⁸	Glenrothes	East Kilbride
Before 1950	43.9%	37.6%	21.8%	5.0%	15.9%
1950-1959	18.7%	16.6%	45.9%	45.7%	25.6%
1960-1964	27.3%	14.7%	27.6%	25.4%	29.3%
1965-1967	-	14.1%	-		
68				23.7%	
March 69					23.2%
not stated	10.1%	16.9%	4.7%	0.0	6.1%
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total number	139	319	517	59	82

25 & 26. K.C. Morley: Social Activity and Social Enterprise: op.cit.

27. A. Sykes & E. Woldman: Irvine New Town Area: op.cit.

28. M. Willis. Meeting places for Hire in New Towns: op.cit.

CHAPTER 6

"Reasons for Starting"/Methods of Starting

Secretaries of organisations were asked to indicate as to what they considered to have been the reasons for the formation of their respective organisation. Although this was an open-ended question which produced a great variety and diversity of answers, it was possible to observe some trends which turned out to be significant in all three new towns.

Glenrothes

By far the most frequent reason given was "to fill a need in the community" (18 groups, i.e. 30.5% of all respondents). It is of interest to note that all four organisations specifically concerned with the welfare of old people gave this as their reason, together with three youth organisations, one cultural group, three social service groups, two women's clubs, two hobby groups, two sports clubs and one organisation in the social/dancing category.

The second most frequent reason given was that "several people expressed an interest" to start a group catering for a particular activity or hobby. (10 groups, i.e. 16.9% of all respondents). Here, it was not so much a case of discovering a need in the community, such as care for the old or concern for the young which induced people to start a given group, but a desire to meet with fellow-residents with similar interests. It is therefore, significant that five of the hobby/special interest groups should have started for this reason, together with two of the arts/cultural organisations, one women's group, one sports club, and one organisation in the social/dancing

category. Each of these organisations started as a result of stimuli internal to the new town.

A further eight organisations (13.6% of total) indicated that they started their activities in Glenrothes as a result of their respective national bodies' policy to be represented in every town. All political parties gave this as their reason for starting, together with two social service organisations and 1 youth organisation. All of the above organisations started as a result of external stimuli. Frequently, the national body sent a regional organiser into the town, who would then start a particular group.

These three are the main categories of reasons given, which can be abstracted from the answers to the questionnaires, and which can be generalised. All the other reasons given were pertinent only to the organisation which gave it. For instance 55% of the womens' organisations started because they felt there was a need for a specific womens' organisation. The Air Training Corps started in order "to further an interest" in aviation among young people, and the Horticultural Society to "encourage horticulture". The Festival Society was formed by people who wanted to do something "to lift the feeling of depression in the community when the Rothes Mine closed", and the Archery Club was started by a sports-outfitter who wanted to sell his sports goods, and the lack of a cinema produced a Film Society. Finally, three organisations were already in existence before the new town started - the question, therefore, did not strictly speaking, apply to them.

However, it can be seen that the reasons why certain

organisations are started are almost as varied and diversified as the organisations themselves. There are, however, three reasons, which would appear to be more generally represented, i.e. -

- a. The discovery of a particular need in the community and subsequent action to meet this need, and
- b. the interest in a particular hobby or activity which can be more satisfactorily pursued in company with other like-minded people, which again causes the formation of groups, and
- c. the policy of a national body, such as a political party or a national youth organisation, which will endeavour to be represented in every town in the country.

Together, these three reasons account for the formation of 61% of all groups represented in this sample.

East Kilbride

In East Kilbride, a similar pattern to the one in Glenrothes emerged. Twenty-nine organisations (35.4% of total - 30.5% in Glenrothes) were started as a result of a particular need in a given area or sphere of interest, which was noticed by some people, who then set about forming a group which would cater for this need. Eleven of those groups were youth organisations, ten sports clubs, four social service groups, three hobby/special interests and a residents association.

The second most frequent reason given, again as in the

case of Glenrothes, was the fact that a given interest was not represented in the town, and the initiative was then taken by individuals to form groups in which these interests could be pursued in association with fellow-enthusiasts. In this way, twelve organisations (i.e. 14.7% of total - 16.9% in Glenrothes) were formed.

Thirdly, there were again a number of organisations which were formed as a result of outside stimuli, i.e. national bodies decided to move into East Kilbride and start a branch there. However, the number, both in percentage of total number of organisations and absolute figures was considerably smaller than in Glenrothes. Only five organisations, i.e. 6.0% of total (13.6% in Glenrothes) indicated that they started in this way; these were three social service groups, one youth organisation and one political party.

However, by contrast to Glenrothes, there were ten (12.2% of total) organisations, which were already in existence when new town operations started, and which have successfully survived. In Glenrothes, there were only three (5.1% of Glenrothes total). Three of the groups in this category were hobby groups, two political parties, two womens' organisations and one youth, sports and old people's organisation each. It can be assumed that some of these, had they not already been in existence, would have come under the third of the above categories.

Together, the reasons summarised under (a), (b) and (c) in Glenrothes, and which were found to be equally applicable in East Kilbride, account for the formation of 56.1% of all

organisations in this sample. The remainder of the reasons given were again of the kind which make them specifically pertinent only to the organisation which gave it. For instance, the Burgh Pipe Band was started to encourage pipe-music, the angling club to promote interest in fishing, the old time dancing club to further old time dancing and the savings group to encourage saving. One of the women's groups was started because it was felt that there should be a women's organisation without church connections, and the W.R.V.S. was started specifically at the request of the chairman of the Development Corporation. Again, it will be noted that the reasons for starting are as varied as the organisations they helped to create.

Livingston

Again, as in the case of the other two new towns covered in this study, the same three main reasons were given for the formation of an even larger (proportionally) number of organisations.

Twenty organisations (i.e. 62.5% of the total) were formed in response to what was felt to be a need in the community. Since this is still a very young community, with a correspondingly young population, it was not surprising to find that nine of these organisations were for young people, four were sports clubs, three womens' organisations, three offering social services and one in the social/dancing category.

Six organisations (18.8%) were formed as a result of

people getting together, who shared the same interests/hobbies. Three of these organisations were Hobby/Special Interest groups; furthermore there was one Youth organisation, one womens' group and an Art Club which all started for this reason.

Only two (6.3%) of the groups, i.e. a youth organisation and a political party were formed as a result of a policy decision of their respective national body, which led to their being represented in this new town. Undoubtedly, as the town grows, there will be more organisations taking a similar step.

The remaining four organisations started for the following reasons: the choir as a result of an interest fostered in an evening class; the Rugby Club in order to give pupils a chance to continue playing the game when they left school, and two womens' groups were formed in order to help "new arrivals socializing".

The three main reasons indicated above account for 87.6% of all organisations in Livingston, as compared to 61.0% in Glenrothes and 56.1% in East Kilbride. It would therefore appear, that once again, Livingston as the "youngest town", displayed characteristics relating to the age of the town. The same degree of diversification of activities has not yet taken place. At this early stage of the towns' development, it would appear that the greatest needs are those relating to young people and women, and these are the ones which are at present being met with the greatest number of organisations available. (A trend which is even more marked, if sports organizations are included in this.)

Methods of starting

The secretaries were then asked to indicate as to what methods had been used by their particular organisation to get activities started. To some extent these methods used were complementary to the reasons given which led to the formation of an organisation. For instance, in the cases where the parent body had decided to operate in the new town, they frequently also supplied the area organiser to start activities, and provide leadership. The code-lists* relating to each of the towns will illustrate the great variety of answers which were given to this question, which again was open-ended. There were however three methods which in each of the new towns turned out to be the ones most frequently employed, i.e.:

- a. advertising in local press
- b. advertising in local shops/notice boards
- c. calling a public meeting.

Glenrothes

In Glenrothes thirty-one organisations (52.5%) had made use of these methods. Some of the other groups developed by using word-of-mouth publicity. One such group was the Film Society, which (as the map showing the pattern of membership distribution shows)** depends entirely on this type of publicity, since according to the rules of the Cinematographic Distributive Trade, which supplies the films, they are not allowed to advertise publicly in any form. Some of the

* Cols. 14/15, Appendix I.

** See Map G.11.

groups were offsprings of existing organisations, which either split away because the original organisation had now grown sufficiently to justify the setting up of another group, or as a result of a disagreement, such as was the case with the Greenhouse club, which split away from the Horticultural Society because, in the words of the secretary, "the committee of the Horticultural Society one year "ran a show and awarded all the prizes to themselves."

East Kilbride

In East Kilbride, the same three methods, i.e. advertising in local press, advertising in local shops/notice boards, and calling a public meeting, were used by thirty-three organisations (40.2%). A considerable number of organisations (i.e. 22%) started off as a small group, which just grew as a result of word-of-mouth publicity. Some again, were offsprings of existing groups, and some were started by the parent body sending in an organiser. The remainder of the organisations either used circulars, or canvassed from house to house, or resulted from the amalgamation of other groups. Those which already existed before the new town was started were no longer able to specify their method of starting.

Livingston

Once again the same methods, which were found to have been predominantly used in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, were most frequently mentioned in Livingston. Together, they

accounted for eighteen, (i.e. 56.3%) of the organisations. This pattern however, could be expected; it is therefore not surprising that these three methods should turn out to have been the ones which were most frequently used in each of the new towns.

The problem of starting a new organisation is largely one of communication. Information about the aims of a group has to be disseminated widely, in order to attract new members, who otherwise could not be reached. All three methods stated, were methods of communication, which, as was noted, play an important part in the life of a new town. The third method mentioned, i.e. the Public Meeting, is of course closely allied to the first two, since presumably a public meeting, for it to be a success, has to be publicised as widely as possible. The importance of such means of communication, as a local newspaper or a regular news-sheet, is being underlined by the extensive use that was made of them by social organisations at the initial stages of the development of the town. This was particularly well illustrated in the case of Livingston, where it was found that some leaders of organisations did not find it necessary to keep membership registers, since "Newsflash", (a news-sheet printed and distributed by volunteers), gets into every home, and therefore reaches all their members.

It is also of interest to note that according to the returns received, relating to the question of methods of starting, only two organisations* were found to have been

* W.R.V.S. in East Kilbride and Citizens Advice Bureau in Livingston.

instigated as a result of initiative taken by the respective Development Corporations. Both of these were social service bodies. This is not to say that there was no help available or given by the respective Development Corporations - but this would appear to be the case only after someone else had taken the initiative to start a particular group.

The record of the Local Authorities concerned, as initiators of organisations is slightly better. In Glenrothes, four organisations* indicated that they started as a result of Local Authority initiative. In East Kilbride, the local authority, i.e. the Town Council, were responsible for the start of four youth groups, a body for the co-ordination of sports activities, and a so-called Civics Association,** and in Livingston the Midlothian County Council were responsible for the setting up of a Youth Club. From this evidence, it would appear that the respective Local Authority will accept responsibility for taking the initiative as far as the formation of youth groups is concerned, since it forms part of their remit to provide educational facilities, (and the Youth Service is part of the Education Service), or, as was the case in Glenrothes it may also initiate some welfare facilities for old people, which is again part of the local authority's remit. East Kilbride has its own town council, who, it would appear, are prepared to initiate activities in a wider sphere.

Nevertheless, the statements by Dame Evelyn Sharp and Wyndham Thomas quoted above*** seem to apply to these Scottish

* One for Youth, one sport, and two old people's groups.

** designed to foster civic pride in the town.

*** Chapter 1.

New Towns as well. In other words the Development Corporation look to the Local Authority to provide educational and welfare services; and the local authorities have to arrange their priorities in a way in which the new town placed in their area, represents only one of many claims on their resources, unless, as in the case of East Kilbride, the new town and the local authority area are synonymous.

Furthermore, whilst it is possible to classify services for young people and welfare services into the two respective Local Authority fields of responsibility, i.e. Education and Welfare, many of the remaining organisations such as womens' groups and hobby/special interest groups, which perform just as vital a function, are not as readily classifiable, and therefore do not always get the support of the local authority. To some extent therefore, it can be said of these groups that they are "falling in between two stools", between the Development Corporation and the Local Authority, unless either of the two, or both are prepared to widen their remit, so as to include the field of social development, part of which would be the initiating and nurturing of certain social organisations, which are considered to be making a useful contribution towards the life of these new communities.

CHAPTER 7

Affiliations - Frequency of Meetings - membership of organisations.

Affiliations

Tables 14, 15 and 16 illustrate what kind of affiliations, the social organisations of these three new towns have.

It is of interest to note that in terms of rank order the first two kinds of affiliation were exactly the same in each of the towns. In Glenrothes, 51.5% of all affiliations* were with national, and sometimes international bodies, such as Scouts, YMCA, Round Table, Rotary, etc. The percentage for the same category for East Kilbride was almost identical, i.e. 51.1%, whilst in Livingston the corresponding figure was 42.4%. This would suggest that a great many of the organisations, predominantly in the Youth category, but as can be seen from the tables, in others too, were integrated into a wider network of organisations, outside the new towns, on a national, and in some cases, international level.

The second largest grouping, in terms of rank order, in each of the three new towns, were those organisations, with no affiliations of any kind. In Glenrothes these accounted for 17.6%, in East Kilbride for 16.7% and in Livingston for 36.4%. It is of interest to note how closely the figures for Glenrothes and East Kilbride resembled each

* It will be noted that the total number of affiliations in each table exceeds the total number of organisations, since some recorded more than one affiliation.

TABLE No. 14

AFFILIATIONS - GLENROTHES

Affiliation	Type of Org.	Youth	Art & Cult	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby Group	Political	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total	Rank Order
		No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	
No affiliation		-	2 33.3	-	3 23.1	3 30.0	-	-	2 66.7	1 25.0	1 50.0	12 17.6	2
Church		1 12.5	-	-	1 7.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 2.9	6
Political org.		1 12.5	-	-	2 15.4	-	4 44.4	-	-	-	-	7 10.3	3
National/International		5 62.5	4 66.7	7 100.0	5 38.5	4 40.0	3 33.3	4 66.7	1 33.3	1 25.0	1 50.0	35 51.5	1
County/Regional		-	-	-	1 7.7	3 30.0	1 11.1	1 16.7	-	-	-	6 8.8	4
Local Authority		1 12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 1.5	7
Local Affiliation		-	-	-	1 7.7	-	1 11.1	1 16.7	-	2 50.0	-	5 7.4	5
Total		8	6	7	13	10	9	6	3	4	2	68*	

* exceeds 59 since some are affiliated to more than one organisation.

TABLE No. 15

AFFILIATIONS - EAST KILBRIDE

Affiliation	Type of Org.	Youth	Art & Cult	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby Group	Political	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total	Rank Order
		No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	
No affiliation		1 4.8	4 57.1	1 10.0	1 11.1	5 26.3	- -	- -	- -	1 50.0	3 100.0	16 16.7	2
Church		8 38.1	- -	- -	1 11.1	- -	- -	1 5.6	- -	- -	- -	10 10.4	3
Political Org.		- -	- -	- -	1 11.1	1 5.3	2 40.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	4 4.2	6
National/International		9 42.8	2 28.6	8 80.0	6 66.7	9 47.4	3 60.0	10 55.6	1 50.0	1 50.0	- -	49 51.1	1
County/Regional		2 9.5	- -	- -	- -	3 15.8	- -	3 16.7	1 50.0	- -	- -	9 9.4	4
Local Authority		1 4.8	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 5.6	- -	- -	- -	2 2.1	7
Local Affiliation		- -	1 14.3	1 10.0	- -	1 5.3	- -	3 16.7	- -	- -	- -	6 6.3	5
Total		21	7	10	9	19	5	18	2	2	3	96*	

* Exceeds 82 since some are affiliated to more than one organisation.

TABLE No. 16

AFFILIATIONS - LIVINGSTON

Affiliation	Type of Org.	Youth	Art & Cult.	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby Group	Politi- cal	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total	Rank Order
		No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	
No affil- iation		2 16.7	2 100.0	- -	1 20.0	3 75.0	- -	3 60.0	1 100.0	- -	- -	12 36.4	2
Church		1 8.3	- -	- -	2 40.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3 9.1	3
Political Org.		- -	- -	- -	1 20.0	- -	1 100.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 6.1	4
National/ Inter- national		7 58.3	- -	3 100.0	1 20.0	1 25.0	- -	2 40.0	- -	- -	- -	14 42.4	1
County/ Regional		- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	
Local Authority		2 16.7	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 6.1	4
Local Affiliation		- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	
Total		12	2	3	5	4	1	5	1	-	-	33*	

*Number exceeds 32 (Total of organisations since 1 org. indicated more than one Affiliation) 37

other, whilst in Livingston the percentage figure for those with no affiliation was more than twice as large as in any of the other two towns. These figures should be seen as no more than an indicator, but it would appear that at that stage in Livingston more groups were "locally-orientated", whilst in the other two towns, as the process of diversification took place, so the incidence of affiliation of one kind or another increased.

The third largest group in East Kilbride and Livingston was found to be affiliated to a given church. (10.4% and 9.1% respectively). Although it was stated in the description of the sample used in this study, that organisations specifically associated with any of the churches were not included, in the event, those which were included had in fact featured on the list of organisations available for the town as a whole, and thereby indicated that they were open not only to members of their church.

As will be seen by comparing the rank orders on the Tables 14 and 15 relating to Glenrothes and East Kilbride, the patterns in both of these towns were almost identical with the exception of the affiliations to church and political organisations, which were reversed in rank order; but the remainder of the rank order was identical. It is also of interest to note the incidence of local affiliations, i.e. offshoots of organisations which are affiliated to a local parent-body rank fifth in both East Kilbride and Glenrothes, and affiliations to local authorities, (such as statutory Youth Clubs, run by the Education Authority), rank seventh in

both of these towns, and were also last (i.e. equal 4th) in Livingston. This would indicate that the greater number of organisations were voluntary ones, in the sense that they were not in any way affiliated to a statutory body, such as a local authority. Voluntary organisations can therefore be seen to be making the kind of contribution the Reith Report¹ assumed they would.

Although comparative figures for the affiliations of organisations in other new towns do not exist, it is interesting to note how closely the patterns in all three new towns, and in Glenrothes and East Kilbride in particular, resemble each other. The high number of organisations, which were affiliated to national/international bodies on the one hand, and the comparatively much lower figure for associations with either no affiliation or a purely local one, would suggest that many organisations operating in the new towns are part of a network of national and international contacts, and would not appear to have become exclusively orientated only towards the new town in which they are operating. Or put in another way, when new residents were faced with creating for themselves and their children organisations in which they could spend their leisure time, and to which they could belong, to a large extent they formed organisations, which also existed elsewhere in the country, and with which many would be familiar. It can therefore be said, that the new town

1. Paragraph 186, op.cit.

residents, coming from diverse cultural backgrounds as they do, brought their culture with them, as was assumed they would, in the Reith report.² The list of organisations represented in this study³ will further illustrate this point, in as much as there were in these new towns, few if any organisations, which were not found in other towns up and down the country. In other words, if there is such a phenomenon as a "new town culture" then it does not appear to have created its own specific "new town organisation". Instead, the people who moved into the new town brought with them the culture with which they were familiar, and of which the organisations which they formed were representative.**

Frequency of meetings

It was felt that if an attempt at assessing the contribution of social organisations was to be made, relating to the social life of a new town, "frequency of meeting" was an important factor, comparable to those relating to total membership and the proportion of members participating at meetings. Under Question IV in the questionnaire, secretaries were therefore asked to indicate how frequently their particular

2. Paragraph 188, op.cit.

* See classification of organisations, Appendix I.

** The design and remit of this study only allows for a "corporate view" of the situation to be taken. It does not indicate whether individuals or families have changed their patterns of leisure activities, since moving into the town. In order to be able to do this, a different type of study, i.e. interviews with a sample of the whole population would be required.

organisation met.

Tables 17, 18 and 19 show the answers given, by categories, for the winter months. Generally speaking "winter" in this context covers the period September - April.

Winter

As can be seen from these tables, the majority of organisations met at least once a week during the winter months. In fact the aggregate figures, (as a percentage of the total number of organisations) for groups which held meetings once a week, or more than once a week, were:

Glenrothes:	57.6%
East Kilbride:	54.9%
Livingston:	78.2%

It will be noted that the aggregate figure for Livingston is considerably larger than the other two. This is because of the fact that 56.3% alone, of all organisations met once a week, which, as can be seen from the tables is a considerably higher proportion than is given in Glenrothes or East Kilbride in the same category.

In Glenrothes, all youth organisations met at least once a week, and so did two-thirds of all sports clubs. The Arts/Cultural groups, which met more than once a week were the Art Club, which has its own premises to which members have access at any time, and the two groups concerned with the performing arts, (i.e. Little Theatre and Musical & Operatic Society), which met for rehearsals more frequently than once a week.

As far as the two organisations in Social/Dancing

TABLE No. 17

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS - WINTER - GLENROTHES

Type of Youth Org.	Arts & Cult.	Social Service Org.	Hobby	Politi- cal	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total	Rank Order
Meetings	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	%
More than once a week	5 71.4	3 50.0	1 14.3	- 1 11.1	- 4 66.7	2 66.7	1 25.0	- 17	28.8	1
Once a week	2 28.6	- 2 28.6	7 77.8	3 33.3	- 1 33.3	1 33.3	1 25.0	1 50.0	17	28.8
Once in two/ three weeks	- -	- 2 28.6	- -	- 4 66.7	1 16.7	- 1 25.0	- -	- 8	13.6	3
Once a month	- 3	50.0	2 28.6	2 33.3	2 33.3	1 16.7	- -	1 50.0	14	23.7
Less often than once a month	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 25.0	- 1	1.7	5
Occasionally	- -	- -	- 2 22.2	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 2	3.4	4
Never	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Total	7	6	7	9	6	3	4	2	59	100

category were concerned, which operate more than once a week, it would appear that availability of premises was a major factor. Both the British Legion and the Glenrothes Recreation & Social Centre, have their own premises, where members can call in any evening of the week. Only three organisations, (5.1%) met less often than once a month during winter, and of these, one is a committee concerned with the welfare of old people, and the other two are hobby groups, i.e. the Pigeon Racing Club, and the Angling Club.

In East Kilbride the pattern was similar to that of Glenrothes. The majority (32.9% of organisations) met once a week, and together with those that met more than once a week, they accounted for over half of all organisations, (54.9%). All youth organisations, with the exception of one, (East Kilbride & District Young Farmers Club), met at least once a week, and so did most of the sports organisations, and Arts & Cultural Societies. But the proportion of organisations, which met less often than once a month is higher than in Glenrothes, (13.4% as compared with 5.1%). One sports organisation, the Boys Football League, never met in winter, which at first appears to be surprising, since football is normally regarded as a "winter sport". However, in this case, the purpose of the Boys Football League is to occupy boys during the summer vacation, at a time when other activities are not available to them.

In Livingston however, the pattern is somewhat different from the other two towns. Virtually every organisation meets at least once a month. In fact, as was seen earlier, 78.2%

TABLE No. 18

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS - WINTER - EAST KILBRIDE

Frequency of meetings	Youth Org.		Arts & Social Service Org.		Hobby		Political		Sport & Dancing		Social & People		Other		Total		Rank							
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%								
More than once a week	9	52.9	3	42.9	1	10.0	1	12.5	-	-	4	26.7	-	-	-	-	18	22.0	3					
Once a week	7	41.2	3	42.9	2	20.0	2	25.0	5	35.7	1	25.0	4	26.7	1	50.0	2	100.0	-	27	32.9	1		
Once in two/three weeks	1	5.9	1	14.3	1	10.0	1	12.5	1	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6.1	5	
Once a month	-	-	-	-	4	40.0	4	50.0	3	21.4	3	75.0	4	26.7	-	-	2	66.7	20	24.4	2	-	-	
Less often than once a month	-	-	-	-	2	20.0	-	-	2	14.2	-	-	1	50.0	-	-	-	-	5	6.1	5	-	-	
Occasionally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21.4	-	2	13.3	-	-	1	33.3	6	7.3	4	-	-	-	
Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	6	-	-	
Total	17	-	7	-	10	8	14	4	15	2	3	82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE No. 19

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS - WINTER - LIVINGSTON

Pre- quency of Meetings	Type of Youth Org.		Art & Cult. Service Org.		Hobby Org.		Political- cal		Sport & Dancing		Social & People		Other		Total		Rank Order					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
More than once a week	2	18.2	-	-	2	66.7	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	7	21.9	2	
Once a week	8	72.7	1	50.0	1	33.3	2	40.0	2	50.0	-	-	3	60.0	1	100.0	-	-	18	56.3	1	
Once in two/ three weeks	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	2	40.0	1	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	12.5	3	
Once a month	-	-	1	50.0	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	9.4	4	
Less often than once a month	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occasionally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	11	2	3	5	4	1	5	1	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-

of all organisations met once a week or more. This includes all youth groups (bar one, the Calder District Rangers Unit), all sports clubs and all social service organisations. All of these in the other two towns also tended to be among those which met more frequently than the organisations in the other categories.

Summer

Tables No. 20, 21 and 22 indicate the frequency of meetings held by the various organisations, by categories, during the summer months, i.e. May - August. It becomes clear, that the general assumption, that more organised activity takes place during the eight months from September to April was correct, in as much as "frequency of meetings" is accepted as a factor indicating the scale of social activity. By comparing this set of tables, with the previous three, it will be noted that meetings during the summer months took place less frequently, than during winter. Fewer organisations therefore met once a week, or more than once a week.

The aggregate percentage figures for the three towns were as follows:

		Summer	Winter
once/more often than once a week	Glenrothes:	33.9%	57.6%
	East Kilbride:	30.5%	54.9%
	Livingston	53.2%	78.2%

At the other end of the "scale of frequency", it was found that those meeting less often than once a month (including those meeting occasionally or never) accounted for the following proportion of the total number of organisations:

TABLE No. 20

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS - SUMMER - GLENROTHES

Frequency of Meetings	Art & Cult		Social Service Org.		Women's Hobby		Political		Sport & Dancing		Social Old People		Other		Total		Rank Order			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
More than once a week	4	57.1	-	1	14.3	-	2	22.2	-	4	66.7	2	66.7	1	25.0	-	14	23.7	1	
Once a week	1	14.3	3	50.0	1	14.3	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	10.2	4	
Once in two/three weeks	1	14.3	-	1	14.3	1	11.1	-	4	66.7	-	-	-	1	25.0	1	50.0	9	15.3	3
Once a month	-	-	-	2	28.6	2	22.2	3	33.3	2	33.3	-	-	-	-	1	50.0	12	20.3	2
Less often than once a month	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	2	3.4	6	
Occasionally	1	14.3	1	16.7	1	14.3	-	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6.8	5	
Never	-	-	1	16.7	1	14.3	5	55.5	3	33.3	-	1	33.3	1	25.0	-	12	20.3	2	
Total	7		6		7		9		6		6		3		4		2		59	100%

TABLE No. 21

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS - SUMMER - EAST KILBRIDE

Frequency of meetings	Youth Org.		Arts & Cult. Service Org.		Social Women's Hobby		Political		Sport & Dancing		Social Old People		Other		Total		Rank Order			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
More than once a week	7	41.2	2	28.6	1	10.0	-	1	7.2	-	4	26.7	-	-	-	15	18.3	2		
Once a week	4	23.5	1	14.3	-	-	1	7.2	1	25.0	2	13.3	1	50.0	-	10	12.2	5		
Once in two/three weeks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.7	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	7		
Once a month	-	-	-	-	1	10.0	3	37.5	3	21.4	-	4	26.7	-	2	66.7	13	15.9	3	
Less often than once a month	-	-	-	-	4	40.0	1	12.5	1	7.2	1	6.7	1	50.0	1	50.0	-	10	12.2	5
Occasionally	4	23.5	1	14.3	2	20.0	1	12.5	3	21.4	2	13.3	1	-	-	33.3	16	19.5	1	
Never	2	11.8	2	28.6	1	10.0	2	25.0	3	21.4	-	1	6.7	-	1	50.0	1	12	14.6	4
Not Stated	-	-	1	14.3	1	10.0	1	12.5	2	14.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6.1	6
Total	17		7		10		8		14		4		15		2		3		82	

TABLE No. 22

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS - SUMMER - LIVINGSTON

Type of Org.	Youth	Art & Cult	Social Service Org.	Women's Hobby	Political	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total	Rank Order						
Frequency of meeting	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%					
More than once a week	3	27.3	-	-	2	66.7	-	-	1	25.0	1	20.0	-	-	7	21.9	3
Once a week	5	45.5	-	-	2	40.0	-	-	2	40.0	1	100.0	-	-	10	31.3	1
Once in two/three weeks	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.1	5
Once a month	-	-	1	50.0	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.2	4
Less often than once a month	1	9.1	1	100.0	1	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.1	5
Occasionally	1	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	2	6.2	4
Never	1	9.1	1	50.0	-	-	3	60.0	3	75.0	-	-	-	-	9	28.1	2
Total	11		2		3		5		4		1	5	1	-	32		

		Summer	Winter
Less often than once a month/ occasionally/ never	Glenrothes:	30.5%	5.1%
	East Kilbride	46.3%	13.4%
	Livingston	37.4%	0.0%

Both sets of figures illustrate the same point, namely that in winter the frequency of meetings increases, while in the summer, it decreases. It is particularly interesting to note, in each of the towns, the number of organisations, which state that they never met in the summer months.

		Summer	Winter
never in summer:	Glenrothes:	20.3%	0.0%
	East Kilbride:	14.6%	1.2%
	Livingston	28.1%	0.0%

It is also of interest to note that out of a total of 182 organisations, in all three new towns, only one indicated that it never met in winter, (0.5%); but 33 (18.1%) indicated that they never met in summer. Among those organisations which never met in summer, one particular category stands out, namely the womens' organisations. Out of a total of 22 womens' groups in all three towns, 10 never met in the summer at all (45.5%), and as Tables 20, 21 and 22 show, all the other categories of organisations have reduced the frequency of their meetings during the summer.

This is to be expected, since the four months, which in this analysis represent summer, also cover the peak holiday months of July and August, when many members would be absent from the town anyhow. Furthermore, it is also the period during which the hours of daylight during the evenings are longer, during which the garden can be tended, and other outdoor

domestic tasks tackled. There is also time for an evening stroll, or a game of golf after work. In other words, it would appear that during these four months, there does not exist the same need for organised activity, as during the remainder of the year, although there may be a call for special holiday programmes for children, such as the Boys Summer Football League in East Kilbride. However, within the remit and design of this particular study, it would not be possible to assess whether such a demand for summer activities existed, or whether certain organisations tended to close down during this period, because the "demand" fell off. However, in the Government Survey, undertaken by K.K. Sillitoe, figures are given relating to participation³ which clearly show that during the winter months more people actively take part in various activities than they do during the summer months. Since in that particular study the sample was divided up into domestic-age categories, strict comparison with the data for Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston was not possible, but the general trend was found to be the same. On the other hand, data, which is comparable, such as the findings of Sykes & Woldmans' Irvine Study,⁴ not only confirms the general trend, but produces a pattern, which is very similar to the one found in the three new towns in this study, i.e. 71.8% of all organisations met at least once a week in winter, as against 40.7% in the summer; 0.9% never met in winter, while 28.8% never met in summer.

3. K.K. Sillitoe, op.cit. Table 55, p.105, and Tables A22 and A23, pp. 220/221.

4. A. Sykes & E. Woldman, op.cit. Tables 6 & 7.

It will be noted that these figures very closely correspond to the ones given in the preceding tables, a fact which would suggest that there is a common pattern, as far as this information is concerned to at least four of the five Scottish New Towns.

Membership of Organisations by Sex

Tables No. 23, 24, and 25 show the total membership of the organisations covered by this study in each of the new towns. In Glenrothes, this was 6,823 or 26% of the total population, in East Kilbride 10,514 or 16% of the population and in Livingston 1,459 or 21% of the population. However, these figures conceal a certain number of people who hold membership of more than one organisation. It would therefore be more accurate to describe this as the number of units of membership.* The number of separate individuals this involves could only be assessed by a different kind of study. In the present case, the secretaries of the various organisations were asked to indicate the number of members in their organisations. Some were also able to give lists of addresses, but not all. A cross-check to determine multiple membership was therefore not possible. Nevertheless, as in T. Bottomore's⁵ "Squirebridge" and in the above mentioned Irvine study, it was thought possible in the three new towns covered to assess in this way the degree of involvement and participation in organised activities.

* A term which was also used in the Irvine study conducted by Sykes and Woldman of Strathclyde University.

5. T. Bottomore, "Social Stratification in Voluntary Organisations" Chapter VIII in "Social Mobility in Britain" edited by D.V. Glass - Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954.

TABLE NO. 23.

Membership of Organisations - GLENROTHES

Membership No.	Type of Youth Org.		Art & Cult.		Social Service		Women's Org.		Hobby Groups		Political		Sport		Social & Dancing		Old People		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Males	1222	55.8	155	39.7	118	60.8	0	0.0	323	74.5	589	54.1	573	90.0	728	55.4	67	29.7	17	60.7	3792	55.6
No. of Females	969	44.2	235	60.2	76	39.1	329	100.0	110	25.4	500	45.9	57	9.9	586	44.6	158	70.2	11	39.2	3031	44.4
Total Membership	2191		390		194		329		433		1089		630*		1314**		225		28		6823	
No. of Orgs.	7		6		7		9		9		6		6		3		4		2		59	
Average members per org.	313		65		28		37		48		182		105		438		56		14		116	

* Of that No. Golf Club alone has 440 members.

Remaining 5 clubs therefore share a total of 190 members - average no. excluding Golf Club is 38.

** One of the three organisations in this category has only 16 members.

The remaining two therefore account for 98.7% of the total membership.

TABLE NO. 24

Membership of Organisations - EAST KILBRIDE

Type of Org.	Youth		Art & Cult.		Social Service		Women's Org.		Hobby Group		Politi- cal		Sport		Social & Dancing		Old People		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Males	2414	48.2	170	51.7	106	34.3	0	0.0	999	92.2	630	48.1	1021	87.7	194	76.1	160	34.6	119	62.3	5813	55.2
No. of Females	2593	51.8	159	48.3	203	65.7	414	100.0	84	7.8	680	51.9	143	12.3	51	23.9	302	65.4	72	37.7	4701	44.7
Total Membership	5007		329		309		414		1083		1310		1164		245		462		191		10514	
No. of org- anisations	17		7		10		8		14		4		15		2		2		3		82	
Average no. of members per org.	295		47		31		52		77		328		78		123		231		64		128	

TABLE No. 25

Membership of Organisations - LIVINGSTON

Member- ship No.	Type of Org.		Youth		Art & Cult.		Social Service		Women's Org.		Hobby Groups		Politi- cal		Sport		Social & Danc- ing		Old Peo- ple		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No. of Males	220	34.8	8	12.0	8	18.2	0	0.0	48	57.1	110	73.3	142	91.6	55	47.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	591	40.5
No. of Females	413	65.2	59	88.0	36	81.8	211	100.0	36	42.9	40	26.7	13	8.4	60	52.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	868	59.5
Total Membership	633		67		44		211		84		150		155		115		0		0		0		1459	
No. of Org.	11		2		3		5		4		1		5		1		0		0		0		32	
Average members per org.	58		34		15		42		21		150		31		115		0		0		0		46	

The above tables also give a breakdown of membership by sex. Of the total membership in Glenrothes, 55.6% were males and 44.4% were females. The equivalent figures for East Kilbride very closely resembled the Glenrothes ones, i.e. 55.2% males and 44.7% females. In Livingston, however, there was a preponderance of females in membership, i.e. 59.5% as opposed to 40.5% males. Both East Kilbride and Glenrothes showed a pattern which accords with the ones discovered in Irvine,⁶ Squirebridge⁷ and with the national pattern (including other New Towns as shown recently in Sillitoe's⁸ study). Livingston would appear to be the exception to a general pattern where men outnumber women in membership of organisations. In Livingston, the opposite was the case. It is conceivable that Livingston was the exception to this pattern at this stage by virtue of being the "youngest" town of all the examples quoted above. Hume,⁹ in her recent study of neighbourhoods in the towns of East Kilbride, Glenrothes and Livingston, found that frequently, the pattern in Livingston was different from the other new towns. (See also age structure of membership, Chapter 8). She found further that more of the men she interviewed sought their entertainment outside the town than was the case with women, and also tended to maintain their former social links far longer. The above figures, relating to Livingston would tend to support this suggestion.

6. Sykes and Woldman, op.cit.

7. T. Bottomore, op.cit.

8. K.K. Sillitoe, op.cit.

9. V.E. Hume - Neighbourhoods in Scottish New Towns, op.cit.

A closer look at the sex distribution in each category shows that there were some areas where the male preponderance was more complete than in others. As can be seen from the summary table No. 26 which includes the results of the Irvine study, hobby groups and sport organisations were male domains in all four new towns. On the other hand, old people's groups showed a preponderance of females in all three towns where they were in existence. Among the youth organisations however, the distribution was fairly even, i.e. in Irvine and East Kilbride, the male and female proportions almost balance, but in Livingston, there were decidedly more females, and in Glenrothes, more males. In the category Arts & Cultural, in Irvine, there was a male preponderance, East Kilbride again was very evenly balanced whilst in both Livingston and Glenrothes, the females outweighed the males in numbers. Among the social service groups, in Irvine the sexes were almost evenly matched whilst in East Kilbride and Livingston, the females outnumber the males, but in Glenrothes surprisingly, the situation was reversed. The political organisations, on the other hand, were dominated by male members in both Irvine and Livingston, whilst in East Kilbride, the numbers were fairly even and in Glenrothes too, the males outnumbered the females, but to a lesser extent. The Social and Dancing category again seemed to be a male preserve except for the case of Livingston where there was a slightly higher proportion of females in membership.

The situation in the Scottish New Towns differs from Bottomore's Squirebridge of nearly twenty years ago in as much as in Squirebridge, only the arts and cultural organisation showed a preponderance of female membership (although he gave no figures for the "old people" category). It is also interesting to note that the Social Service groups in Squirebridge showed a bigger male proportion than females, and in this, Glenrothes and Squirebridge (if these two places are in any way comparable) stand alone.

In Sillitoe's sample which included eight new towns, as far as figures can be adapted from Table 14,¹⁰ the categories where figures were available, i.e. Youth, Social Service, Political Organisations, Sport and Social and Dancing, indicate that, apart from certain exceptions such as male preponderance in Social Service category in Glenrothes, the proportions of male and female membership coincide with those shown in the present study.

10. Page 56, op.cit.

TABLE NO. 26

SUMMARY - MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANISATIONS (Percentages Male/Female)

	Glenrothes		East Kilbride		Livingston		Irvine	
	M. %	F. %	M. %	F. %	M. %	F. %	M. %	F. %
Youth	55.8	44.2	48.2	51.8	34.8	65.2	51.0	49.0
Art & Cult.	39.7	60.2	51.7	48.3	12.0	88.0	72.4	25.8
Social Service	60.8	39.1	34.3	65.7	18.2	81.8	48.1	51.9
Women's Org.	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	100
Hobby Groups	74.5	25.4	92.2	7.8	57.1	42.9	84.3	15.7
Political	54.1	45.9	48.1	51.9	73.3	26.7	69.6	30.4
Sport	90.0	9.9	87.7	12.3	91.6	8.4	89.9	10.1
Social & Dancing	55.4	44.6	76.1	23.9	47.8	52.2	70.0	30.0
Old People	29.7	70.2	34.5	65.4	-	-	39.6	60.4
Total	55.6	44.4	55.2	44.7	40.5	59.5	62.5	37.5

CHAPTER 8

Age structure of population in Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston/Age structure of membership of organisations in above towns/Level of participation.

Age structure of population

It is one of the demographic features of new towns that the age-structure of their populations is more youthful than the national pattern. This can be seen from Table 27 which indicates the age-structure of eight English New Towns, as revealed in the 1966 sample census. It shows how similar the age structure is in these new towns, and how it differs from the national pattern. "The earlier new towns", Cullingworth¹ wrote, consisted predominantly of young married couples with young children. Approximately half were between 20 and 40 years old, compared with about 27% for the rest of England and Wales. Children under 10 years of age formed about a quarter, compared with only 15% for England and Wales. Only a small proportion of the newcomers were in the 15-19 age group or in the over 45 age group. A structure of this kind produces a large school population for the first 10 to 15 years; and during the first ten years a small proportion of teenagers.

The Tables No. 28, 29 and 30 show that by and large the age structures of Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston

1. Cullingworth et al., "The needs of new communities" HMSO 1967. Figures taken from earlier report: "The first hundred families, HMSO 1965.

TABLE 27

Age structures: new town populations at 1966
sample census

Age Groups (years)	Bracknell	Crawley	Harlow	Hemel Hempstead	Corby	Aycliffe	Peterlee	Skelmers- dale	England and Wales
0-4	10.3	10.1	12.9	9.5	13.5	12.9	15.1	11.8	8.5
5-9	11.4	11.3	12.6	10.2	11.2	11.3	13.7	8.2	7.6
10-14	9.2	10.6	10.2	9.4	9.2	9.1	8.6	5.7	6.9
15-19	8.2	8.4	7.3	8.2	8.0	6.4	8.8	8.4	7.8
20-24	5.9	4.7	6.0	5.7	7.2	8.2	9.3	5.6	6.0
25-29	6.9	5.6	7.2	5.5	7.9	8.2	8.4	8.4	5.9
30-34	7.8	7.9	8.6	7.2	7.0	8.0	7.2	6.8	5.9
35-39	9.0	9.1	9.0	8.9	7.1	9.3	7.2	5.1	6.2
40-44	7.3	9.3	7.7	8.2	6.4	8.6	6.5	6.4	6.7
45-49	6.5	6.8	6.0	6.5	6.3	5.6	3.7	7.4	6.3
50-54	5.4	5.0	4.0	6.1	4.9	3.5	3.1	6.1	6.6
55-59	3.7	3.6	2.9	4.3	4.5	2.9	2.1	6.0	6.5
60-64	2.9	2.6	1.6	3.2	3.1	3.0	2.3	3.9	5.7
65-69	2.0	1.8	1.5	2.6	1.8	1.8	2.1	4.1	4.6
70-74	1.6	1.2	1.2	2.3	0.9	2.0	1.1	2.4	3.4
75+	1.9	2.0	1.3	2.2	1.0	1.3	1.3	3.7	4.6
ALL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ages	No. 23,710	62,680	67,920	64,130	43,850	15,850	18,330	12,040	

NOTE: Percentage figures have been rounded and do not therefore always add to 100 per cent.

TABLE 28

Age structure of population/age structure of membership
GLENROTHES.MALES

	No. in male popu- lation	% of total male popu- lation	Member- ship of organi- sations in each age group	Member- ship % as a propor- tion of total popul- ation in each age group.	No. of member- ships per head of popu- lation in each age group	approx. ratio popu- lation to member- ship
0-9	3137	26.7	166	5.3	0.05	1:19
10-19	1965	16.7	770	39.2	0.4	1:3
20-29	2094	17.8	367	17.5	0.2	1:6
30-39	1872	15.9	389	20.7	0.2	1:5
40-49	1422	12.1	336	23.6	0.2	1:4
50-59	698	5.9	119	17.0	0.2	1:6
Over 60	570	4.8	255	44.7**	0.5	1:2
not known	(147)*		1390	(11.8)**		
Total	11758		3792			

Overall average number of memberships per head of male population for all age groups: 0.3

* not attributable to male or female, therefore omitted from total

** percentage of total male population for which age group is not known.

FEMALES

0-9	3038	25.4	250	8.2	0.08	1:12
10-19	1959	16.4	490	25.0	0.3	1:4
20-29	2360	19.7	173	7.3	0.07	1:14
30-39	1867	15.6	286	15.3	0.2	1:7
40-49	1305	10.9	281	21.5	0.2	1:5
50-59	632	5.3	111	17.6	0.2	1:6
over 60	793	6.6	290	36.6**	0.4	1:3
not known	(147)*		1150	(9.6)**		
Total	11954		3031			

Overall average number of memberships per head of female population for all age groups: 0.3

Population figures adapted from Household Survey, Glenrothes Development Corporation, 1968.

TABLE No. 29

Age structure of population/age structure of membership
EAST KILBRIDE

<u>MALES</u>						
	No. in male popu- lation	% of total male popu- lation	Member- ship of organi- sations in each age group	Member- ship % as a propor- tion of total popu- lation in each age group	No. of member- ships per head of popu- lation in each age group	approx. ratio popul- ation to member- ship
0-9	7046	22.8	263	3.7	0.04	1:27
10-19	5661	18.3	2718	48.0	0.5	1:2
20-29	4233	13.7	380	9.0	0.1	1:11
30-39	4609	14.0	470	10.2	0.1	1:10
40-49	4509	14.6	590	13.1	0.1	1:8
50-59	2786	9.0	238	8.5	0.1	1:12
over 60	2102	6.8	364	17.3	0.2	1:6
		not stated	790			
Total	30946		5813	(2.6)		

Average total of membership per head of male population for all categories: 0.2.

<u>FEMALES</u>						
	No. in female popu- lation	% of total female popu- lation	Member- ship of organi- sations in each age group	Member- ship % as a propor- tion of total popu- lation in each age group	No. of member- ships per head of popu- lation in each age group	approx. ratio popul- ation to member- ship
0-9	6656	21.1	996	15.0	0.1	1:7
10-19	5440	17.3	1462	26.9	0.3	1:4
20-29	4727	15.0	254	5.4	0.05	1:18
30-39	5049	16.0	318	6.3	0.1	1:16
40-49	4313	13.7	362	8.4	0.1	1:12
50-59	2617	8.3	194	7.4	0.1	1:13
over 60	2749	8.7	451	16.4	0.2	1:6
		not stated	664			
Total	31551		4701	(2.1)		

Average total of membership per head of female population for all categories: 0.1.

TABLE No. 30

Age structure of population/age structure of membership
LIVINGSTON

<u>MALES</u>						
	No. in male popu- lation	% of total male popu- lation	Member- ship of organi- sations in each age group	Member- ship % as a propor- tion of total popul- ation in each age group	No. of member- ships per head of pop- ulation in each age group	approx. ratio popu- lation to member- ship
0-9	1017	32.7	27	2.7	0.03	1:38
10-19	329	10.6	264	80.2	0.8	1:1.25
20-29	799	25.7	44	5.5	0.05	1:18
30-39	549	17.6	31	5.6	0.05	1:18
40-49	227	7.3	30	13.2	0.1	1:8
50-59	101	3.2	18	17.8	0.2	1:6
over 60	76	2.4	3	3.9	0.04	1:25
not known	13	0.4	174	(5.6)		
Total	3111		591	(% of total male popu- lation - not age group)		

Average total of memberships per head of male population for all categories: 0.2

FEMALES

0-9	956	31.0	166	17.4	0.2	1:6
10-19	338	10.9	199	58.9	0.6	1:1.7
20-29	947	30.6	145	15.3	0.2	1:7
30-39	468	15.1	113	24.1	0.2	1:4
40-49	170	5.5	44	25.9	0.3	1:4
50-59	83	2.7	14	16.9	0.2	1:6
over 60	113	3.7	27	23.9	0.2	1:4
not stated	15	0.5	160	(5.2)		
Total	3090		868	(% of total female popu- lation (not age group))		

Average total of memberships per head of female population for all categories: 0.3.

correspond to the pattern of the other new towns. However, there were also a number of interesting variations: In Glenrothes and East Kilbride, the children under 10 years of age did form just over (26.1%)*, and just under (22.0%)* a quarter of the total population respectively, whereas in Livingston they make up almost a third, (31.8%)*.

In the age-group 10-19 a similar difference appeared. This particular age group in Glenrothes formed 16.5%* of the population and in East Kilbride 17.8%*, whilst in Livingston the same age group only accounted for 10.7%* of the population. Although it was not possible to single out the teenagers in an age-grouping covering ten years at the time, it would nevertheless appear that Livingston, which is a more recent town (designated 1962) than either Glenrothes, (designated 1948) or East Kilbride, (designated 1947), has a more youthful population still, and for the time being shows this lack of teenagers mentioned by Cullingworth.²

The age group 20-29 again showed Livingston to be a more youthful town, than the other two new towns. In Glenrothes this category formed 18.8%* of the total population, and in East Kilbride 14.3%*, whilst in Livingston the figure was 28.2%*. This would again confirm Cullingworth's suggestion that at an early stage of a new towns' development the great majority of incomers are young married couples with young children. Schaffer³ put the same point in a similar way:

* percentage figures are average of male and female percentages given in Tables 28,29,30.

2. Cullingworth, et al., op.cit.

3. Schaffer, Frank. The New Town Story, MacGibbon & Kee, London, 1970, p. 170.

"For almost all the young couples moving into a new town, with a new job and a new house, the next priority was a new baby". It is also interesting to note that in all three towns covered by this study, the females in this particular age group consistently outnumbered their male peers. (In Glenrothes by 266 or 6%, in East Kilbride by 494 or 6% and in Livingston by 148 or 8%.

This is a phenomenon, which would merit further investigation, particularly since it did not occur again in any other age group except in the case of the over 60's, where presumably female longevity would be the main factor. One can therefore only surmise that it is more likely that single women, who work in new towns, also live there, whereas single men would commute. The incidence of car-ownership might well be a factor influencing this, as Sillitoe found in his recent survey.⁴ He discovered that in the 23-30 age group only 49% of the single females had a motor car, whereas in the equivalent age group 68% of the males had their own motor cars. It is feasible that this might be one of the factors which could have a bearing on the preponderance of female residents in this age group in the above three new towns. Clearly there must be other factors, such as employment opportunities and availability of bachelor flats, and possibly other demographic factors, an investigation of which however would be outwith the scope of this particular study.

In the age group 30-39 the difference between the three new towns was less marked than in the preceding group, although

4. Sillitoe, K.K. op.cit., pages 10 & 11, Tables 4 & 5.

the proportion this group represented in the total population was still fractionally higher in Livingston (16.4%) than in East Kilbride (15.4%) and Glenrothes (15.8%).

In the age group 40-49 however, there was again a marked difference between the "younger" town of Livingston, where only 6.4% of the population fell into this age group, and Glenrothes and East Kilbride, where the figures were 11.5% and 14.2% respectively.

In the age group 50-59, this same trend, (i.e. the more recent the town - the younger the population), emerged again. Here, the proportion, which this category formed of the total population was, in Glenrothes 5.6%, in East Kilbride 8.6% and in Livingston 3.0%.

This trend was even more marked in the over 60's group, where the proportion in Livingston, (3%) was approximately half that of Glenrothes (5.7%) and nearly a third that of East Kilbride (7.8%).

Nowhere was the deviation from the national age-structure more marked than in the oldest and the youngest age-groups. The preponderance of young people is a characteristic of new towns, as much as the lack of old people. This lack of old people is due to a number of factors, but none more so than the selection procedure, according to which residents are being chosen. This procedure will be referred to in Chapter 11. Suffice it here to say that new towns generally have a policy of encouraging parents of young couples to move into the town beside them. This is considered to be important, not only from the point of view of a more balanced

age structure, but also, as one new town official put it, "because it makes babysitters more freely available, which in turn will allow the towns' social life to grow and flourish". However, one of the main reasons why this policy has had only a marginal impact on the age structure so far is simply this. Since the major part of the adult population is between 20 and 30, the parents for the most part are not "old" at all. They are more likely to be middle-aged, in secure jobs, and settled in an area, where they probably have lived for the last twenty or so years, unless of course they themselves are affected by slum clearance and are therefore on the overspill list. Once fifteen or twenty years of development have passed, as is the case with East Kilbride and Glenrothes, many of the parents are around retiring age and would probably be prepared to move - but as Schaffer put it⁵ "pressing needs of expanding industry meant often that only a small quota of suitable dwellings could be allocated to parents".

Age structure of membership

Age group 0 - 9

Although this is proportionally the most sizeable group in terms of total population - it was also the age group which almost uniformly was least represented in membership, in other words the proportion of members of that age group who have taken up membership of an organisation was smaller than the proportion who have done so in any other age group in the three new towns.

5. Schaffer, op.cit., p. 170.

As can be seen from the table 28, 29, 30 (summarised below) there were significant differences between each town, and within each town, between the sexes, as to the proportions of that age group, represented in membership;

TABLE No. 31

Age Group 0 - 9 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes	males 5.3%	females 8.2%
East Kilbride	males 3.7%	females 15.0%
Livingston	males 2.7%	females 17.4%

At least two questions would appear to arise out of these figures, namely: a) Why was there generally such a low proportion of the total population in this age group represented in membership? b) Why was there such a marked difference between the figures relating to the different sexes in each of the three new towns? Whilst it would be impossible to furnish categorical answers to these questions, some of the following factors would seem to be particularly relevant.

a) This age group covers the years 0 - 9, yet the earliest any of the children could join any actual youth organisation, (apart from pre-school play groups and such like), would be at the age of 7½. (Cubs and Brownies). To all intents and purposes therefore only 1½ years of the period covering this age group were effectively included.

b) The organisations which they could join, such as cubs and brownies operated a limited intake per group (24 in the case of Brownies, 36 in the case of Cubs) and were therefore highly "leadership intensive". In Livingston for instance,

a young teacher started one Brownie pack in one school, and when she left it in order to start another one, in a second school, when it opened, her first Brownie pack temporarily ceased to operate through lack of leadership.

c) It is not easy to become a leader in the very organisations which could cater for children of that age, and which tend to be uniformed organisations. The standards of competence and qualifications these organisations set, are on the whole very high and recruitment usually takes place from among older Scouts and Rangers or former members, of whom again there were not many readily available, since few of the groups will have been established for a long enough time. This also applied to other resources, such as finance, buildings etc. Organisations in new towns cannot rely on the help of a pool of ex-members and contacts which have been built up over generations and who can help in raising finance and finding suitable premises. In the new towns, by contrast most organisations have to start from scratch. More will be said about this question later, but the problem seemed to be particularly acute in this age group.

d) Another reason for the relatively low proportion of members in this age group, could well be the age limit, which was imposed by the Albermarle Report on the Youth Service, and which for purposes of grant-aid was being operated between 14 and 20 years. In other words, a youth organisation wanting to employ a Youth Leader to run activities for children under the age of 14 strictly speaking could not qualify for grant-aid from the local authority. Although it is true to

say that in Scotland anyhow, few organisations have been willing to accept this age differentiation,^{*} for purposes of grant aid it has been operated fairly strictly up to very recently. However, increasingly voices calling for the abolition of these age limits are being heard. The report, "Youth and Community Work in the 70's"⁶ representing proposals by the Youth Service Development Council of the Department of Education and Science, recommended:

paragraph 2b) page 1: "In a service designed to meet the needs of individuals it is neither necessary nor desirable to lay down hard and fast dividing lines", and under

paragraph 6c) page 3: "The existing age limits of 14 and 20 should disappear and eligibility for grants should be correspondingly widened".**

e) There would appear to be a further important reason, for this low proportion, which was mentioned frequently in conversation with leaders of youth organisations in the new towns. Some find, that since traditionally their activities are at a peak during the winter months, when the evenings are dark, many parents are reluctant to let their children go out of the house and walk for any distance, particularly when, as is the case in the new towns, sometimes roads are unfinished and badly lit, and buses are infrequent. (See also maps).

All these factors don't account however for the preponderance of girls in membership. Unfortunately there

* See paragraph 21, p. 16 in "Community of Interests"
HMSO 1968

6. Youth and Community Work in the 70's, HMSO 1969 pp. 1 & 3.

** See also paragraphs 175, 176 and 210 in above report.

were no statistics available which divide participation according to sex; indeed, since this age range is outwith the Youth Service age range - there are no statistics available anywhere. It is however possible to speculate that there are more female leaders available, possibly due to reasons given above, (i.e. "surplus" of single women in the 20 - 29 age group).

Age group 10-19

This is the age group which also includes the Youth Service age range (14-20 years). However, comparison with Youth Service statistics was only possible in a limited sense, since few were available* and those that were available did not cover the same age range as was used in this study. Furthermore, once again multiple membership could not be established, but nevertheless the figures given are an indication of the degree of participation in formal groups.

As in the previous age group, there were again marked differences in the proportions represented in membership between each of the three towns and indeed between the sexes, i.e.

TABLE No. 32

Age group 10 - 19 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes:	males	39.2%	females	25%
East Kilbride:	males	48%	females	26.9%
Livingston:	males	80.2%	females	58.9%

The first general trend which became apparent was that in each town the boys in membership outnumbered the girls. In

* See para. 21 "Community of Interests": "The statistics of membership of the Youth Service as a whole are approximate, and in certain respects, uninformative. They do not, for example, reveal exactly the number of members in each age group, or even the number above or below any particular age."

this these new towns did not appear to differ from any of the other towns in the country which were studied. Pearl Jephcott,⁷ for instance, found that in two areas of Glasgow (Dennistoun and Drumchapel) and in the West Lothian town of Armadale the figures for participation in leisure-time activities, which most closely resemble the activities of the organisations in this study showed that 63% of boys and 47% of girls were involved in one way or another. Whilst these figures are not strictly comparable due to differences in sample and survey design, they do nevertheless bear out the above trend. She also demonstrated that many more girls did spend their evenings at home than boys.⁸ In answer to the question "How did you spend yesterday evening" 38% of the boys and 46% of the girls said they were at home. Similar figures, at least in as much as they confirmed the trend among girls of a lower pattern of participation in club activities, and a higher tendency to spend evenings at home were given in a Report by the Central Advisory Council for Education in England,⁹ where it was found that 34.6% of all schoolboys and 62% of all girls had spent three or more evenings at home during the week prior to being interviewed. Pearl Jephcott herself seemed to give a major clue as to the reasons behind these patterns in her report¹⁰ when she said that "many of the home based interests were connected

7. Pearl Jephcott, "Time of one's own", Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1967. Table 19, p. 163.

8. Table 14, p. 161, op.cit.

9. 15 to 18: Report of Central Advisory Council for Education - England Vol. II HMSO.

10. p. 107, op.cit.

with feminine skills, such as knitting and dressmaking, cooking and looking after small children at home". The report by the Youth Service Development Council¹¹ under Appendix 3^{*} drew on the findings of a wide number of committees^{**} and showed clearly that a higher proportion of boys than girls belong to youth organisations. (36% and 25% respectively). Unfortunately the equivalent figures for Scotland are not available. However in the recent Government Survey,¹² which included in its sample eight new towns^{***} it was found that in the 15-18 age range, 55% of the boys and 43% of the girls were in membership. Although detailed comparison between these different sets of data was almost impossible, mainly because of the differing age criteria being used, nevertheless they did confirm the general trend of male preponderance in that age group, which was observed in Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston.

More specifically, it would appear that the degree of involvement in the new towns was higher than in any of the other areas quoted above. The figures relating to Glenrothes and East Kilbride, although higher than any of those quoted from other studies, did roughly correspond to the third of young people who were said to be involved in voluntary and statutory organisations by the Albemarle Report in 1960.^{****} However, the percentages which emerged for

11. Youth & Community Work in 70's. HMSO 1969.

* Youth Service involvement of Young People in England & Wales.

** See page 167 of that report.

12. KSillitoe, "Planning for Leisure".

*** For a list of the towns, see page 248 of that report.

**** A figure which more recently in "Youth & Community Work" (p. 172, para. 6a) has been declared as being optimistic.

Livingston for the same age group were exceptional by any standard. Whilst it would be difficult to furnish a comprehensive explanation, from observations and from discussion with youth leaders the following factors would appear to be particularly relevant.

a. Although the percentages are high, (i.e. 80.2% and 58.9% for males and females respectively) the actual numbers involved are relatively small, i.e. there were only 329 males and 338 females in the total population of Livingston in this age group. It was therefore reasonable to assume that a great many of the young people would know each other from school and the neighbourhood and they would therefore be under a certain degree of pressure from their peers to join also.

b. Being a very new town there were few, if any, commercial alternatives for their entertainment in the town itself which at the time of the survey virtually meant Craigshill.

c. The premises available in the form of youth wings, attached to the schools, and the Craigshill Farm were more attractive and up-to-date than any other facilities in the district. This acted both as a disincentive for young local residents to go elsewhere, and as an incentive for young people from the surrounding villages to join new town organisations.* This last point, i.e. the influx from outside may indeed have been an important factor which influenced the high rate of membership.** Furthermore, being

* For further details on proportion of members which come from outside the town see maps.

** Only 2 of the 6 youth organisations were able to supply lists of addresses, an exact assessment was therefore not possible (for these 2 the percentage of incomers was 20% and 15%).

within the vicinity of the school premises, the children would get to know their age group.

d. From an early stage in the town development there were two full-time youth-leaders working in the town. One of them employed by the Midlothian County Education Authority and one by the Church of Scotland. Both of them had an official remit for a wider area, but were based in Craigshill and made a special point of issuing a personal invitation to every young person as he moved into the town. Again, as indicated under a) the numbers involved were such as to still make this personal contact possible. These are some of the factors which would help to account for this high degree of participation which was not found in any other age group or indeed any other of the new towns studied.

Age group 20-29.

As was to be expected, young men and women in this age group have different leisure habits from those of young people, five or ten years their junior. They are very likely to have left full-time education, and other than perhaps in a leadership capacity, they will have lost all contact with youth organisations. Most probably, they will have got married, moved into a new house and have become parents and are now occupied with activities centred on the home. This "home-centredness" would appear to be a characteristic, not only of the three new towns studied here, but of others as well. Ferdynand Zweig in his very short study of Cumbernauld¹³

13. Ferdynand Zweig: "The Cumbernauld Study", Urban Research Bureau. London, 1970.

went as far as to call, this "an excessive psychological investment in the family". Nicholson,¹⁴ however, did not see this necessarily as quite such a negative feature, when he said: "The retreat to the home, which is sometimes deplored is, at least as a stage, an expression of the satisfaction which the home now gives. Some workers in these communities speak of a "new culture of the home". Others see in it a defence against unfamiliar surroundings and unknown neighbours".

Cullingworth too in his Swindon Social Survey¹⁵ found that the garden and the T.V. set absorbed the interests of at least the adult members of the family. Paradoxically he found that "there were complaints about the lack of entertainment in the town, "and concluded that "it is difficult to say whether they did not go out because they did not want to - or because they did not want to because there was nowhere to go."

Be that as it may "staying in the home" for both the man and the woman of the house is a feature of new communities, much more so than was previously the case in established communities such as, for instance, Ashton (a mining community) which J. Klein¹⁶ described as a place where a woman's place was in the home, the man's place definitely outside it. She observed that: "After work the men go home for a wash and a meal and then go out again, to

14. T. Nicholson: "New Communities in Britain", op.cit., p.148.

15. J.B. Cullingworth: Swindon Social Survey: A Second Report on the social implications of overspill. Sociological Review, Vol. 9/19.

16. Josephine Klein: "Samples from English Cultures" Vol. I. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965, p. 104.

meet their friends at the club, the pub, the corner, the sportsground." In the three new towns concerned, and more specifically in Livingston, at the time of the survey there would not have been a pub or a club nor a sportsground to go to. Quite apart however of the special case of the new towns, at a national level Sillitoe's Survey¹⁷ has shown that television and gardening are by far the most popular leisure time activities even for this age group, and these activities happen to be "home and family" centred. Scheuch¹⁸ in an article in the sociological review suggested that this pattern of leisure-time spending was prevalent in other parts of Western Europe too, by demonstrating that in Cologne the majority of leisure-time spent by adults was spent in the home.

This study is of course not primarily about the individuals' leisure activities as such, but about the degree of participation in formal groups. The above brief discussion however is relevant, since it would to some extent account in a general sense for the low proportion in membership in the age group 20-29, e.g.:

TABLE No. 33

Age Group 20-29 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes:	males 17.5%	females 7.3%
East Kilbride:	males 9.0%	females 5.4%
Livingston:	males 5.5%	females 15.3%

Once again a number of differences between the above three towns become apparent. Glenrothes had a higher proportion

17. K.K. Sillitoe, op.cit. Tables 9 & 10, pp. 42/43.

18. E.K. Scheuch: "Family Cohesion in Leisure-time". Sociological Review, Vol. 8, 1960.

of the male population in membership than either of the other two. On the other hand Livingston showed twice the percentage of females in membership than Glenrothes and nearly three times as many as East Kilbride.

Livingston, being the youngest town of the three once again showed characteristics which were not found in the other two, in as much as the females would appear to be very much more active in membership in this particular age-group. Once again these figures cannot be explained totally but there would appear to be some indicators which are particularly relevant.

The general question of the influence of the different stages of the life-cycle and the marital and familial status has already been briefly discussed. The fact that in all three towns this age group was the one in the female category which was least represented in membership would further confirm the notion that a great many young mothers were now completely absorbed with the duties in their home.*

In Glenrothes twice as many men (as a proportion of the total population) than in East Kilbride, were members of an organisation. This may partly be attributable to the fact that there has been a social club, which initially was a miners' welfare club, for a number of years. This club had a total membership of 460 male members, some 220 of which were old age pensioners (the over 60's). For the remainder of their membership they were unable to give an age breakdown,

* For detailed figures see Tables 28, 29, 30.

but from evidence given by members in Glenrothes it is reasonable to assume that a great many of these will be found in the age-groups 20-40. It is therefore possible that something of the mining community tradition, which J. Klein¹⁹ described, has survived the closure of the pits in and near Glenrothes.

Furthermore, in the very year in which this research was conducted in Glenrothes a new golf course and clubhouse were opened which caused the number of male club members to rise to 410, of which 125 were in the 20 - 29 age group, so they too would account for a certain number of members in that age group. It is also interesting to note that the proportion this age group forms of the total population was almost identical to the proportion of that group who are in membership (i.e. 17.8% and 17.5% respectively).

In East Kilbride the picture was different. The 20-29 age group formed a slightly lower proportion of the total population than any other group in the range 0-49 (i.e. 13.7%). The proportion of membership was even lower, i.e. 9.0%. Contrary to the situation in Glenrothes there did not appear to be any one organisation, in the sample, such as the golf club and social clubs, which would account for a substantial part of the membership. Furthermore, since Glasgow is only six miles away and readily accessible by road and rail, one can assume that a good number of that age group will be able to seek their entertainment there, quite

19. J. Klein, op.cit.

apart from those who were totally absorbed in home and garden. Nevertheless there would appear to be room for organisations in East Kilbride to expand into activities attracting this age group of either sex, particularly since it was the group in East Kilbride which was least represented proportionally, of all the age groups.

As already indicated, the pattern in Livingston was reversed from the one of the other two towns. There were proportionally fewer men in membership, both in relation to male membership in the other towns and in relation to female membership in Livingston itself. On further investigation some of the following factors would appear to be significant in the Livingston context.

a. As was noted when dealing with the preceding age group, at the start of the new town, resources of leadership and efforts were concentrated on activities for young people, with good results. Since these resources were limited, it was not feasible, nor some would say, necessary to concentrate equally hard on this age group.

b. This group is highly mobile and it has been shown that a great many more men than women continue to keep up social contacts in their former area of residence,* at least in the initial stages of their "new life".

* e.g. The author has on one occasion given a lift to a young man, in his mid-twenties on his way from Livingston to Edinburgh to attend a freemasons meeting and was assured that it was very common for people in that age group to have most of their social life based in Edinburgh. This was later confirmed by other leaders in the community.

c. The largest employer of male labour in Livingston is an American iron-foundry firm, and at the time of the survey men were asked to work a considerable amount of overtime, which of course curtailed opportunities for leisure-time activity. Something of the "process of americanisation" which Zweig²⁰ described in Cumbernauld, seemed to have taken place in Livingston also.

d. At the time of the study some sort of "cohesion" among men in this age group appeared to emerge within the context of "Forum".** The trend, which was observed when discussing the "dates of foundation" namely, that the more specialised activities for adults develop at a later stage, certainly would seem to be borne out in Livingston.

As far as female participation is concerned there were a number of factors which would account for the relatively high degree of involvement in Livingston.

a. The total number of women in the population was considerably smaller than in the other two towns,* the "coverage" which can be achieved with limited resources was therefore higher. Furthermore, the proportion[°] of the total population in that age group was higher than in the other two new towns.

b. It is generally accepted that young mothers, who can be assumed to form the bulk of the population in their age group, are less mobile than their male counterparts, and are therefore to some extent given less choice in their social contacts.

20. op.cit., p. 64.

** An open group which started off as a weekly meeting of new residents and developed into regular platform on which community affairs are being discussed.

* See Tables 28, 29, 30 for actual figures.

c. As was the case in Livingston in the age group 10-19, which also had a high degree of involvement, professional leadership was available very early on in the development of the town. The YM/YWCA jointly appointed a worker, who saw her remit as working with young mothers. Furthermore, a district nurse, working and living in the area organised group meetings for women in her area. As can be seen from Map Fig. L9 (Howden Ladies Group) practically every woman living in the same street as the nurse was a member.

d. The geographical area in which these workers operated was still relatively small and clearly defined. It was therefore possible for them to know personally, and be known by, most of the residents moving into the new town.

Once again, it would appear that availability of professional leadership at an early stage of the development of the town is a most vital factor in the degree of involvement in organised activities which can be achieved.

Age Group 30-39

As the figures below show, the degree of involvement of this age group was markedly different from the one observed for the preceding group, i.e.

TABLE No. 34

Age Group 30-39 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes:	males	20.7%	females	15.3%
East Kilbride:	males	10.2%	females	6.3%
Livingston:	males	5.6%	females	24.1%

In Glenrothes the proportion of men in membership showed a small increase over the previous age group* but the proportion

* For further details see Tables 28,29,30.

of women in membership doubled, thus in a sense confirming Sillitoe's "Life cycle theory".²¹ In other words, we can assume that women in this age group no longer had small children and were no longer "housebound", to the same extent.

In East Kilbride the proportional increase in membership in both sexes was very small, but nevertheless, the fact that there was an increase at all, would still confirm the general trend of increased participation with increased age, after an initial peak between 10-19 which is then followed by a general falling off towards retirement age and a further increase in participation after retirement.*

As in previous age groups the situation in Livingston was different. Again the proportion of female participation was higher than male participation (as has been the case within every age group except the first one). But given that fact, both the male and female proportion showed an increase, a minimal one in the case of the men (from 5.5% to 5.6%) but a sizeable one (from 15.3% to 24.1%) in the case of the women. This last figure would again suggest an increased "freedom" for the women with slightly older children. A number of the more general factors, such as distance to Glasgow in the case of East Kilbride and overtime at Cameron Ironworks in Livingston would apply in this age group too. Perhaps splitting the age groups into ten year spans at

21. See page 40, op.cit.

* Strict comparability with other data is problematic, since Sillitoe, for instance starts off with spans of 4 years (15-18, 19-22), then 8 years (23-30) and then 15 years (31-45, 46-60). Nevertheless useful since general trends can be compared.

this level is no longer quite relevant, particularly since it can be assumed that circumstances affecting one age group, certainly as far as men are concerned, do not necessarily differ radically enough, say between 25 and 35, as to have a significant influence on participation.

Age Group 40-49

This would appear to be the age group which records a higher degree of participation in all three towns than any other adult age group except the over 60's. The figures for the proportions of membership were:

TABLE No. 35.

Age Group 40-49 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes:	males 23.6%	females 21.5%
East Kilbride:	males 13.1%	females 8.4%
Livingston:	males 13.2%	females 25.9%

It can be noted that in Glenrothes the proportion of memberships among the males was almost twice as high as in the other two towns. Once again, it can be assumed that the Glenrothes Recreation and Social Club and the golf club accounted for a considerable proportion of all the males in membership in this age group. It is also interesting to note that this 23.6% represented almost twice the proportion this age group accounted for in the total population (i.e. 12.1%). In East Kilbride and Livingston the proportion of male members was remarkably similar. In each case the proportion had risen (with both males and females) for the third successive time starting with the 20-29 age group. The figures for Livingston were once again untypical compared

with the other two new towns. 25.9% was the highest proportion of both male and female membership participation in this age group. Whilst in both other towns the proportion of male members exceeded that of female ones, in Livingston the reverse was the case. A comparison with national figures, such as given by Sillitoe²² was not possible, since he used different age groups (31-45 and 46-60), but it is interesting to note that in his sample too the same trends appeared, more markedly so among the females. This trend showed that in this age group a higher degree of participation took place, than in any other adult age group. This same trend was clearly borne out in the three new towns investigated. (See Tables 28, 29, 30). Once again, the stages in the life-cycle would appear to be a relevant factor. The children were now grown up and in some cases have very likely left home. Hence the rise in membership which Sillitoe observed as being a nationwide phenomenon, and which, as was shown, also applied to the three new towns in this study.

Age Group 50-59

It is of course arguable whether anything can be gained by separating this age group from the previous one, however, having done so some interesting characteristics can be shown. As can be seen from the figures below, this is the age group in which the proportion of male and female membership differed least from each other, within each town.

22. K.K. Sillitoe, op.cit., pp. 60 & 61.

TABLE No. 36Age Group 50-59 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes:	males	17%	females	17.6%
East Kilbride:	males	8.5%	females	7.4%
Livingston:	males	17.8%	females	16.9%

In Glenrothes, the females only just slightly exceeded the males (and then in proportion only, but not in actual figures), and in Livingston for the first time, (since the 10-19 age group) the proportion of males very slightly exceeded that of females. This was an age group where the proportion of memberships relative to the proportion in the total population was significantly higher, in the case of Glenrothes and Livingston. (See Tables 28,29,30). In East Kilbride, however, the respective proportions are almost identical.

Age Group over 60

This age group was the one which in the total population was least represented. This is to be expected in new towns, for reasons which were already explained earlier on. In terms of involvement in membership, however, the situation was different, as the following figures will show:

TABLE No. 37Age Group over 60 - Proportion of population in membership

Glenrothes:	males	44.7%	females	36.6%
East Kilbride:	males	17.3%	females	16.4%
Livingston:	males	3.9%	females	23.9%

The outstanding figure here was the 44.7% male participation in Glenrothes. Once again the Recreation and Social Club seemed to be a most important factor with 100 male and

125 female members listed in the over 60's category. Furthermore, there were three other organisations co-ordinated by one body who specifically looked after the interests of old people.

In East Kilbride too there was an Old Age Pensioners Social Club, but it would appear to have been less active in recruitment. In Livingston, however, at the time at which the fieldwork was done, there was no specific old people's organisation. Table 30 shows that the total number of people involved was of course small, both in terms of total population and the proportion thereof which was involved in any kind of organised activity. Again the proportion of women involved was significantly higher than that of men, but those who were in membership were not in specific old age pensioners' clubs, but were mainly to be found among the members of such groups as the Church Women's meeting.

It was stated at the outset that all the figures quoted above demonstrate a degree of involvement in formal organisations without being able to account for multiple membership.* Few comparative figures were available, which would allow a reliable comparison with other new towns or even other towns in either this country or elsewhere. It is therefore not possible to say whether participation in these new towns was higher or lower than in any other area. What statistics are available relate mainly to the Youth Service age-range - and where possible, limited comparisons have therefore been made above.

* See also: T. Bottomore in Glass's Social Mobility in Britain, op.cit., p. 853, who used the same method, and Strathclyde University's Study of Irvine, op.cit.

One factor, however, seemed to stand out above all the others, i.e. where adequate leadership and facilities were available participation was considerably higher than in areas where this was not the case. The 10-19 age group (which incorporates the Youth Service age range) overall had higher membership figures than any other age group, and it could be claimed that this was largely due to the extent to which full-time leadership was available. Similarly, in Livingston a larger proportion of women was involved in membership (larger in every category except the 10-19 age group). Again this could be said to be due to the leadership given by a trained full-time woman worker. The exception, even, (i.e. more boys in membership than girls in 10-19 age group) would tend to confirm this rule, since two full-time male leaders have been available from a very early time in the new town's development, to further activities for young people.

In Glenrothes too, where more old people over 60 were involved in membership than in any of the other new towns, more facilities would appear to be available for old people, and indeed a separate committee, which organised activities for old people. It seems therefore clear that where resources, in terms of leadership and facilities were available, there the population responded and membership was relatively high. What is less clear, however, is as to which was the cause and which the effect. In other words, were there less facilities and leaders in a given town, concerning themselves with a given

age-group, because there was less interest to be found among the population; or was there less interest to be found because there were less facilities available.* The fact, however, that apart from one or two youth organisations, no other club had indicated that they have a waiting list, would suggest that on the whole the needs, as far as they have been stimulated, have been satisfactorily met.

* This is the same paradox which Cullingworth discovered when reporting on his Social Survey of Swindon, op.cit.

CHAPTER 9Development of membership of organisations over period of existence: Growth ratio membership: Population

Secretaries were asked under question XIV to supply information about the size of their membership for every year during which their organisation had been in existence. It was hoped that this information would give a comprehensive picture of the growth of various organisations, which could then be related to the growth of the town as a whole. In the event however it was found that not all secretaries had maintained an adequate enough record of membership statistics. In some cases, no statistics at all were available, and in others, membership figures were recorded during only part of the existence of the organisations.

Nevertheless, the information available was transferred on to sets of graphs (see below), according to categories of organisations for each town. These graphs as such do not require further elucidation, but it was decided to supplement this information by comparing the rate of growth of each organisation with the rate of growth of each town. Frequently it was found that secretaries commented on their increase in membership that this was due to the "growth of the population" in a general way. By calculating the growth ratio membership: population, it has become possible to give an indicator as to how fast, or otherwise, the particular organisation increased its membership in relation to the increase of the general population. This can of course be only a rough indicator, - but it is more accurate than the kind of general statement

mentioned above. Furthermore, in some cases it would have been more appropriate to relate the growth of membership of an organisation to the increase in the sector of the population which theoretically would have been eligible to join it. However, since in most cases it would have been impossible to determine eligibility for this purpose, (e.g. who is theoretically eligible to join say the Aero-modelling club?) it was decided to relate the membership growth to the general population increase, over the same period, each time.

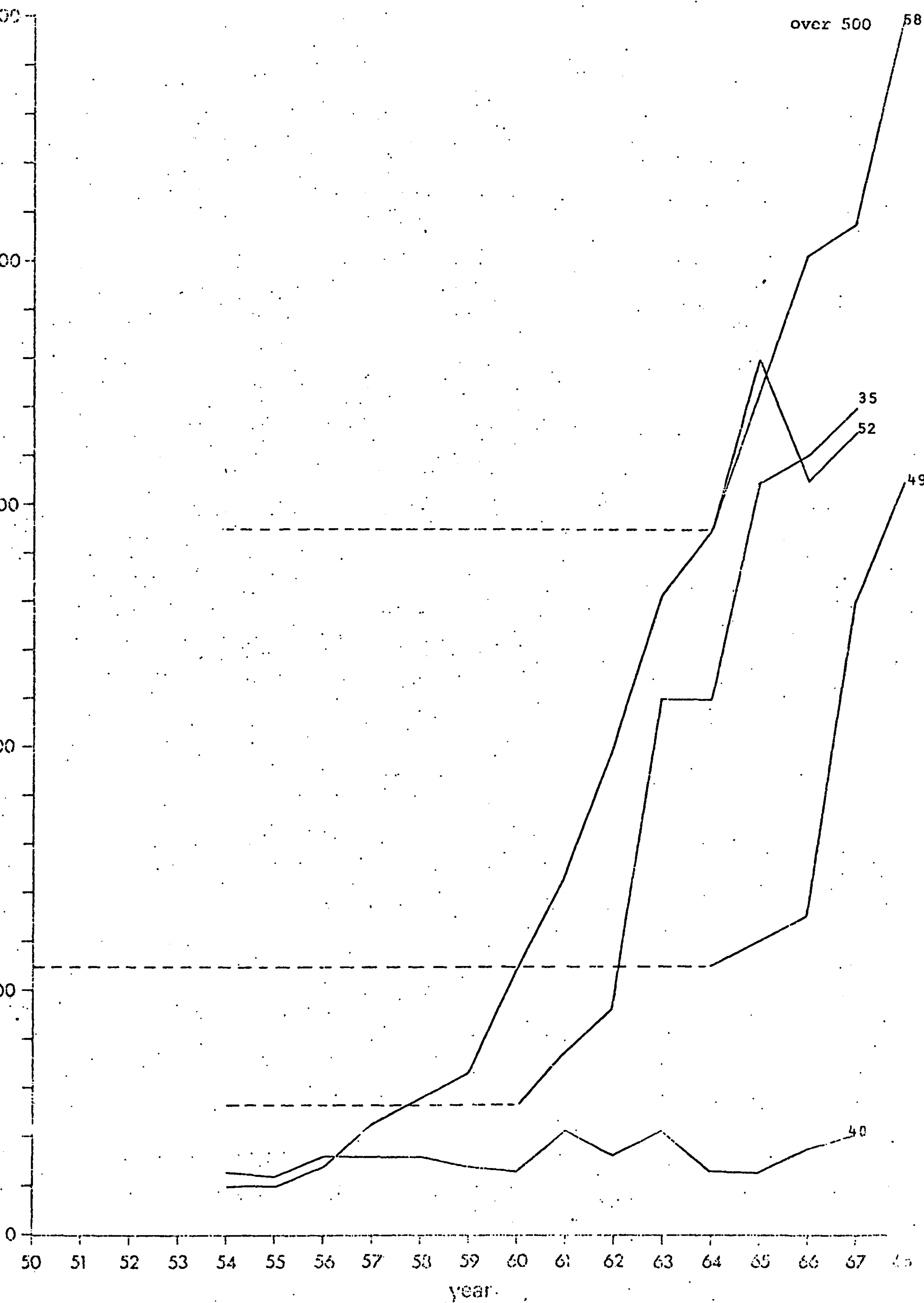
9.1. Glenrothes

Category Youth Organisations:

Five Youth Organisations (71.4% of total), were able to supply figures, two of which covered the period since their foundation and the other three for at least part of that time. The two organisations which were able to cover the total period of their existence were the Air Training Corps (No.40) and the Girl Guides (No.58). Both started in 1954. In the period 1954-1968 the increase in the population of Glenrothes was 335.5%. During the same time the Girl Guides increased by 2610%; in other words, taken over the whole period, they, as an organisation, grew almost eight times as fast as the town. On the other hand, the Air Training Corps in the same period only increased by 42%, i.e. almost eight times slower than the general population growth rate. It is of interest to note that both secretaries in their questionnaires indicated that they were increasing their membership "as the town was growing".

FIG. 1) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

no. of members



The YMCA/YWCA (No. 35), although founded in 1954, was only able to give figures for the period 1960-1967. During that time the population growth recorded an increase of 89.4%. The YMCA/YWCA on the other hand showed an increase in membership of 655.5%. In other words its membership grew seven times faster than the population of the town itself. The particularly steep increase in membership between 1962 and 1963 was accounted for by the fact that a new YMCA building was opened during that year.

The Boys Brigade (No. 49), although in existence since 1950, were able to supply figures only starting in 1964. From 1964-1968 the towns' population increased by 55.7%, while during the same period the membership of the Boys Brigade increased by 181.8%, i.e. over three times as fast as the population of the town.

Similarly, the Scouts (No. 52) commenced activities in 1954, but were only able to give membership statistics for the period 1964-1967. During that time the population increased by 42% and the membership of the Scouts by 17.8%. In other words the increase in membership was two-and-a-half times slower than the growth of the population. As can be seen from the graph in Fig. 1, and indeed from the growth ratio figures given in Table 38, every one of the youth organisations had increased its membership over the period of existence, although two had had temporary set-backs during which the membership actually dropped. The general tendency however would appear to be for the youth organisations to increase their membership as the town continues to grow;

TABLE No. 38

**Growth ratio membership: Population Youth Organisations
GLENROTHES**

Period	Organisation	Population [*] % increase	Member- ship	Growth ratio
1954-68	No. 40 Air Training Corps	335.5%	42.8%	0.13
1954-68	No. 58 Girl Guides	335.5%	2610.0%	7.78
1960-67	No. 35 YMCA/YWCA	89.4%	655.5%	7.33
1964-68	No. 49 Boys Brigade	55.7%	181.8%	3.26
1964-67	No. 52 Scouts	42.0%	17.8%	0.42

* Based on population figures at end of December - supplied by Glenrothes Development Corporation, Demographic Research Unit.

some however, as Table 38 illustrates, did so at a rate which exceeded the proportionate growth rate of the town. This was however a pattern which one would expect to find, bearing the youthfulness of a new towns' population in mind.**

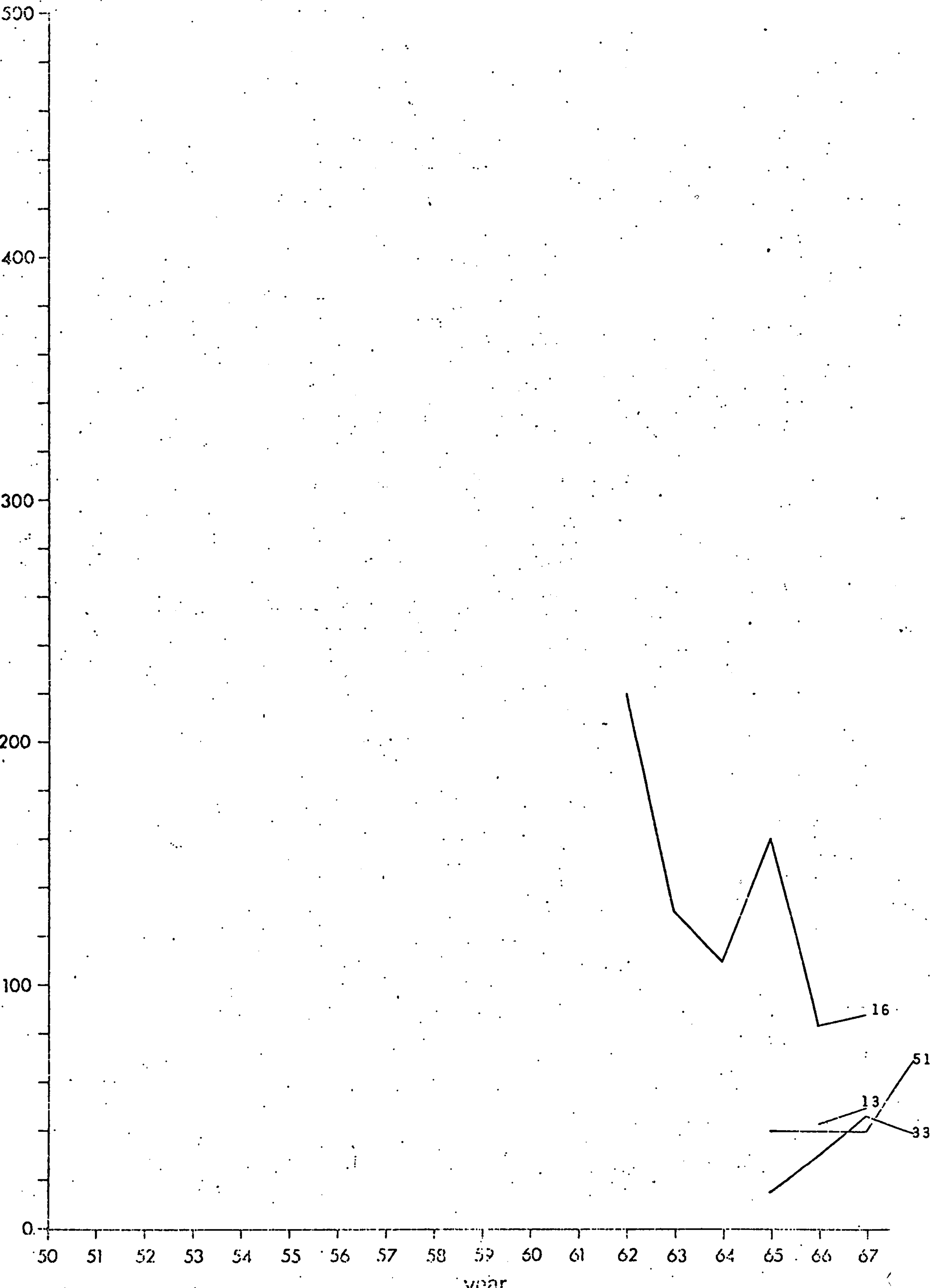
Category Arts & Cultural Organisations:

Four organisations in this category (66.7% of total) were in a position to supply membership figures over the whole period of their existence. The oldest one of these was the Film Society, (No. 16) which started in 1962 and was able to give figures up to 1967. As can be seen from the graph, this society experienced a steep fall after the first year, and after a rise in membership from 1964-1965, a further fall took place, but this decrease latterly showed signs of levelling out. It is of interest to note that during the same period in which the population of the town

** See also "Age structure of populations" Chapter 8.

FIG. 2) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP ARTS & CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



grew by 66.6% the Film Society experienced a decrease of 60%. The secretary of the society commented on this development as follows:

"The trend is typical of most Film Societies, falling sharply in the first few years, and then stabilising. Large numbers joined in the first year who perhaps did not appreciate that the objectives of the Film Society are not merely providing entertainment, such as is available from the commercial cinemas."

This point illustrates the "vulnerability" of an organisation of this kind. The choice of films is an area in which conflict can arise readily, and if that choice does not find wide approval, then members will leave. In a town like Glenrothes, where there is no commercial cinema, there must be, almost inevitably a divergence of demand among members, between those wishing to see the more specialised films, which are aimed at societies as a specialist market, and between those who will want the society to perform the function of a commercial cinema. From the secretary's remarks, and from the evidence of the graph, it would appear that the view, which was in agreement with the objectives of the society as stated by the secretary, prevailed, but that as a result many members have left the society.

The Little Theatre Group (No. 33) started in 1965, and were able to furnish membership figures up to 1968. During that time the population increased by 39.7%, but the membership of this group increased by 166% over the same period, i.e. over four times as fast. As the graph shows, however, there has been a slight decrease in membership during the last year. The secretary of the group commented on this by pointing out that the rate of membership depended on whatever production

the group were preparing. To some extent therefore the question of preference of taste was a factor which had a bearing on size of membership, just as it did in the case of the Film Society, where the choice of films appeared to be an important factor. However, in the case of the Little Theatre Group the choice of production would also determine the number of members which can actively participate, which again could be a factor determining the size of membership.

The Floral Art Club (No. 51) also started in 1965, and supplied membership figures up to 1968. As was noted above, during that time the population rose by 39.7%, and the Floral Art Club recorded an increase in membership of 75%, which meant that it grew almost twice as fast as the remainder of the population. It is particularly interesting to note that for the first three years the membership remained static, till they changed their time of meeting, from an afternoon to an evening, and then the membership increased markedly.

At the time this study was undertaken, the Musical & Operatic Society (No. 13) had only been in existence for just over one year; it was therefore obviously too early to try and assess the trend of membership. However, it is of interest to note that during that period, (i.e. 1966-67) the population of the town grew by 8.4% and the membership of the Musical & Operatic Society by 19%, just over twice as fast. Comparing the set of graphs in Fig. 2, and Table 39 with the preceding ones, two factors will be noticed. None of the organisations in this category had the size of membership, which is found with the Youth Organisations, nor were the

TABLE No. 39

Growth ratio membership: Population Arts & Cultural
Organisations - GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	population % increase	member- ship	Growth ratio
1962-67	No. 16 Film Society	66.6%	-60.0%	-0.90
1965-68	No. 33 Little Theatre Group	39.7%	166.0%	4.18
1965-68	No. 51 Floral Art Club	39.7%	75.0%	1.88
1966-67	No. 13 Musical & Operatic Society	8.4%	19.0%	2.26

increases as steep. The growth ratios on the whole were smaller and none were in the order of the ratios found for instance with the Girl Guides and the YMCA. In fact the growth ratio relating to the Film Society was found to be negative, whereas not one of the Youth Organisations listed, showed a negative growth ratio.

Category: Social Service Organisations:

Five organisations (71.4% of total in this category), were able to supply figures relating to the growth of their membership. In all except one of the cases, the figures covered the total period of existence. The graphs in Fig. 3 representing these five organisations show that on the whole they have a small membership. Not one had more than 40 members - and only one had a membership of under 20.

The oldest in this particular group was the Rotary Club (No. 11) which started in 1957. Unfortunately, however, no exact annual membership records were kept, which meant that the secretary was only able to indicate the initial membership

3) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

of members

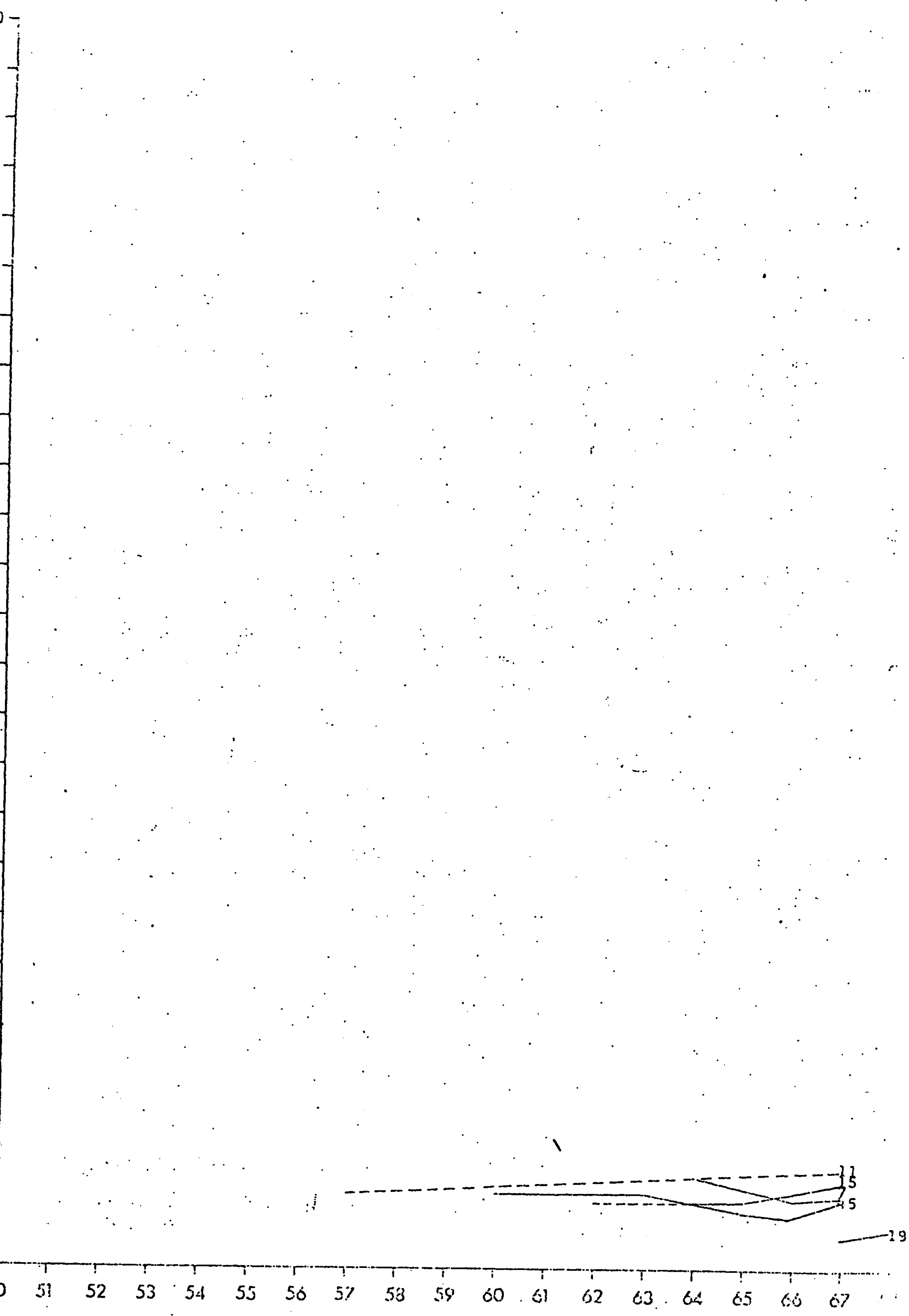


figure as it stood in 1957, of 25 members, and the figure ten years later, i.e. 40. Although the graph shows a straight line, information does not exist as to whether there have been any significant changes in the membership in any one year. Rotary did not have a limit on membership as such, but only men belonging to certain professions, (no more than two in any one), were being invited to join, which in a town the size of Glenrothes, and in the surrounding district, made it unlikely that this figure would increase greatly. The total increase over the period of existence was 60%, whilst the towns' population grew by 163.4%, that is almost three times as fast as the Rotary membership. However, as indicated above, since strict criteria as to who can join were being applied, the value in this instance of comparison between the population growth and the growth of membership, is strictly limited. It is nevertheless interesting to note that in this category, Rotary recorded the highest growth rate.

The Toastmasters' Club (No. 45), which had been included in this category for the same reason as Rotary and the Round Table, followed in 1960, and was able to furnish the membership figures for every year up to 1967. In that period the general population grew by 89.4%, whilst the membership of this particular club actually fell by 9.7%, over the same period. The reason given for this was twofold: a) the moving away of members from the town, and b) the change-over of members to Rotary and Round Table.

In 1962 the Red Cross Society (No. 15) was founded, but during the first two years no membership record was being kept. The figures given therefore relate to the period 1964-1967.

During that time the population increased by 42%, whereas the membership of this society grew as well, but only by 33.3%. Since the Red Cross Society wished to recruit members from all sectors of the population, it is of interest to note that its increase in membership did not keep step with the increase in the general population over the same period. However, as will be seen from the Table 40, this society nevertheless recorded the second highest growth rate of all organisations in this category.

In 1964, there followed the Round Table (No. 7), which proportionately recorded the most substantial drop in membership in this category, i.e. 21.1%. The general population increased by 42% over the same period, namely from 1964-1967.

However, as Fig. 3 shows, the actual numbers involved were not very high, in fact this drop of 21.1% only represented 8 members. The reasons for this trend were given by the secretary as follows:

"The pattern of high initial membership followed by a drop and some indifference is common to many tables following charter membership; as the table finds its own character and sorts out its identity. Membership being confined to professional and business executives to a large extent means that the members often move about the country; a new table takes some time to learn where and how to look for replacements for them and for the drop out."

To that explanation needs to be added that Round Table operated an upper limit of 40 members, and also an upper age limit of 40. In other words, there were certain restrictions, which in an area with a relatively small population such as Glenrothes might well make it temporarily impossible for them to fill all vacancies.

Lastly, in this category, there was the social amenities council, (No. 19) which was only in its second year of existence at the time of the study. From 1967 to 1968 the general population increased by 9.6% and during the same time the councils' membership grew by 25%. The reason for this growth rate was given by the secretary with the following comment: "This increase shows that the council did a good job of work during the first year and were therefore joined by people willing to help." The graph shows that again the actual number of people involved was small, and indeed it was probably too early to arrive at any conclusion about the success of this particular group, but it is of interest to note that in this category this was the only group, which grew faster than the general population over any period.

TABLE No. 40.

Growth ratio membership: population Social Service Organisations
GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1957-67	No. 11 Rotary Club	163.4%	60.0%	0.37
1960-67	No. 45 Toastmasters Club	89.4%	- 9.7%	-0.11
1964-67	No. 15 Red Cross Society	42.0%	33.3%	0.79
1964-67	No. 7 Round Table	42.0%	-21.1%	-0.50
1967-68	No. 19 Social Amenities Council	9.6%	25.0%	2.60

The above table illustrates that overall the growth ratio membership:population was very small in each case, with the exception of the Social Amenities Council, and there the period measured was probably too short to be in any way

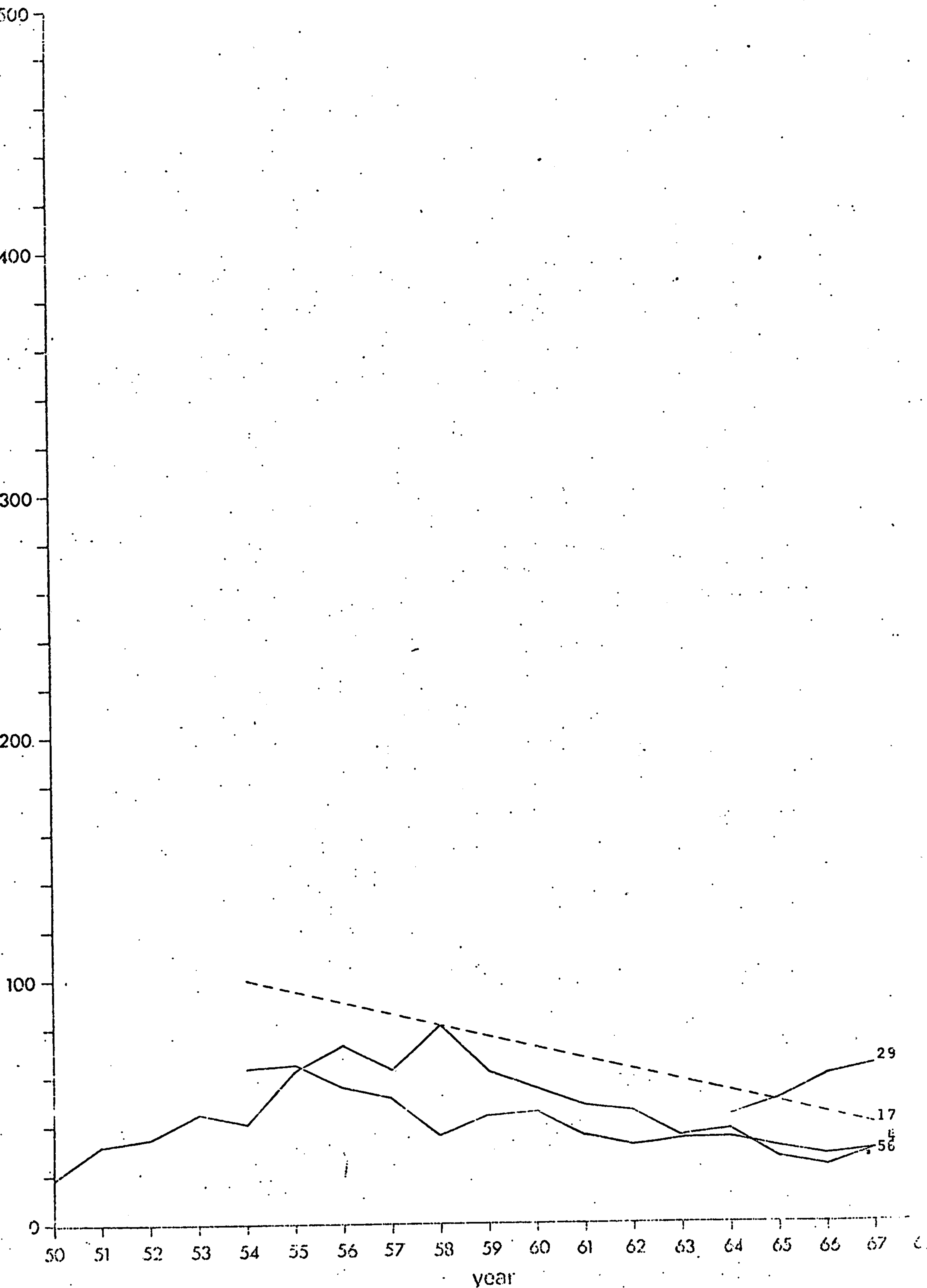
conclusive. Moreover, in the case of two organisations, the Round Table and the Toastmasters Club, the relationship between the growth of the population and the growth of their membership was in fact an inverse one. In other words, as the population of the town increased, so their membership actually decreased, for the reasons indicated above.

Category: Womens' Organisations:

Four of the womens' organisations, (44.4% of total) were able to give information relating to their membership figures over the period of their existence. The oldest of these was the Glenrothes Womens' Club (No. 56), which started activities in 1950. As will be noted from Fig. 4, its membership increased steadily over the first eight years to a peak of 80 members, and from then on the general trend was a downward one, till in 1967 this club had 30 members left. The reason given for this by the secretary was the fact that once it had become possible for women to find evening work, the membership started to fall off. Nevertheless, taken overall, the Womens' Club recorded a 50% increase in membership for the period 1954-1967. Although this represents the highest growth rate in this category, this figure is somewhat thwarted by the growth rate of the general population, which for the same period was 2267%. It is therefore of interest to note that in 1950 this club had a share of 2% of the total population, by 1967 this share was reduced to 0.12% of the total population; it is therefore in this light that the growth rate of 50% has to be seen over this length of time. The Towns Womens Guild (No. 4) was formed in 1954, with a

FIG. 4) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



membership of 63. As the graph illustrates this figure almost immediately began to drop and by 1967 membership had levelled out at a figure of 30 members. Over the total period this represents a decrease in membership of 52.4%, while over the same time the population of the town rose by 297.1%. The reason which the secretary of the guild gave for this decrease was the fact that their group met at Woodside Community Hall, which in the early days was the centre of the town since building was started at Woodside. But now, since they continued to meet there, they really were at the outskirts of the town from which they felt it to be difficult to attract members from all over the town. This reason was no doubt valid enough, but it ignored the fact that membership already, as the graph shows, started to decline after the first year, i.e. 1955, at which time, as Fig. G2 shows, building had not proceeded sufficient eastwards to place Woodside at the outskirts. Other factors therefore must have been responsible for this. One of them might be related to the fact that three out of four womens' organisations represented in Fig. 4 met at Woodside Community Hall, and that it could therefore be assumed that a condition of oversupply in that particular precinct existed. Only one of these three had in fact recorded an increase in membership, and that increase was not big enough to account for the loss of the other two organisations. Possibly the age structure of the present membership might be another factor. Hardly any of the members in the two organisations which showed a decrease were under 30; most were in fact 40 years of age

or over, which one could assume to indicate that they had failed to attract the young mothers, which demographically are a dominant feature of new town populations.

The Womens' Co-op Guild (Woodside) (No. 17), in fact would appear to have undergone a similar experience. Although no annual membership records were kept, their secretary was able to confirm that when they started in 1954, they had a membership roll of 100, and by the season 1967/68 this figure had increased to 40. (Hence the dotted straight line on graph). The secretary suggested as a reason for this trend the fact that women were working so-called "swing-shifts" (i.e. from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.), which for many would make attendance at meetings impossible. Once again this illustrates the point about the influence of meeting times on attendance. However, a further reason, as mentioned above, might well have been a failure to attract younger members. In this particular group over half the members were in the 40-60 age group and none were under 30 years of age. These factors, it would appear, might help to account for an overall decrease in total membership of 60% during a period in which the population increased by 297.1%.

The South Parks Farmhouse Ladies Social Club was formed in 1964. As will be seen from Fig. G1, South Parks is among the more recently built precincts of the town. This particular group started with a membership of 45, and over a period of three years this number was increased to 65, which represented an overall increase of 44.4% during a period in which the population increased by 42%. In other words, this was the

only womens' group represented which actually grew faster than the general population. It is not likely however that it will maintain this growth momentum, since they stated that 65 is the maximum number their accommodation could hold.

TABLE No. 41

Growth ratio membership: Population "Women's" Organisations
GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	population percentage	member-ship. increase	Growth ratio
1950-67	No. 56 Womens Club	2267.0%	50.0%	0.02
1954-67	No. 4 Towns Womens Guild	297.1%	-52.4%	-0.17
1954-67	No. 17 Co-operative Womens Guild	297.1%	-60.0%	-0.20
1964-67	No. 29 South Parks Farmhouse Club	42.0%	44.4%	1.06

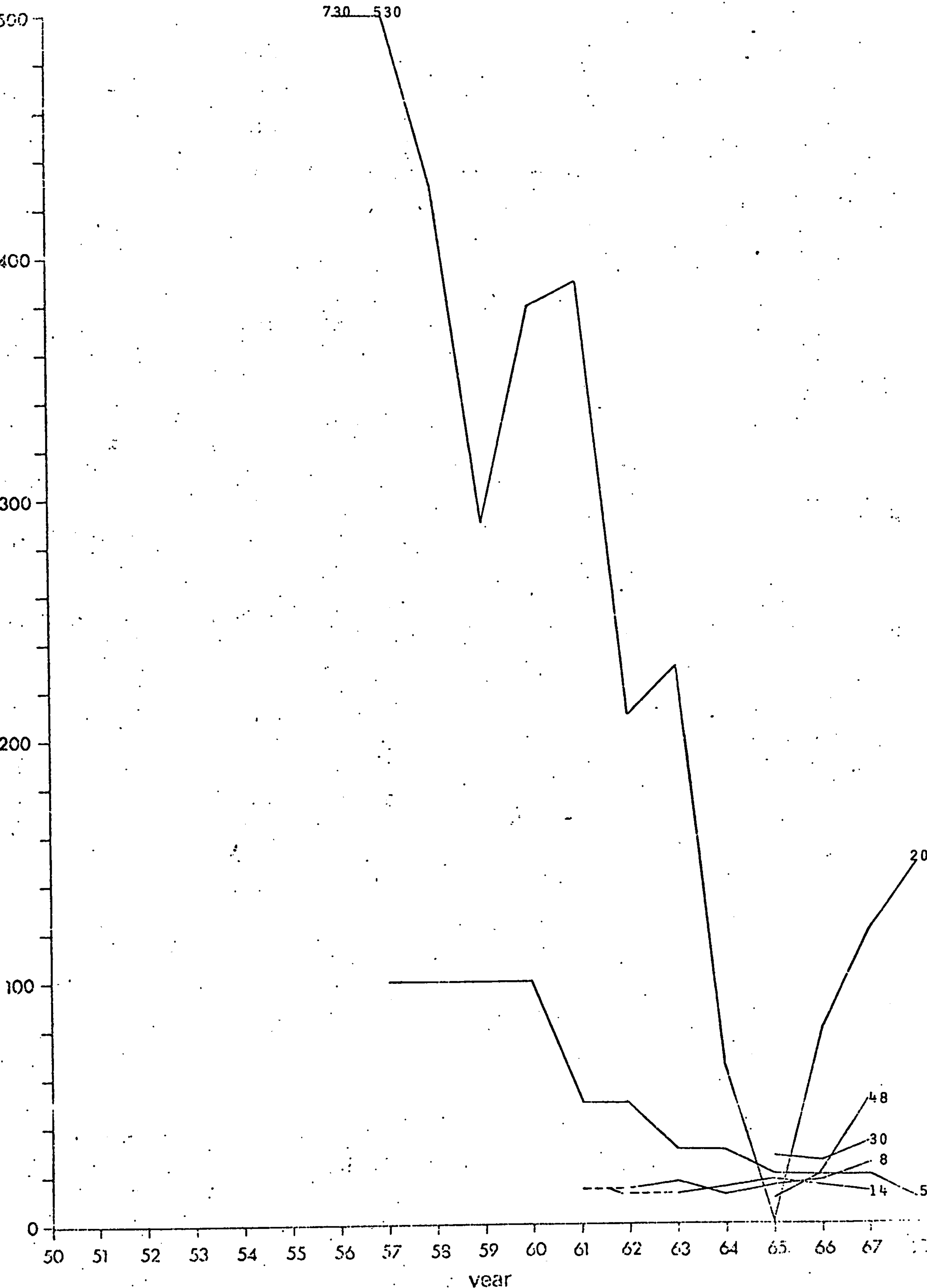
On the evidence of the above table it would appear that this category is not one in which considerable growth of membership has taken place. (Even if the ratios were doubled, to allow for non-eligibility of male members, which are approximately half of the population to which these figures are related). Two of the groups decreased in size as the towns' population increased, one showed a very nominal growth rate, and only one appears to have increased its membership in proportion to the growth of the general population in Glenrothes.

Category: Hobby/Special Interest groups:

Six of the groups (66.7%) in the above category were able to supply a record of the development of their membership over the period of their existence. The oldest among these,

FIG. 5) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP HOBBY/SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

No. of members



and the one, as Fig. 5 shows, with the most "dramatic" decline in membership was the Glenrothes & District Horticultural Society (No. 20). At the end of its first year (1956) this society had 730 members and at the end of the 1967/68 season it had 150 members left. However, this was not the result of a steady decline. It has not been possible to account for the fall during 1959, but the decline in 1963 was explained by the secretary as having been due to a rise in the subscription rate, (albeit only from 2/- to 2/6d.). In 1965 the Society went through a crisis of leadership and as a result temporarily collapsed. Apparently the committee had organised a flower show and had awarded all the cash prizes and trophies to themselves. Out of this crisis emerged two things: a) A new committee, which if membership figures since 1965 are any indicator, seems to be more competent, as every year has shown an increase since then, and b) a new society, the Greenhouse Club, which was formed as a splinter group. Overall, this development has meant that there was a decrease of 79.5% over the initial membership figure, during a period in which the population of the town has grown by 224.1%.

The following year, (1957), the Glenrothes Angling Club (No. 53) was formed. It started off with a membership of 100, a figure which remained steady over a period of four years. But as the pits closed around the area, and in 1962 the Rothes pit itself, more and more members, many of whom were miners, left the town. Since then the club has declined further till in the 1967/68 season only ten members were left. This represents a decline of 90% over a period during which

the town grew by 188.9%. The secretary of the club commented that this was "due to the fact that there is extreme pollution in the River Leven, where there are hardly any fish left." On both of these counts, i.e. leaving of miners and pollution of river, the decline of this particular club reflects part of the history of the development of this town.

In 1961 the Aeromodelling Club (No. 8) was formed, but records were available from 1962 onwards. It started activities with 15 members, and by 1967/68 had increased this figure to 24, i.e. by 60%. Over the same period the population increased by 66.6%, which means that this particular club almost grew at the same rate. However the secretary felt that the Aeromodelling club would have been able to grow more rapidly, had it not been for the lack of suitable premises.

In 1962 the Chess Club (No. 14) was formed, but membership figures were available as from 1963 onwards. As can be seen from Fig. 5, this club's membership fluctuated and recorded the same number of members, i.e. 12 at the time of this study, as when they first started. Overall the growth rate of this club has therefore been nil, although the population increased by 57% over the same period. The secretary offered an interesting explanation for this. He felt that membership was "at its highest, when his own enthusiasm was at its highest", and that therefore the membership figures fluctuated parallel with his own enthusiasm. With a relatively small club, devoting itself to a special interest such as chess, this would appear to be quite feasible, although it would be difficult to decide whether increase in membership causes an increase in the secretary's enthusiasm, or vice versa.

In 1965 the Rothes Invitation Club, (Racing Pigeons) (No. 30) was started, after the original club had been disbanded for some time. The above club then linked up with a group of pigeon fanciers in Leslie, to form a new club. Since at the time of this study it had only been in existence in its new form for two years, it would be too early to come to any conclusion about its growth rate. However, it is of interest to note that in that period it had increased its membership by 14.3%, while the population grew by 27.4%.

The same applies to some extent to the Greenhouse Club (No. 48) which was also formed in 1965 as a result of the crisis in the Horticultural Society, which was previously referred to. In the time however from 1965-1967 this club recorded a 400% increase in membership, while the population increased by 27.4%. Although the actual numbers involved were relatively small, since it grew from 10 to 50 members only, the growth rate nevertheless is of interest, particularly when seen against a background of some of the hobby/special interest groups declining or showing no growth. The secretary himself felt that they would have more members, if they did not insist on "active participation", which entailed helping those newcomers who never owned a garden prior to their arrival in the new town. Furthermore, it is a condition of membership of this club, that a member must own a greenhouse or a coldframe.

Table No. 42 illustrates the widely differing developments which have occurred with the various organisations in this category. Two organisations show a negative growth rate,

TABLE No.42

Growth ratio membership: Population Hobby/Special Interest
Organisations: GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	population percentage increase	membership increase	Growth ratio
1956-68	No. 20 Horticultural Society	224.1%	-79.5%	-0.35
1957-68	No. 53 Angling Club	188.5%	-90.0%	-0.48
1962-67	No. 8 Aeromodelling Club	66.6%	60.0%	0.90
1963-67	No. 14 Chess Club	57.0%	0.0%	-
1965-67	No. 30 Rothes Invitation Club	27.4%	14.3%	0.52
1965-67	No. 48 Greenhouse Club	27.4%	400.0%	14.60

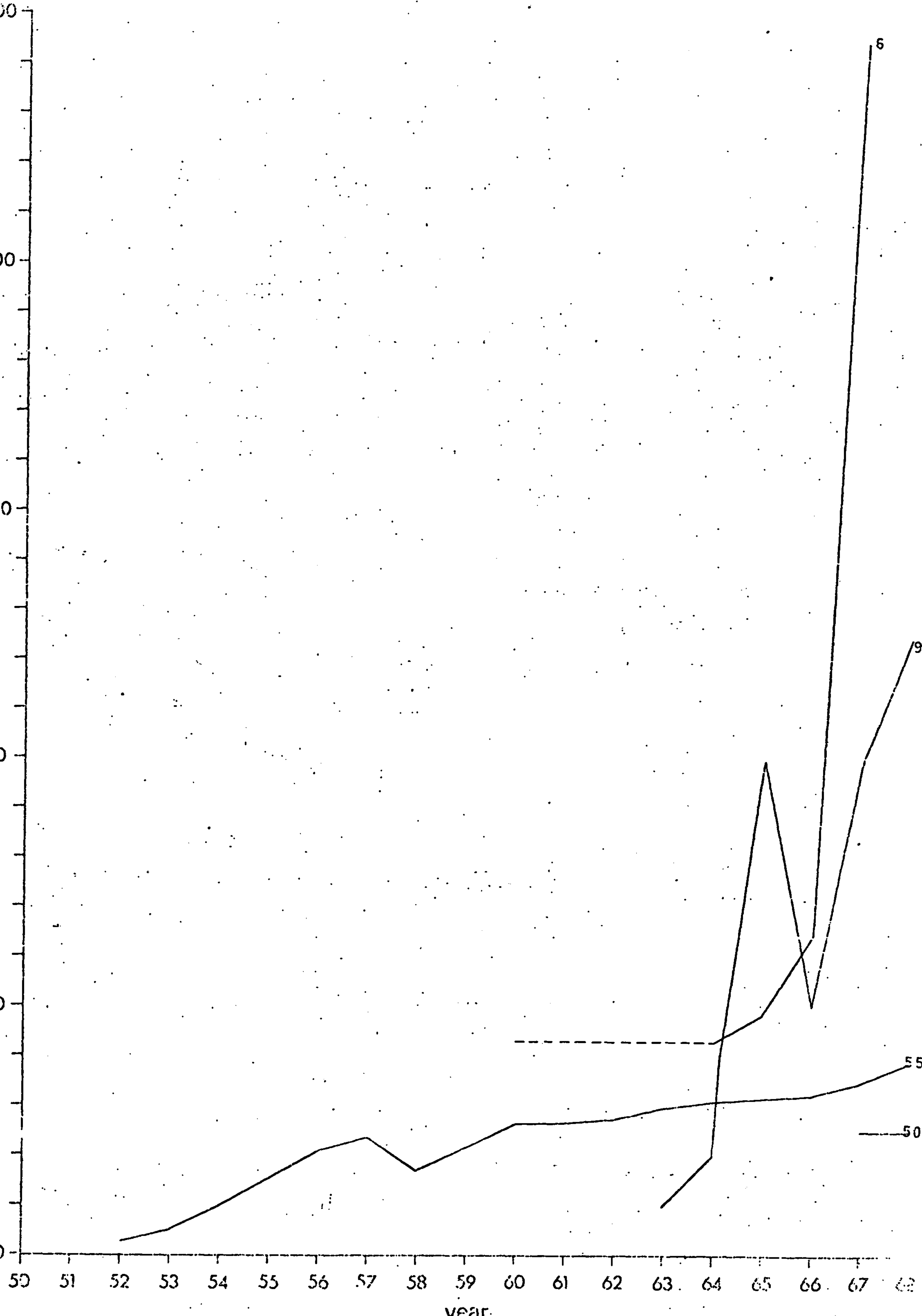
where the membership decreased during the period in which the population increased by 224.1% and 188.9% respectively. One organisation, the Aeromodelling Club, increased its membership at approximately the same ratio as the percentage increase of the population over the same period. The Chess Club on the other hand, showed no increase overall, therefore the calculation of a growth ratio was not possible. And lastly, the Greenhouse Club recorded the kind of growth ratio, which so far not even some of the Youth Organisations achieved. However, the period over which this increase took place was relatively short, as compared with the fourteen years over which the Girl Guides for instance recorded a growth rate of 7.78%.

Category: Political Organisations:

Four political organisations, (66.7% of the total), were able to furnish membership records, extending over their total period of existence in all cases except one. These are

FIG. 6) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

o. of members



represented in Fig. 6. The oldest of these was the Communist Party (No. 55) which started to operate in Glenrothes in 1952 with 5 members, and by 1968 had grown to 78. Whilst in terms of absolute numbers this did not represent a very high figure, in terms of percentage increase it was considerable, namely 1480% over a period during which the population increased by 713.3%. Their secretary commented that the party grew in membership, as the town increased its population. Proportionally, as the above figures illustrate, it has in fact grown twice as fast. It is of particular interest to note that the closure of the Rothes Pit, where the party maintained a so-called "industrial branch", did not appear to have had any effect on the membership, as the graph in Fig. 6 illustrates.

The Glenrothes Branch of the West Fife Conservative Association, (No.6), was formed in 1960 - but records only started to be kept in 1964. In the period from 1964 to 1967, the party grew from 85 to 486 members, which represented an increase of 471.8%. Again, as in the case of the Communist Party, the secretary commented on this increase as being a parallel development with the growth of the town as such. In fact the Conservative Association grew more than ten times as fast. The steep increase in membership in the last two years was accounted for by the branch secretary, by increased interest being shown in the party's activities, which was due to the fact that the branch were sponsoring candidates for local elections.

In 1963 the Scottish National Party, (No. 9) entered the political arena. It started off with a membership of 20,

and within five years increased this number to 250, representing an increase of 1150%. During the same period however the town grew by 72.1%, which meant that proportionally and over the same period, the SNP grew nearly sixteen times faster. However, as the graph in Fig. 6 illustrates, this was not due to an even growth. In fact in 1966 the membership fell by half, which was due to a leadership crisis, which lasted from March to October 1966. The general trend of a rapidly rising membership however, was considered by the secretary to be a reflection of the national upward trend in SNP activity.

Finally, in 1967 the Young Conservatives (No. 50), formed a branch in Glenrothes. They started with a membership of 45 in the first year and maintained this figure into the second year. However, it was considered to be too soon to try and assess the growth rate or otherwise, on the basis of this one year.

TABLE No. 43

Growth ratio membership: Population Political Organisations:
GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	population percentage	member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1952-68	No. 55 Communist Party	713.3%	1480.0%	2.07
1964-67	No. 6 Conservative Association	42.0%	471.8%	11.23
1963-68	No. 9 Scottish National Party	72.1%	1150.0%	16.00
1967-68	No. 50 Young Conservatives	9.7%	0.0%	-

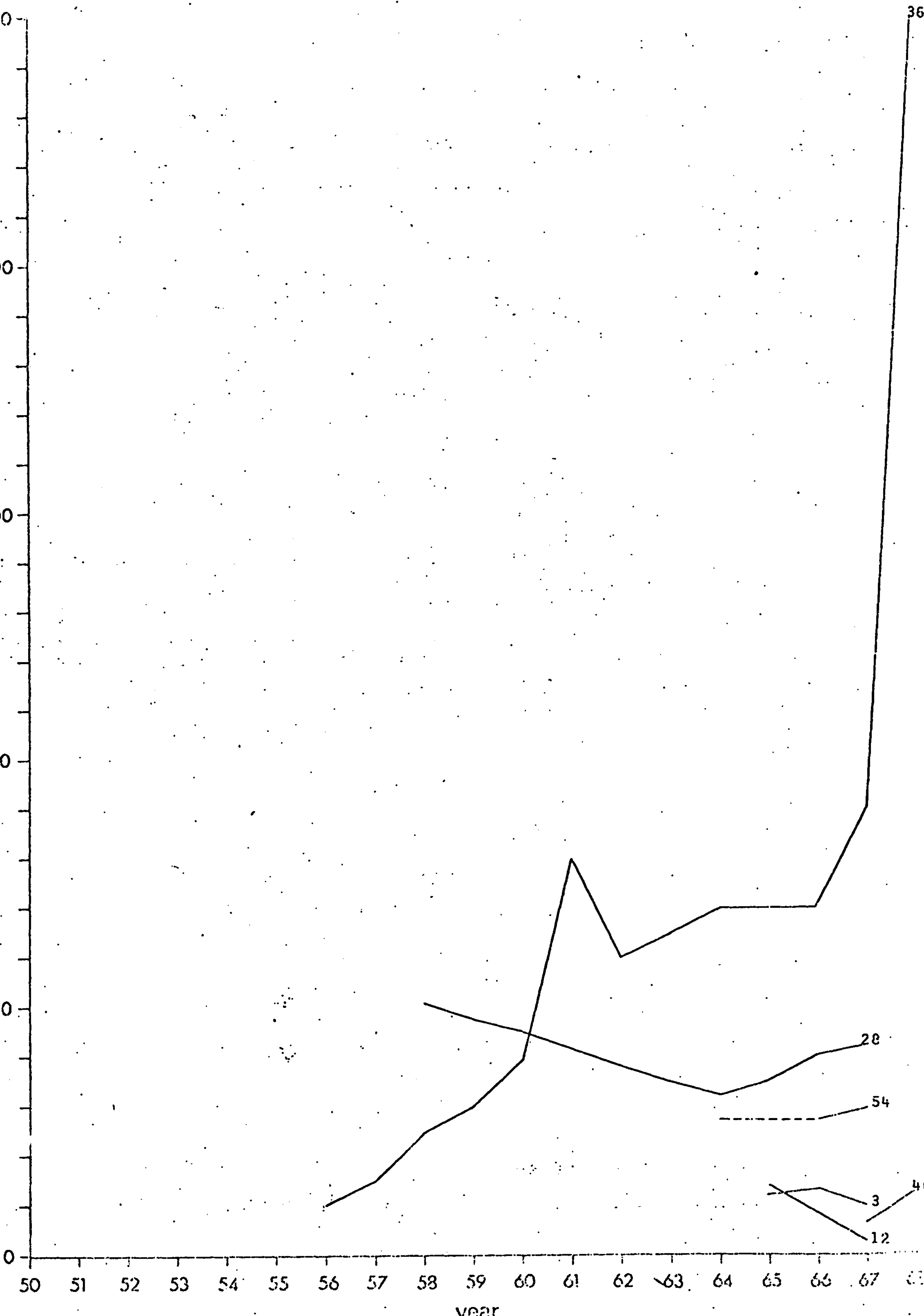
It is of interest to note that of those political organisations, which were able to furnish membership figures, each, (except one where it was too early to say) has maintained a growth rate which was considerably in excess of the rate of increase of the population. The oldest one, the Communist Party, grew more than twice as fast as the population for the same period, and the Conservatives eleven times as fast. The Scottish National Party however established a growth ratio, unequalled by any other organisation in any other category so far. In terms of categories, only the Youth Organisations so far showed no decreasing ratios, but even there the ratio figures were not nearly as considerable as would appear to be the case with the political organisations.

Category: Sports Organisations:

In this category, every organisation represented in the study, was able to supply a record of their membership figures over the period of existence. The oldest one of these is the Golf Club (No. 36), which started in 1956. As the graph in Fig. 7 illustrates, this club started with 20 members, and grew steadily. But in the last two years the membership rose from 160 to 500. This sudden increase was due to the opening of the golf course in the town. Together with a new clubhouse. Previously there was no golf course in the town as such, and members had to play on courses in the surrounding district. Over the total period, in which the club existed it increased its membership by 240%, whilst during the same time the population of Glenrothes increased by 224.1%. In other words, overall the club grew just slightly faster than the rest of the population.

G. 7) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP SPORTS ORGANISATIONS

Number of members



In 1958 there followed the C.I.S.W.O. Bowling Club, (No. 28), which is, as its name implies, attached to the C.I.S.W.O. Centre. Its initial membership was recorded as being 100; however, as the graph illustrates it steadily declined up to the year 1964, and from then on it has been rising again, without so far reaching its original figure. Overall there has therefore been a decrease of some 16% as compared with a population increase over the same period of 135.4%. The secretary commented on this trend as follows: "As mining members left Glenrothes, membership has fallen, but over the past few years the increase in population is beginning to make up for these losses.

In 1964 the Glenrothes Junior Football Club, (No.54) was formed, but membership figures were only available for the period 1966-67. During that time the club increased its membership by 9.1%, while the population increased by 8.4% over the same period. Again, as was the case with the Golf Club, the growth rates of the town and the club almost coincided. The secretary however felt that the size of their membership largely depended on the playing success of the team. In this sense they were "vulnerable", not unlike the Film Society, albeit, in a different sphere of interest.

In the following year the Archery Club, (No. 12) was formed with an initial membership of 26. By 1967 this number had decreased to 6, which represented a drop of 76.9%, while during the same period the population of the town had increased by 27.4%. According to written comments on this trend, by the secretary of the Archery Club, there would appear

to have been a good deal of friction between the founder/president of the club and the members, and this he considered to have been a major cause of the decline of membership. Apparently the founder/president was a professional sports outfitter, who insisted on members buying expensive equipment from him. The secretary then added further comments, which are reproduced verbatim, partly because they explain the decrease in membership, and also because they illustrate the kind of difficulties such an organisation may encounter:

"I can only say that had our club been started by someone who wanted to promote Archery as a sport and not as a commercial proposition, we could have had a membership far in excess of 30. When the club first started the ground used was just a piece of waste ground, owned by Beckman Instruments Ltd. On average we would have ten members at practice; more often than not we just had to return home as the president did not turn up with targets. Despite that we had good turn-outs. Application was then made by me to Beckmans Ltd. for storage facilities for targets and stands. I was informed that a "lean-to" had already been offered to the president and turned down by him, unknown to the committee. (The president kept the targets in his own lock-up). We then accepted storage, and the club began to pick up again. But two months after that we moved to the excellent Auchmuty Sports field, which we could only use at night, and our shift worker members, some of whom were our best marksmen, could not shoot when they were on backshift; this coupled with the swearing (!) one had to endure caused another fall away."

It is of course understood that the needs of an Archery Club are somewhat special, particularly since a good deal of equipment is involved, and safety is an additional factor which has to be taken into consideration when choosing facilities. Nevertheless, the above account gives an interesting insight into the many factors, such as availability of suitable leadership from the very start, expense of equipment required, storage facilities, meeting place, time of meetings, and even

discipline and behaviour of members, which can all affect the success or failure of an organisation such as this.

In the same year, 1965, the Amateur Boxing Club, (No. 3) was formed, with an initial membership of 25, which, as the graph illustrates, at first slightly increased and then dropped to 20, which over the total period represents a drop of 20% at a time when the population increased by 27.4%.

Lastly, in 1967, a Mountaineering Club was formed with a membership of 12 in the first year and 24 in the second year. In other words over a period of two years the membership increased by 100%, while the population increased by 9.7%. Albeit on the evidence of two years only, the mountaineering club, proportionately, would appear to be the fastest growing sports organisation in Glenrothes. (Although taken for the year 1967-68 the Golf Club grew in fact faster, i.e. by 177.8%).

TABLE No. 111

Growth ratio membership: Population Sports Organisation
GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1956-68	No. 36 Golf Club	224.1%	240.0%	1.07
1958-67	No. 28 C.I.S.W.O. Bowling Club	135.4%	-16.0%	-0.12
1965-67	No. 12 Archery Club	27.4%	-76.9%	-2.80
1965-67	No. 3 Amateur Boxing Club	27.4%	-20.0%	-0.73
1966-67	No. 54 Glenrothes Junior Football Club	8.4%	9.1%	1.08
1967-68	No. 46 Mountaineering Club	9.7%	100.0%	10.30

It is of interest to note that half the sports organisations showed a decrease in membership, albeit at varying ratios, compared with the increase in population. The way the Golf Club developed would suggest that the building of the Golf Club House and the new course, created an additional amenity for which there was a ready-made demand. (See rise in membership in Fig. 7). On the other hand the growth ratio of the mountaineering club has to be regarded with caution, since there is insufficient evidence available to show whether this club would be able to maintain its growth momentum over a longer period.

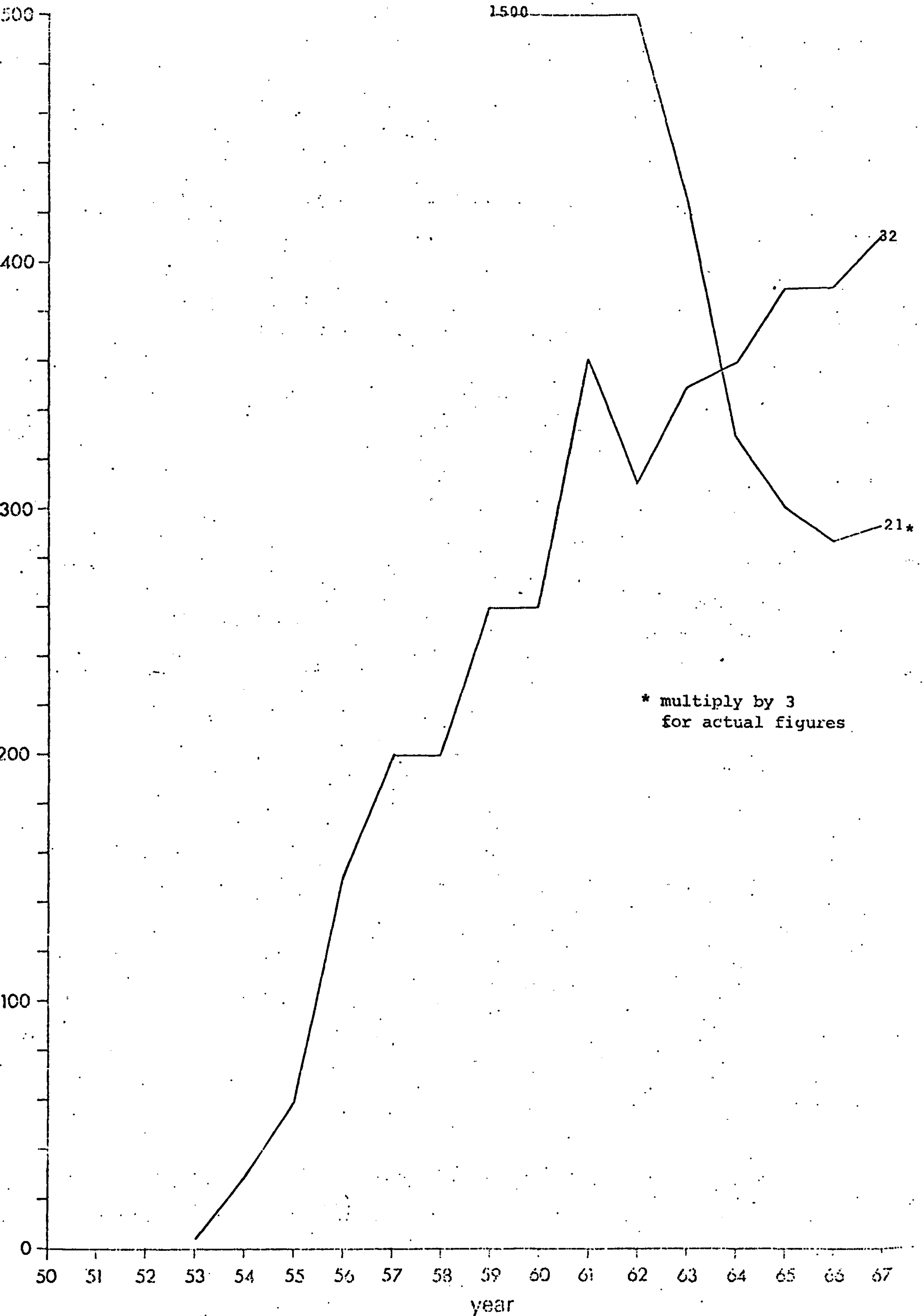
Category: Social/Dancing Organisations:

Two organisations, (66.7% of the total) represented in this category were able to supply membership figures from their records covering the period since their foundation. However, as will be seen from the graph in Fig. 8 in the case of organisation No. 21 it was necessary to divide the membership figure by 3, if its development over the years was to be plotted on this particular graph. To arrive at the actual number of members, it is therefore necessary to multiply the figures indicated by 3.

The British Legion, (No. 32) was formed in 1953, with 6 members, which increased to 60 in the first two years, and then after the acquisition of premises, the membership continued to rise more steeply still, till in 1967 it stood at 413. Although it would probably be unfair to suggest that the rise in popularity of this organisation was entirely due to the fact that it incorporated in its premises a comfortable

FIG. 8) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP SOCIAL/DANCING ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



bar, in a district where there is only one public house, at some distance away, nevertheless this cannot be ignored as a factor. The membership, according to the organisations' statutes, must consist of 60% ex-service personnel, but since the Markinch Branch closed, and the Glenrothes Branch is in the precinct nearest to Markinch, it can be assumed that a considerable number of members do come from Markinch. How many exactly however, was impossible to indicate, since the secretary was unable to give the members' addresses.

The Glenrothes Recreation Centre & Social Club, (No. 21) was opened in 1959, as part of the Miners Welfare Organisation (C.I.S.W.O.) in the first instance. Indeed it turned out to be the organisation in Glenrothes, the development of which was probably more closely linked to the fate of the coal industry in the town, than any other. For the first four years membership stood at 1500, since every miner could automatically become a member by paying a so-called "off-tax" subscription at the colliery where he worked. The ratio of miners to the rest of the population at the time, was approximately 1:7, and so was the ratio of members of the C.I.S.W.O. centre to the rest of the population. However, after the closure of the Rothes Pit, there was a rapid decrease in membership, indeed by June 1962 there were only 424 miners counted in Glenrothes itself. However the membership of this centre did not drop as low as that, for two reasons: Firstly because miners from surrounding mines were still allowed to continue their membership, and secondly, the centre accepted into membership any adult in the population, provided he did not have have "a bad reputation, or was a drunkard". Map

Fig. G35 relating to this organisation illustrates that because of its relatively central position, this club continued to be popular, particularly since apart from providing a hall and facilities for games, it was able to offer alcoholic refreshment in a congenial atmosphere, in a district where there was only one other licensed establishment. Although overall there has been a decrease in membership, this has to be seen against a background of a very high initial membership, for which there were, specific reasons, such as the link with employment in a specific industry.

TABLE No. 45.

Growth ratio membership: Population Social/Dancing
Organisations: GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1953-67	No. 32 British Legion	414.6%	6783.3%	16.36
1959-67	No. 21 Recreation & Social Centre	112.9%	-41.0%	- .36

From the above table one might assume that the two organisations have developed in completely opposite directions. However, if the total membership figures, as they stood in 1967 are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that this is only true when an overall view over the total period is being taken. However, the Recreation Centre, although proportionately its membership has fallen, from an initial high figure, for reasons given above, still has more than twice the total membership of the British Legion (885 as compared with 413). Nevertheless it is interesting to note that in terms of

growth ratio membership population, the British Legion has recorded the highest increase of any organisation in Glenrothes, for which this information was available. From evidence received from members of the community in Glenrothes, it would appear that for many the attraction of membership of one of these two clubs is the opportunity which they afford to have a drink with one's wife and friends, in an atmosphere away from the traditional public house (where one wouldn't take one's wife), and away from the cocktail bar and additional expense of the local hotel.

Category: Old People's Organisations:

Only one of the organisations dealing with old people (25% of total) was able to provide a complete record of membership. The Wayside Cottage club was started in 1963 by the Glenrothes Old People's Welfare Committee with a membership of 40, which has since risen to 57, representing an increase over the period 1963-67 of 42.5%. During that time the towns' population grew by 57%. However, since the membership was then considered to be fully subscribed, due to lack of accommodation, this cannot be regarded as an indication as to whether the organisation is successful in attracting members, "as the town grows". In fact, this was one of the few groups which had an actual waiting list (10 in this case). Potentially the membership could therefore be higher, if the problem of accommodation could be solved.

G. 9) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP OLD PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS

of members

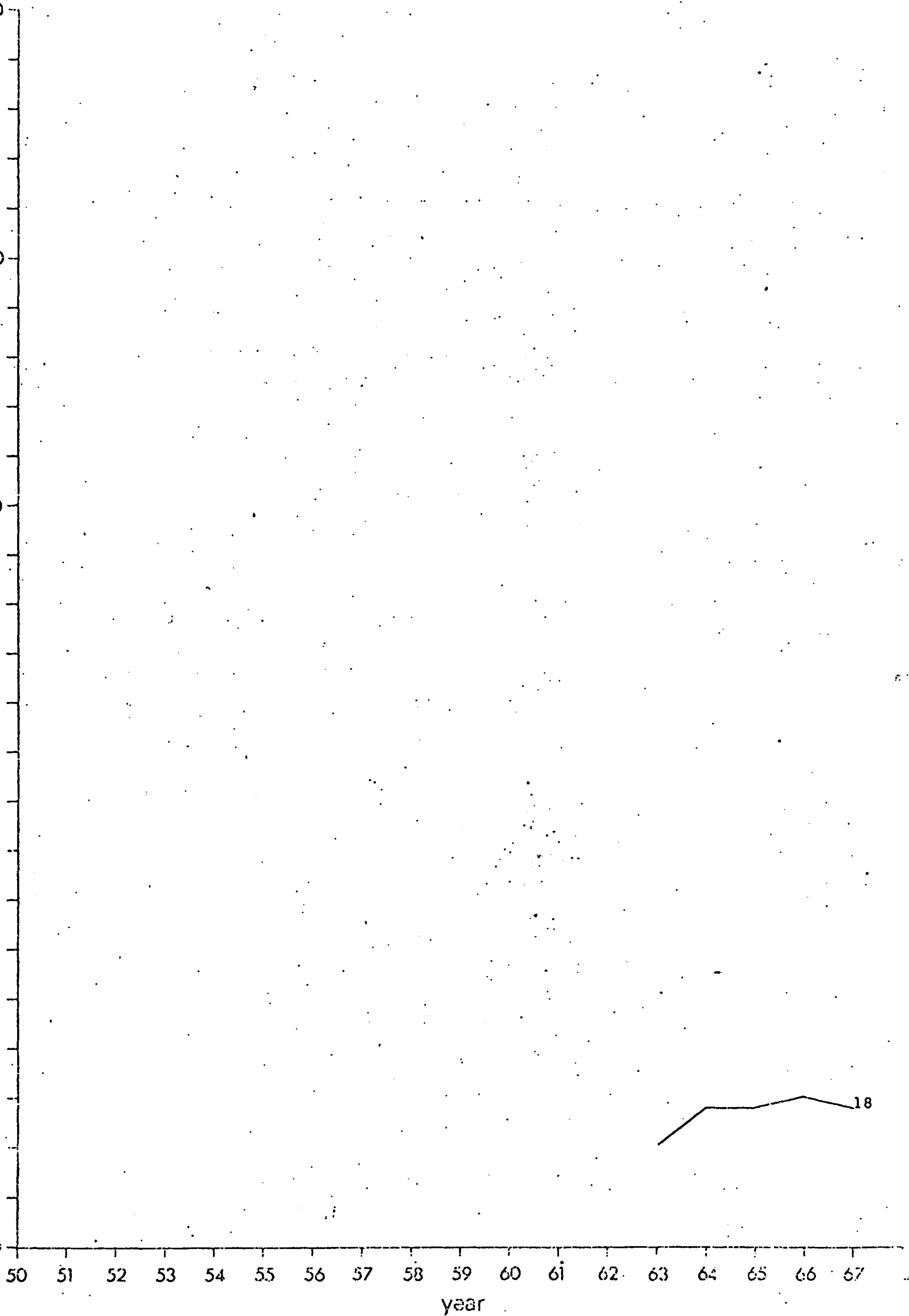


TABLE No. 46

Growth ratio membership: Population Old People's Organisations
GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1963-67	No. 18 Wayside Cottage Club	57.0%	42.5%	0.75

Category: Other Organisations:

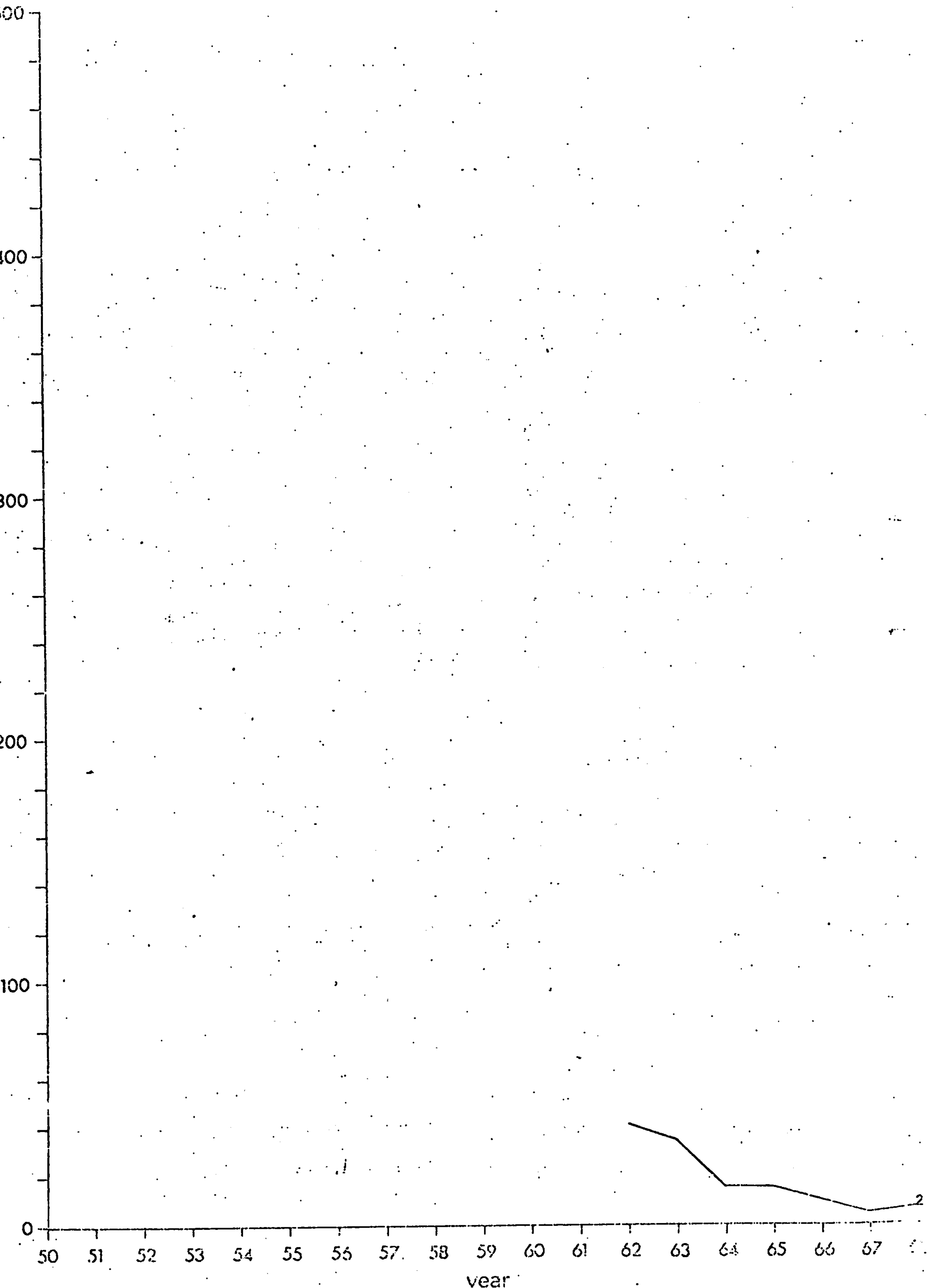
In Glenrothes this category consisted of so-called "Community Associations". There were two in this category, but only one was able to give figures over the period of its existence.

The Festival Society (No. 2) was started in 1962, as a direct consequence of the closure of the Rothes Pit, and as an attempt to replace the traditional miners' gala day. They started off with 40 members, and after the first year this figure started to fall, and, as the graph in Fig. 10 illustrates, has been decreasing practically every year, till by 1968 8 members only were left. This represented a decrease of 80% over a period during which the population increased by 82.7%. Although possible reasons for this development have already been given elsewhere, it is of interest to let the secretary comment on this herself, as she did in the questionnaire:

"To begin with the Festival was a lively affair - well supported by bankers, traders, local industrialists and organisations within the town - from whom the money needed was forthcoming. Several of the committee members at one time being people of some standing in the town. Interest has gradually waned, until last year so few people attended meetings to form a new committee that it was rested for a while - and then revived last year with a committee of thirteen - five of whom

FIG. 10) GLENROTHES - MEMBERSHIP "OTHER" ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



dropped out after a few weeks. In my opinion the idea of a Festival Society should be abandoned until it can be taken over by an authoritative body - and fully supported by the large number of social clubs, also by the schools and churches, all fund-raising happily together for the good of the town - and not as at present - a few volunteers trying hard to liven things up and being baulked at every turn."

Although it could be said that here speaks the voice of a disillusioned and disappointed person, this account would appear to illustrate a number of points. a) The days of this type of gala day may well be counted, as all over the country gala-day committees are struggling to find sufficient volunteers to help organising such events. b) If it is considered to be of any value to have an occasion, which provides a focal point for the whole community, even only temporarily, (such as victory of the local team in the F.A. cup sometimes does), then it cannot be left to volunteers entirely, to organise such events. c) Although the Development Corporation provided a meeting room free of charge in its own premises, more positive leadership, such as a full-time social development officer would be able to give, and resources which he would have at his disposal, might have been able to ensure continuance of an activity such as this.

TABLE NO. 47

Growth ratio membership: Population "Other Organisations"
GLENROTHES

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1962-1968	No. 2 Festival Society	82.7%	-80.0%	-0.97

9.2 East Kilbride

Category: Youth Organisations:

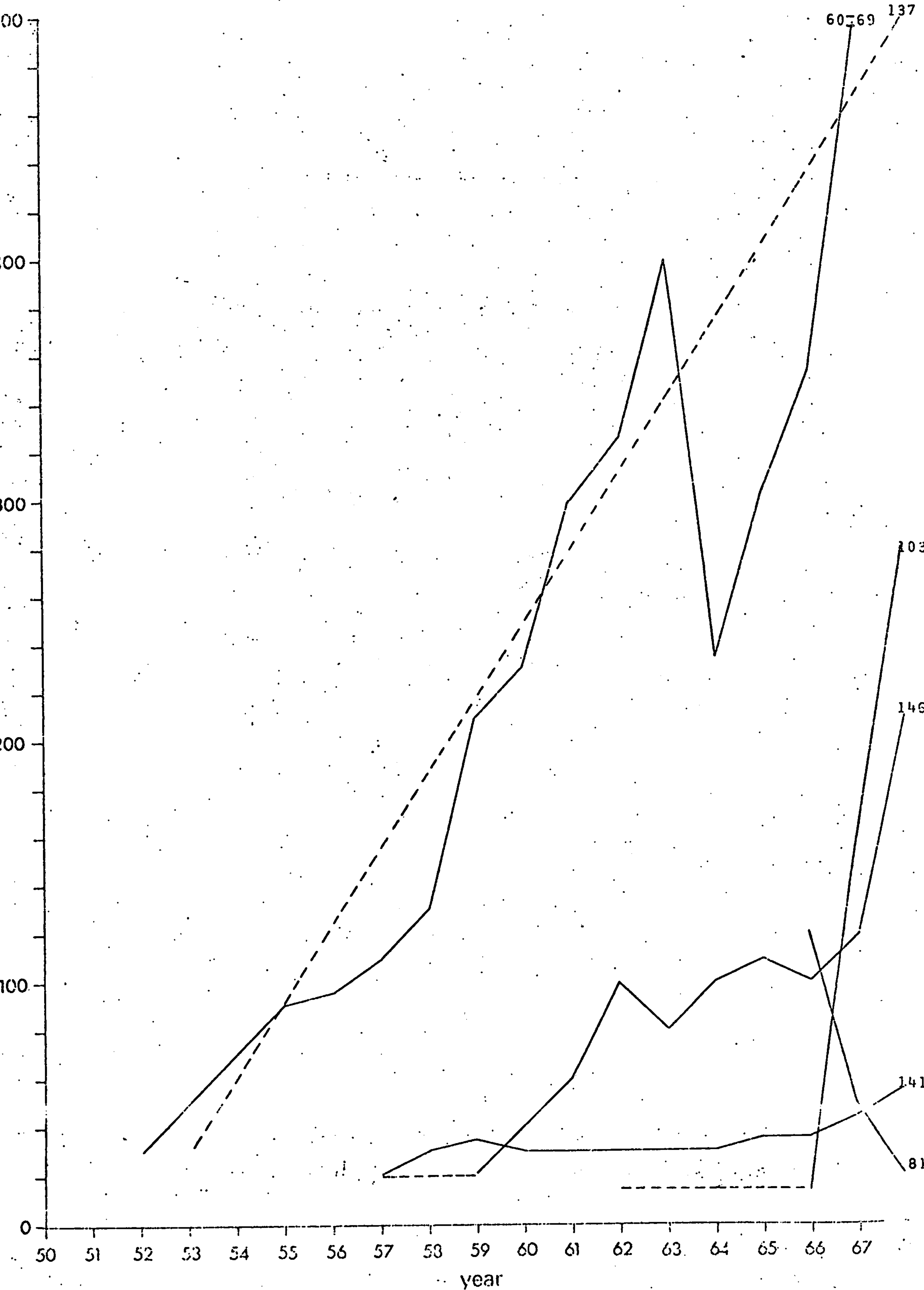
Six Youth Organisations, (35.3% of total number in this category), were able to make membership records available, giving an indication of their growth during the period of their existence.*

The Scouts (No. 60-69) formed the first group in 1952, after a lapse of Scouting in East Kilbride of 41 years. They re-started with 30 members and, as the graph in Fig. 11 shows, have increased their membership every year except for the period 1963-64, when one group ceased to operate, due to difficulties in obtaining suitable leadership. Two groups were added in 1958-59, a further two in 1960-61, a further one in 1962, and another group in 1965 and 1967 respectively. The start of these additional groups was reflected each time by steeper increases in membership in each of the above-mentioned years. As maps Figs. EK3 and EK4 illustrate, the individual Scout groups, which together made up the E.K. Scouts Association, were on the whole based within given localities, i.e. they operated within a neighbourhood and drew the bulk of their members from that neighbourhood, and the immediate surrounding district. As the town therefore grew, and new districts were added, so the number of Scout groups increased. This trend is reflected in the growth ratio membership to town

* Again, as was the case in previous tables, in order to achieve a degree of comparability with Glenrothes, the Scouts and Guides were featured as one organisation respectively, although the Scout groups, which together form the E.K. Scouts Association have submitted individual questionnaires. The figures given are therefore aggregates for the E.K. Scout Association.

FIG. 11) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



population, which is 1:14. In the period 1952 to 1968 the Scouts increased their membership by 1946.7%, whereas the towns' population increased by 1711.7% over the same period. It can therefore be said that the membership of this organisation increased almost at the same rate as the population from which it drew its membership.

The Girl Guides Association (No. 137) started in 1953 with a unit of 30 members and by the end of 1968 the E.K. Division of the Girl Guides Association comprised 1799 members. In a similar way to that of the Scouts, new units were added as the town grew. Unfortunately Headquarters were not able to give detailed information as to the dates when new units had been started. Their growth has therefore been represented on the graph as a dotted line, linking the starting figure with that at the end of 1968. Taking these two figures however, an increase in membership of 5896.7% can be recorded over the period 1953-1968, during which time the towns' population increased by 1059.1%. The Girl Guides Association can therefore be said to have grown over five times as rapidly as the population from which it draws its membership.

The Air Training Corps Squadron (No. 141) was started in 1957 with a membership of 20. In the first year this increased to 30, and in the following year to 35. As the graph shows this was a peak, which was not reached again till 1965. In fact, as can be seen, over a number of years the membership remained static, but in 1966 it started to increase again, and by 1968 the membership figure was 56. This

increase was largely due to the fact that the age-limit was lowered to 13 from 15, which made it possible for younger boys to join. Overall, this organisation increased its membership by 180% whereas the towns' population increased by 236.5% over the same period, i.e. 1957-1968.

The Heathery Knowe Co-op Youth Club (No. 146) also started in 1957, but records were only available as from 1959. At that time it had a membership of 20, which up to the end of 1968 increased to 210, that is by 950%. During the same period the general population increased by 152.7%. In other words, the Heathery Knowe Co-op Youth Club increased its membership six times as fast as the towns' population grew. However, as the graph illustrates, this was not the result of an even growth, since in the year 1967-68 alone the membership was doubled. The leader of this club, (who is employed on a part-time basis) accounts for this increase by the fact that during that year modern dancing was added to the clubs activities. It is also of interest to note that during the same period the South Parish Youth Club, which operates in the same neighbourhood, The Murray, has experienced a rapid decline in membership. (As map Fig. EK9 illustrates the Heathery Knowe Youth Club draws the great majority of its membership from that particular neighbourhood.)

The Duncanrig Youth Club (No. 103) was started in 1962 by the Lanarkshire County Further Education Committee. Membership records however were only available as from 1966. At that time there were 16 members in the club and by 1968 this number had increased to 280, i.e. by 1650%, whilst during the same period the towns' population increased by

21.7%. Over the period of these three years then, the Duncanrig Youth Club had increased 76 times faster than the general population. This figure, startling though it is, has however to be considered in the light of certain special circumstances. Whilst it is true to say that the towns' population had increased by 21.7% from 1966-68, during the period of the total existence of this club the population of Westwood neighbourhood, from which according to the leader 90% of all the members were drawn, has quadrupled. Furthermore, since this club was specifically started because there were no recreational facilities in the area, the increase in membership, particularly during the last two years on record, would appear to have borne out the assumptions under which this club was started. It is also of interest to note that at a time when Youth work philosophy and practice advocate an unstructured setting, with few if any formal demands on the membership, and few structured activities are offered, let alone made compulsory,* an organisation such as this should in fact be able to increase its membership in this way.

Lastly in this category, the South Parish Youth Club started in 1966. It was started because it was felt that there was a need for a club for young people in that area, because, (in the words of the leader) "many of them could not afford the fare to Glasgow". It started with a membership of 120 in 1966, which over the next three years dropped rapidly to a figure

* It is in fact a condition of membership in this club that one of the following activities must be attended: Boys or Girls Physical Training, Drama, or Arts Class.

of 20, which represented a decline of 83.3% over the total period. Although the leader was not able to account for this trend, which as Fig. 11 illustrates, is atypical of this category, there would appear to be a number of factors which have a bearing on this situation. This club started up in an area, where there was already a Youth Club catering for the same age group, and although the South Parish Youth Club started off with a high membership, it would appear that it was unable to sustain this number. During the same period, the neighbouring youth club, at Heathery Knowe School, experienced a steep increase in membership, which was accounted for by the leader on grounds of new activities in the programme, such as modern dancing, which were not available at the South Parish Youth Club. It is therefore reasonable to assume that some of the members who left one, joined the other Youth Club. Furthermore, the South Parish Youth Club only meets once a week, whilst the Heathery Knowe Club operates during several evenings each week, which is an additional advantage. It would therefore appear that both, a more attractive programme, and more frequent meetings at one Youth Club in the same neighbourhood, could well have meant a rapid decline in membership in the other.

Both Fig. 11 and Table 48 would suggest that the general trend among Youth organisations was to grow as the population of the town increased. In four out of the six organisations represented in this table, the growth ratio measured over the overall period of existence, has been faster, whilst in only one case it was actually slower, and in one, the ratio was negative, i.e. the membership actually decreased. When

TABLE No. 48

Growth ratio membership: Population "Youth" Organisations
EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1952-68	Nos. 60-69 E.K. Scouts Association	1711.7%	1946.7%	1.14
1953-68	No. 137 Girl Guides Association	1059.1%	5896.7%	5.57
1957-68	No. 141 Air Training Corps	236.5%	180.0%	0.76
1959-68	No. 146 Heathery Knowe Co-op Youth Club	152.7%	950.0%	6.22
1966-68	No. 103 Duncanrig Youth Club	21.7%	1650.0%	76.00
1966-68	No. 81 South Parish Youth Club	21.7%	-83.3%	-3.84

comparing the above set of figure relating to East Kilbride with the Table 38 for the same category in Glenrothes, it is of interest to note that in both cases the Girl Guides recorded the highest percentage increase in membership, over a period of 24 years and 25 years respectively, of all Youth Organisations, for whom information was available. Also, in each case the Air Training Corps showed a growth ratio of under 1.00, which indicates that there has been an overall growth in membership, but at a slower rate than that of the whole population. The growth ratio of 76.00 recorded by the Duncanrig Youth Club, is higher than that of any other Youth Organisation, but by the time the club was started in 1966 the rate of percentage growth of the towns' population was slowing down, as the town moved nearer to its population target. Nevertheless the percentage increase of 1650% is

remarkable. Equally remarkable however, within this context, is the fact that one Youth Organisations' membership recorded a decline from the very first year of its existence, as the South Parish Youth Club did. This is remarkable, since in no other youth organisation, either in East Kilbride or Glenrothes, for which membership records were available, this had happened.

Category: Arts & Cultural Organisations:

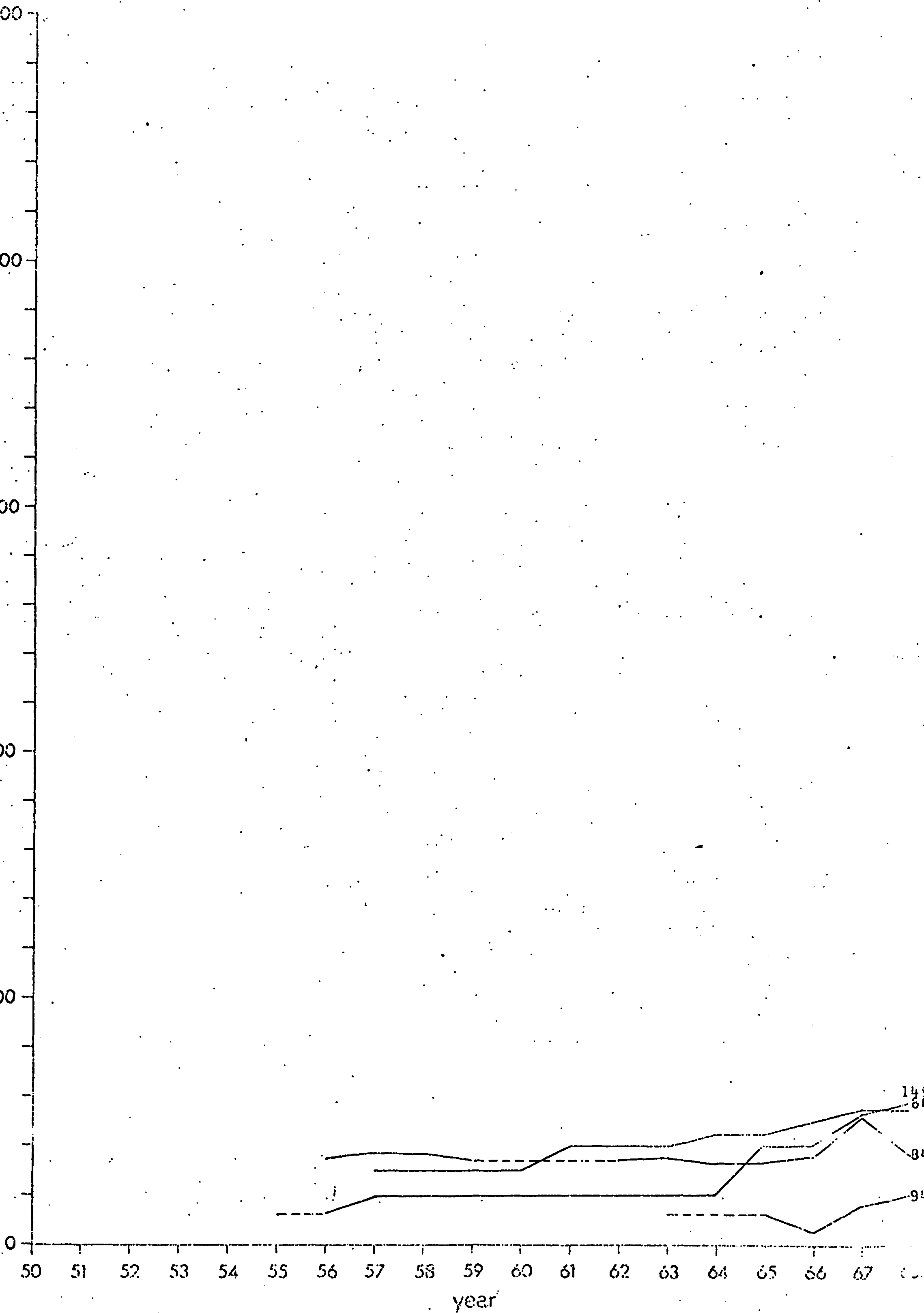
Four organisations (57.1% of total in this category), were able to give information about the development of their membership over the period of their existence, and these are shown in Fig. 12.

The Repertory Theatre Club (No. 149) was started in 1955, and membership figures were available as from 1956 onwards. Since then, membership rose from 12 to 56. The Secretary of the club accounted for this increase of 366.7% in two ways. Firstly, the population of the town had grown since the time they started their activities, (By 284.8%), and secondly, he found that more and more people looked upon this particular group as a way of "participating in the towns' activities." As the growth ratio illustrates, this club has in fact "grown" just slightly faster than the towns' population, from which it seeks its membership.

In the following year, 1956, the Rolls Royce Male Voice Choir (No. 84) was started with a membership of 34, and as the graph illustrates, for the next ten years this figure remained more or less the same, till in 1967, the rule that a member of the choir had to be employed by Rolls Royce was dropped. This resulted in an immediate increase in membership

FIG. 12) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP ARTS & CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

o. of members



in that year. However, during the following year, due to "inter-factory transfers" of staff, the membership decreased again, almost to the previous level. Overall, therefore, the increase has been relatively small, i.e. 6.3%, during a time in which the town grew by 284.8%. However, since up to 1967 membership was restricted to employees of the firm, a comparison with the growth of the town as a whole is not strictly relevant. Furthermore, it was too early to say whether the relaxation of conditions of membership are likely to have a lasting effect on membership figure.

In 1957, the Light Opera Club, (No. 80) was started with an initial membership of 30. In the period up to 1968 this figure had risen to 55, which represented an increase of 83.3% over the period. During that time the towns' population had increased by 236.5%, which means that the Light Opera Club, overall recorded a growth rate which is approximately a third of that of the towns' population. However, although there has been a steady increase in membership, as the graph illustrates, mainly because according to the secretary more and more young couples joined, since they could take this up as a joint interest, there were certain constraints, which would appear to explain the relatively moderate growth rate. Firstly, it is a condition of membership, that an applicant must be able to sing, dance or act. Secondly, the club itself operates an upper membership limit of 60, which although it has never been reached yet, acts as a constraint on recruitment. However, since this limit has not been reached so far, together with the fact that there is no waiting list,

would suggest that this club is able to meet the existing demand for this type of activity.

Lastly in this category, in 1963 the EK Burgh Pipe Band (No. 94) was started, and membership figures were available for the period 1965 to 1968. During that time the membership increased from 16 to 20, i.e. by 25%, whilst the towns' population during the same period increased by 32.9%. The graph illustrates that the increase in membership has not been evenly distributed. The leader of the Pipe Band explained this by the fact that at the end of each season "a few members are being lost to Higher Grade Bands in the area".

TABLE No. 49

Growth ratio membership: population "Arts & Cultural" organisations - EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1956-68	No. 149 EK Repertory Theatre Club	284.8%	366.7%	1.29
1956-68	No. 84 Rolls Male Voice Choir	284.8%	6.3%	0.02
1957-68	No. 80 Light Opera Club	236.5%	83.3%	0.35
1965-68	No. 94 Burgh Pipe Band	32.9%	25.0%	0.76

From the above Table 49, and the graphs in Fig. 12, it can be seen that the membership figures of these organisations generally tended to be small, and taken over the period of existence, have not changed dramatically. Of the few organisations represented, not one has ever had more than 60 members. In two cases, as was noted above, explicit reasons for this were given. The Light Opera Club applied an upper membership limit of 60, and the Rolls Royce Male Voice Choir up to very

recently, only accepted members who were employed by the Rolls Royce Company. Furthermore, since each of the four organisations pursue activities which offer a high degree of active participation, and also demand a high degree of skill, it is reasonable to assume that the optimum number of members which each of them can absorb probably has been reached in some cases. In other words, it could be said that it is "in the nature" of this type of activity, that the number which can actively participate is not unlimited. (e.g. such as the cast and supporting team required to put on a play or a light opera, the number who can sing in a male choir, or play in a pipe band).

A similar trend could be observed in the same category in Glenrothes. There, none of the organisations, which offered active participation had a membership of over 75 in numbers. The exception to this was the Film Society, which in a sense is non-participant, and which had a declining membership. So it would appear that the trend towards relatively limited numbers in membership is similar in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, at least as far as organisations, which offer active participation in pursuits such as acting, singing, dancing etc., were concerned. There is a further interesting parallel, which emerged out of a comparison between the organisations in this category in both East Kilbride and Glenrothes, relating to the size of the population at the time of their respective foundation. All four organisations in this category were started during the period between 1962 and 1966. During that time the towns' population increased from 14,000 to 18,000. In East Kilbride, three of the four

organisations recorded in the above summary table were started between 1955 and 1957, during which time the population grew from approximately 12,000 to 17,500. In other words, in each case, the population of the town had reached a similar level before it had become able to support more specialist activities of this kind.*

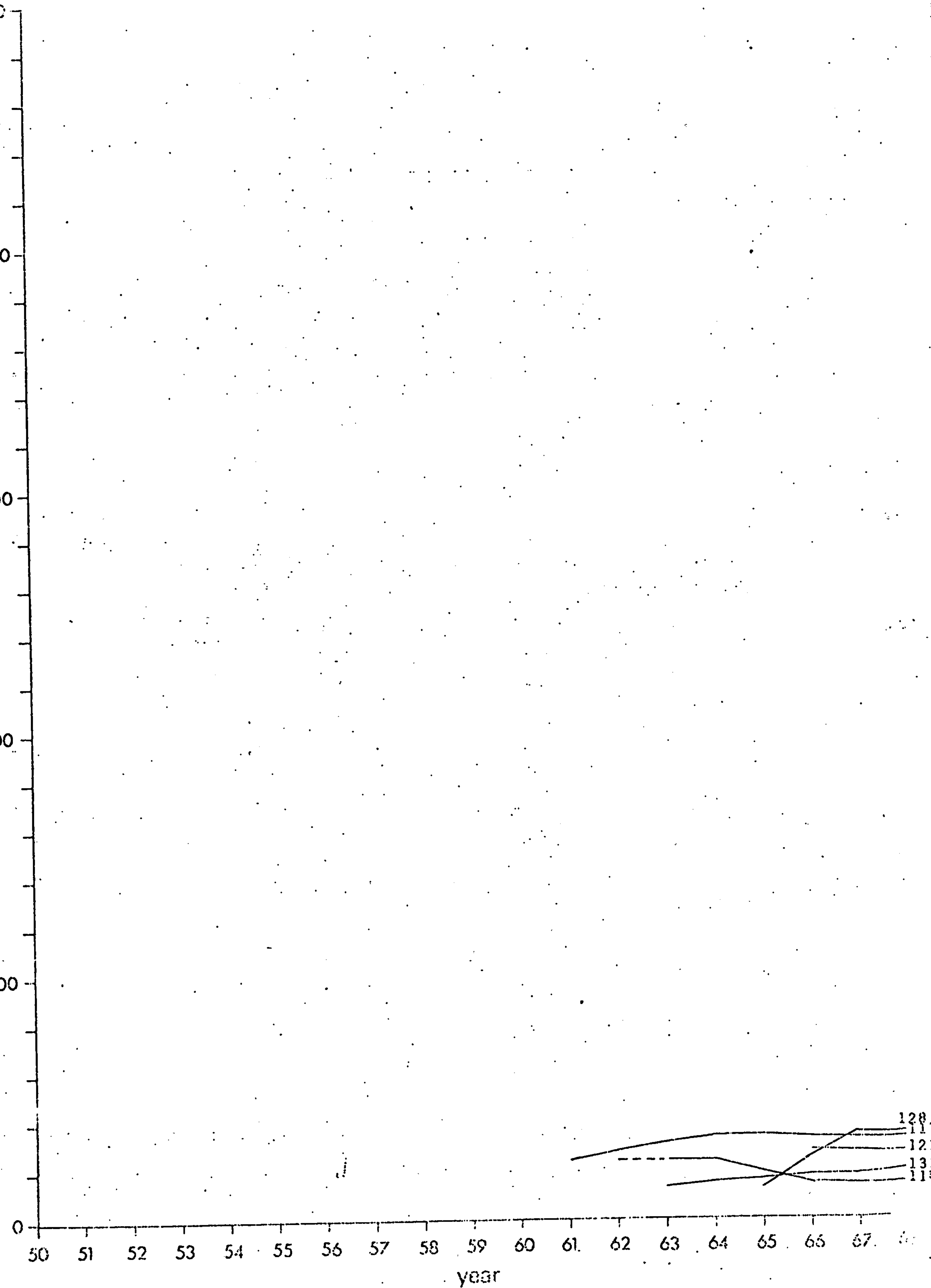
Social Service Organisations:

Five of the Social Service Organisations (50% of total in this category) were able to give information regarding their membership records over the period during which they have been in existence in East Kilbride. These are represented in Fig. 13. The East Kilbride & District Round Table (No. 117) was the first to be started of the ones for which the above information was available. It started in 1961 with a membership of 22, and by 1968, it had increased to 34, which represents an overall increase of 54.5% for a period during which the population had grown by 92%. However, there were certain self-imposed constraints, which would account for the reasons why over the past three years, there has been a levelling out of numbers. Firstly, a new Round Table was in the process of being formed at Uddingston in Lanarkshire, and latterly, all potential new recruits were being directed towards this new group. Secondly, Round Table operate an upper age limit of 40, and restrict membership to two representatives of each of the same profession. There were implicit constraints on the size to which the group can grow - but the secretary also gave an explicit one, when

* For further details on "dates" of foundation see Chapter 5.

Fig. 13) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

of members



he commented on the present number as being "just about right" in size for a Round Table. The growth ratio membership/population was therefore an indication which, in this particular instance, did not give an accurate reflection of the membership trend because of the above-mentioned inhibiting factors.

In 1962 there followed the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 114), which started a section in East Kilbride. Membership figures were available from 1963 onwards when there were 25 members in the group. As the graph illustrates, the membership began to decline within the first two years. However, according to the commandant, the further drop in 1966 was due to the opening of another branch of the Association in East Kilbride. Although the figures, therefore, indicated a decline of 40% over a period during which the town's population grew by 63.1%, resulting in a negative growth ratio, this cannot be considered to be an accurate reflection of the trend in membership numbers. Unfortunately, however, no information was available relating to the second branch, which split off from this one, and which would make a more reliable interpretation of the membership trend possible.

In 1963, the Ladies Life Boat Guild (No. 133) was formed, which is basically a Committee which concerns itself with raising funds for the Royal National Life Boat Institution. It started with a membership of 13 which was gradually, and deliberately increased to 20, in the secretary's own words: "In order to spread the load of the work". Recruitment took

the form of co-option of friends onto the Committee. The increase of 53.8% over the period was, therefore, the result of a more deliberate policy rather than an indication of the response to a more general kind of recruitment, and it is in this light that the growth ratio, which was almost the same as that of the town at large, has to be interpreted.

The following year, the Red Cross Society (No. 128) was started, and membership figures were available as from 1965 to 1968. In that time, the membership increased from 12 to 34, i.e. by 183.3%, whilst during the same period, the population of the town grew by 32.9%. In other words, over the same period, the Red Cross Society developed over five times as rapidly as the town. However, it is important to remember that the actual numbers involved were relatively small, i.e. 34 members, and during the last year on record, there seems to have been a slowing down of recruitment. The commandant of the East Kilbride Branch named two main factors, which she felt accounted for this increased difficulty in recruitment: firstly, the lack of a central meeting place, and the difficulty of access to the premises (Rolls Royce Bowling Club for first aid, Hairmyres Hospital for other training) by public transport, since these places are on the outskirts of the town. Secondly, she felt that more and more women were going out to work during the day, and found it difficult, besides their other duties, to fit in the required training session in the evenings.

Lastly in this category, the Inner Wheel (No. 123) was formed in 1966 and has had a fairly static membership since

then. They started with 29 members and by 1968, 27 were left, which represented a decline of 6.9%, whereas over the same period, the town had grown by 21.7%. However, again, in this particular case, the growth of the towns population is of only indirect relevance, since only wives of members of the Rotary Club are eligible for membership of this group, although, of course, the size of the constituent population does have a bearing on the size of the local Rotary Club. The Rotary Club was unable to furnish information about its membership which would have given an indication as to whether the membership trend of the Inner Wheel was a reflection of the trend of its "parent" organisation or not.

TABLE No. 50

Growth ratio membership: population "Social Service" organisations - EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1961-68	No. 117 Round Table	92.0%	54.5%	0.59
1963-68	No. 114 St. Andrews Ambulance Ass.	63.1%	-40.0%	-0.63
1963-68	No. 133 Ladies Life Boat Guild	63.1%	53.8%	0.85
1965-68	No. 128 Red Cross Society	32.9%	183.3%	5.57
1966-68	No. 123 Inner Wheel	21.7%	-6.9%	-0.31

As the above table illustrates, the growth ratio of the Social Service organisations, with the exception of the Red Cross Society was small. In two cases in fact there was a negative ratio. Since both the sizes of membership and the growth ratios were similar between Glenrothes and East

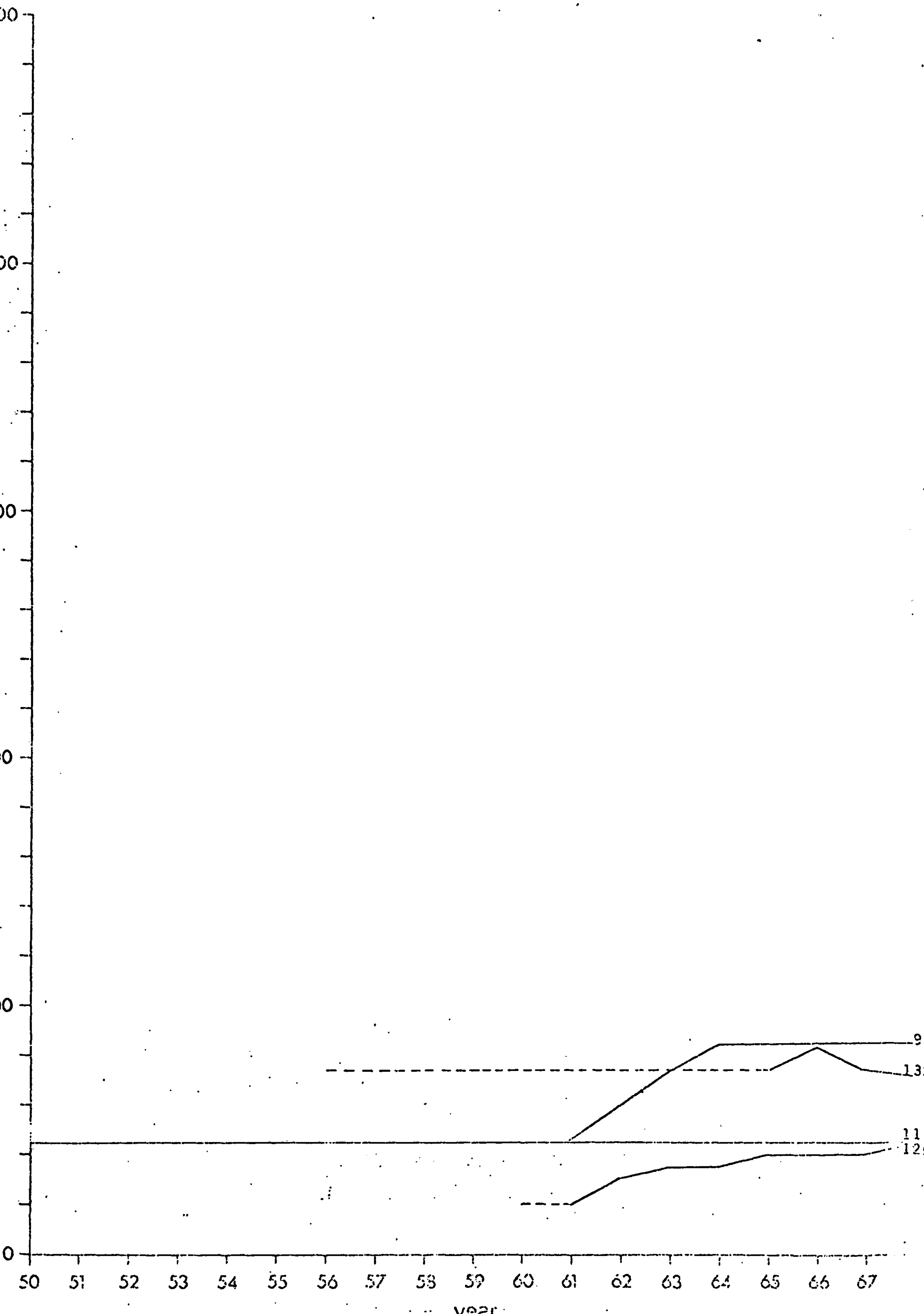
Kilbride, it can be assumed that it is in the nature of this type of organisation to function with a relatively small membership. By comparing the graphs for this category for both these towns (See Figs. 3 and 13), it is of interest to note that their characteristics are almost identical. In each case, four of the five organisations have membership figures between the 20 and 40 mark, with the exception of one in each case, which falls below 20. Similarly, there was hardly any notable fluctuation in numbers over the years.

Category: Women's Organisations:

Four organisations (50% of total in this category) were able to give information, which was reproduced in Fig. 14. The oldest of these is the Auldhouse W.R.I. (No. 118) which started in 1932, and always had a membership numbering between 40 and 50. It was started in the village school at Auldhouse, immediately to the south of East Kilbride. However, only 10 of the 48 members actually live in East Kilbride (see also map Fig. EK 20). In the words of the secretary: "This organisation is rural, and according to our constitution, one cannot be formed in a town, but we do welcome members from the town, and indeed have quite a few members who live in town, (i.e. East Kilbride)." However, it would appear that the number who have responded to this invitation has not increased over the years. Taken over a period from 1952 (when the first population statistics of the new town became available) to 1968, during which time the population of the new town has increased by 1711.7%, the membership of this group has remained constant. This, however, is not surprising,

(G. 14) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

b. of members



since it is reasonable to assume that newcomers to the town would wish to join a women's group which would get them into contact with fellow residents of the town, rather than move out of town for this purpose. It is, therefore, of interest to note that those members who live in East Kilbride either live in the Murray, i.e. the part of the town which is closest to Auldhouse, or in the area of the original village of East Kilbride. In other words, they either have good access to Auldhouse, or live in the pre-new town part of East Kilbride.

In 1960, the Calderwood Ladies Club (No. 98) was started, and information regarding membership was available as from 1961. This Club started with a membership of 45 and within three years, this number increased to 85. Thereafter, that is in 1964, a ceiling was imposed at the level of 85 members; this was a factor which accounted for the levelling off of membership which is evident on the graph. Taken over the total period, however, and regardless of the imposed limit on numbers, the membership has increased by 88%, whereas, over the same period, the population increased by 92%.

In the same year, i.e. 1960, the Professional and Business Women's Club (No. 124) was started, and membership records were available as from 1961 onwards. These show that the Club increased its membership from 20 to 45, i.e. by 125% over a period during which the town's population increased by 92%. The secretary considered this increase to have been entirely due to the growth of the population, although, as can be seen from the growth ratio of 1.36, the membership in fact increased faster.

Lastly in this category, there is the Town's Womens' Guild (No. 132). Although this group was started in 1956, membership figures were only available as from 1965. As the graph illustrates, there has been some fluctuation in membership during that period, and the overall trend was downwards. In fact, in 1965, there were 77 members, and in 1968, there were 71, representing a decrease of 7.8%, during a time in which the population grew by 32.9%. The growth ratio of this organisation was therefore a negative one, taken over the period for which membership figures were available.

TABLE No. 51

Growth ratio membership: population "Women's" organisations -
EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage increase	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1952 [*] -68	No. 118 Auldhouse W.R.I.	1711.7%	0	0
1961-68	No. 98 Calderwood Ladies Club	92.0%	88.0%	0.96
1961-68	No. 124 Professional & Business Women's Club	92.0%	125.0%	1.36
1965-68	No. 132 TownsWomen's Guild	32.9%	-7.8%	-0.24

It is of interest to note, that as was the case in this category in Glenrothes, where growth has taken place in an organisation, it was on a moderate scale. There are also a number of other interesting parallels between the two sets of

* Was actually started in 1932.

organisation in this category in the towns of East Kilbride and Glenrothes. For instance, as the respective graphs illustrate, the membership figures for all organisations, (i.e. East Kilbride and Glenrothes jointly) are to be found on a scale of between 25 and 85 members. In other words, not one organisation for which these figures were available, has more than 85 members, and none less than 25. More specifically, of the four in the Glenrothes sample, two were shown to have a negative growth ratio, and in East Kilbride, one has a negative growth ratio and a second one, a growth ratio of nil. (It is also of interest to note that coincidentally, the one organisation with a negative growth ratio in each town was the Town's Womens Guild.) Only one women's organisation, in each of the samples had a growth ratio of more than 1, i.e. had grown faster than the town's population.

Hobby/Special Interest Groups:

Nine organisations (i.e. 64.3% of total in this category) were able to furnish information about their membership records over the years (see Fig. 15). The Bridge Club (No. 134) started in 1955, and details about membership were available as from 1956. They started with some 35 members, and as the graph illustrates, within two years, increased this figure to 45 members, and for five years, it remained constant, till in 1962, as "a result of a schism" as the secretary put it, the numbers started to decline till in 1968, they were just slightly below the figure with which this group started. Overall, this represented a drop of 8.6%, during a period in

which the population of the town increased by 284.8%. In 1959 followed the Photographic Club (No. 129) which, up to 1967 would appear to have had a constant membership of 25 and then, due to recruitment effort through increased advertising, the number of members increased to 59, i.e. by 136.0%. Taken over the total period of its existence, this Club increased its membership at a slightly lower rate than the overall population increase for the same period, which was 152.7%. However, if this was measured just over the year 1967-68, during which this increase took place, it would be found that during that time alone, the Photographic Club has grown sixteen times faster than the town. (For the purposes of this study, however, in order to ensure a degree of comparability, ratios were calculated over the total period of existence, rather than for periods of increased growth only.) Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in this case, the overall membership increase was concentrated in one year only.

In the same year, the Motor Club (No. 139) was started with an initial membership of 109. In the next two years, this figure dropped to 40, and then further to 20, where it stayed till 1966, and in 1968, the membership had gone up again to 50. Overall however, this represented a drop of 54.1% in membership between 1959 and 1968, during which period, the town's population increased by 152.7%. According to the secretary, the "low membership between 1962 and 1967 was entirely due to the lack of suitable premises".

In 1961, the East Kilbride & District Savings Committee No. (115) was formed, and membership figures were available

as from 1962. This committee started with a membership of 16 and has since increased to 18 (i.e. by 12.5%). Since this is a committee, which only meets about three times a year to discuss matters of policy, it is not likely that this group, because of the nature of its activity, will want to expand in membership, over and above what they consider to be a good working number.

In 1962 the Fabian Society (No. 113) was formed with an initial membership of 28, which within the first year dropped to 20, where it remained, except for one or two minor variations. In 1968 the membership comprised 21 people. Overall this represents a drop of 25%, during a period in which the population at large increased by 73.4%. The secretary himself commented on the trend of the membership of his organisation as follows:

"I always feel we should be able to attract more members, but we seem, apart from the first year, only to maintain our membership, although these are not always the same people. Those who become members are the type who find themselves involved in various other social and political activities, and are not always available."

In the same year the United Nations Association (No. 107) was formed with a membership of 67 and, as the graph illustrates, has met with varying fortunes ever since. Within the first year this figure dropped to 14, then rose to 33, dropped again to 7 and in 1968 was at 31. The secretary's own comments on this situation were: "This branch will never be large, and needs hardwork to keep going at all." It would appear that since there are no other office-bearers, that this was very much a one-man operation, which went well when the secretary's enthusiasm was high, and declined again, when his

enthusiasm waned. However, an additional reason is given by the secretary during further comments about his organisation. He felt that "A wider spectrum of people would be attracted, if members could actually do something in the interests of the UN or its subsidiary organisations." It would therefore appear that lack of scope of activities was also a factor in the overall decline of this association, which between 1962 and 1968 amounted to 53.7%.

In 1963 the Angling Club, (No. 70) was formed with a membership of 107. Within the first year the membership started to decline and by 1967 total membership was down to 50; but between 1967 and 1968 it had increased again to 58. Overall however, the membership has decreased by 45.8%. This trend was accounted for by the secretary, as being due to the lack of good fishing waters locally. Apparently this club had intermittently asked the local authorities concerned for permission to use their reservoirs, which so far has not been granted. The secretary felt that this was a factor which has been detrimental to the development of the club.

In 1963 also, the Glasgow-East Kilbride Railway Development Association was formed, with an initial membership of 20, with the object of publicising and improving the train service between these two towns. Shortly afterwards, it gained strong impetus by the announcement in 1964 of closure proposals for this line. What was therefore a group which initially only had a kind of special interest in this line, became a pressure group. Immediately the membership rose to 400, which represented an increase of 1900%. According to the secretary, after the initial increase, the membership

figure levelled off. This may have been due to the fact that the closure threat is no longer imminent, or possibly because the number of commuters to Glasgow, to whom the closure of this line would be an immediate inconvenience, is limited. In character this organisation was somewhat different from the other groups in this category. It did not have regular meetings, other than the annual general meeting, and its "activities", consisted, particularly at times when the threat of closure seemed to have receded, of support given by way of a subscription to a cause rather than active participation in a hobby/special interest group.

Lastly, in this category, the Rangers F.C. Supporters Club (No. 144), was started in 1946, but membership figures were never recorded prior to 1966. Between 1966 and 1968 this club in fact experienced a slight decrease in membership, from 152 members to 141. (i.e. 5.9%). However, no significance can be attached to this since, taken over the total period of existence, this could be no more than a minor fluctuation.

It is interesting to note from Table No. 52 that, as was the case in Glenrothes, there has been very little growth among the organisations in this category. In each case only one organisation actually grew faster than the population at large. (The Greenhouse Club in Glenrothes had a growth ratio of 14.60, and in the Table 52 the EK Railway Development Association one of 30.11, which was brought about by exceptional circumstances, i.e. the threat of closure to this particular line.) In each town again, only one organisation recorded a growth ratio which roughly approximated the rate at which the

TABLE No. 52

Growth ratio membership: population "Hobby/Special Interest" groups - EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1956-68	No.134 Bridge Club	284.8%	-8.6%	-0.03
1959-68	No.129 Photographic Club	152.7%	136.0%	0.89
1959-68	No.139 Motor Club	152.7%	-54.1%	-0.35
1962-68	No.113 Fabian Society	73.4%	-25.0%	-0.34
1962-68	No.115 Savings Committee	73.4%	12.5%	0.17
1962-68	No.107 United Nations Association	73.4%	-53.7%	-0.73
1963-68	No.70 Angling Club	63.1%	-45.8%	-0.73
1963-68	No.93 Glasgow-EK Railway Dev.Ass.	63.1%	1900.0%	30.11
1966-68	No.144 Rangers F.C. Supporters Club	21.7%	-5.9%	-0.27

population of the town grew. (Glenrothes: Aeromodelling Club ratio 0.90, East Kilbride: Photographic Club 0.89).

All the other organisations had a very much smaller growth rate, or indeed were declining in membership. It is of interest that of the nine organisations represented in the above table six had a declining membership, i.e. 66.7% of total, and in Glenrothes 50% had either a static or declining membership. A comparison on an organisation by organisation basis between the two categories in East Kilbride and Glenrothes is not possible, since both samples consist of different organisations, except in the case of the Angling Club, which recorded a declining membership in both towns for much the same reason, namely the absence of

suitable fishing waters in the area. It is nevertheless of interest to note that the overall trend would appear to be the same in this category in both towns; i.e. very little growth where any growth occurred, declining membership in most organisations, making for small or even negative growth ratios, with one notable exception in each sample.

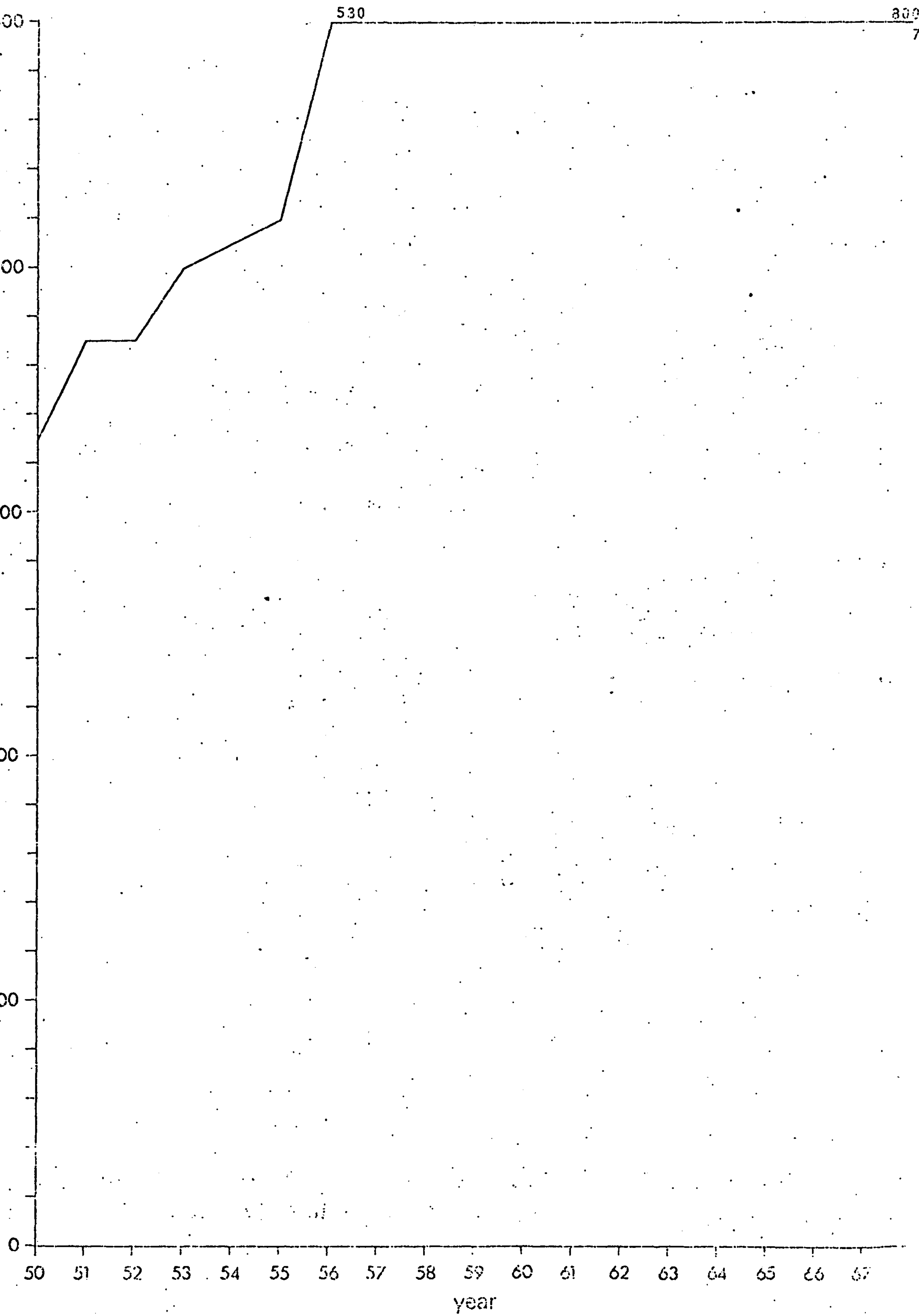
Comparing the two sets of graphs (i.e. figs. 5 and 15), relating to this category in both towns, it is also of interest to note that, except for one or two organisations respectively, every organisation recorded a membership of less than 60 at the time of this study. This is particularly interesting, since the various organisations represent a wide spectrum of interests and activities, and yet it would appear to be a common characteristic among them, to have a membership which does not exceed 60, irrespective as to whether they arrived at this point on the "scale" by way of a declining membership, or by an increasing one.

Political Organisations:

Of the four political parties which returned the questionnaires, only one, the Conservative Association (No. 72), was able to supply information about the development of their membership over the period during which the organisation existed (see Fig. 16). The Conservative Association started in East Kilbride before the Second World War. However, for the purposes of this study only the period 1952-1968 was taken account of. According to the membership records, there were 350 members on their list in 1952, and by 1968 this number had grown to 800, representing an overall increase of 128.6%

FIG. 16) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

no. of members



over that period. The secretary accounted for this increase as being due to the growth of the town, which over the same period has increased its population by 1711.7%. This in a sense illustrates the purpose of comparing population growth with growth of membership of organisations, since the calculation of the growth ratio between these two, gives an indicator as to the measure of membership growth in proportionate terms. A membership increase of 128.6% as such, represents a good increase, but when measured against an overall increase of population of 1711.7%, it becomes less significant. Or, put in another way: According to the above statistics, in 1952 one in nine of the population of East Kilbride was a member of the Conservative Association. In 1968, although the membership had steadily increased overall, only one in seventy-four of the towns' population, was a member of the association, which represents a considerable reduction in the proportion membership:population, even when allowing for the fact that the age-structure of the town has changed also.

TABLE No. 53

Growth ratio membership: population "Political" organisations
EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage increase	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1952-68	No. 72 Conservative & Unionist Ass.	1711.7%	128.6%	0.075

Unfortunately, no other organisation within this category was able to make membership statistics available, which would have made comparison within East Kilbride possible. However, comparing the above figure with the Glenrothes summary Table No. 43 for political organisations, it is of interest to note that only one organisation, the Young Conservatives had a smaller growth ratio, over a very much shorter period. The Conservative Association in Glenrothes however, had a growth ratio considerably in excess of that of its fellow party in East Kilbride, albeit over a shorter period. However, even the Communist Party, for which figures were also available from 1952 onwards, had a growth ratio exceeding the above one.

Sports Organisations:

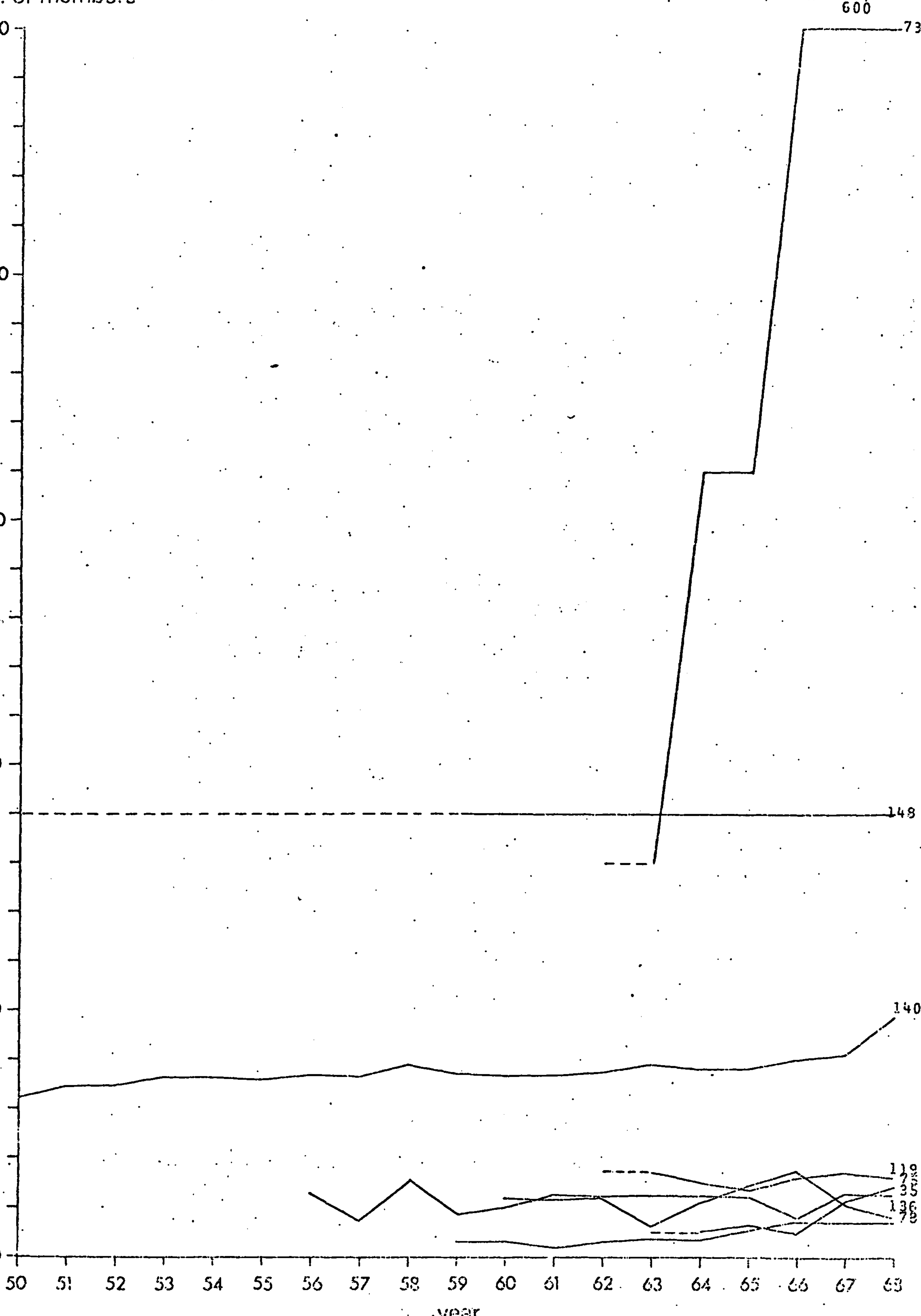
Nine organisations (60% of total in this category); were in a position to give information about the development of their membership over the period of their existence (see Fig. 17).

The oldest of these was the E.K. and Hairmyres Curling Club (No. 140), which was founded in 1830. For the purpose of this study however, only the period 1952-1968 was taken account of.* During that time this club increased its membership from 69 to 98, representing a percentage increase of 42.0%. Considering however that over the same period the towns population increased by 1711.7%, this was a slow, albeit, steady growth rate, as the graph illustrates. However, the club, having reached this figure, were considering closing the membership.

* Statistics for East Kilbride (New Town) were not available prior to that date.

G. 17) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP SPORTS ORGANISATIONS

of members



In 1956 the Torrance Rifle Club (No. 135) was started, with an initial membership of 24, and by 1968, after a few variations in the number of members, was still 24. Overall therefore there was no increase in membership. This may have been partly due to their admissions policy, according to which, anyone wishing to become a full-member, had to be an employee of the EK Development Corporation, the EK Town Council or the National Engineering Laboratory. Associate membership was open to anyone, after he had been accepted by the committee, and after a minimum of five visits to the club. This, it could be argued, was necessary, to prevent the misuse of firearms, certificates for which are only issued to bona fide members of shooting clubs such as this. Hence it would be unusual for such a club to pursue a more active recruitment policy.

In 1959 the EK & District Badminton Association (No. 78), was formed to co-ordinate activities between the various badminton clubs in the area. It started with a membership of 6 and by 1968 this had increased to 12 members. (i.e. 100% over a period during which the whole population increased by 152.7%. It should be noted however, that these are representatives of individual clubs in the association. The actual figures relating to the number of members playing badminton in each of the clubs were not available. According to the secretary of the association the general trend was for one club per year to join the association. However, he pointed out that some clubs refrained from joining the association, since it was unable to solve their accommodation

problem. The finding of suitable halls to meet the increasing demand is a major problem, and one which he felt was preventing badminton from developing further in East Kilbride.

The Bowling Club (No. 148) was the second oldest organisation in this category, having been founded in 1872, but membership figures were only available from 1959 onwards. Since then, membership has been restricted to 120 male and 40 female members. There is a waiting list for both categories, and a further restriction on eligibility to "lady-associate-membership" is the fact that applicants must be members of households in which there is a male member of the club. Due to these restrictions on membership, there has therefore been no growth in numbers.

In 1960 the Sub-aqua Club (No. 136) was started with a membership of 25 and by 1968 this had dropped to 17, i.e. by 32% during a period in which the towns' population increased by 111.0%. This was due mainly to two factors: a) According to the secretary the club always lost members after they completed their training. In other words the club is being used by some as a place to learn the technique of sub-aqua swimming, and after this introduction to the sport, they pursue it on their own and outside the sphere of the club. b) The club was not able to develop as rapidly as they thought they could, because they have no permanent accommodation which they can use regularly, which in turn prevents them from pursuing a more active policy of recruitment.

In 1962 the Boys' Football League (No.73) was started

in order to fill a gap in boys' leisure activities during the months of April to September, when most Youth Clubs do not operate, the school holidays take place, and during which time it is also the football "closed season". Membership statistics were available as from 1963 onwards. At that time there were 160 boys participating in various leagues and tournaments organised under the auspices of this organisation. Since then, as the graph in Fig. 17 illustrates, the number of participants has increased every year, and new leagues were added till in 1968 the number of participants had risen to 600. This represents an increase of 275% over the period, during which time the population increased by 63.1%. In other words, this organisation grew over four times as rapidly as the population from among which it drew its membership.

During the same year also, the EK Cricket Club (No. 119), was started, and membership statistics were available as from 1963 onwards. At that time the membership comprised 35 members, and, as the graph illustrates, after some minor fluctuation, by 1968 it stood at 31 members, which represented a drop of 11.4%. According to the secretary this was due to two main factors: a) the lack of practice and coaching facilities, and b) the lack of fixtures which were available for juniors. The second reason in a way illustrates the respective popularity of Cricket and Football in Scotland. It would appear since so many of the boys play football during the summer as well, that there must be a lack of boys wanting to play cricket, resulting in the difficulty of arranging

fixtures, which the secretary referred to.

In 1963 the Ladies Hockey Club (No. 125) was founded with a membership of 16. By 1968 this number had increased to 20, i.e. by 25%. However, as the graph illustrates, the increase was not evenly spread over the period, but mainly occurred in the last year, when for the first time, according to the secretary, the club was able to interest girls leaving school in continuing to play hockey.

Lastly in this category, the Ladies Netball Club started in 1963; but membership figures were available for the period 1964-1968. During this time the membership grew from 10 to 29, which represented an increase of 190%, for a period during which the towns' population increased by 50.4%.

TABLE No. 54

Growth ratio membership: population "Sports" organisations
EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Member-ship increase	Growth ratio
1952-68	No.140 EK & Hairmyres Curling Club	1,711.7%	42.0%	0.02
1956-68	No.135 Torrance Rifle Club	284.8%	0	0
1959-68	No.78 Badminton Assn.	152.7%	100.0%	0.65
1959-68	No.148 Bowling Club	152.7%	0	0
1960-68	No.136 Sub-aqua Club	111.0%	-32.0%	-0.29
1963-68	No.73 Boy's Football League	63.1%	275.0%	4.36
1963-68	No.119 Cricket Club	63.1%	-11.4%	-0.18
1963-68	No.125 Ladies Hockey Club	63.1%	25.0%	0.39
1964-68	No.75 Ladies Netball Club	50.4%	190.0%	3.77

It is of interest to note from the above summary table that four organisations in this category had either a growth ratio of nil, or a negative one. In the case of each one of these organisations, there were certain constraints on the growth of membership. In the case of the Torrance Rifle Club and the Bowling Club, which both had a growth ratio of nil, these constraints were self-imposed, in as much as they both restricted membership to certain categories of eligibility and to a certain maximum figure respectively. In the case of the sub-aqua and the Cricket Club, these constraints were imposed by factors which were external to the club, such as inadequate facilities and lack of suitable accommodation. Lack of accommodation would also appear to have been an inhibiting factor in the growth of the Badminton Association, where the lack of suitable halls was given as the reason for the relatively slow growth rate in proportion to what this association considers to be the potential demand for badminton. The slow growth rate of the Curling Club could be accounted for by the fact that the club itself was not pursuing an active recruitment policy and was considering imposing a limit on membership. On the other hand there would appear to operate no such constraints, as are mentioned above, on the development of the Boys' Football League, which recorded the highest growth ratio in this category, and the second highest, if the equivalent figures for Glenrothes are included in the comparison. The growth ratio for the Ladies Netball Club is the only other one in this category, which is higher than 1.00, i.e. recording a faster growth

rate for the membership of an organisation relative to the general population growth. But it also has to be noted that this club started with a considerably lower membership figure than any other club in this category, except the Badminton Association.

Comparison on an organisation by organisation basis with Glenrothes was once again not possible; but it is interesting to note that the overall trend regarding the growth of organisations in this category was very similar. Furthermore, as the Figs. 7 and 17 illustrate, with the exception of three organisations, the 1968 membership figures tended to be bunched on a scale between 12 and 35 members.

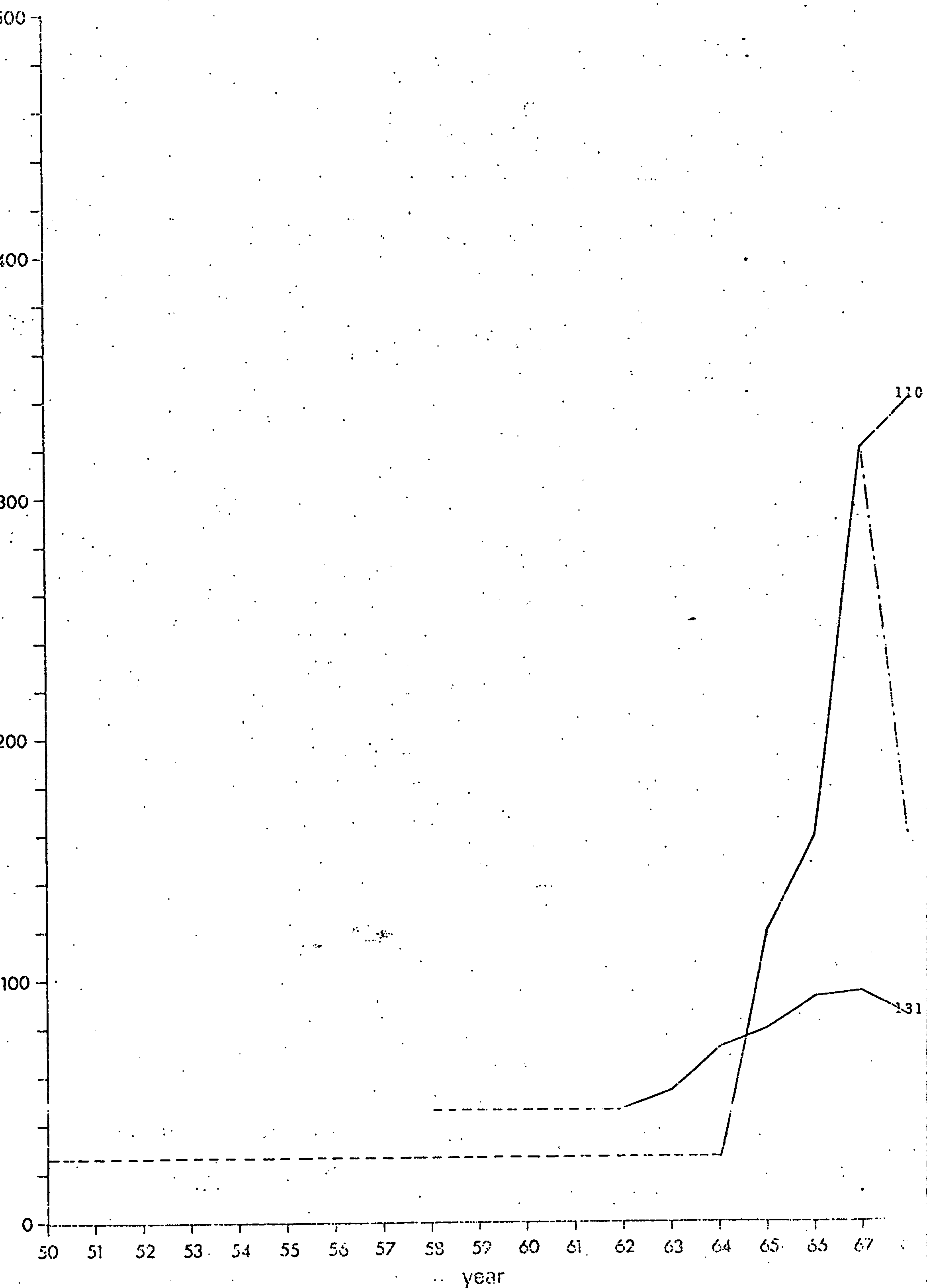
Category: Social & Dancing Organisations:

Two organisations returned questionnaires in this category, and both were able to give information about the development of their membership (see Fig. 18).

The British Legion EK Branch (No. 110) was established in East Kilbride in 1921, but membership records were only available from 1964 onwards. In 1964 there were 26 members, and during that year negotiations were started to obtain licensed premises. In anticipation of new premises and a licence, membership rose every year up to 1967. But when by 1967 these negotiations had still been inconclusive, a considerable number of members ceased to subscribe to the organisation. However, the British Legion kept a record of "lapsed" members as well, hoping that once the license had been granted, they would re-subscribe. The situation therefore, at the time when the questionnaire was returned was that, although 340 members were on the membership list, only

FIG. 18) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP SOCIAL/DANCING ORGANISATIONS

no. of members



160 were fully paid up. However, the 180 members which had failed to pay their subscription were kept on the roll as members in anticipation of the license being granted in the subsequent meeting of the Burgh Licensing Authority.*

The secretary of the organisation therefore distinguished between an approximate membership of 340, and a "true" membership of 160, which is indicated on the graph by a dotted line. It is of interest to note this causal link between the prospect of obtaining a licence and the actual number of members registered. Up to 1967 membership rose steeply, and in fact doubled between 1966 and 1967, but after that tailed off markedly, and since the licence has been granted, is said to have increased again. Overall the branch had grown by 1207% between 1964 and 1968, while the population of the town increased by 50.4%.

In 1958, the Old Time and Modern Sequence Dancing Club (No. 131) was started, and membership statistics were available from 1962 onwards. In 1962 there were 48 members on the roll, and by 1968 this number had grown to 85, representing an increase of 77%. During the same time the population increased by 73.4%. This club therefore grew just nominally faster than the population, from which it draws its membership.

* Soon after the questionnaire had been returned the licence was granted, and the branch is said to be thriving. It was therefore decided to use the larger of the two membership figures.

TABLE No. 55

Growth ratio membership: population "Social & Dancing"
organisations - EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1962-68	No. 131 Old Time & Modern Sequence Dancing Club	73.4%	77.0%	1.04
1964-68	No. 110 British Legion	50.4%	1207.7%	24.00

It is of interest to note that the membership of the EK Branch of the British Legion only started to keep a record of its membership, when the prospect of obtaining a licence became real; and then the membership began to grow quite rapidly, till in 1967 it appeared as if these efforts were being frustrated. Between 1967 and 1968, as the graph illustrates, growth, according to the "official" set of statistics was only minimal, and according to the secretary a considerable number of members decided not to renew their subscription meanwhile. But since shortly after the questionnaire was returned, a licence was awarded, membership did return to the previous number almost immediately. In Glenrothes also, the fact that the British Legion branch had its own licensed premises, seemed to be an important factor in the membership appeal of the organisation. Furthermore, in both towns the British Legion, as a social club, had one of the highest growth ratios.

Category: Old People's Organisations:

One of the two organisations represented in this category was able to give membership statistics over the

period of existence (see Fig. 19). The East Kilbride O.A.P. Social Club (No. 82) was started in 1966 with a membership of 200 and by 1968 this had grown to 212, showing an increase of 6% over a period during which the towns population grew by 21.7%. However, there were certain constraints which limited the recruitment of members to this club. Firstly, the club operates a maximum membership limit of 200, which they have actually exceeded, but which nevertheless meant that an active recruitment policy was not being pursued. Secondly, the section of the population from which they draw their members, that is the old age pensioners, account for no more than 6% of the total population.* The supply of potential members is therefore limited. The growth rate of an organisation such as this can therefore only be compared with the growth rate of the rest of the population in a limited sense. It would therefore appear that when their club was first started, it met a real need, and most of the Old Age Pensioners who were able to and wanted to join, did so during the first year. Although a maximum limit is being imposed, there is no waiting list, and it can therefore be assumed that demand is being fully met.

TABLE No. 56

Growth ratio membership: population "Old People's"
organisations - EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population member- ship percentage increase	Growth ratio
1966-68	No. 82 EK O.A.P.'s Social Club	21.7%	6% 0.28

* Average age of population on 31st March 1969 = 29.08 years.

It is of interest to note that in Glenrothes too, the organisation representing this category had a growth ratio of below 1.00, which means that the membership overall increased in absolute terms, but increased more slowly than the population of the town. In New Towns however, with their markedly youthful age-structures, this is to be expected.

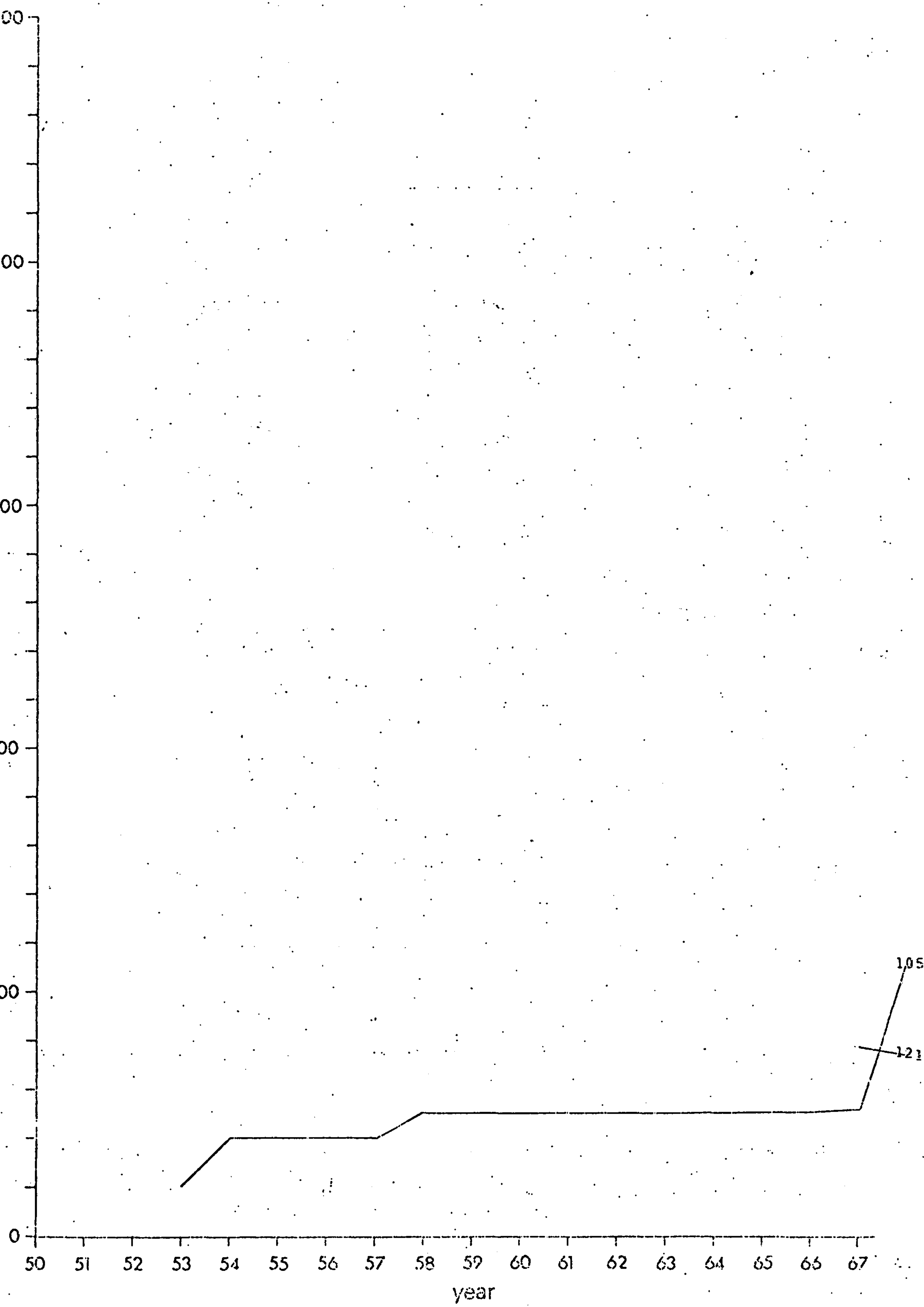
Category: Other organisations:

Two organisations in this category (66.7% of total) were able to give information about the development of their membership. Both of them were Residents Associations, relating to a specific area of the new town (see Fig. 20).

The first one of these was the Whitemoss Residents Association (No. 105), which was started in 1953 and is open to membership for residents of the Whitemoss Estate only. This estate was the first one to be built as part of the new town and comprises 108 dwellings. The association was started in 1953 over the specific issue of the running of the District Heating Scheme, to which all Whitemoss Estate Houses are connected. 20 members joined at that time and that figure rose to 50 within five years, and then did not increase for another ten years. In the words of the secretary, "the association was moribund for a number of years", till the residents were given a new cause, which once again related to the District Heating, (change of fuel system - increased cost) and also to the proposed sale of Development Corporation Houses. Since these were issues which affected every resident in the estate, they responded to the call for a meeting by the residents association, at which every household was

FIG. 20) EAST KILBRIDE - MEMBERSHIP "OTHER" ORGANISATIONS

no. of members



represented. Consequently membership increased. Again, as the secretary himself put it: "This proves that if there is sufficient reason for calling a meeting, we are well supported". It also illustrates what has been shown to be the case with residents or community associations elsewhere with similar remits, namely that as soon as the threat or grievance which brought the people together in the first instance is removed, members tend to become apathetic and the organisation becomes "moribund", - but if it has a specific cause, and operates in a sufficiently limited area, with which residents are clearly able to identify, it can achieve a membership, which involves every household in that area. It is also of interest to note that the Whitemoss Residents Association was initially formed, because it was felt that the community association which then existed in the village, was not sufficiently interested in the running of the District Heating Scheme, which did not affect the village. This would tend to illustrate the point about specific issues being required to stimulate and maintain the interest of residents in such an association.

The second organisation in this category, the East Mains Residents Association (No. 121) was formed in 1966, after a previous tenants' association had ceased to operate. Again, as with the above association, membership was confined to a specific area of the town, the East Mains neighbourhood, which comprises approximately 1500 dwellings. Potentially, it could therefore have that number of members. However, when this association was founded, it had 79 members, and since

then this figure has been slightly reduced to 75. The secretary himself commented on this development as follows: "The association has been faced throughout by general apathy on the part of the residents, which is extremely discouraging to those who are trying to make a success of this venture". (In fact in May 1967, it nearly folded up altogether).

It is of interest to compare the development of this association with that of the Whitemoss Residents Association, which basically would appear to have the same aims and objectives, and yet developed in a different way. There must be a number of factors, which have affected the success, or lack of it, of the East Mains Residents Association, and some of the following would appear to be relevant. First of all, the geographical area is a much wider one than that of the Whitemoss Estate. Secondly, the association was started because someone thought it was a good idea to have one, and not as a result of a specific issue. The inaugurating meeting was therefore poorly attended, presumably because the residents did not see sufficient reason to meet. Thirdly, the result of the association was perhaps too widely framed. (i.e. fostering community spirit and co-ordination of all efforts to improve East Mains). These are some factors, which may account for the apathy which this association meets, and which the secretary himself deplored. Similarly, this association serves to illustrate the need for a specific cause or issue, about which residents feel sufficiently strongly to be motivated to band together.

TABLE NO.57

Growth ratio membership: population "Other" organisations
EAST KILBRIDE

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1953-68	No. 105 Whitemoss Residents Ass.	1059.1%	450%	0.42
1966-68	No. 121 East Mains Residents Ass.	21.7%	5%	0.23

Since both of these organisations limit their membership to residents in a strictly defined geographical area, it was felt that the increase of the population of the town as such, was not relevant and neither was the calculation of a growth ratio (although they were both calculated). Furthermore, both organisations were founded when the housebuilding in their areas was substantially complete. The development of these associations has already been described above, but it is interesting to note from the graph relating to the Whitemoss Residents Association that the increase of 450% did not take place steadily over a long period, but was largely due to a substantial increase in membership between 1967 and 1968, which took place for reasons already described above.

9.3 Livingston

At the time of this study, Livingston New Town was only five years old, and during the first two years, there was very little population growth, as Table 9* containing the population statistics for the period 1964-1969 illustrates. Furthermore, the first new development under the auspices of the Livingston Development Corporation took place at Craigshill, where by November 1966, the population consisted of 750 people. Since most of the social organisations featured in the Welcoming Committee's list originated in Craigshill, the development of that part of the town is closely linked to the development of social organisations.** The period of existence in many cases was therefore too brief to allow for the calculation of a comparative growth ratio between the membership of organisation and the population of the town. Nevertheless, some limited comparisons with the various categories of organisation in East Kilbride and Glenrothes were possible.

Category: Youth Organisations:

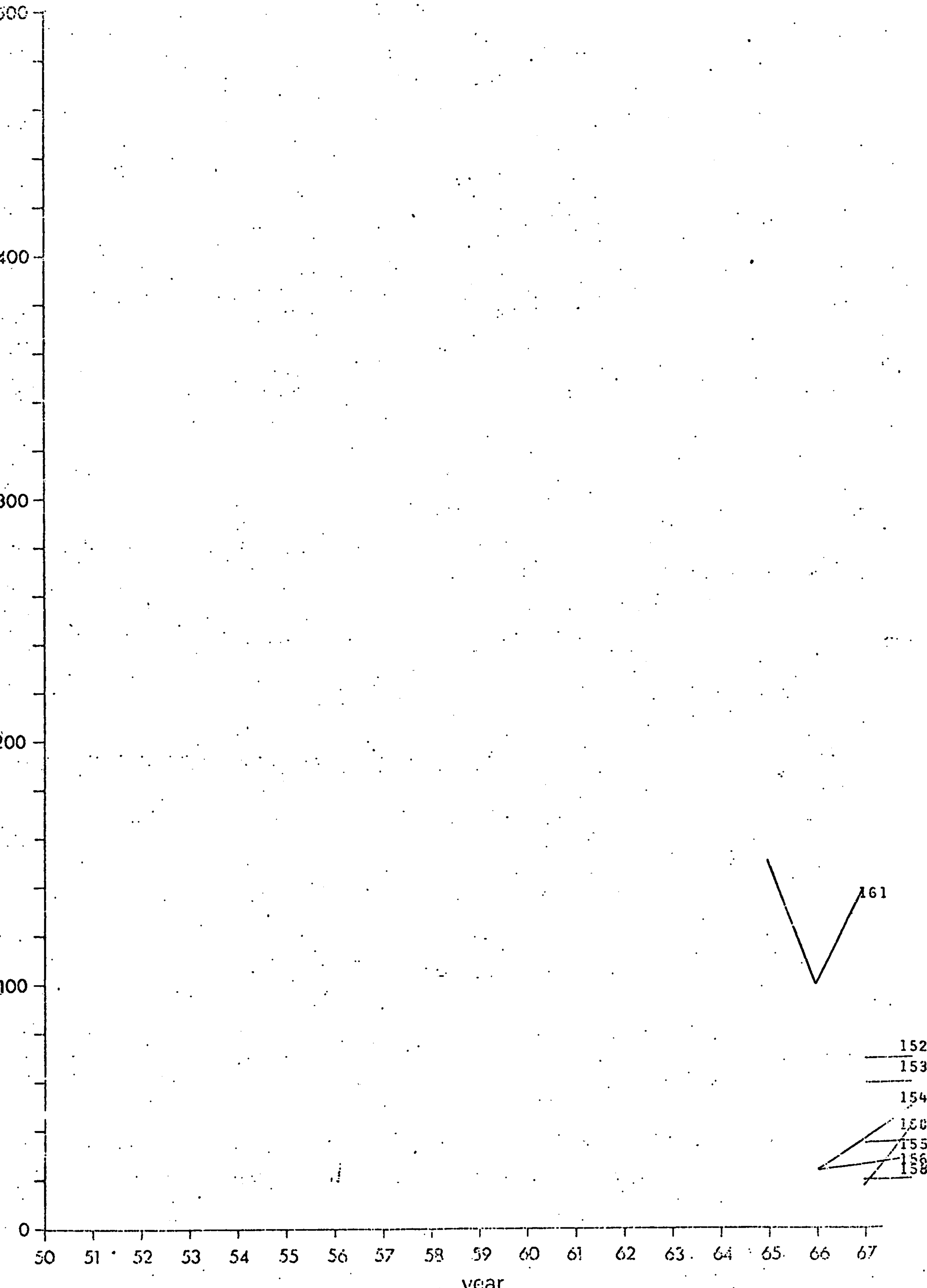
Eight of the youth organisations (72.7% of total) were able to give information about their membership statistics for the period during which they had operated (see Fig. 21). The first one to start was the Riverside Youth Wing over 15's Club (No. 161). It was formed in the autumn of 1966 with

* See Chapter 3.3.

** See also "dates of foundation" Chapter 5.

FIG. 21) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



an initial membership of 150 teenagers. At that time, there was no other provision for teenagers in the town, and a considerable number of the members were over 18 years of age. However, during the following year the first public house opened in Craigahill, which immediately became a social focal point for those members who were over 18, with the result that the membership of the Youth Wing dropped by a third. However, in the course of the next year, a considerable number of younger teenagers joined this club, with the result that by the session August 1968-Spring 1969, the membership had risen again to 140. Viewed over the total period since inception of the club, however, there has been a decrease in membership of 6.7% over a period during which the population of the town increased by 115.9%, (and that of Craigahill specifically by 474.0%). A further reason, why the leader felt it was not possible to hold the interest of the older age group (the over 18's) once the licensed premises opened, was the fact that lack of leadership made it very difficult to incorporate a sufficient variety of activities in the programme. The Youth Wing had, therefore, become a useful meeting place, but was not able to follow up and maintain the special interests of some of the young people, with specific programme activities. It is, therefore, in this context, of interest to note that both in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, the most successful non-uniformed youth organisation, such as the YM/YWCA (No. 35) and the Duncanrig (No. 103) and Heathery Knowe Youth Club (No. 146), were those which offered, apart from being a meeting place, the opportunity of pursuing specific activities and interests.

In 1967, the Girls' Brigade (No. 154) was started, which also meets in Riverside School. Initially, there were 24 members, and by April, 1969, this number had increased to 50, representing an increase of 108%, over a period during which the town grew by 62.3%. This increase was mainly due to the fact that after the first year, there were enough leaders to allow them to open a further section.

In August, 1967, the 1st Riverside Brownie Pack (No. 156) was started at the Riverside School, by one of the teachers, at the suggestion of the headmaster. This group started off with 24 members, and by April, 1969, this figure had risen to 30. According to rules, as they relate to Brownie Packs, the maximum number of members per pack may not exceed a given limit, 30 in this case. If, as a result of this limit, an appreciable number of children are prevented from joining, wherever possible, a new Pack will be started. Although it can be noted that the membership of this group has increased by 25% over the period August 1967 to April 1969, growth rate in this case was not a relevant factor, since a maximum limit was being operated, and shortly afterwards a new Brownie Pack was started by the same teacher at Letham Primary School. However, it is also an interesting illustration of the fact that groups, such as these, are highly dependent on qualified leadership, since for a time, the Riverside Brownie Pack was in danger of folding up, as a result of this teacher having moved to Letham School to start another Pack.

The 1st Letham Brownie Pack (No. 155) was started early

in 1968, and was immediately fully subscribed. It started with a membership of 36 children and by April, 1969, this figure was still the same, and in the meantime, a waiting list with 12 applicants was formed. Strictly speaking, however, this group, over its brief period of existence has had no growth rate, since it recorded the same membership figure at the time of this study, as when it started. However, if membership figures of the two Brownie Packs, the Guide Company and the Rangers Unit are combined, then it is possible to demonstrate that, similarly to the other two new towns, the Girl Guides Association shows a considerable growth rate, i.e. 425%, during a period in which the town's population increased by 62.3%.

In March 1968, the Cub Scouts (No. 150) were formed, with an initial membership of 18 boys and by April 1969, their number had increased to 42, i.e. by 133.3%, while during the same period (February, 1968-March, 1969) the towns' population increased by 25.9%. The comments of the leader of this group can be considered to be typical of this kind of organisation catering for this age group (i.e. 8-12 year olds as Brownies also do), which was particularly prevalent at an early stage of a new town's development.* His remarks were: "It is difficult to hold numbers down to manageable limits; given a number of leaders sufficient for the work, and with effort given to recruitment, it would be possible to run three packs of 24 Cubs at present in the new town". Once again, the

* See also Table 30, relating to age structure of town.

problem of adequate leadership resources would appear to be the main impediment to further growth.

In spring, 1968, the YMCA/YWCA appointed a part-time leader who started an informal once-a-week club (No. 152), out of which a whole range of activities, such as pre-school playgroups, Duke of Edinburgh Awards Scheme for Girls etc. developed. By April, 1969, it had a membership of 70. However, like some of the other groups meeting in the Youth Wings of the two primary schools in Craigshill, it did not have a formal membership, but operated as "a completely open club". In other words, whosoever was free on a Wednesday afternoon and cared to go along, was welcome. Accordingly, there was no membership fee other than on a per meeting basis, and no record of membership was being kept. It is, therefore, not possible to calculate a growth rate as such, but according to the leader, the number attending had been in the region of 70 from the very start. The programme too was very informal, and was more or less decided upon on an ad hoc basis. In the event, since meetings took place on Wednesday afternoons, few teenagers were able to attend, and it has become much more a meeting place for young mothers, who bring along their children.*

Also in 1968, the first Calder's District Rangers Unit (No. 158) was set up, in order to make it possible for Girl Guides, once they were over 14 years of age, to continue to be associated with the Guide movement. However, as the name implies, this group was not intended to serve only

*However, since it is "being sponsored" by a youth organisation, it was decided to incorporate it in this category.

the new town as such, but also the surrounding Calder District. It did not hold its meetings in Livingston, but in nearby Mid Calder, but also attracted members from the new town area. This group started, with a membership of 20 and at the time of this study, this was still the membership figure. It was therefore too early to try and calculate a growth rate. In October, 1968, the Letham Junior Youth Centre (No. 153) started activities, again in the premises of the Letham Youth Wing, which is attached to the primary school. It was started by the youth worker, employed by the Church of Scotland, who started this Club for the 12-15 age group, because there was no other "open-door-type" Club available for young people of that age range. As an "open-door-club" it did not have a membership system, and was open, on a once a week basis to young people in the New Town and surrounding areas. Although no records were being kept, according to the estimates of the leader, about 60 young people attended regularly. He further estimated that since there were at that time about 180 children in the 12-15 age group attending the local high school, about one third of the young people in that age range in the town attended this particular youth club, although, as Map Fig. L3 illustrates, most of them tend to come from the immediate vicinity of the centre.

TABLE NO. 58

Growth ratio membership: population "Youth" organisations
LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Membership increase	Growth ratio			
1966-68 [*]	No. 161 Riverside Youth Wing over 15's Club	114.1%**	-6.7%	-0.05			
1967-69 ^{***}	No. 154 Girls' Brigade	62.3%	108%	1.73			
1967-69	No. 156 1st Riverside Brownie Pack	}	}	}			
1968-69	No. 155 1st Letham Brownie Pack				62.3%	425%	6.82 ^x
1968-69	No. 158 1st Calders Rangers Unit						
1968 ^φ -69	No. 150 Cub Scouts	25.9%	133.3%	5.15			
1968-69	No. 152 YMCA/YWCA	25.9%	-	-			
1968-69	No. 153 Letham Junior Youth Centre	-	-	-			

Although the periods of existence of most of the above organisations were very much shorter than all of the youth organisations in Glenrothes, and most of those in East Kilbride, some comparisons, which are of interest can be drawn.

Those Livingston Youth Organisations which recorded increases in their membership showed growth ratios which, in some instances, were very similar to those recorded for

* Refers to session 1968-69.

** Calculated on population figures available from November, 1966-December, 1968.

*** In this case, as with the remainder of organisations in this category, 1969 means April, 1969.

φ March, 1968 population figure.

x Combined figure for Brownies, Guides and Rangers, which together form the Girl Guides Association.

the equivalent organisations in the other two new towns. For instance, in Glenrothes, the Girl Guides achieved a growth ratio of 7.78, in East Kilbride 5.57 and in Livingston 6.82. On the other hand, the growth ratio for the Cub Scouts in Livingston (i.e. 5.15) was considerably larger than those recorded for the Scouts in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, which were 0.42 and 1.14 respectively. The Riverside Youth Wing over 15's Club (No. 161) was the only other organisation, together with the South Parish Youth Club in East Kilbride, in all three towns, which had a negative growth ratio, and for very similar reasons, i.e. lack of programme facilities and leadership. In addition to that, the Riverside Club had a special reason for losing many of its membership which were over eighteen years of age, namely when the first public house opened in the town. Furthermore, by the time the collection of data was completed, this particular Club had all but made good the drop in membership of the previous year. It is also of interest to note that the two last organisations in the above summary table, the YM/YWCA and the Letham Youth Centre would appear to be the only organisations (in all three towns) to have departed from the traditional youth club system, which offered specific activities in the first instance. The leaders of these two clubs (who incidentally are married to each other) see the function of their respective clubs as meeting places, where the new residents can get to know each other, without any membership obligation attached. In this sense, they were organisations, which have emerged in this specific way in

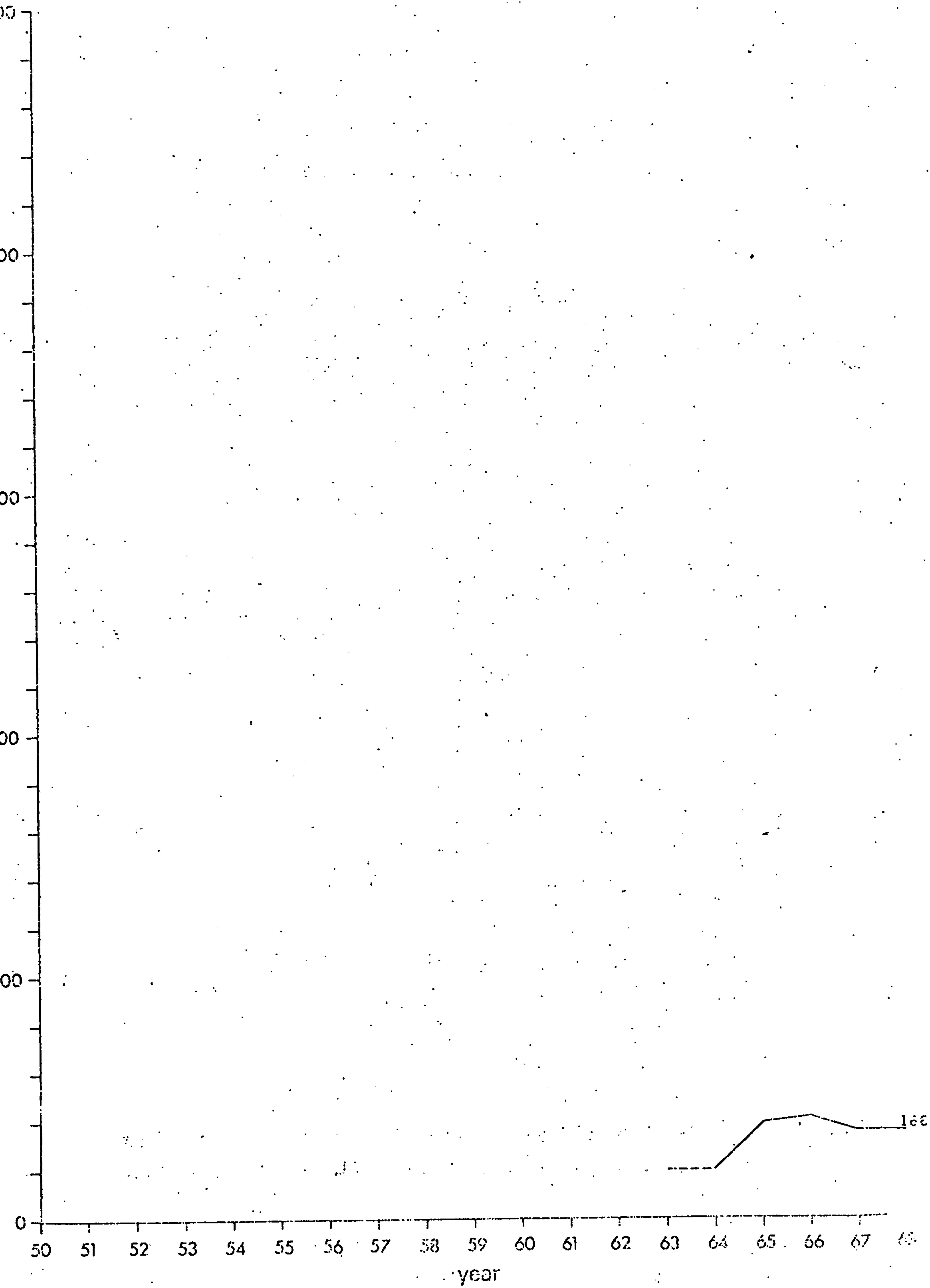
response to what the leaders considered to be specific new town needs, at an early stage in the town's life. Due to the shortage of time during which most of these organisations existed, the graphs as such (Fig. 21) turned out to be not particularly illuminating, but it is of interest to note that the sizes of all of these groups (with one exception) fall into a range of between 20 and 70 members, and have not had time yet to develop to the extent some of the organisations have in the larger new towns of East Kilbride and Glenrothes.

Category: Cultural Organisations:

One of the two organisations in this category was able to supply membership statistics (Fig. 22). The Floral Art Club was started in 1964 in the Deans District (then called Livingston Station), but membership figures were available as from 1965. Initially, there were 20 members, and within the first year, as the graph illustrates, this figure was doubled, but by July, 1969, it had decreased again to 36. Overall, however, this represented an increase in membership of 80%, for a period during which the town's population increased by 256.6%. However, it has to be noted that most of that increase took place in the District of Craigshill, since during that period the population of the Deans District increased by only 15.4%. For the purposes of calculating the growth ratio however, uniformly, the total population was used. It is, in fact, of interest to note that this club decided to move its meeting place from Deans to Howden House in July 1969, which is nearer to the centre of population growth. Another factor, apart from the location of the

G. 22) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP ARTS & CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS

n. of members



meeting place, which would appear to have affected the development of the group, was its age structure. Approximately half the members were in the 30-39 age group, while the other half were over 60.. The age structure of the female population however, for the whole of the town was such, that only 7% and 1.9% respectively were in this age-group, whilst the 20-29 age group accounted for 14% of the female population. It would, therefore, appear that if this club wished to extend their membership, as they state, they hoped to, they would have to try and attract members of that age group as well.

TABLE NO. 59

Growth ratio membership: population "Arts & Cultural" organisations - LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage increase	Membership increase	Growth ratio
1965-69*	No. 166 Floral Art Club	256.6%	80%	0.31

It is of interest to note that the Floral Art Club in Glenrothes, which was also started in 1965, recorded a very similar percentage increase, i.e. 75% in membership, to the above-mentioned group. However, in Glenrothes over the same period, the rate of population growth had slowed down markedly by 1965 with the effect that the growth ratio population/membership was more favourable, than in Livingston where over the same period the population growth had gained considerable momentum.

* July.

Category: Social Service Organisations:

Two organisations (66.7% of total) were able to give information about their membership over the period of existence, (see Fig. 23). The Citizens Advice Bureau (No. 167) was started in 1966, on the instigation of the Development Corporation, by the Social Development Officer. However, in 1967, it was forced to suspend activities due to a lack of suitable volunteers who were prepared to train as counsellors. In 1968, it resumed operation with a compliment of 10 counsellors and by March, 1969, this number was increased to 16. No figures for the earlier periods were available, the membership percentage increase of 60% has therefore been calculated for the period 1968-69, during which time the town's population increased over the same period, by 62.3%. Like some of the other organisations in this category, such as the Social Amenities Council (No. 19) in Glenrothes and the Ladies Life Boat Guild (No. 133) in East Kilbride, the Citizens Advice Bureau is primarily made of a group of people who put their services at the disposal of the community, but are not concerned with recruitment to membership of a general kind. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note that recruitment to this service has, at least over the period for which records were available, kept step with the growth of the population.

The St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 168) Livingston Branch was started in 1968, and by the time the questionnaire was returned in March, 1969, it had 8 registered members. However, insufficient data was available to calculate a growth rate.

FIG. 23) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

no. of members

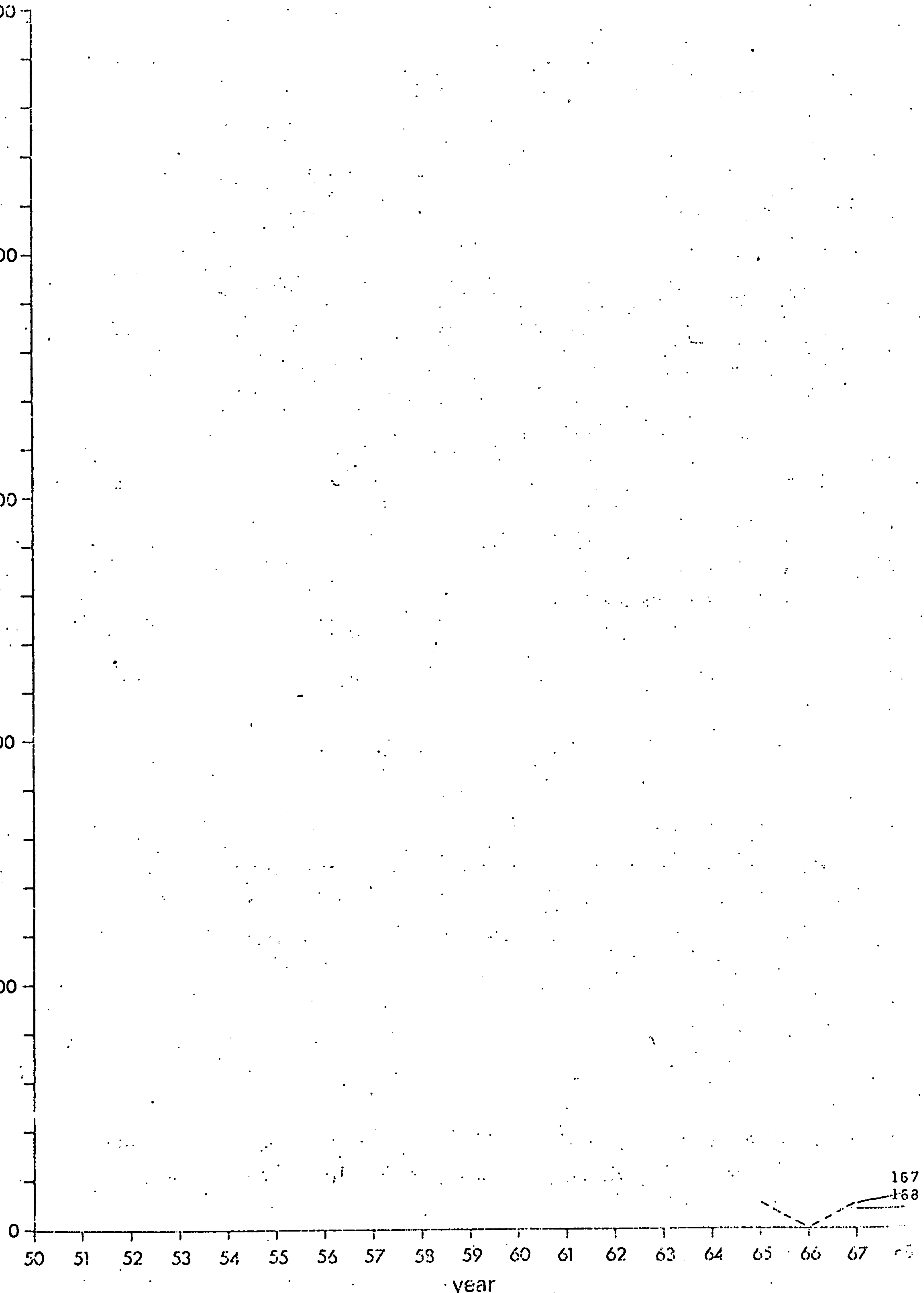


TABLE No. 60Growth ratio membership: population "Social Service"
organisations - LIVINGSTON

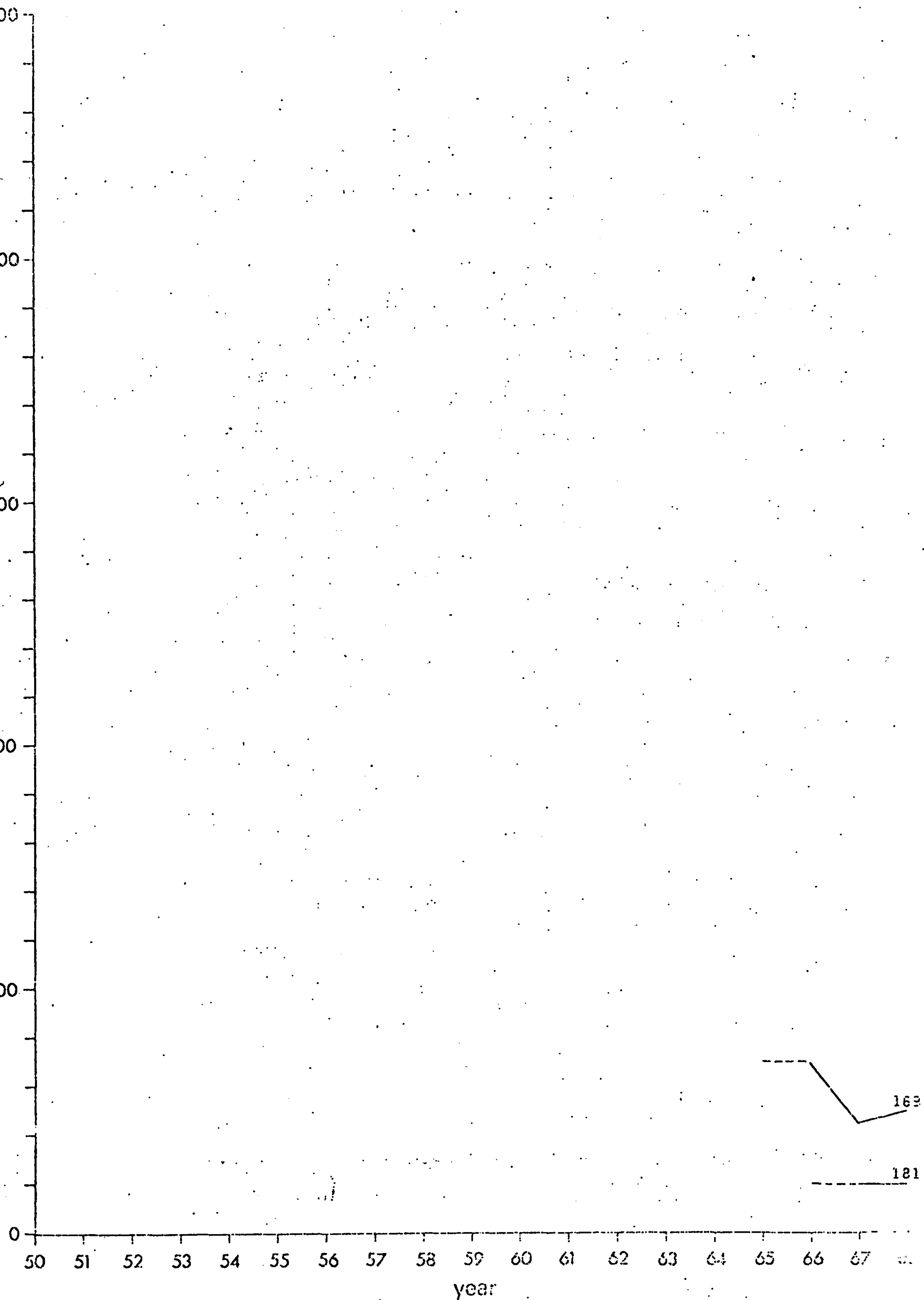
Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1968-69	No. 167 Citizens Advice Bureau	62.3%	60%	0.96

Category: Women's Organisations:

Two of the organisations (40% of total) were able to give information about the development of their membership. The Craigshill Woman's Rural Institute Branch (No. 169) started in December, 1966, in the same year during which the first families moved into the Craigshill District. Initially, there was a membership of 70, but by 1968 this had decreased to 45, and by March, 1969, there were 50 members. Overall, there has been a decrease of 28.6% in membership. The secretary commented upon this trend as being due to the fact that a number of members had left the town again, and others found it difficult to find babysitters. It would, therefore, appear that once again, as it was found with other women's organisations in East Kilbride and Glenrothes, that the time of the meetings is an important factor influencing the number of members that are being attracted. Furthermore, W.R.I. meetings were only being held once a month, which might well be considered to be too infrequent for a housewife, newly moved into the town, who is anxious to increase her social contacts. Although it was only possible to speculate about this, it would appear that the W.R.I. had a high initial

(G. 24) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

no. of members



membership when it started, and was the only women's organisation available, but as others, such as the Wednesday afternoon club, where mothers could take their children, started the need to increase social contact was being met and membership of the W.R.I. decreased over a period during which the general population increased by 129.8%.

In 1967, the Roman Catholic church started its own Women's Guild, the St. Andrew's Church Guild (No. 181). Membership figures were available as from 1968. At that time, there were 20 members, and by March, 1969, this number was still the same, whilst the general population increased by 62.3%. However, comparison with the general population is not too relevant a factor, since only 13% of all households are Roman Catholic, and it is a condition of membership of this group that members should be Catholics. The meetings were held once a week in the priest's house, and it was felt by the secretary that the smallness of the room available was a major inhibiting factor to the growth of the group.

TABLE No. 61

Growth ratio membership: population "Women's" organisations
LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage increase	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1966-69	No. 169 Craigshill W.R.I.	129%	-28.6%	-0.22
1967-69	No. 181 St. Andrews R.C. Church Guild	62.3%	-	-

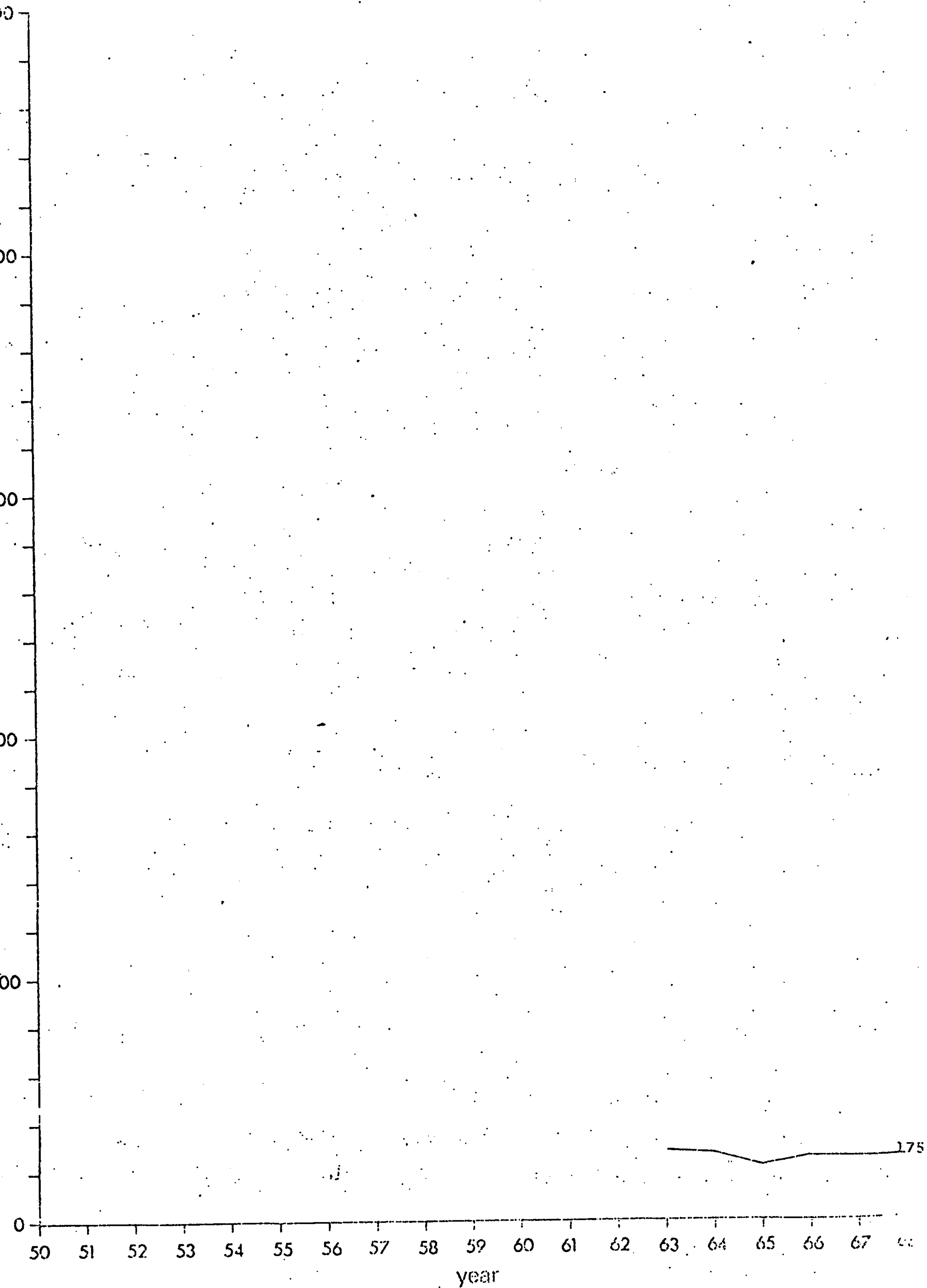
As was the case in this category in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, there has been very little growth recorded, at least as far as the formal women's organisations were concerned. In Glenrothes two out of the four women's groups recorded a negative growth ratio of a similar order of the Craigshill W.R.I., as shown above, and one of the organisations in East Kilbride also had a growth ratio of nil. It would, therefore, appear from the evidence of the samples of women's organisations in the three new towns, that the formal women's organisations, with a relatively fixed programme, and evening meetings is not particularly well suited to the needs of the majority of women who, as the predominantly youthful age-structure shows are young mothers in the 20-30 age group. This seems, therefore, a prima facie case to illustrate that traditional-type organisations, such as these women's groups cannot be readily transferred from established communities, without adaptation to the specific new town needs, that is, bearing in mind the predominance of young mothers who, because of their household responsibilities, and perhaps their more youthful interests, were not readily able or willing to join in groups of this type.

Category: Hobby/Special Interest:

Only one organisation (25% of total in this category) was able to give information about the growth of its members (see Fig. 25). The Calders Amateur Camera Club (No. 175) was formed in February of 1964 with an initial membership of 28. Over the course of the next two years, the membership dropped to 22, and by March 1969, the figure had risen again

FIG. 25) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP HOBBY/SPECIAL INTERESTS GROUPS

no. of members



to 25. Overall, however, this represented a decrease in membership of 10.7%, over a period during which the town's population increased by 298%. At first glance, the fact that this group started so early in the town's life would appear to contradict Goldhammer's theory,* since it would be unusual for a relatively sophisticated activity, such as photography to gain a foothold in a new town at such an early date. On closer examination however, it was found that most of the members at that time, and still at the time of the study, were resident in the Calders Area, and at Broxburn/Uphall, to the West and South West of the town. However, now the club meets in Howden House, which is in the new town and offers better facilities than any other meeting place in the area. This was therefore a case where the new town offered facilities which were not found elsewhere in the vicinity, and therefore acted as a focal point for members to come into the new town from outside. Because of the fact however, that most of the members up to now have been recruited from outside the new town, the growth rate of the town's population is not as relevant as it would be, had this been a specifically "new town organisation". Nevertheless the area on which this club draws for its membership has increased its population through the new town; and still the growth ratio is a negative one.

TABLE No. 62

Growth ratio membership: population "Hobby/Special Interest" groups - LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage increase	Membership	Growth ratio
1964-69	No. 175 Calders Amateur Camera Club	298%	-10.7%	-0.03

* See also "dates of foundation", Chapter 5.

Although the basis of comparison is somewhat narrow, since the other Hobby/Special Interest organisations in Livingston are of such recent origin that membership statistics were not available yet, it is nevertheless of interest to note that the above club followed the pattern of the majority of organisations in this category in the other two new towns. That is, membership as a rule did not exceed 50, and in some cases was falling; growth ratios, over the total period were negative or very small, with one or two exceptions, which were accounted for by special circumstances.

Category: Political Organisations:

The Scottish National Party was the only party which returned the questionnaire. It was also the first party which established a branch specifically for the new town, in Craigshill. (The other party in existence at the time, was the Pumpherston & Craigshill Labour Party, which unfortunately was unable to furnish any information). The SNP Craigshill Branch (No. 176) was established in 1967, and by the beginning of 1968 it had 100 members; and, as the graph shows (Fig. 26) during the following year, it rose again to 150 members. This represented an increase of 50%, over a period during which the towns' population increased by 62.3%. If one however considered that 43% of the population* were under the age of 19, it becomes clear that although the growth ratio was slightly below 1.00, the growth of this organisation has well kept pace with the growth of the town.

* At the end of 1968 and 1969, according to LDC statistics.

26) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS

of members

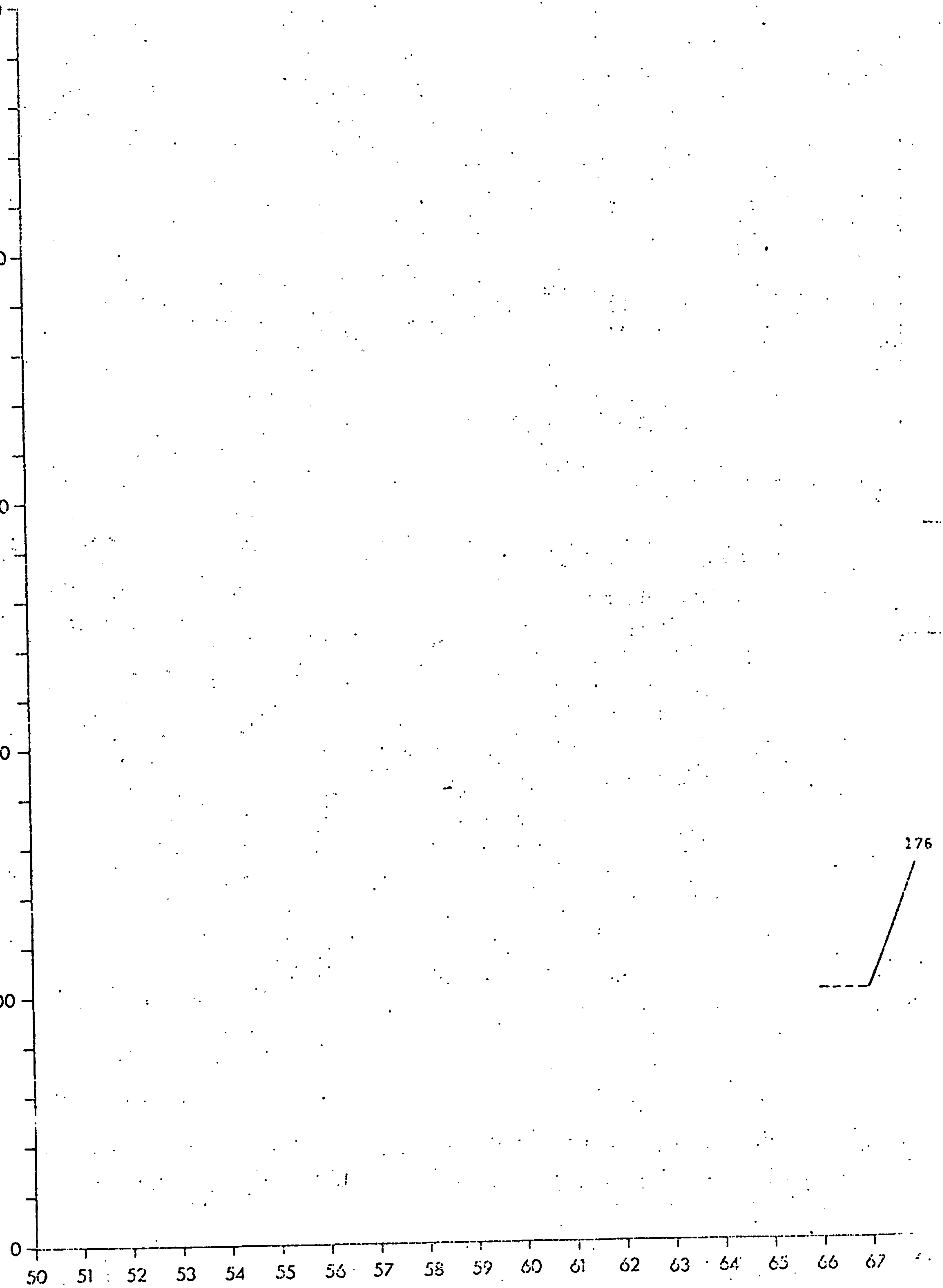


TABLE No. 63

Growth ratio membership: population "Political" organisations
LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1967-69	No. 176 SNP Craigshill Branch	62.3%	50%	0.80

Although the growth ratio of the SNP in Livingston was not nearly as spectacular as that shown by the same party in Glenrothes, it is nevertheless of interest to note that this party should have such a strong base in Livingston at this early stage, thus bringing it into line with some of the other new towns, such as Glenrothes and particularly Cumbernauld.*

Category: Sports Organisations:

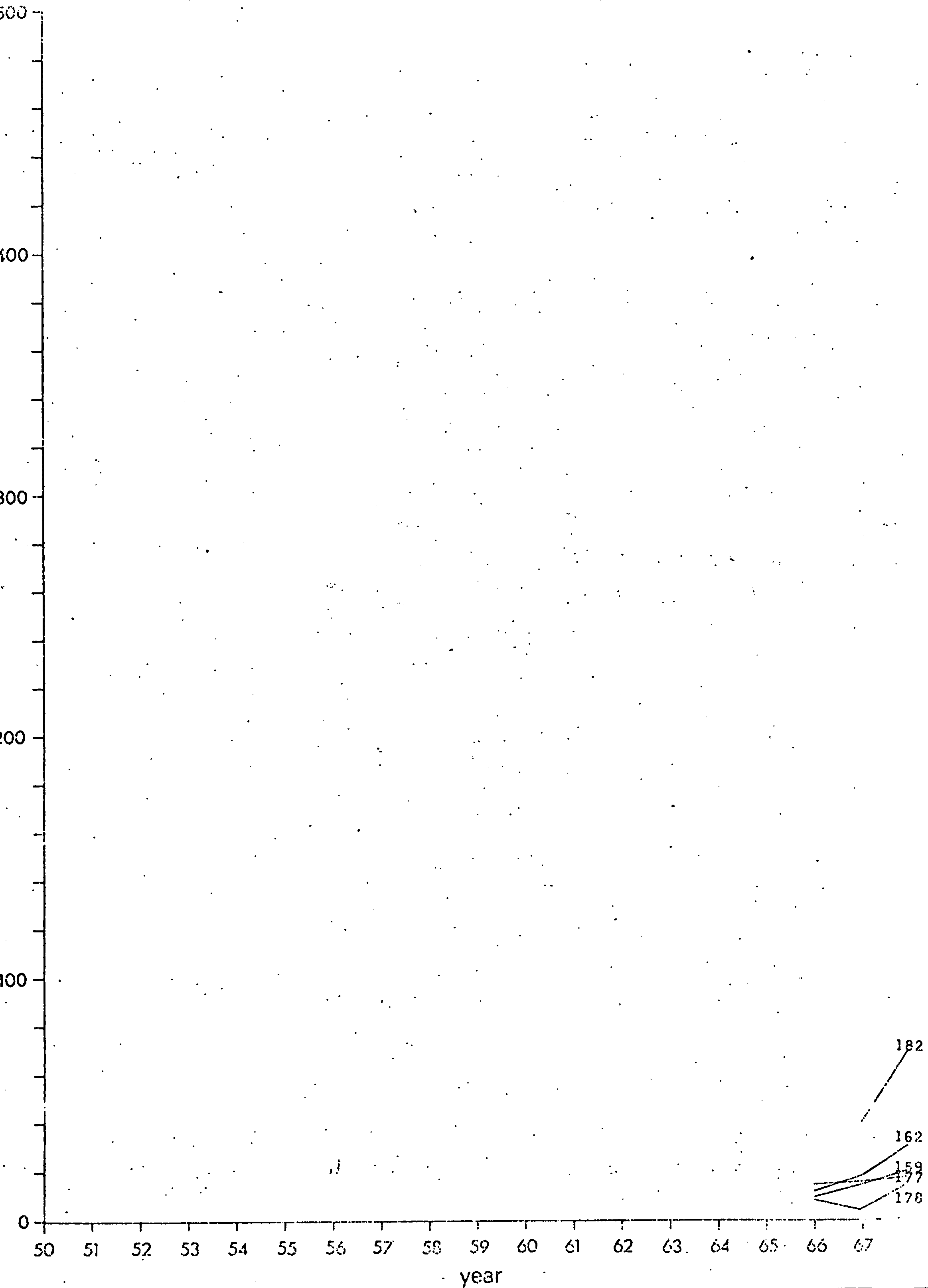
Every organisation (100%) represented in this category was able to give information about their membership statistics, over the period during which they had operated in Livingston. As the graphs in Fig. 27 illustrate, they all started in 1967, with the exception of one, which did not commence activities till 1968.

The Riverside Table Tennis Club (No. 159) was started as part of the Youth programme which was run in the Youth wing of Riverside school in 1967. Its initial membership during the session 1967-68 was 10, but during the session 1968-69, this figure rose to 20, i.e. by 100%, whilst during the same

* In Cumbernauld, the first elected Burgh Council consisted almost entirely of SNP councillors.

FIG. 27) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP SPORTS ORGANISATIONS

No. of members



period the towns' population increased by 62.3%. The leader felt however that potentially this could be a much bigger group, "which could help to foster good relations with young people of surrounding villages, by way of table-tennis matches etc., if only sufficient leadership were available."

In the same year, the Riverside Youth Wing Football Section (under 15's), (No. 162) was formed. This section started with a membership of 12, which rose steadily to 30, i.e. by 150%. Once again, the leader commented that his club grew as the town grew, which it did - at more than twice the rate.

The Grove Badminton Club (No. 177) was also started in 1967, with a membership in the first year of 15, which increased to 19 during the following year, i.e. by 26.6%. Although this club had not reached that figure yet, they were intending to impose a membership limit of 25 members, which would suggest that they were not likely to pursue an active recruitment policy. It is in the nature of this particular game that only very few people can play at the time (four at most), and premises available, such as school halls do not usually provide more than one court. So, if all members are to get a game during a club evening, it is necessary to keep the numbers admitted to membership down to a given level.

The same applied to the Riverside Badminton Club (No. 178), which as the name suggests, uses the hall at Riverside school. This club started with a membership of 12 in 1967, but by June 1968 some of the members left, reducing the membership temporarily to 5, which subsequently rose again

to 16. Overall there has been an increase in membership of 33.3%; but the club also indicated that they will stop recruiting new members, for the following reasons, which were given by the secretary: "As we have now as many members as the hall can really hold for one court, it would be unfair to the present members to recruit more, because at present there is approximately a 40 minute wait before one plays another game." This statement clearly illustrates the special difficulty badminton clubs encounter, particularly if only one-court halls are available.

In 1968 the Livingston & District Rugby Club was started with a membership of 40 and by November 1969, this figure had risen to 70, i.e. by 75%. The secretary felt that this increase was due to the increase in the towns' population, and also to the great interest the club managed to create in the town, in the short time it existed.

It is of interest to note from Table 64 that every one of the sports organisations has shown a positive growth ratio, whereas in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, some organisations in this category were shown to be on the decline, or at least have a growth ratio of nil, whereas in Livingston they all had a positive growth ratio. Furthermore, it would appear from the respective tables 44, 54 and 64 that the outdoor sports, such as football and rugby in Livingston, football and mountaineering, and Golf in Glenrothes, and football again in East Kilbride, show a greater propensity to growth than indoor pursuits, such as, for instance, Badminton, Table Tennis and Rifle shooting in an indoor range.

TABLE No. 64

Growth ratio membership: population "Sports" organisations
LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage	Member-ship increase	Growth ratio
1967-69	No. 159 Riverside Table-Tennis Club	62.3%	100.0%	1.60
1967-69	No. 162 Riverside Football Club (Under 15's)	62.3%	150.0%	2.40
1967-69	No. 177 Grove Badminton Club	62.3%	26.6%	0.42
1967-69	No. 178 Riverside Badminton Club	62.3%	33.3%	0.53
1968-69*	No. 182 Livingston & District Rugby Club	30.3%	75.0%	2.48

An important factor in this would appear to have been the restrictions imposed on expansion by the limited availability of premises. Clubs such as football and rugby clubs, can pursue a very active recruitment policy, since theoretically at least, there is no limit to the number of sides such a club could field, and therefore to the number of members who could participate. On the other hand, as was noted above, in the case of badminton for instance, the number of players which can be accommodated during any one club evening is strictly limited.

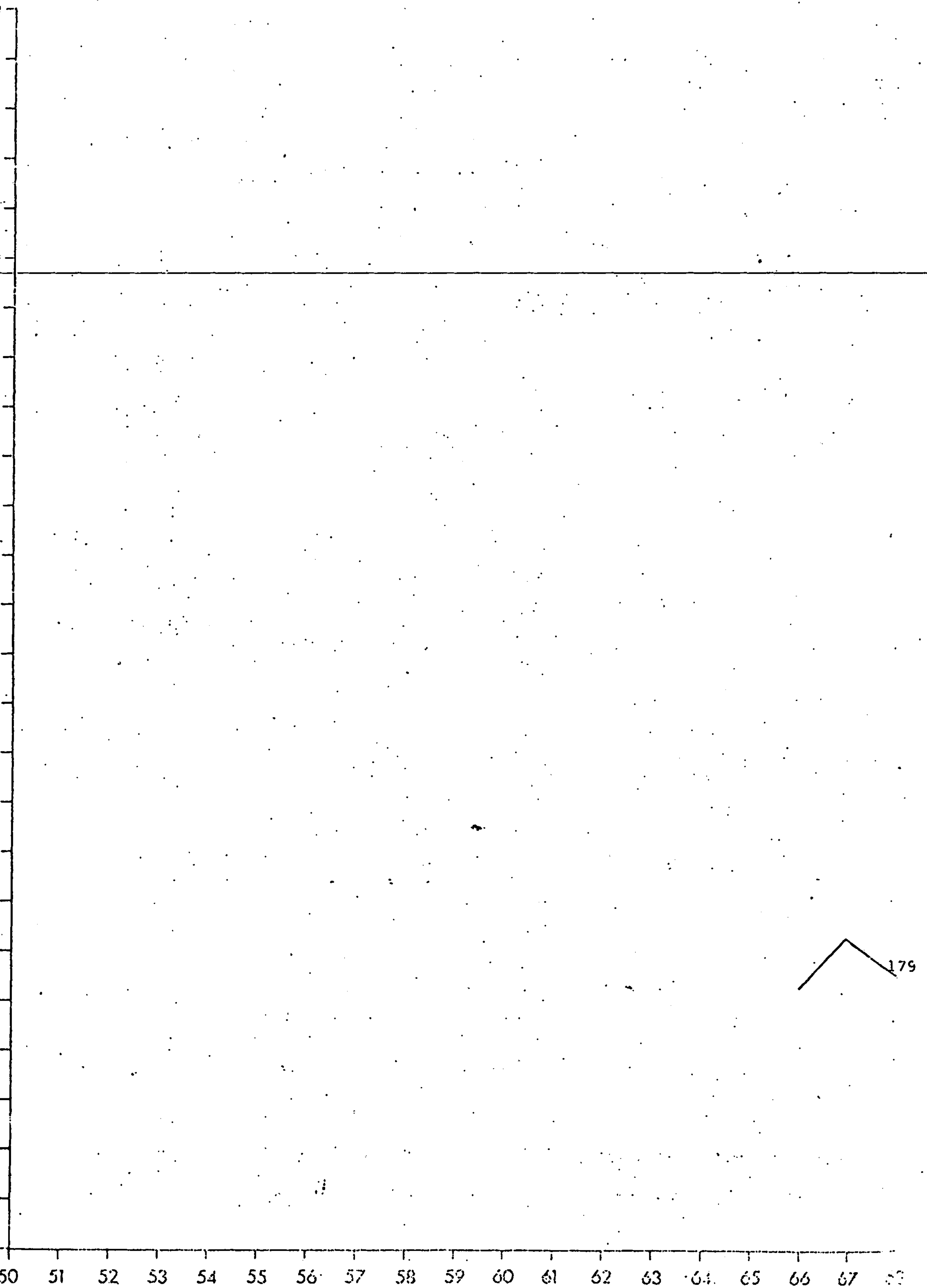
Category: Social/Dancing Organisations:

The Craigshill Social Club (No. 179) was formed in 1967, because "there was no source of organised social enjoyment". Initially there was a membership of 105 which

* Denotes November 1969, all the other figures in this category relate to March 1969.

28) LIVINGSTON - MEMBERSHIP SOCIAL/DANCING ORGANISATIONS

of members



then rose to 126, and at the time of this study, was at 115. Overall this represented an increase of 9.5%, for a period during which the towns' population increased by 62.3%. The meetings of the club were held once a week in the Youth Wing of the Riverside School, but at the time of this study, (April 1969) the club were awaiting the completion of a Club building, with a 7-day licence, which was being built with the aid of a brewing firm. As was the case with certain organisations in this category in the other two new towns, it is of interest to note the importance of a licence as a factor in the success of social clubs of this type. From information received, it would appear that a building of its own, with a licence was the aim of this club from the very outset, and they achieved this aim in a remarkably short time. Although exact membership figures were not available, it is understood that since the opening of the clubs' own premises membership has risen by several hundred; the growth ratio indicated below is therefore not an indicator of the trend in membership of this club for any period after the date of this study.

TABLE No. 65

Growth ratio membership: population "Social/Dancing"
organisations - LIVINGSTON

Period	Organisation	Population Percentage increase	Member- ship increase	Growth ratio
1967-69	No. 179 Craigshill Social Club	62.3%	9.5%	0.15

9.4 Summary: All Three New Towns

Although the findings of this particular part of the study have been summarised intermittently after every category had been described in detail, a summary is here given of some of the observations contained in the above chapter, drawing together some of the parallels and differences, which appeared to exist in all three New Towns. For instance, as was already noted in Chapter 5, most of the Youth Organisations were started at the beginning of the development of the respective New Towns. With only two exceptions, they all showed a positive growth ratio. In East Kilbride and Glenrothes, it was found that the traditional Youth Clubs, with programmes based on specific activities were the most successful ones. On the other hand, in Livingston, new avenues were being explored by some of the Youth Clubs, which moved away from a strictly membership-orientated programme, to an "open club" where no commitment was required. The problem of lack of leadership also would appear to have been more marked in Livingston than in the other two towns. The Arts and Cultural organisations in both Glenrothes and East Kilbride were all growing, albeit not spectacularly. Significantly, in terms of Goldhammer's theory, they all started some ten and fifteen years after the New Town started, and the population had built up. In Livingston, only one organisation was represented in this category, thereby confirming the above theory, i.e. at that stage Livingston was still "too young" for this type of organisation to have had time to build up.

The Social Service organisations in both Glenrothes and East Kilbride, showed similar characteristics. Their membership numbers were between 20 and 40. Over the years, there has hardly been any fluctuation in the membership, after the initial build up, and in both towns, they were started in the early and mid-sixties. In the case of Livingston, only two organisations in this category had been formed, and for these, too, little data was available to make comparison meaningful. Again, in the case of the Women's organisations, it is also of interest to note the similarities which emerged in the pattern relating to Glenrothes and East Kilbride. Most organisations would seem to have ceased recruiting on a significant scale, but have now settled down to a fairly stable membership. In fact, some of the traditional women's groups, such as the Town's Women's Guild had a declining membership. This was also found to be the case in Livingston, where, in spite of the fact that it was a town with a high proportion of newcomers, looking for opportunities of social contact, it would appear that the traditional-type women's group, such as the W.R.I. was not able to attract the young housewives into its ranks.

The Hobby/Special Interest groups in both Glenrothes and East Kilbride, were all started in the late fifties and early sixties. However, with one exception in each case, there would now seem to be very little growth of membership after a given membership figure had been reached initially - in fact, in both towns, some of the organisations in this particular category had a declining growth rate. Membership

in all three towns, as a rule, did not exceed fifty.

The political parties, as far as they were able to provide the relevant data, would appear to have developed differently in these three towns. Although they all showed positive growth ratios in Glenrothes, these ratios were significantly greater than in either Livingston or East Kilbride; in fact, in Glenrothes, the membership of every party grew proportionately faster than the population of the town.

The Sports organisations in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, compared as categories, rather than individual Clubs, showed a similar pattern - some had a negative growth ratio, some had a (self-imposed) growth ratio of nil, and those which were increasing their membership were doing so very slowly. In Livingston, on the other hand, every organisation had a positive growth ratio. However, the two Badminton Clubs will not be able to expand in the same way as, for instance, the two outdoor sports clubs, (i.e. Rugby and Football) since the accommodation available to them is strictly limited, as each of the two school gymnasias available at the time, contained only one court.

From the development of the organisations in the category Social/Dancing, it would appear that one of the most important considerations, determining the success of such a Club, was whether or not it managed to obtain a licence to sell alcoholic drink on its premises. The British Legion in Glenrothes and East Kilbride were an illustration of this, and so was the Craigshill Social Club in Livingston who

managed, successfully, to build a Club with the aid of a company of brewers. At the time of the study, the premises were not completed, hence the relatively modest growth ratio. The Recreation and Social Centre in Glenrothes was an exception, which, in this case, confirmed the rule, in as much as it was originally reserved for miners, who were all automatically members - and as the mining industry declined - so did its membership, although numerically, it was still larger than any of the other Clubs in this category.

In the category relating to Old People, (in which there was no group in Livingston) it would appear that once a given size of membership had been achieved, there was likely to be little further growth thereafter. Considering the youthful age-structures in New Towns, this represented a pattern which was to be expected.

Finally, as far as "community organisations" such as the Festival Society in Glenrothes, and the Residents' Associations in East Kilbride are concerned, it would appear that what they need to flourish, is a common "cause". In the case of the Festival Society, the original "cause" was the alleviation of a general depressive mood which had overcome the town after the closure of the Rothes Mine. That particular cause has now been removed with the passage of time, and it seems, has not been replaced by a new one. The two Residents' Associations in East Kilbride illustrated this further, particularly since, in theory, at least their objectives were the same. As was noted above, the Whitemoss Residents' Association found a specific cause around which to

rally their members, whereas the aims of the East Mains Residents have remained so general as to be of little interest to the ordinary resident.

It can therefore be seen that, in a general sense, it is perhaps true to say of the membership of organisations that it grows as the town grows, but that this growth is subject to changes which are not, in any way, related to changes in the size of population.

For instance, a Floral Art Club found that its membership went up because they changed from an afternoon meeting-time to an evening session, to make attendance possible for people who work during the day ~~and~~. On the other hand, the advent of a new shift-system, which made it possible for women to work from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. was found to seriously cut attendance of a Women's Co-operative Guild, which traditionally started its meetings at 7.30 p.m. Sometimes, there was an economic change, a change in the nature of available employment in town, as was the case with the miners in Glenrothes. As a result, a number of Clubs, which mainly recruited members of that industry, such as the Angling Club, the Racing Pigeon Club and the C.I.S.W.O. Social Club found that their membership was declining, although the town's population as such, was increasing. Sometimes, a change in leadership did affect the growth in membership of a Club, or lead to a crisis, as was the case with a number of organisations. On the other hand, a change of the leader's own enthusiasm did affect recruitment, as for instance, the secretary of the Chess Club in Glenrothes and

the secretary of the United Nations Association in East Kilbride pointed out.

It would also appear from the evidence in this chapter, that a change in the activity of a particular organisation can also result in a change in the number of members. For instance, the number of members joining the Conservative Party in Glenrothes suddenly increased in 1966, because, for the first time, they were sponsoring their own candidates in local elections. These changes, particularly in the case of political parties, did not always originate locally, but can sometimes be a reflection of a trend which is observed nationally, as was, for instance, the case with the Scottish National Party, which around 1967 was enjoying a particular upsurge of popularity all over Scotland. Similarly, a change of programme, adding modern dancing in the case of the Heathery Knowe Youth Club, resulted in an increase in membership. On the other hand, certain activities restricted the growth of membership, either because of lack of accommodation, or because the nature of the activity required certain special talents, such as being able to dance, sing or act. The picture, which therefore, emerges is one which is not, in any way, uniform, but one of continual evolvement and change. In a sense it is, therefore, true to say that an attempt to take a still picture of what is a continually changing situation, cannot ultimately do more than observe trends over a period of time; trends however, which, particularly if they are also observed in other new towns, are nevertheless significant.

CHAPTER 10

Further Aspects of Membership

10.1 Continuity of membership/leadership

Secretaries were asked* to indicate whether at any point their particular organisation had actually been forced to suspend activities, due to lack of sufficient members or leaders. The emphasis obviously must be on suspension, which implies temporariness, for if the suspension of activities had not been temporary, an organisation would presumably have gone out of existence altogether.** It was, therefore, only possible to comment on the situation in the case of those organisations which had overcome a temporary setback and then persisted in their existence.

Glenrothes

In Glenrothes, only one organisation suspended activities due to lack of leaders and members, namely the Festival Society, in 1967. The decline of this particular organisation has already been described.*** Three organisations have had to suspend activities at one point due to a lack of leaders, or what in two cases would be more accurately described as a "crisis in leadership". From 1961-62, the Boy's Brigade had to suspend operating one company, because they were unable to find a suitable leader. In 1965, the Glenrothes & District Horticultural Society underwent a leadership crisis, which would appear to have resulted

* Question XV in Questionnaire.

** See also "Dates of Foundation" Chapter 5.

*** Chapter 9.1.

from a curious incident, when, according to the present Secretary, "the committee ran a show for themselves and won all the prize money and trophies". This incident not only caused the resignation of that particular committee, but also created a new club, the Greenhouse Club. However, the Horticultural Society, after a brief lapse, continued with new leadership. In 1966, the Scottish National Party also was forced to suspend activities temporarily, "due to lack of organisation and the shift of people away from the new town". The "leadership crisis" in this case was therefore, of a slightly different nature from that of the above organisation. "Lack of organisation" does suggest a degree of incompetence, but the movement away of people is not uncommon in the new town situation, and if such movement involves the leaders of an organisation, then this, as was seen, can result in a temporary difficulty. Finally, one organisation was forced to disband and amalgamate with another one through lack of members. The Glenrothes Racing Pigeon Club had steadily lost members, till in 1965, the club ceased to be functional. In 1966, it therefore combined with the Leslie Club, to form the Rothes Invitation Club. There would seem to be a causal connection between the decline of the Glenrothes Racing Pigeon Club, and the decline of the Coal Industry in this town, which has already been referred to. Pigeon-racing is a hobby which is traditionally associated with miners - and as they left the town, the respective club eventually was forced to disband, which in a sense, marked the transition of the town from a mining town to an important

centre of the electronics industry.*

TABLE No. 66

Continuity of membership/leadership - GLENROTHES

54	91.5%	Organisations never had to suspend activities at all.
1	1.7%	Had to suspend activities due to lack of leaders and members.
3	5.1%	Due to lack of leadership only.
1	1.7%	Due to lack of members only.
<u>59</u>	<u>100%</u>	
Total 59 organisations		

East Kilbride

In East Kilbride, two organisations only were forced to suspend activities. Significantly, these were the Scouts and the Guides, where intermittently, a group or a company lost its leader and had to suspend activities till a replacement was found. The comments on this by the Division Secretary can, therefore, be regarded as fairly typical in this situation:

"Very occasionally, a Unit has been suspended because a leader has left to get married or has left the district. However, we eventually managed to get new leaders and the Unit starts up again".

It is of interest to note that in Glenrothes too, the only youth organisation which was forced, through lack of leadership to temporarily suspend operation, was the Boys' Brigade. In East Kilbride, again the two organisations facing this problem from time to time were also uniformed ones. On the whole, uniformed organisations do not only lay down very high standards of leadership, they also make vigorous demands, in

* See also Chapter 3.1.

terms of skills and training on their leaders, which makes them difficult to replace. As the comment from the Guide Division Secretary illustrates, at times, they prefer to temporarily close a Unit, rather than let it continue with inadequate leadership.

Two organisations were forced to suspend activities through lack of both leaders and members. The East Kilbride Educational Association, by 1965, found that its support had waned away to such an extent that it ceased operating. It then re-constituted itself but found that some of the difficulties still remained. Thus the secretary commented:

"This organisation finds it extremely difficult to attract the average parent to our meetings, even allowing for some of our meetings not being suitable for some. We find that the general public just are not interested".

The second organisation, which also had to suspend activities through lack of both members and leaders, was the East Kilbride Labour Party. Apart from acknowledging that this has occasionally happened however, they were not able to give any further information. Lastly, the East Kilbride Labour Party (Westwood Ward) in 1968, also found it necessary to abandon activities temporarily, through lack of members. However, "they hope to resume fully in 2-3 years".

TABLE No. 67

Continuity of membership/leadership - EAST KILBRIDE		
77	94.0%	Organisations never had to suspend activities at all
2	2.4%	Had to suspend activities due to lack of leaders and members
2	2.4%	Due to lack of leaders only
<u>1</u>	<u>1.2%</u>	Due to lack of members only.
82	100%	

Livingston

So far, only one organisation, the Riverside Brownie Pack was forced to temporarily suspend activities due to lack of leadership. In this instance, circumstances were such that the leader, a local school teacher, started another pack in Letham School, and whilst she temporarily abandoned her original pack, it stopped operating. Once a new leader for the second pack was found, she was able to continue to work with her former pack. The second organisation which was forced to suspend activities due to a lack of leaders (committee in this case) and members (volunteers) coming forward to train as counsellors, was the Citizens' Advice Bureau, during the session 1966/67.

TABLE No. 68

Continuity of membership/leadership - LIVINGSTON

30	94%	Organisations never had to suspend activities at all.
1	3%	Had to suspend activities due to lack of leaders and members
<u>1</u>	<u>3%</u>	Due to lack of leadership only.
32	100%	

It is of interest to note that out of a total of 173 organisations, which make up the sample of this study, 93% (161) never had to suspend activities at all throughout their period of existence. It is, however, significant that youth organisations and political parties together made up nearly 60% of all organisations, which for one reason or another had to suspend activities. As far as youth organisations are concerned, the problem of leadership, particularly

as it relates to uniformed organisations has already been discussed. It would, however, be wrong to assume that none of the other youth organisations find it difficult to recruit leadership. Again and again, secretaries/leaders commented on the fact that if only they had more leaders, they could do so much more. This was particularly the case in Livingston, where most residents have newly arrived and are busily engaged in establishing themselves, making their new home, tending a new garden, and in many cases, working overtime, which leaves little time to give to the community by way of providing leadership in say, a youth organisation. As far as political parties are concerned, the reasons are less obvious, but it would appear that they have a kind of "life-cycle" which closely relates to elections, at both national and local level, which tend to dominate the activities of parties at given times. The intervening periods tend to be a "bit slack" unless a party manages to maintain the interest of its members through active participation in a whole range of issues.

It is also of interest to note that of the ten categories, into which all 173 organisations have been grouped, only four (i.e. Youth, Political, Social Service and Hobby/Special Interest) were represented among the organisations which indicated that they have had to suspend activities at one point or another. As will be noted under 10.4, only a few of the leaders working within these organisations were either full-time paid, or part-time paid, the remainder were voluntary workers. The fact that so few of the clubs and

organisations represented in this sample have ever been forced to suspend activities through lack of leadership, gives credit to a great many people for, what in the light of this, would seem to be a series of remarkably well-sustained voluntary efforts.

10.2 Methods of Recruitment of Membership

Under Question XVI, secretaries were asked to indicate what methods their organisation used to recruit members. Since this was an open ended question, a great variety of answers were received. These answers were then categorised, but in the case of Glenrothes, this still left 23 different methods, which were being used by 59 organisations.* In East Kilbride, 22 different methods emerged from the 82 organisations listed; and in Livingston, 12 methods emerged which were used by the 32 organisations listed. Although some organisations indicated that they used more than one, a considerable number of these methods were only being used by one or two organisations at the time. It was, therefore, decided to enumerate the first three methods in each of the towns, according to the number of organisations which stated them as their method of recruitment.

Glenrothes

In Glenrothes, the most frequently used method was that of the personal contact, whereby "a friend introduced a friend" and subsequently enrolled him as a member. This was

* See also code - list I cols. 48-50 in Appendix I.

particularly so with regards to youth organisations and women's groups, where practically everyone of them indicated this as one of their methods of recruitment. The majority of sports organisations also relied on this personal introduction of friends for their recruitment. Some 22 clubs in all (37.3% of total) largely relied on this method.

The second most important method of recruitment was by way of a scheme, which the Glenrothes Development Corporation Housing Department administered. Every organisation is listed on a hand-out which is given to every new tenant, who then ticks off the organisation he is interested in, returns this form to the Housing Manager, who in turn passes the name and address of a prospective member to the club secretary. An existing club member will then contact the newcomer and invite him to go along and join. 10 Organisations (16.9% of total) named this scheme as an important recruitment source for membership.

The third most frequently used method was canvassing from door-to-door. As was to be anticipated, every one of the six political organisations relied on canvassing for its recruitment, and so did the Film Society, since by law, it is not allowed to advertise its programmes publicly or insert announcements in the local press. It therefore distributed leaflets and canvassed from door-to-door throughout the town. The Auchmuty Co-op Guild also used canvassing as its source of recruitment, but in an area which geographically was more limited. 8 Organisations (13.6% of total) relied on canvassing as their main method of recruitment.

TABLE No. 69

Methods of recruitment - GLENROTHES		
(In order of frequency of use)	No. of orgs.	Percentage of total sample
(1) Personal introduction	22	37.3%
(2) G.D.C. Housing Manager's Hand-out	10	16.9%
(3) Canvassing	8	13.6%
	<u>40</u>	<u>67.8%</u>

As can be seen from the above summary table, 40 organisations (67.8%) of total made use of these three methods. Only two other methods were stated more than twice. In four instances (mainly groups with a nationwide organisation) members had transferred their membership from another area when they moved into Glenrothes. Furthermore, three youth organisations made use of publicity in schools in order to attract children into membership.

East Kilbride

In East Kilbride too, "personal introduction" was the most frequently mentioned method of recruitment, which was used by twenty-four organisations (29.3% of total). Among those were again most of the youth organisations, and some of the Social Service, Women's and Hobby/Special Interest groups. Closely following the above was "regular publicity in local press" which was being used as a way of recruiting members by 23 organisations (28.0% of total) which again were found in most categories, but more specifically in the Arts and Cultural, Hobby/Special Interest and Sports categories. In these, it was found that organisations could readily

attract the attention of newspapers, which would describe specific events and publish results of matches etc., and thereby give these groups useful free publicity.* Thirdly, seven organisations (8.5% of total) made use of notices in local factories in order to recruit members. Three of those were in the Hobby/Special Interest category and the remainder fell into a separate category each (Sports, Youth, Arts & Cultural, Women's Organisations).

TABLE No. 70

Methods of recruitment - EAST KILBRIDE

(In order of frequency of use)	<u>No. of orgs.</u>	<u>Percentage of total sample</u>
(1) Personal introduction	24	29.3%
(2) Regular publicity in local press	23	28.0%
(3) Notices in factories	7	8.5%
	<u>54</u>	<u>65.8%</u>

A total of fifty-four organisations (65.8% of East Kilbride sample) made use of the above mentioned three methods, and it is of interest to note that "personal introduction", as was the case in Glenrothes, figures as the most important method of recruitment. It was very closely followed however, by "regular publicity in local press", which illustrates the important and useful part a local paper can play in the life of such a community. Apart from these three, there were only two more methods, which were used by more

* Advertising - i.e. groups putting insertions in the press for which they paid, was listed as a separate method.

than three organisations at the time. Seven Organisations did not actively recruit members, but instead prospective members would apply themselves, and their application would then be vetted by the committee, and once their suitability was assessed, they would be admitted to membership. Finally, five organisations advertised in the press for new members. The remainder of the methods were only used by up to three organisations at the time.

Livingston

In Livingston too,¹ as in the other two new towns, "personal introduction" was listed as the most frequently used method of recruitment. Twelve organisations (i.e. 37.5% of total) indicated that this was their way of getting new members. This method was again closely followed, as was the case in East Kilbride, by "regular publicity in local press", which was used by eleven groups (i.e. 34.4% of total). "Local press" in Livingston included a regular news-sheet, which was prepared by volunteers and distributed free of charge into every home in Craigshill. The third most frequently used method was what could loosely be termed "word-of-mouth publicity". In other words, prospective members were not necessarily being introduced by an existing member to a club, but somehow, they heard about it informally from neighbours and then decided that this was a group they would like to join. Eight organisations (25% of total) indicated that this was a "method", (if it can be called that) whereby they attracted their new members.

TABLE No. 71

Methods of recruitment - Livingston		
(In order of frequency of use)	<u>No. of orgs.</u>	<u>Percentage of total sample</u>
(1) Personal introduction	12	37.5
(2) Regular publicity in local press	11	34.4
(3) Word-of-mouth publicity	8	25.0
	<u>31</u>	<u>96.9</u>

As can be seen from the above table, thirty-one organisations (96.9% of total) made use of the above three methods. Looking at the summary tables for all three towns, it is of interest to note that "personal introduction" ranks first in every one of them. "Regular publicity" in press ranks second in both Livingston and East Kilbride, whereas in Glenrothes, the Development Corporation, through its scheme, administered by the Housing Manager, plays an important role in the recruitment of new members. The implications of these findings would, therefore, suggest that for recruitment purposes, there is no adequate substitute for members inviting their friends and acquaintances to join, and introducing them to their club. In spite of improved communications, by way of local press, hand-outs, leaflets etc., this would still appear to be the most frequently used method. However, the case of Glenrothes also illustrates the valuable contribution the Development Corporation, as the authority which comes into contact with almost every new resident, can make, in spreading information about organisations, and by acting as a kind of "broker" to link interested

parties, i.e. prospective members and organisations willing to receive them. Both East Kilbride and Livingston serve to illustrate that the Reith Report assumption about the importance of local newspapers/information sheets was correct. In paragraph 252¹ it stated:

"It is most desirable that there should be a weekly newspaper - existing or new - which would encourage the formation and record the doing of all the essential social, cultural and recreational activities; which would help to foster the growth of community pride and community spirit".

In all three towns, such a paper existed, but it would appear that in Livingston and East Kilbride, it played a more important role in recruiting, by way of reports of events than in Glenrothes. In Livingston (Craigshill), in addition to the weekly paper, there was a regular information sheet, "Newsflash", which was started before there was a local paper, and now continues to perform a useful function. Again the Reith Report foresaw the importance of such a news-sheet, but envisaged that it should be published by the Development Corporation, rather than by a group of volunteers.

10.3 Methods of appointing office-bearers/leaders

Glenrothes

Thirty-eight organisations (64.4% of total) elected their office-bearers at their Annual General Meeting, after nomination by members. In five organisations (8.5%), office-bearers were not elected by members, but appointed by a

1. Final Report of the New Towns Committee, op.cit.

committee and a further five organisations (8.5%) did not elect office-bearers, but asked for volunteers from among members, and the community at large. Two organisations (3.4%) co-opted members of the community to act as office-bearers, and a further two (3.4%) organisations were governed by their parent body, on which in turn they were represented. Seven organisations (11.9%) were not able to supply any information.

East Kilbride

In East Kilbride, the pattern which emerged was very similar to that of Glenrothes. Sixty-two organisations (75.6%) elected their office-bearers by members at the Annual General Meeting. Eight organisations (9.8%) relied on volunteers from among their own members, and the community, and in the case of six (7.3%) organisations, the office-bearers were appointed by a committee. Four organisations (all uniformed youth organisations) promoted their own members to positions of leadership. Only one organisation (1.2%) indicated that it co-opted its leaders from the community at large. One organisation (1.2%) was unable to give any information.

Livingston

In Livingston, once again, the pattern of appointing office-bearers/leaders varied somewhat from that of the previous two new towns. A significantly smaller proportion of organisations elected their office-bearers at an Annual General Meeting, although, within Livingston, this still emerged as the method most frequently indicated. Seventeen organisations (53.1%) elected their office-bearers, by members at an Annual General Meeting. A further eleven organisations

(34.3%) however, depended on volunteers from among the community and their own membership, to provide leadership. In one organisation (3.1%), the committee appointed office-bearers, and another had no office-bearers at all. Two organisations were unable to give any information (6.2%).

TABLE No. 72

Methods of appointing office-bearers/leaders

	Glenrothes		East Kilbride		Livingston	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Election at A.G.M.	38	64.4	62	75.6	17	53.2
Appointment by Committee	5	8.5	6	7.3	1	3.1
Volunteers	5	8.5	8	9.8	11	34.4
Other Methods	4	6.8	5	6.1	1	3.1
No information	7	11.8	1	1.2	2	6.2
Total	59	100.0	82	100.0	32	100.0

It is of interest to note that in each of the three towns, the majority of organisations would appear to be run along democratic lines, in as much as in most of them, the membership elected the office-bearers at the Annual General Meeting. It is, however, significant that the pattern in Livingston differs from the other two towns in one major way. In Livingston, over a third of all the organisations depended on volunteers (in some cases not even members of the organisation) to provide leadership. In other words, a considerable number of the clubs at this particular stage in their history were not yet in a position to elect leaders from within their own ranks. The implication of this was that

whoever was willing to take on an office was likely to get it, simply because there were insufficient people willing to take leadership. This is a fact which particularly in Livingston was mentioned over and over again, and one which would appear to have been confirmed again by the above figures.

10.4 Status of Office-bearers

It is an important aspect of voluntary organisations that, in the main, they rely on voluntary helpers to provide leadership in their work. Very few, as a rule, have full-time paid, or even part-time staff to run their affairs. This was also the situation in the three new towns in this study. Tables 73, 74 and 75 summarise the situation in each of the three towns.

One of the most striking features to emerge from these tables is probably the fact that overall, the 173 organisations which made up the sample in these three towns had only 8 full-time workers. Four of these were in the field of Youth Work (3 in Glenrothes, 1 in Livingston) and four in the field of Social Service (i.e. Family Planning Association Clinic in East Kilbride). A further 35 leaders (6 in Glenrothes, 28 in East Kilbride and 1 in Livingston) were available on a part-time paid basis. This usually took the form of the local authority providing an instructor for a specific activity, most frequently in a Youth Club, on a sessional basis. The exact number of voluntary helpers was not known, since a considerable number of organisations were not able

TABLE No. 73

Office Bearers - GLENROTHES

Type of Office Bearers	Youth Org.	Art & Cult. Service	Social Women's Org.	Hobby	Political	Sport & Dancing	Social Old People	Other	Total
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
No. of Organisations stating that all leaders are voluntary without giving actual figures.	3	5	6	8	4	-	1	2	36
Responding Organisations	4	1	1	1	2	6	2	-	23
Full time	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Part time paid	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	6
Voluntary	67	9	6	12	8	56	28	17	226
Total	75	9	6	12	8	57	28	17	235

Ratio:

Vol. helpers / Org. 18.7:1 9:1 6:1 12:1 4:1 9.5:1 14:1 8.5:1 - 10.2:1

Rank Order

1 5 7 3 9 4 2 6

TABLE No. 74

Office Bearers - EAST KILBRIDE

Type of org.	Youth	Art & Cult. Service	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby	Political	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Office Bearers											
No. of organisations stating that all leaders are voluntary without giving actual figures	2	1	3	3	3	4	8	0	0	1	25
<u>Responding organisations</u>	15	6	7	5	11	0	7	2	2	2	57
Full-time	0	0	4	0	0	N.A.	0	0	0	0	4
Part-time paid	26	2	0	0	0	N.A.	0	0	0	0	28
Voluntary helpers	273	35	42	39	105	N.A.	46	29	24	16	609
Total	299	37	46	39	105	-	46	29	24	16	641
<u>Ratio:</u>											
Vol. Helpers/ Org.	20:1	5.8:1	6.5:1	7.8:1	9.5:1	-	6.5:1	14.5:1	12:1	8:1	11.2:1
Rank Order	1	8	7	6	4		7	2	3	5	

TABLE NO. 72

Office Bearers - LIVINGSTON

Office Bearers	Youth	Art & Cult.	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby	Political	Sport	Social & Dancing	Total
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
No. of organisations stating that all leaders are voluntary without giving actual figures	3	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	10
<u>Responding Organisations</u>	8	0	1	4	2	1	5	1	22
Full-time	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Part-time paid	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Voluntary helpers	56	0	3	25	7	15	26	24	156
Total	58	0	3	25	7	15	26	24	158
<u>Ratio:</u>									
Vol. Helpers/Org.	7.3:1	--	3:1	6.3:1	3.5:1	15:1	5.2:1	24:1	7.2:1
Rank Order	3		7	4	6	2	5	1	

to give any figures for their helpers, but indicated that they were all voluntary. Those 102 organisations which were able to give exact figures, however, listed 1,034 voluntary leaders and helpers between them, i.e. on average 10:13 per organisation. Taken, however, individually, it is of interest to note that whereas Glenrothes and East Kilbride have a ratio of 10.2 and 11.2 leaders per organisation, the figure for Livingston is somewhat lower, i.e. 7.2 leaders per organisation. These figures can, of course, only be taken as approximate indicators, since they do not take into account various factors such as the size of the organisations, but nevertheless, it is of interest to note that it would appear that in Livingston, a relatively smaller number of helpers and leaders were available to the organisations.

Furthermore, it is of interest to note that both in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, the Youth Organisations were those with the highest ratio of leaders per organisation, i.e. 18.7 and 20 respectively, whereas in Livingston, the ratio for the same category was 7.3. This would, once again suggest that, for reasons previously discussed, it is more difficult, especially for Youth Organisations, in the early stages of a new town's life, to find sufficient leaders and helpers who are willing to give of their time to help to run and organise activities. Nevertheless these tables illustrate that in each of these three towns there are to be found a great number of people who are involved in giving of their time and effort in providing leadership

to these various organisations, and thereby helping to meet the needs of their fellow-new-town residents.

Whilst no comparative data on leadership in any of the other new towns in other parts of the United Kingdom has been found, it would, nevertheless, appear that Dame Evelyn Sharp's dictum¹ does not apply to the same extent, at least to Glenrothes and East Kilbride, as it may to some of the other New Towns, possibly including Livingston. In fact, writing almost ten years earlier, L.E. White² also, like Dame Evelyn Sharp, saw "social balance" as the key to the availability of leadership, when he wrote: "Lack of leadership, which defeated so many promising ventures on the older estates, is less likely to trouble the new towns, provided they really do attract a balanced population". The question of "balance of population", as it relates to the towns of Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston, will be discussed in Chapter 11.1. It would, however, appear, from the evidence of these tables, and as witnessed by the fact that so few organisations were ever forced to suspend activities due to lack of leadership (see also 10.1), that sufficient leadership was available to satisfy the needs of most organisations in these three New Towns.

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1. Dame Evelyn Sharp: foreword to Viet's Bibliography on New Towns, U.N.E.S.C.O. No. 12, 1960, p. 11. "The prime need is for leadership; such new and young communities, drawn almost exclusively from the artisan class, do not easily provide it.
 2. L.E. White: New Towns - their challenge and opportunity, 1951, NACOSS, p. 75.

10.5 Conditions of Membership

In order to determine how far social organisations are able to meet existing needs, it is relevant to know what kind of restrictions, if any, are being imposed on membership. Secretaries were, therefore, asked to state the conditions of membership as applied by their organisation. The results of this enquiry were tabulated separately for each of the three new towns, on Tables 76, 77 and 78. Although the question* was an open-ended one, it was possible to categorise the conditions of membership as being related to a person's age, sex, place of residence, politics, profession or religion. Furthermore, an organisation may have conditions of membership which were directly related to its policy, rather than the person of the applicant. It may therefore state, that an applicant, in order to qualify for membership, must have an interest in the Gaelic language, must make the scout/guide promise, or must have "a belief in the usefulness of the United Nations" etc. Conditions such as these were summarised under "Policy" in the summary tables.

Glenrothes (Table 76)

Thirty-three organisations (i.e. 55.9% of total number) state no conditions at all, and can, therefore, be assumed to be open to all applicants. However, it is feasible that in some cases, where no explicit conditions were stated,

* Question XVII in questionnaire.

TABLE NO. 76

Conditions of Membership - GLENROTHES

Type of Org.	Youth		Arts & Social Cult. Service Org.		Hobby		Political		Sport		Social. Old & People Dancing		Other		Total					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
Age	2	28.6	1	16.7	1	14.3	-	-	1	16.7	1	14.3	-	-	1	25.0	-	7	11.9	
Sex	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.7	
Residence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	1	50.0	2	3.4	
Skill/ experience	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.4	
Politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5.1	
Profession	-	-	-	-	2	28.6	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5.1	
Religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.7	
Policy	2	28.6	2	28.6	1	14.3	1	11.1	-	1	16.7	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	8	13.6	
No condition stated	4	57.1	3	50.0	2	28.6	8	88.9	3	50.0	2	33.3	-	-	1	25.0	1	50.0	33	55.9
Other	-	-	-	-	1	14.3	-	1	11.1	-	1	14.3	2	66.7	1	25.0	-	6	10.2	

Respondents were asked to state all conditions, hence number exceeds 59.

But percentages were calculated on basis of actual number of organisations.

TABLE NO. 77

Conditions of Membership - EAST KILBRIDE

Con- ditions of m'ship Relating to:	Youth		Arts & Social Cult. Service Org.		Hobby		Political		Social & Old Dancing People		Other		Total							
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%						
Age	5	29.4	1	10.0	2	14.3	2	13.3	1	50.0	-	-	11	13.4						
Sex	-	-	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2						
Residence	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.7	-	-	1	33.3	2	2.4						
Skill/ experience	-	-	2	28.6	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.7						
Politics	-	-	-	-	1	7.1	1	25.0	-	-	-	-	2	2.4						
Profession	-	-	1	10.0	1	12.5	-	1	6.7	1	50.0	-	4	4.9						
Religion	2	11.8	-	-	1	12.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.7						
Policy	3	17.6	2	20.0	3	37.5	6	42.8	4	26.7	-	-	20	24.4						
No condition stated	9	52.9	3	42.8	6	50.0	4	42.8	3	75.0	7	46.7	1	50.0						
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	13.3	1	50.0	-	-	3	3.7					
TOTAL	19		7		12		9		15		4		17		2		3		90	

Respondents were asked to state all conditions, hence number exceeds 82
But percentages were calculated on basis of actual number of organisations:

TABLE NO. 78
Conditions of Membership - LIVINGSTON

Type of Org.	Youth		Arts & Cult.		Social Service		Women's Org.		Hobby		Politi- cal		Sport		Social & Total Dancing			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Age	5	45.5	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	2	40.0	-	9	28.1	
Sex	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Residence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Skill/ experience	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	2	6.3	
Politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100.0	-	-	-	1	3.1	
Profession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.1	
Policy	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	40.0	-	3	9.4	
No condition stated	6	54.5	2	100.0	1	33.3	4	80.0	3	75.0	-	-	2	40.0	1	100.0	19	59.4
TOTAL	11		2		4		5		4		2		6		1		35	

Respondents were asked to state all conditions, hence number exceeds 32.

But percentages were calculated on the basis of actual number of organisations.

there might be implicit ones, which were not stated simply because they were being taken for granted. So, for instance, no women's organisation stated that members had to be female, nor did every old people's group specify an age below which membership was not possible, nor did all the youth organisations give an upper age limit. In each of these cases, it was assumed that the typification of the organisation was self-explanatory, and conditions of membership therefore, need not include aspects which were entailed in the name and obvious purpose of an organisation. The most frequently mentioned conditions related to the policy of organisations (13.6% of all organisations.) So, for instance, the Scouts and Guides in the youth category insisted on an applicant making the Scout/Guide promise, or the Musical and Operatic Society insisted, not so much on the skill to perform but on "an interest in the fostering of intelligent participation in musical shows". And among the political organisations, the Communist Party only accepted members who "showed a willingness to work for the party".

The next most important restriction in operation was that of age, which was given by seven organisations (11.9% of total). In the case of the youth organisations and old people's groups, this is self-explanatory. The Film Society insisted on a minimum age of 16 years, in order to fulfil the stipulations of the law in this respect, and Round Table, which were part of the Social Service category, enforced an upper age limit. Finally, the Mountaineering Club only accepted adults for membership.

Under "other", which was the third largest category (10.2% of total), a number of different conditions were found. For instance, to become a member of the Bowling Club, one also had to be a member of the Recreation Centre, which is the parent body. To become a member of the Recreation Centre however, one had to undergo "a character assessment" by the committee. In the same category, the Alburne Knowe Dancing Club only accepted members who have been given an invitation. The Archery Club, presumably for reasons of safety, only enrolled members whom they considered to be of responsible behaviour. As can be seen from Table 76, the other categories of conditions applied only very sparsely and have, therefore, not been singled out.

East Kilbride

In East Kilbride, 41 organisations, (i.e. 50.0% of total) did not state any conditions (see Table 77). Again, as was the case in Glenrothes, the most frequently imposed conditions related to the policy of a given organisation. This applied to twenty organisations (24.4%). For instance, some of the youth organisations specified that any members wishing to join must enroll in a given activity, such as handicrafts or drama. Organisations in both the Arts and Cultural, and the Social Service category stipulated that members were required to have a more than passing interest in the purposes of their particular group. Some of the women's organisations, such as the Trefoil Guild and Women's Co-op. Guild insisted that their members should be members of the respective parent body, whereas the Ladies Loyal Orange

Association only accepted candidates into membership after their "character had been assessed by the committee". Similarly, some of the Hobby/Special Interest groups stated that their candidates for membership should fulfil certain conditions. For instance, the Bridge Club expected members to be able to play bridge, the United Nations Association expected members to have "a belief in the usefulness of the United Nations", and the Fabian Society expected members to be also members of the Labour Party. In the field of sports organisations, again it was not necessarily skill and experience which was laid down as a condition, as might have been expected, but medical fitness in one case, and interest in the promotion of the particular sport in the case of the others. Some of the reasons given in this category might well be regarded as being self-evident, but the fact that the secretaries felt they were worth stating would suggest that a certain amount of emphasis is being put on them, and therefore, they have been reproduced here.

The second most important set of conditions, related to age, as was the case in Glenrothes. Eleven organisations i.e. (13.4% of total) stated this as one of their conditions. Almost half of these were youth organisations, and the remainder occurred in the categories Social Service (Round Table - upper age limit of 40) Hobby, Sport and Old People. Conditions relating to membership of a given profession applied to only 4 organisations (4.9% of total) but nevertheless, this made it the third largest group of conditions. These were, the Rotary Club where (a) only professional men

are accepted for membership, and (b) then only two from each type of profession; the Business and Professional Women's Club, which, as the name implies, only draws on members from certain occupations. Among the Sports Clubs where profession was a criterion was the Torrance Rifle Club, which only accepted members who were employed by the Development Corporation, the Town Council or the National Engineering Laboratory. In this case, however, it would seem that it was not so much the type of occupation, than the actual employer which determined eligibility for membership. Table 77 illustrates that all the other conditions only applied to one or two organisations at the time.

Livingston

In Livingston, nineteen organisations (i.e. 59.4%) stated no conditions at all. As Table 78 illustrates, in two of the categories, i.e. Arts and Cultural and Social and Dancing, none of the organisations listed stated any conditions. Nine organisations (28.1%) stated that age was a criterion in their conditions of membership. Five of these were youth organisations which set out to cater for a given age group at the time. Similarly, the pre-school play group association (in category Social Service) set out specifically to cater for the under 5's, whereas the Scottish National Party did not accept members below the age of 16. Among the sports groups, the Riverside Under 15's Football section accepted only members below that age, and the Grove Badminton Club, as a way of keeping membership figures down, did not accept children below 16 years of age.

Three organisations stated certain conditions, which were best described as forming part of the policy of that group. The St. Andrew's Ambulance Association required anyone wishing to become a member to attend classes in first aid. Members of the Rugby Club must show an interest in the game, and members of the Under 15's football section must undertake to adhere to the rules as laid down by their own committee. Finally, two organisations (6.3% of total) stipulated a certain degree of skill. The St. Andrew's Ambulance Association required a member to not only attend first aid classes, but also to pass a test. Similarly, whilst not setting an actual test, the Bridge Club requires members to be able to play Bridge before they can become members. As Table 78 illustrates, three sets of conditions, i.e. those relating to sex, residence or profession were not explicitly mentioned by any one of the organisations, (although it is safe to assume that women's organisations are open to women only).

TABLE No. 79

Summary: Conditions of membership, ranked according to frequency of occurrence.

Glenrothes.

(1) Policy	13.6%
(2) Age	11.9%
(3) Other conditions	10.2%
No condition stated	55.9%

East Kilbride.

(1) Policy	24.4%
(2) Age	13.4%
(3) Profession	4.9%
No condition stated	50.0%

Livingston/

Livingston

(1) Age	28.1%
(2) Policy	9.4%
(3) Skill/experience	6.3%
No condition stated	59.4%

It is of interest to note from the above table that in all three new towns between 50% and 60% of all organisations had no conditions restricting membership. Furthermore, in all three towns, age was a restricting factor for some organisations - in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, the second most frequent one, and in Livingston, the most frequent one. As far as conditions summarised under "Policy" are concerned the ranking order is reversed, i.e. "Policy" ranks first both in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, and second in Livingston. In other words, in all three new towns, "age" and "policy" were among the two most important factors restricting membership. This, together with the fact that the percentage of organisations with no restrictions on membership was very similar in each case (i.e. 55.9% in Glenrothes, 50% in East Kilbride and 59.4% in Livingston), would suggest that there exists a remarkable degree of consistency between the practices regarding conditions of membership among organisations in each of the new towns.

10.6 Limitations on Membership by Numbers

Glenrothes

Forty-eight organisations, i.e. 81.4% of the total sample did not impose a limit on the numbers they would accept for membership. On the other hand, 11 organisations, i.e. 18.6% had stated limits, as Table 80 illustrates, varying from up to 40 to over 150. Those organisations which imposed a limit, however, were only found in five of the ten categories, i.e. Youth, Arts and Cultural, Social Service, Women's Organisations and Old People's Clubs.

Among the Youth organisations which found it necessary to impose a limit on numbers, was the Exit Club which could not cater for more than 200 members during the regular dance evenings, and the Girl Guides, who limit the numbers to 36 in each company as a matter of principle, and due to lack of leadership could not, at the time open another company. The three Arts and Cultural organisations which limited their numbers were the Musical and Operatic Society, who felt that 60 members were as many as they could "employ" in their productions, and the Film Society, who, according to the fire regulations, as applied to the biggest hall available, would not be allowed to admit more than 230 members to anyone of their film shows, and lastly, the Floral Art Club, which also, for reasons of accommodation imposed an upper limit of 150. The two social service organisations, which limited their members, were the Round Table and the Toastmasters Club, who admit 40 and 30 respectively into membership at any one time, in accordance with their own club policy. As for the

TABLE NO. 80

Limit on Membership - GLENROTHES

Limit on Membership	Youth		Arts & Social Org.		Cult. Service Org.		Hobby		Political		Sport & Dancing		Social Old People		Other		Total			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
No limit stated	5	73.4	3	50.0	5	71.4	7	77.8	9	100.0	6	100.0	3	100.0	2	50.0	2	100.0	48	81.4
Up to - 40	1	14.3	-	-	2	28.6	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6.8
Up to - 60	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	-	2	3.4
Up to - 120	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	1	25.0	-	-	-	2	3.4
Up to - 150	-	-	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.7
Over 150	1	14.3	1	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.4
Total	7	6	6	7	9	9	9	9	6	6	6	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	59	100%

two women's groups, which imposed limits on numbers, again accommodation would appear to have been the major reason. Both the South Parks Farmhouse Ladies Club and the Glenrothes Women's Club stated that their respective meeting places could not accommodate more than 65 and 40 members respectively. The same reason also applied to the two old people's groups, the Wayside Cottage Club and the Sunshine Club, which operated an upper limit of 60 and 120 members respectively.

It is of interest to note that seven out of the eleven organisations which restricted numbers confined their numbers to a given maximum due to limitations of accommodation. But only two organisations out of the total sample of fifty-nine (i.e. 3.4%) stated that they had a waiting list. These were the Wayside Cottage Club, which, as was noted above, limited their numbers due to lack of accommodation, and the Girl Guides, who at the time could in fact have operated another two companies, had qualified leadership been available, since they had a waiting list of 70 children. However, the fact that only two organisations indicated that they had a waiting list, coupled with the fact that 81.4% of all organisations did not have an upper limit to the number of members they could accept, would suggest that the existing organisations, at least as far as numbers were concerned, were able, by and large, to meet the existing demand.

East Kilbride

Sixty-five organisations, i.e. 79.3% of the total sample did not impose a limit on the number of members who

could be accepted into membership. The remaining seventeen organisations (20.7%), which did impose a limit were found in every category except the one covering political organisations. Table 81 illustrates that the organisations imposing limits were distributed fairly evenly among the remaining categories, since only one (Youth) had three groups with a limited intake, and the rest had either one or two such groups. Among the youth organisations limiting their intake, the Scouts and Guides and the Air Training Corps all did so for reasons of policy. As was noted before, Scouts and Guides in particular and uniformed organisations in general make high demands in terms of qualifications of their leadership. If this leadership is not available, a new group will not be started, or an existing one even suspended.

Of the organisations in the "Arts and Cultural" category, there were two which restricted their membership. These were the Light Opera Club, which as a matter of policy restricted membership to sixty, (which incidentally was the same upper limit as was being applied by the Musical and Operatic Society in Glenrothes), and the Whitehills Group, which runs an Arts Workshop on a farm, and feels that they cannot accept more than one hundred members.

Both Social Service organisations restricting membership were committees, representing a national organisation in the new town, and which mainly organised fund raising events in the town on behalf of their parent body. For this purpose, the Royal National Life Boat Institution felt

TABLE No. 81

Limit on Membership - EAST KILBRIDE

Type of Limit on Mem- bership	Youth	Art & Cult.	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby	Politi- cal	Sport	Social & Dancing	Old People	Other	Total												
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.												
No limit stated	14	82.4	5	71.4	8	80.0	6	75.0	12	85.7	4	100.0	13	86.7	1	50.0	-	-	2	66.7	65	79.3	
Up to - 40	-	-	-	-	2	20.0	-	-	1	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.3	4	4.9
Up to - 60	1	5.9	1	14.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.4
Up to - 120	1	5.9	1	14.3	-	-	2	25.0	1	7.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6.1
Up to - 150	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Over 150	1	5.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	13.3	1	50.0	2	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	6	7.3
Total	17	7	10	8	14	4	15	2	2	3	82												

they did not require a committee of more than 20 members, and similarly, the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to children considered a committee of 15 members to be sufficient for their particular needs. The two women's organisations, which imposed an upper limit of 80 and 85 respectively, were the East Kilbride Towns women's Guild and the Calderwood Ladies Club. It would appear that in both cases it was felt that the accommodation used could not cope with more members than the above limits. However, neither of the two groups had a waiting list, and in the case of the Towns Women's Guild, the membership at the time of this study was short of the imposed limit anyhow. It would, therefore, appear that the demand for membership of these two groups did not exceed the number which could be accommodated.

In category "Hobby/Special Interest" groups there were again two organisations, which for different reasons limited their membership. The East Kilbride and District Savings Committee is the co-ordinating body for all the various savings groups, that are attached to schools, offices and factories. On grounds of policy, they felt a committee of 20 members was sufficient to perform its function. The Calderwood Rangers F.C. Supporters Club, on the other hand, restricted their membership to 100, since the accommodation where their social meetings took place could not cope with more than that number.

In category "Sports Organisations", there were again two clubs, which imposed a limit on their membership. The Tennis Section of the East Kilbride Sports Club set an upper

limit of 160 members on the estimated basis that there will be four courts available, and the norm accepted by tennis clubs allows for 40 members per court, hence their upper limit of 160.

The same figure was given by the Bowling Club, which limits its membership to 120 males and 40 females.

In category "Social/Dancing" Clubs, the British Legion indicated that although there was no limit to branch membership, an upper limit of 240 was imposed on the membership of the Social Club. However, the secretary indicated that it was only likely that this limit had to be enforced, once they were being granted a licence.* Both Old People's Clubs, who imposed a limit on membership, did so on the basis of the capacity of their respective meeting places (i.e. 200 and 280 respectively). Lastly, the East Kilbride Civics Association, which limited its membership to twenty-five, is a co-ordinating group, which seeks the co-operation of all local organisations to co-operate in certain ventures, usually aimed at promoting civic pride. In this sense, they are a committee like some of the above ones, which limited the size of their membership on grounds of policy rather than because of lack of accommodation.

Although seventeen organisations (20.7%) altogether imposed a limitation on the numbers which they would accept into membership, what is perhaps more relevant is the fact that only five of these (or 6.1% of total sample) had a waiting list. The Scouts, distributed over the eight groups had a total waiting list of 266 and could, therefore,

* For further details, see Chapter 9.2.

given enough leadership, operate more groups. The Air Training Corps had a waiting list of five, the Old Age Pensioners Social Club one of eight, and the Bowling Club thirty-two, and the Freemasons, which did not have an upper limit, had a waiting list of ten members. It is also of interest to note that nine of the seventeen organisations which limited their memberships did so mainly because their accommodation could only cope with a given number of members. On the other hand, eight organisations did so as a matter of policy, for reasons already described above. Overall however, it would appear, as in the case of Glenrothes, that with one or two exceptions, organisations were able to meet the existing demands for membership.

Livingston

Twenty-one organisations (65.6% of total sample) stated no limit on the number of members they would accept. As Table No. 82 illustrates, however, eleven organisations imposed an upper limit, and these were found in categories Youth, Arts and Cultural, Social Service and Sport. None of the other categories had organisations imposing a limit. Six of these eleven organisations were in the category Youth. This was partly because, in the other two new towns Scouts/Cubs and Guides/Brownies were counted only as one organisation each, but in Livingston, each pack was listed separately, because headquarters for the overall organisation had not been set up. Whilst this slightly distorts the percentage of youth organisations which imposed a limit on membership, as compared with the other two new towns, it also serves to

TABLE No. 82

Limit on Membership - LIVINGSTON

Type of Limit on Mem- bership	Youth	Arts & Cult.	Social Service	Women's Org.	Hobby	Politi- cal	Sport	Social & Dancing	Total
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
No limit stated	5 45.5	1 50.0	2 66.7	5 100.0	4 100.0	1 100.0	2 40.0	1 100.0	21 65.6
Up to - 40	4 36.4	- -	1 33.3	- -	- -	- -	3 60.0	- -	8 25.0
Up to - 60	- -	1 50.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 3.1
Up to - 120	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Up to - 150	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Over 150	2 18.2	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 6.3
Total	11	2	3	5	4	1	5	1	32

illustrate a point which has been previously made regarding relative scarcity of leaders in a "new" new town.

Four of the six youth organisations which are listed as operating an upper limit, were uniformed organisations (i.e. two Brownie Packs, one Guide Company and a pack of Cub Scouts). Each one of these, as a matter of policy restricted the number of members it accepted to 36, and each, with the exception of one had a waiting list varying from 9-15 in number. It could, therefore, be said that if more leaders were available, the organisations could develop faster - on the other hand, they do not appear to be prepared to compromise, but rigidly enforce the policy of their organisation, which states this upper limit. The other two organisations in this category were the two "open-door" type Youth Clubs which operated in the Youth Wings of Riverside and Letham School. These wings would appear to have been designed to have a maximum capacity of 180 members, so this was the upper limit these groups would admit. Since they, however, had no waiting list, it would appear that this problem has not yet arisen.

The Floral Art Club has indicated an upper limit of 60 members, apparently for reasons of policy - but since the current membership was 36, and the maximum membership they have had so far was 40, this would appear to be a somewhat theoretical limit. The pre-school play group association, which ran a daily play-group each morning, had to restrict the number of children admitted to each session to thirty. This was partly due to accommodation, but partly also for

reasons of policy (i.e. available resources of leadership and helpers on one hand, and accommodation used, on the other could not cope with more than that number). The waiting list in this case, however, contained forty children, therefore, as soon as more leadership was available another group could be started. The Riverside Table Tennis Club also stated an upper membership limit of 30, which, as in the case of the Floral Art Club, was more in anticipation of possible future development, than a reflection of the present pressures of membership. On the other hand, the other two organisations in the Sports category, the Grove and Riverside Badminton Clubs closed their membership lists at a level (25 and 16 respectively) which they considered to be their upper limit. Significantly, the one with the lower number of members, the Riverside Club, had a waiting list of 10. In the case of these three sports organisations, accommodation was clearly the chief limiting factor, and in the case of the Youth Clubs which use the Youth Wings attached to the two primary schools in Craigshill, again the potential membership figure was determined by the size of the accommodation available. It can, therefore, be said that in Livingston, in the case of five organisations (15.6% of total sample) accommodation determined a limitation on membership, whereas in the case of six organisations, matters of policy (and lack of leadership) caused a limitation on membership to be introduced.

TABLE No. 83Summary: Reasons for Limits on Membership

	Glenrothes		East Kilbride		Livingston	
	No. of Orgs.	% of total sample (59)	No. of Orgs.	% of total sample (82)	No. of Orgs.	% of total sample (32)
Accommodation	7	11.9%	9	11.0%	5	15.6%
Policy (incl. lack of leadership)	4	6.8%	8	9.8%	6	18.8%
Total	11	18.7%	17	20.8%	11	34.4%
Waiting lists	2	3.4%	5	6.1%	5	15.6%

It is interesting to note from the above table how, once again, the figures relating to Glenrothes and East Kilbride were broadly similar. As far as Livingston is concerned, the figures were slightly distorted by the fact that instead of listing only two organisations, i.e. Scouts and Guides, four separate groups featured in this sample, and as it turned out, each one of these operated an upper membership limit and three of them had a waiting list, thus giving a bias to the Livingston figures of organisations which had to limit their intake. However, it would also appear to illustrate usefully, the fact, which was mentioned before, that in a "young" new town, suitable leadership is very much more difficult to find than in a more established new town. This aspect is borne out by the higher proportion of organisations in Livingston that had a waiting list, and the higher proportion of those who found that they had to limit their intake through lack of leadership. The overall impression for all three new towns

however, remains that with the exceptions which were mentioned in this (and the previous) chapter, the great majority of organisations were open to anyone to join, and it would appear that by and large, existing demands were being met by the variety of organisations which were available and offered their services to the community.

10.7 Membership Fees

A further factor relating to the "availability" of organisations, apart from conditions of membership and limitations in terms of numbers, is the amount of membership fee a club levies. Secretaries were therefore asked to indicate how much their respective clubs charged their members. The results of this particular enquiry have been summarised in Table 84 for each of the towns.

There are a number of aspects which were of particular interest in this connection. This table demonstrates that it is relatively cheap to become a member of most organisations. In Glenrothes, for instance, in the case of thirty-two organisations (i.e. 54.2%) it cost one pound, or less per annum to become a member. Even accounting for the fact that some organisations may levy a yearly subscription, plus a weekly contribution, it could not be said that the public are being discouraged from participation in the life of most of these organisations by high membership fees. In East Kilbride and Livingston too, in each case the largest single category of membership fee was made up by the organisation charging one pound or less. (39% and 18.8% respectively).

Furthermore, of those organisations which levied an annual subscription, only four (6.7%) charged £3 or more in Glenrothes, five (6.1%) in East Kilbride and one (3.1%) in Livingston. It is also of interest to note that out of 173 organisations, only one (a youth group in Livingston) levied a membership fee on a monthly basis. With all the other organisations, the pattern was that of an annual subscription, or weekly subscription, or a combination of both being charged. A further interesting point was the relatively large number of groups in each of the towns, which did not charge any membership fee at all. The most significant number of these in each case was found in the category "Social Service" organisations, presumably on the premiss that if members were being asked to give of their time and render a service to the community, they could not be asked to pay a membership fee as well.* In order to illustrate the relative similarity of the patterns of membership fees levied, the first three most prevalent amounts charged in each of the three towns have been ranked and are given in Table 84. As already mentioned, one pound or less per annum was the most frequently quoted membership fee in all three towns. Furthermore, as can be seen, "no fee" ranks second in two and third in one of the towns, and "£1 - £1.19/-" is second in one and third in two of the towns. There would, therefore, appear to be a remarkable degree of "consistency of practice" among the various organisations in these towns.

* The notable exceptions to this in Glenrothes are the Round Table and Rotary who charge a membership fee of £6 or over per annum.

TABLE No. 84

Summary: Membership Fees

Glenrothes.

1.	£1 or less per annum	54.2%
2.	No fee	15.3%
3. a)	£1 - £1.19/- per annum	10.2%
	b) 1/- per week	<u>10.2%</u>
		89.9% of all fees levied

East Kilbride.

1.	£1 or less per annum	39 %
2. a)	£1 - £1.19/- per annum	14.6%
	b) 6d per week	14.6%
3. a)	No fee	7.3%
	b) £2 - £2.19/- per annum	<u>7.3%</u>
		82.8% of all fees levied

Livingston.

1.	£1 or less per annum	18.8%
2.	1/- per week	15.6%
3. a)	No fee	12.5%
	b) £1 - £1.19/- per annum	<u>12.5%</u>
		59.4% of all fees levied

It would also seem that the whole question of finance as it relates to social organisations, would merit further research, but for the purposes of this study, it was felt that the above information was sufficient to illustrate whether cost of membership could conceivably act as a disincentive to people joining organisations. The fact that most of these fees were relatively low, would suggest that this would not appear to be a restricting factor.

10.8 Average attendance

Tables 85, 86 and 87 indicate the percentage of members attending meetings of organisations in each category. These percentages were based on figures for average

TABLE No. 85

Average attendance by category of Organisation in
percentage of total membership - GLENROTHES

	No. of organisations responding	Weighted Average	Rank Order
Youth	6 out of 7	41.2%	7
Arts & Cultural	4 " " 6	63.9%	3
Social Service	7 " " 7	70.3%	2
Women's Organisations	9 " " 9	84.1%	1
Hobby Groups	8 " " 9	57.6%	6
Political	6 " " 6	24.2%	8
Sport	6 " " 6	60.5%	4
Social & Dancing	3 " " 3	58.6%	5
Old People	4 " " 4	83.7%	
Other	2 " " 2	100%	
Average of all (55)		<u>62.4%</u>	

TABLE No. 86

Average attendance by category of Organisation in
percentage of total membership - EAST KILBRIDE

	No. of organisations responding	Weighted Average	Rank Order
Youth	13 out of 17	72.2%	1
Arts & Cultural	7 " " 7	67.2%	3
Social Service	8 " " 10	62.9%	4
Women's Organisations	8 " " 8	68.5%	2
Hobby and Interest Groups	10 " " 14	34.8%	7
Political	4 " " 4	5.5%	8
Sport	11 " " 15	50.0%	5
Social and Dancing	2 " " 2	47.1%	6
Old People	2 " " 2	94.1%	
Other	2 " " 3	62.8	
Average of all (67)		<u>56.5%</u>	

TABLE No. 87

Average attendance by category of Organisation in
percentage of total membership - LIVINGSTON

	No. of organisations responding	Weighted Average	Rank Order
Youth	11 out of 11	79.5%	1
Arts and Cultural	2 " " 2	77.6%	2
Social Service	2 " " 3	63.8%	5
Women's Organisations	5 " " 5	63.5%	6
Hobby Groups	4 " " 4	64.3%	4
Political	1 " " 1	10.0%	8
Sport	5 " " 5	65.8%	3
Social and Dancing	1 " " 1	34.8%	7
Average of all (31)		<u>63.6%</u>	

attendance given by the respondents as a result of their own assessment, and not that of a precise check. In some, the percentage figures may appear to be remarkably high, but there was no other evidence available either to confirm or refute the figures furnished. However, in order to avoid distortion which might arise due to the varying sizes of organisations, the average was weighted according to the number of members involved in each organisation. Furthermore, it has to be noted that not all organisations were able to answer this particular question. In each of the tables, therefore, the number of respondents for each category is listed. The various categories were then placed in rank order, according to average attendance.*

TABLE No. 88

Summary: Rank order - according to average attendance

Rank Order Category	Glenrothes	East Kilbride	Livingston
Youth	7	1	1
Arts & Cultural	3	3	2
Social Service	2	4	5
Women's Organisations	1	2	6
Hobby/Special Interest	6	7	4
Political Organisations	8	8	8
Sport	4	5	3
Social/Dancing	5	6	7

As the above table illustrates, there were a number of interesting parallels, and divergencies between the three towns. For instance, both in East Kilbride and

* Ranking was arranged on a scale 1-8, since in Livingston, only eight categories were represented.

Livingston (on the rank scale 1-8) the Youth Organisations recorded the highest average attendances of 72.2% and 79.5% respectively, whereas in Glenrothes, the figure for Youth Organisations was 41.2%. On the other hand category Arts and Cultural in all three towns showed a certain degree of consistency in as much as it is ranked third in two of the towns and second in the third one. The actual percentage figures on Tables 85, 86 and 87 illustrate, however, that in Livingston, the average attendance was significantly higher than in the other two towns (77.6%, as compared with 63.9% in Glenrothes and 67.2% in East Kilbride). Social Service Groups in Glenrothes and East Kilbride have a relatively high average attendance, partly because they include Round Table and Rotary (both in Glenrothes, only Round Table in East Kilbride) which are organisations where members are expected to attend every meeting. Women's Organisations recorded a higher average attendance in Glenrothes and East Kilbride than in Livingston. This would appear to be a function of the age structure of the respective towns. As was previously noted (chapter 8) the population in Livingston had a higher proportion of young mothers, who were "tied" by small children. However, as Table 87 shows, although women's organisations in Livingston were ranked in sixth place, the average attendance was still 63.5%. (Indeed, in Livingston, rank order places 3-6 were only separated by 2.3%). Political organisations had the lowest average attendances in all three towns. It would, therefore, appear that attendance at meetings does not form as important a

part of membership of a political organisation as it did with other groups. Overall, average attendances were high. This is particularly true of Livingston where the average attendance for all thirty-one organisations, which were able to furnish this information, was 63.6%, followed closely by Glenrothes with 62.4% and East Kilbride with 56.5%. If the figures for the political organisations were to be disregarded, the average attendance figures, weighted according to the number of organisations represented in each category, would be higher still, namely 69.9% in Livingston, 67.1% in Glenrothes, and 59.8% in East Kilbride.

Comparative data relating to average attendance at meetings of similar organisations in established towns does not appear to be available - it was therefore not possible to ascertain how these attendance figures in the three new towns compared with other areas, and whether or not their level of attendance was higher.

CHAPTER 11

Occupational Status of Membership/Leadership

11.1 The concept of Social Balance

Some of the most important aspects in the creation of the new towns are expressed in the goal that they should "be self-contained and balanced communities for working and living."¹ As their report shows, the Reith Committee had very definite assumptions about the desirability of mixing the different social classes. The idea of "self-containment" was seen as being straightforward. The new towns would not simply contain residential areas, like some of the inter-war local authority housing estates, but were to be designed to encompass within their boundaries "all of the requirements for day-to-day living".² In this respect the idea of a self-contained town has certain analogous features with the neighbourhood concept, in as much as that within the same small residential area there should be provided shops, nursery and primary schools, and a limited range of other facilities. Self-containment can of course only be a matter of degree, and it would be unrealistic to expect that the "local facilities should be able to meet all of the requirements of all of the residents all of the time."³ The idea of a balanced community, to which the Reith committee devoted

1. This quotation is from the terms of reference of the New Towns Committee - see final report of the New Towns Committee CMND 6876, London, HMSO 1946.

2. R. Thomas, Londons New Towns REP No. 510, London 1969, p. 381.

3. R. Thomas, op.cit., p. 382.

a great deal more time and attention, is much more complex than that of self-containment, though, as Thomas points out, the origins of the two ideas are partly intertwined. To some extent a town can only be self-contained if it is "balanced". Ideally the level of population should more or less match the level of employment or there will be commuting in and out. Similarly the composition of employment must not be dominated by a single industry or occupation, or it will not be possible to attract a sufficient variety of residents. These factors, and many more, are usually subsumed under the heading of a "balanced community" and to that extent the term is almost synonymous with a self-contained community. In their plans for the new towns however the Reith Committee took the idea of a balanced community much further than could be attributable to a desire for self-containment alone. The concept, which they held up as an ideal to be followed was that of "social balance". Thus the report reads:⁴

"So far as the issue is an economic one, balance can be attained by giving opportunity for many sorts of employment which will attract men and women up to a high income level. Beyond that point the problem is not economic at all, or even a vaguely social one, it is to be frank, one of class distinction. So far as these distinctions are based on income, taxation and high costs of living are reducing them. We realise also that there are some who would have us ignore their existence. But the problem remains and must be faced; if the community is to be truly balanced, so long as social classes exist, all must be represented in it. A contribution is needed from every type and class of person; the community will be the poorer if all are not there able and willing to make it. Where possible therefore, businesses and industries established should include not only factories, shops,

4. Final report of the New Towns Committee, op.cit., p. 10.

* Writers own underlining.

and the businesses and services meeting local needs, but head offices and administrative and research establishments including sections of government departments and other public offices. It is most desirable that proprietors, directors, executives and other leading workers in the local industries and businesses should live in the town and take part in its life. Many professional men and women, writers, artists and other specialists not tied to a particular location should find a new town a good place in which to live and work. So also should retired people from home and overseas, from every kind of occupation, as well as people of independent means. All these should find interest and scope in playing their part in the development of the social, political, artistic and recreational activities of the town.

According to Thomas⁵ however, much of the motivation for balanced communities was more hard-headed than idealistic, since a fair share of higher income groups was thought to generate the kind of success which was particularly important because of the aim of a symbiotic growth of population and employment. How far the various occupational classes were found to be "playing their part" in the development of the social, political, artistic and recreational activities of the towns of Glenrothes, East Kilbride and Livingston will be discussed below under 11.2. Before doing so however, a further examination of the concept of social balance would appear to be appropriate at this stage.

Lewis Mumford in his introduction to the 1945 edition of Howards' "Garden Cities of To-morrow"⁶ expressed the same sentiment as the Reith Committee did (see above) a year later, but for a different reason, when he stated:

5. R. Thomas, op.cit., p. 383.

6. Ebenezer Howard, "Garden Cities of To-morrow" Faber & Faber, London, 1945.

"Meanwhile, the need for balanced communities has deepened, for the task of our age is to work out an urban environment that will be just as favourable to fertility, just as encouraging to marriage and parenthood, as rival areas still are."

He obviously wrote this at the time under the immediate post-war impression of the threat, as it was then seen, of a declining population. Lewis Silkin, the Minister who had been responsible for steering the New Town legislation through parliament in 1946 again committed himself to the idea of a balanced community on social grounds, when he wrote two years later:⁷

"I am very concerned, not merely to get different classes living together in a community, but to get them actually mixing together - unless they do mix freely in their leisure and recreation, the whole purpose of a mixed community disappears."

The re-iteration of this principle, after building had barely begun with the first of the new towns following the passing of the New Towns Act in 1946, seemed to have been important at that time, since even Lord Reith himself, in his first report as Chairman of the Hemel Hempstead Development Corporation⁸ confessed that he began to doubt whether the object of developing a balanced community could be "more than an elusive but inspiring concept." It would appear that Lord Reith was not alone with his doubts as to the practicality of this concept. According to Schaffer,⁹ "most corporations started off with the intention of mixing the various types of houses and avoiding any suggestions of

7. Lewis Silkin: Journal of the National Institute of British Architects, 1948.

8. R.D.C. 1948, p. 65.

9. Schaffer, Frank: op.cit., p. 166.

"class segregation". But it didn't work out. Harlow for example, soon found that "middle class families" liked either to be somewhat isolated and to have big gardens, or to have a larger number of their neighbours drawn from similar income groups.¹⁰ Other corporations reported much the same experience. To many, this was a matter of regret, because it seemed to represent the failure of a philosophy. But this does not necessarily follow, "for people still mingle on equal terms in the towns' activities. (At least so Schaffer claims - but it will be seen below how far this is so - at least as far as the three towns subject to this study are concerned.) He also points out that although it has not been possible to overcome social distinctions and segregation by income groups, nevertheless the new towns can claim to have a "socially homogeneous society". A comparison with national figures, as presented by Schaffer¹¹ bears this out.

Some people, notably Ruth Glass in an article published in 1955,¹² saw sinister implications in this attempt at achieving social balance. She in fact suggested that this was a "device for securing middle-class control under the guise of leadership, thus avoiding a threat to the established order." However Schaffer¹³ dismissed this view as being naive, since he didn't think that political power was exercised through the "local community hall, with its bingo and chess club."

10. See also R.D.C. 1954, p. 147.

11. Fig. 1, p. 168, op.cit.

12. Ruth Glass: Urban Sociology - Current Sociology No. 4, 1955, pp.14-19.

13. Frank Schaffer, op.cit., p. 167.

There were others, notably Peter Mann, who were critical of the idea of social balance, particularly as it related to the neighbourhood unit.¹⁴ In his view, Clarence Perry, who popularised the idea of the neighbourhood unit, rather naively assumed that "propinquity produces pals" when he stated:¹⁵ "when residents are brought together through the use of common recreational facilities they come to know one another better, and friendly relations ensue". This idea was taken up in Britain, first in the Dudley Report¹⁶ and then in a booklet entitled: "The size and social structure of a town", which was published by the National Council of Social Service,¹⁷ who incidentally were also one of the bodies which gave evidence to the Reith Committee. This booklet made a case against pre-war housing estates on the grounds of lack of social balance. The group which wrote it argued that "class distinctions have been emphasised to an undesirable extent by the segregation of rigidly divided income groups into separate residential districts. The consequence of this segregation was that the new municipal estates contained relatively few people with varied experience in social leadership. The group further argued that social barriers will only disappear if people "in different grades find a unity in common interests and purposes". This develop-

14. Peter Mann: "A socially balanced neighbourhood unit" Town Planning Review No. 29, 1958/59.

15. Clarence Perry: "Housing for the Machine Age" New York, 1920.

16. Design of Dwellings, HMSO, 1944, Ministry of Health.

17. Size and Social Structure of a Town: National Council of Social Service, London, 1943.

ment, they felt, could be accelerated by the provision of adequate neighbourhood facilities. Furthermore, they argued that the problem of social leadership (and particularly the lack of sufficient numbers of leaders) could be overcome by the integration of a number of social groups into one organisation, i.e. a community association. Mann is critical of this approach. The concept of the socially balanced neighbourhood unit, in his view was based upon an erroneous analysis of the social structure of urban society. He felt that this was an ideal, which was unlikely to be attained without a complete change in the structure of our society. He therefore suggested that we should "bury it quietly (the ideal of social balance) and begin to think again from a sociological rather than an ideological basis."

More recently Heraud¹⁸ argued too, that class segregation had been a feature of town life ever since the onset of rapid urbanisation in the 19th century. He suggests that with the development of municipal housing after the first World War, and the building of housing estates for the working class on the outskirts of large cities, the process had been carried a stage further, and social segregation took on almost an official stamp with the advent of state intervention in housing. However, in due course the view gained prominence that one-class communities were socially undesirable because the presence of large numbers of people with the same life styles, educational expectations and expenditure patterns would have a narrowing effect. Exposure to a

18. B.J. Heraud in "Urban Studies" Vol. 5, No. 1 Feb. 1968,

mixed environment would, it was argued, enlarge people's horizons and so benefit the community as a whole. Such views were reflected by statements such as the one during the debate in the House of Commons on the New Towns, in which the Minister of Town and Country Planning, Mr. Silkin stated: "We must not make them towns inhabited by people of one income level, and that the lowest. A new series of Becontrees would be fatal."¹⁹

The idea of balance was by now widely canvassed amongst town planners, largely due to the governments' increasing assumption of responsibility for housing and planning. Planning was to be the new instrument for mixing different classes together. However, as Heraud points out, the ideal of a socially mixed society should not be confused with the notion of a classless society. Indeed, social balance as defined by the Reith Committee explicitly recognised the existence of social classes, but sought through physical proximity and the common use of facilities, such as community centres, to induce them to mix socially. It is of interest to note in this context that in the early days of Stevenage New Town a leading local communist dismissed the whole idea of a socially mixed community as "not in line with communist principles of a classless society."²⁰ Another important argument, which was mentioned, among others, by both Heraud and Mann, was the notion that one class communities would

19. House of Commons Debates, Sessions 1945/6 Vol. 422, col. 1088, 8th May 1946.

20. H. Orlans, Stevenage - a sociological study of a New Town. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952.

develop a kind of social inertia, and particularly would lack the leadership, which it was thought the middle-class would provide. This view was said to have gained prominence by the National Council of Social Service report, already mentioned above. Heraud suggests that there can be little doubt that the Reith Committee, and thus the subsequent development of the New Towns were strongly influenced by such views, particularly since both the Town and Country Planning Association, and the National Council of Social Service gave evidence to the Reith Committee.

A mixture of values thus underlies the concept of social balance. A common feature is the belief that the new communities must contain those members, who can bring with them and disseminate certain cultural elements, considered necessary for the foundation of civilised life. Social balance as such, has been defined in various ways, but generally it has been conceived of as a reproduction of some standard or average demographic, social and economic structure.²¹ The following quotation, taken from the Master Plan for Livingston New Town, will serve to illustrate the way in which the idea of balance has generally been interpreted by the New Towns Development Corporations.²²

"The type of town Livingston will become, will largely be decided by its population and employment structure - therefore, maximum diversity is planned and a positive effort will be made to achieve a balance of population in relation to age groups, family structure and employment."

21. Smailes for instance defines a balanced community as one with a representative economic or social structure, i.e. "one which conforms to that of the country as a whole". in "Balanced Towns". J.T.P. Inst. Vol. 32, 1945.

22. Livingston Master Plan, 1963, p. 74.

This of course is a statement of intent, according to which a Development Corporation hopes to develop the town as a whole, but as far as creating social balance at neighbourhood level is concerned, it is more difficult to see how this could be achieved, in a free society, where mobility exists. The neighbourhood unit, originally was to be the cornerstone of planning in the New Towns. This was dictated by certain physical, as well as social factors. The road system of most New Towns was to be designed on the radial system, which would have the effect of physically defining certain areas. With the addition of facilities such as primary schools, shops and meeting places, these areas could be given social significance as the basis for community life. The neighbourhood was, in the words of the Reith Committee, "a natural and useful conception". (The maps described in Part IV, particularly those relating to Glenrothes and East Kilbride illustrate the way in which this concept has been applied, particularly in the so-called Mark 1 New Towns, and will also, at least as far as membership of social organisations is concerned, show how far the neighbourhoods form "a basis for community life".) The neighbourhood also seemed the appropriate vehicle for the attainment, on a local basis, of "social balance". It appears however that a degree of social segregation is a concomitant of most housing developments. Thus Peter Collison²³ summed up the matter as follows:

23. P. Collison - "Neighbourhood and Class" Town and Country Planning, July 1955, p. 337.

"although planning policy may do something to modify the degree of (class) segregation, it cannot be expected to eliminate it completely nor can it be expected of itself, to bring about any profound changes in the social structure. If attempts are made to mix the social classes in close proximity it seems likely that these attempts will be resisted, and, as more dwellings become available, increasingly ineffective."

According to Heraud, "there has been a gradual slipping away from an ideology which stressed reformist ideas and aims into one which accepted and adapted to what was believed to be a middle class desire for social segregation."²⁴ Indeed Nicholson, in his study of housing policy in the New Towns concludes that "most New Towns now accept, though sometimes with reluctance, that an attempt to promote social mixing by building so-called managerial houses, scattered throughout the town and its neighbourhoods, without the alternative of such houses built in groups, has failed."²⁵ Some further points emerged from Heraud's study of social class and neighbourhood, which are relevant to the discussion of social organisations in the New Towns, and which are briefly summarised below.

If the New Town neighbourhoods have differing class characteristics, then in view of the fact that the social classes have widely differing patterns of social activities, any one single form of local social provision is unlikely to be successful. The need would appear to be for a variety of forms of local social provision, including opportunities for more informal association with more specialised activities

24. Heraud, op.cit., p. 54.

25. J.H. Nicholson, op.cit., p. 132.

based on the town as a whole.* One of the main aims of the whole "social balance policy" has been the invigoration of social life, through the presence of leadership provided by the middle class, and the mixing of classes through local clubs and associations. In a study of this kind one also has to accept of course, that the number of organisations alone is not in itself an index of social health in a community, since a great many of the social activities are being pursued outwith the formal structure of an organisation. However, discussions about the necessity of stimulating "community life" in the New Towns have centred almost entirely on the type of activity accepted and approved of by the professional and middle class in particular, the community associations. However, as was seen above (Chapter 9) this would not appear to be true in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, since in each of these towns the community associations as such have ceased to make a significant contribution to the life of the community. Heraud further suggests that community associations do not really constitute the kind of "cross-cutting alliances" which might in fact bring the classes together, because they are not typical of working class culture.** He adds that there is little evidence from elsewhere which would suggest that the degree of class - mixing in clubs and associations is very high. In all this he sees a kind of ideological thread connecting the present New Towns with the notions surrounding the eighteenth and nineteenth

* See also finding of this present study on preference of locality for clubs, etc. Part III.

** He does so on the basis of his study of Crawley quoted in *Urban Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, February 1961.

century model settlements and overseas emigrations. Traditionally leadership was the responsibility of the upper and middle classes, thus creating the need for "balanced" groups of migrants. Only in this way, it was thought, would a "healthy community" together with a degree of social control be built up. Such a notion, he suggests, is in the present day so far from reality that the whole concept of a balanced community based on such arguments must be called into question. The desire to avoid a new series of Becontrees was understandable in the context of the 1940's, but one can question whether in the sixties and seventies the concept of the socially balanced community as a planning principle had a future, particularly since because of the nature of industry moving to new towns "fears of a large working class population were unfounded". However, as will be seen in Chapter 11.2, whether the concept of social balance is still viable as a planning principle or not, it remains a fact that the upper and middle classes continue to provide leadership to a degree which in most cases far outweighs their proportion in membership of the various organisations. H.J. Gans, in a sense, both sums up the question of social balance as previously discussed, and also provides an answer to Heraud's point. He argues²⁶ that in any society with clear cut social divisions of class and (as in America, race) such divisions should be minimised, and this can be effected partly through the medium of town planning. For example in a heterogeneous

26. In H.J. Gans - "The Balanced Community - Homogeneity or Heterogeneity in Residential areas". J. of the Amer. Inst. of Plan. Vol. XXVII No. 3 1961.

community, the financial advantages of high rate assessments can be spread to members of all classes in the form of improved educational and other facilities. In his view too therefore the desirability of a balanced community is not merely based on an evasive ideal, but also makes sound economic sense. In this, Gans' view coincides with that of the Reith Committee to whom has been attributed hardheaded economic, rather than solely idealistic motivation as the main spring of their desire to create balanced communities.

11.2 Occupational status distribution of membership/leadership of organisations.

As was noted above, the Reith Committee assumed that "social organisations could be expected to make a major contribution towards the "mixing together of the different social classes".²⁷ In order to try and establish how far in fact this assumption has been borne out in the case of the three new towns in this study, the secretaries of the various organisations were asked to indicate the breakdown of their membership into occupational groups.* The data obtained was then organised as follows: The membership breakdown of each organisation into five occupational groups is shown in bar-charts for each organisation, according to categories. In order to ascertain how far the leadership of the organisations

27. See Final report of New Towns Cttee, op.cit., p.10, para. 23.

* These figures were based on the secretaries records. In the case of Glenrothes it was possible to corroborate the figures given by the secretaries with the aid of address-lists, with the results of a household survey which the GDR conducted at the time.

was distributed among the various status groups, wherever possible separate bar-charts were drawn relating to the leaders of the organisations.

These two sets of figures, (i.e. occupational status of members and leaders) were then compared with each other, and the results of these comparisons, expressed in chi-square values (Tables 89, 91, 93). Furthermore, bearing the definition of "social balance" in mind as given by the Reith Committee, and by Heraud, (i.e. "reproduction of some standard or average demographic, social and industrial structure"), the distribution of occupational groups among the membership of organisations was then compared with the distribution for the particular town as a whole (Tables 90, 92, 94). However, not every organisation would appear to maintain a membership record, consequently some secretaries were unable to give figures relating to their membership/leadership.* The occupational status distribution for the three new towns concerned and the population of Scotland as a whole are illustrated by bar-charts in Fig. 29.

Glenrothes

Youth Organisations - Fig. 30.

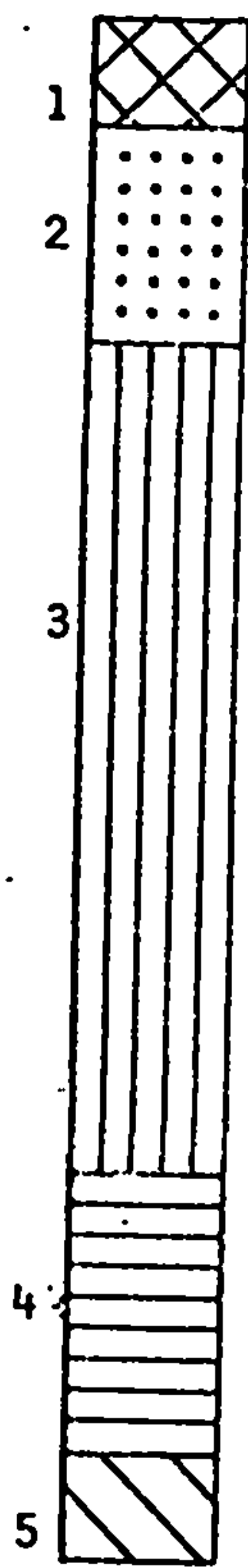
As can be seen from the bar-charts shown under the above figure, in this category every organisation had members from every occupational group, albeit to a different extent. It is

* The chi-square comparison Leadership/membership was possible for 61.0% of the Glenrothes sample, 47.6% of East Kilbride sample and 43.8% of Livingston sample. The proportion of organisations for which comparison membership/towns population was possible is as follows: Glenrothes: 79.7%, East Kilbride 53.7%, Livingston 46.9%.

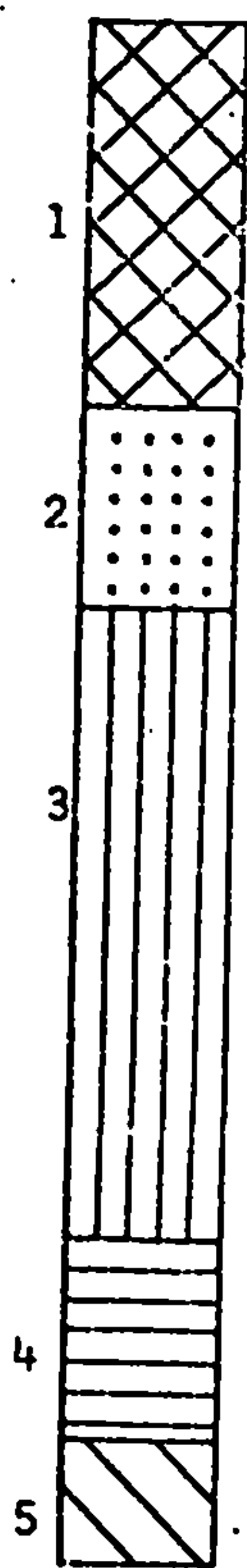
FIG. 29) OCCUPATIONAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION - GENERAL POPULATION

(Percentage of Households - Occupational groups 1-5)

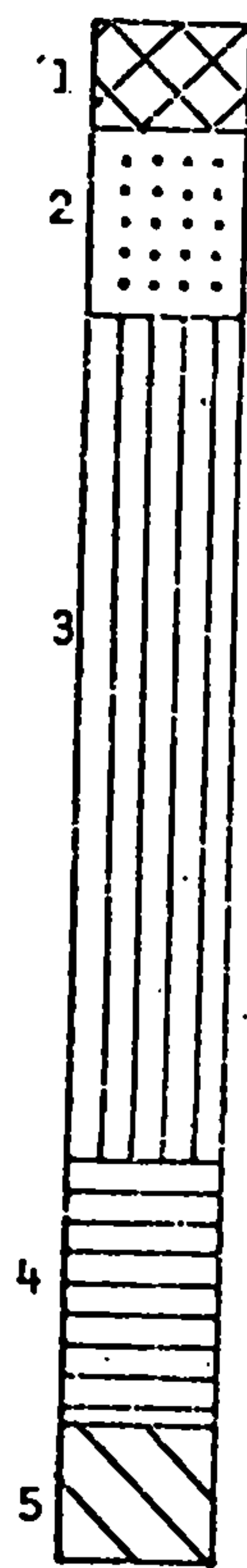
GLENROTHES



EAST KILBRIDE



LIVINGSTON



SCOTLAND

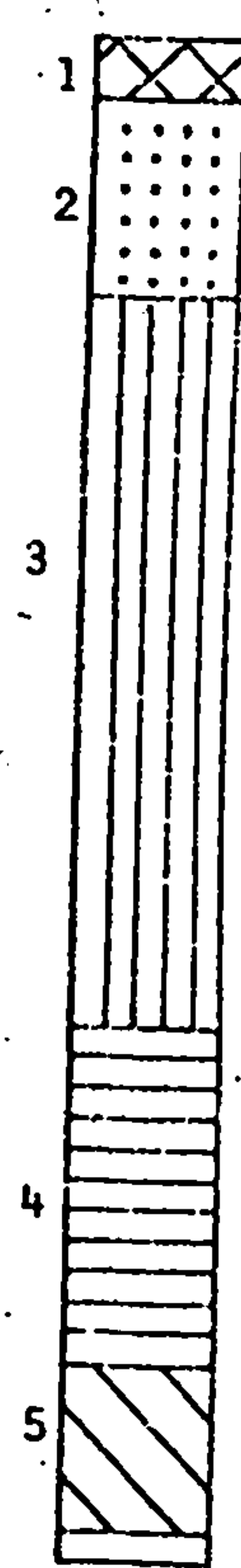
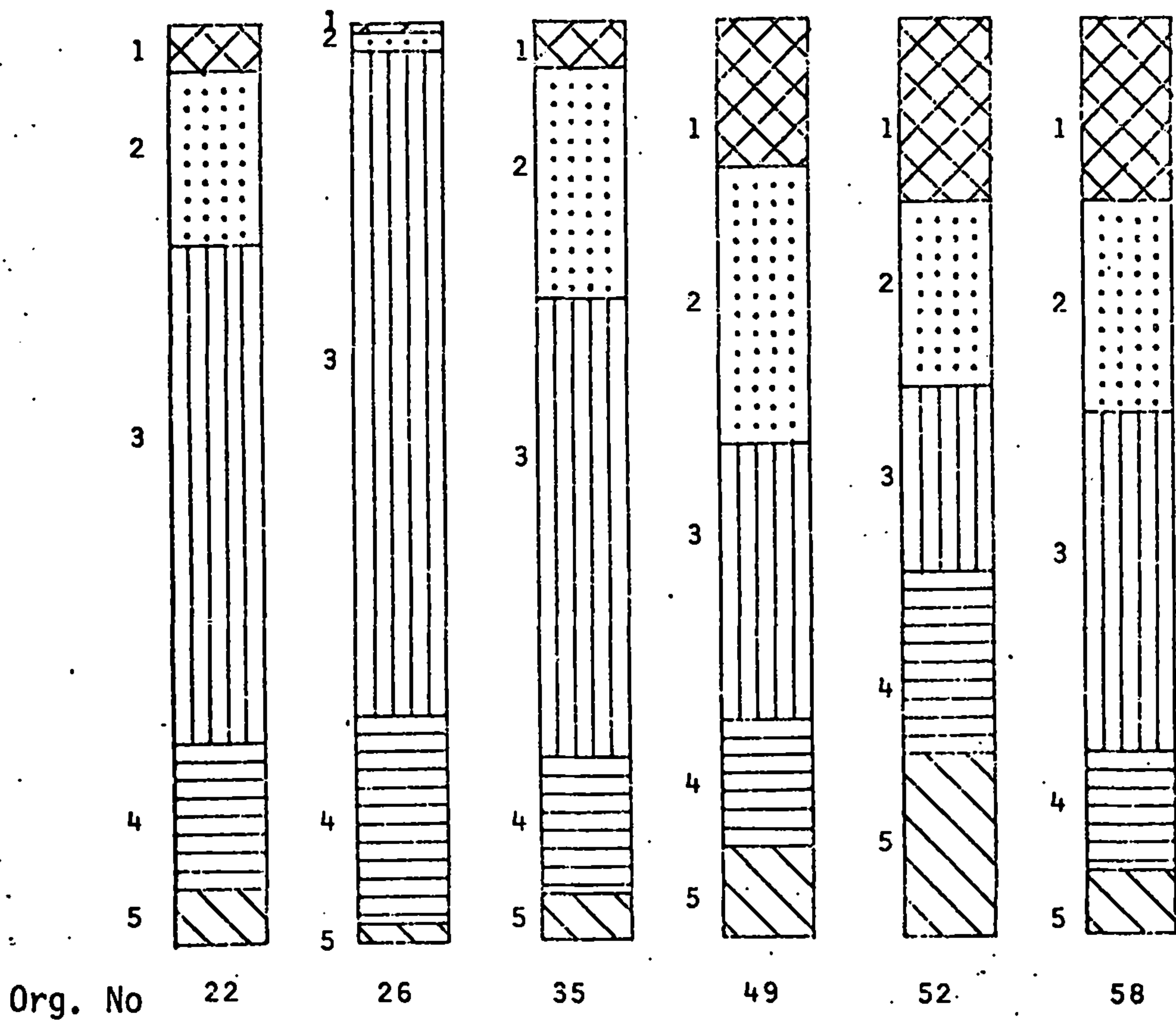
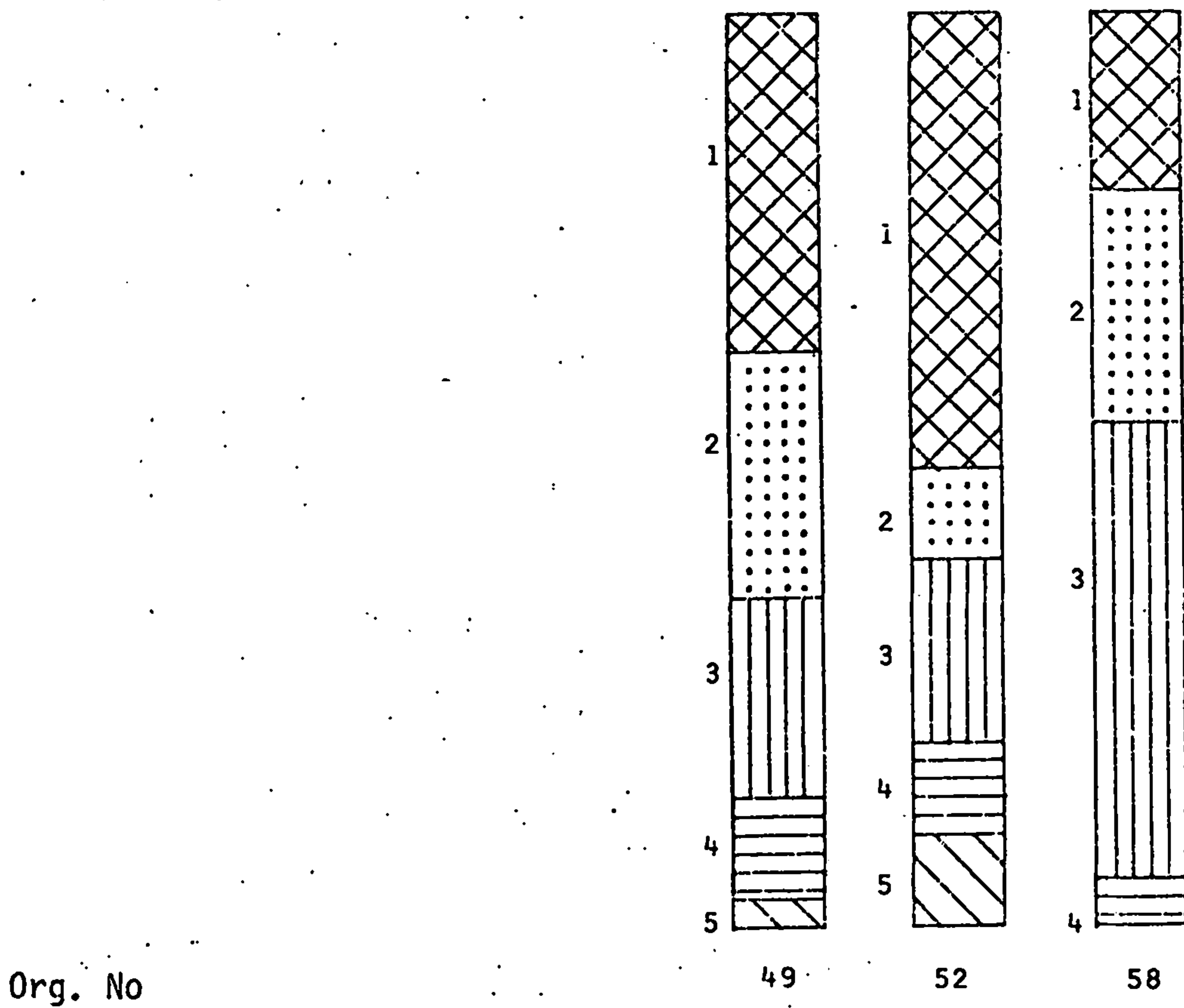


FIG. 30) GLENROTHES - YOUTH ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



of interest for instance in the case of the Preston Youth Club (No. 22), that groups 1 and 2 were barely represented. (See also Map. Fig. G4. which might help to explain this in terms of the clubs location). On the other hand the three uniformed organisations, i.e. the Boys Brigade (No. 49), Boy Scouts (No. 52) and Girl Guides (No. 58) would appear to have been able to attract a larger share of children, whose parents were in occupational groups 1, than the other three organisations. However, as can be seen from the respective bar-charts, these were also the three organisations with the highest proportion of representatives of occupational group 5. The graphs in Fig. 30 relating to the leaders show that there was a considerable difference between the proportion of members and leaders respectively, in the various occupational groups. The Boys Brigade (No. 49) for instance had 16% of its members in occupational group 1, but 37% of the leaders were from that group. More marked still was the difference within the Boy Scouts (No. 52) where 20% of the members, but 50% of the leaders were in occupational group 1. In the case of the Girl Guides (No. 58) the difference was less marked, in fact the proportions of leaders and members in class 1 was equal, with 20% in each case, but on the other hand groups 4 and 5, which together accounted for 20% of all members were only represented by 5% of the leaders coming from group 4. Group 5 was not represented at all. Whilst it is not possible to compare these figures item by item with Bottomore's findings,²⁸ it is of interest to note that the

28. T.B. Bottomore, op.cit., Table 5, p. 358.

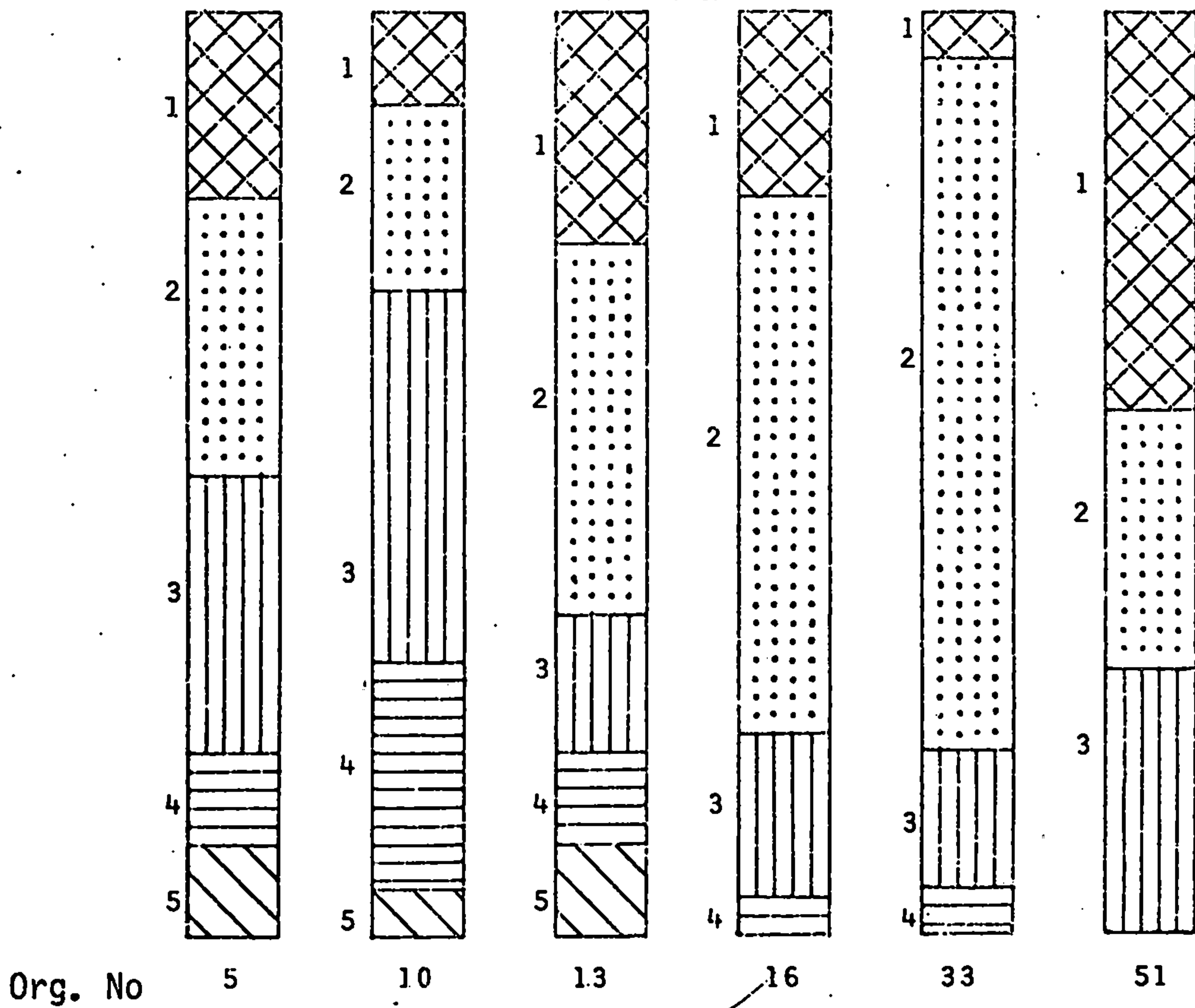
general trend, which he observed, of "over-representation" of occupational group 1 in the leadership in relation to the proportion they make up in the membership, is being confirmed in this study as well.

As far as a comparison between the distribution of occupational groups within these youth organisations, and the distribution within the town as a whole is concerned, it is of interest to note that the non-uniformed organisations, i.e. the Exit Club (No. 22), the Prestion Youth Club (No. 26) and the YW/YMCA (No. 35) are showing a pattern of distribution, which more closely resembles that of the town at large, than any of the other organisations in this category (see Table 90).

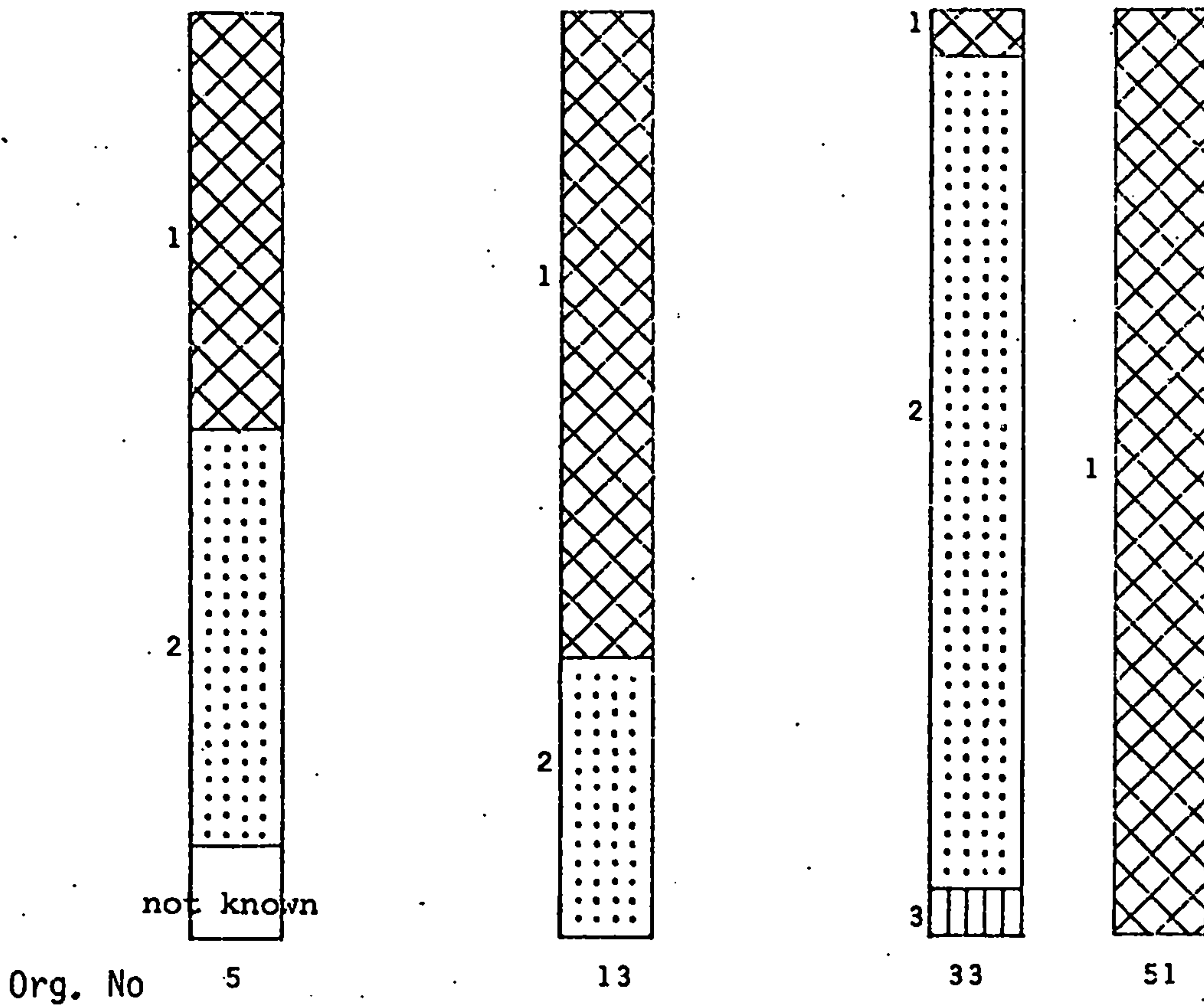
Arts & Cultural organisations - Fig. 31

As the bar-charts in Fig. 31 show, in three of the organisations in this category, i.e. the Art Club (No. 5), the Gaelic Club (No. 10) and the Musical & Operatic Society (No. 13) all five occupational groups were represented, and, as a comparison with Fig. 29 illustrates, groups 1 and 2 formed a larger proportion of these organisations than they did of the total population. Two groups, the Film Society (No. 16) and the Little Theatre (No. 33) had no members in group 5 and the Floral Art Club (No. 51) consisted entirely of members of occupational groups 1-3. This club also had the highest proportion (43%) of members in group 1. Where figures for the occupational group distribution of the leadership were available they once again illustrate that groups 1 and 2, but particularly group 1 provided proportionately a greater number of leaders than any other group represented in the membership.

Members



Leaders



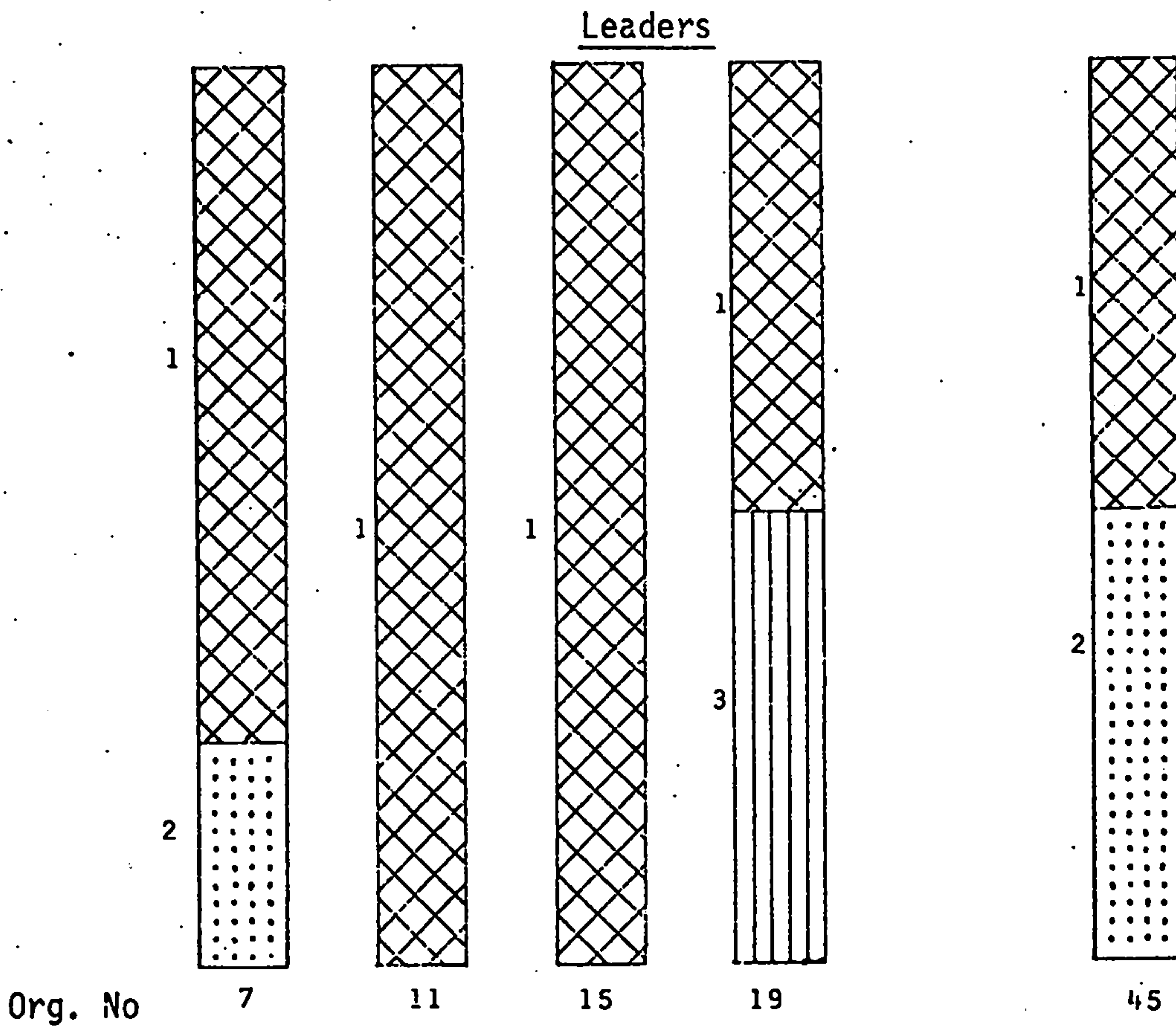
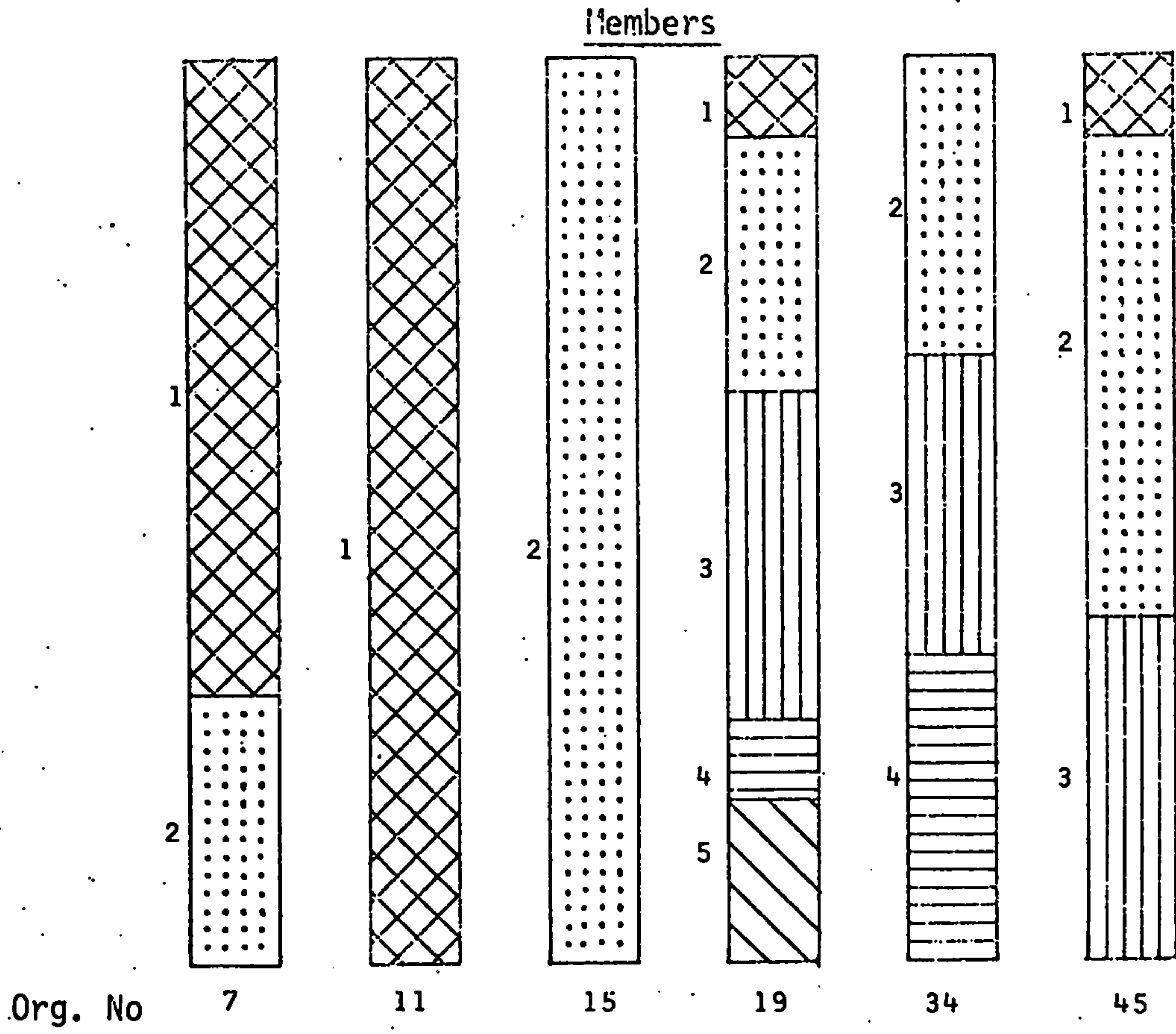
In terms of "representativeness" of the total population, it is of interest to note that the occupational class distribution of the Gaelic Club (No. 10) most closely resembles that of the general population, followed by the Art Club (No. 5) and the Musical & Operatic Society (No. 13). On the other hand, membership of the Little Theatre (No. 33) and to a lesser extent of the Floral Art Club (No. 51) and the Film Society (No. 16) would appear to attract predominantly members of occupational groups 1 and 2 (see Table 90).

Social Service organisations - Fig. 32.

In this category only one organisation, the Social Amenities Council (No. 19) had members from all of the five occupational groups, and as Table 90 shows is therefore also most "representative" of the general population. As can be seen from the bar-charts in Fig. 32, all the other organisations only embraced three occupational groups, i.e. the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 34) and the Toastmasters Club (No. 45), or two, as the Round Table (No. 7), or are made up of members of only one occupational group, as Rotary (No. 11) and the Red Cross (No. 15). In the case of Rotary and the Round Table, the composition of the membership is clearly a function of their respective recruitment policies, which have already been referred to, and to some extent the same would appear to apply to the Toastmasters Club as well.

The bar-charts relating to the composition of the leadership illustrate again the "dominance" of occupational group 1. This was particularly true of the Red Cross, where the committee consisted entirely of members of group 1 and the

FIG. 32) GLENROTHES - SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

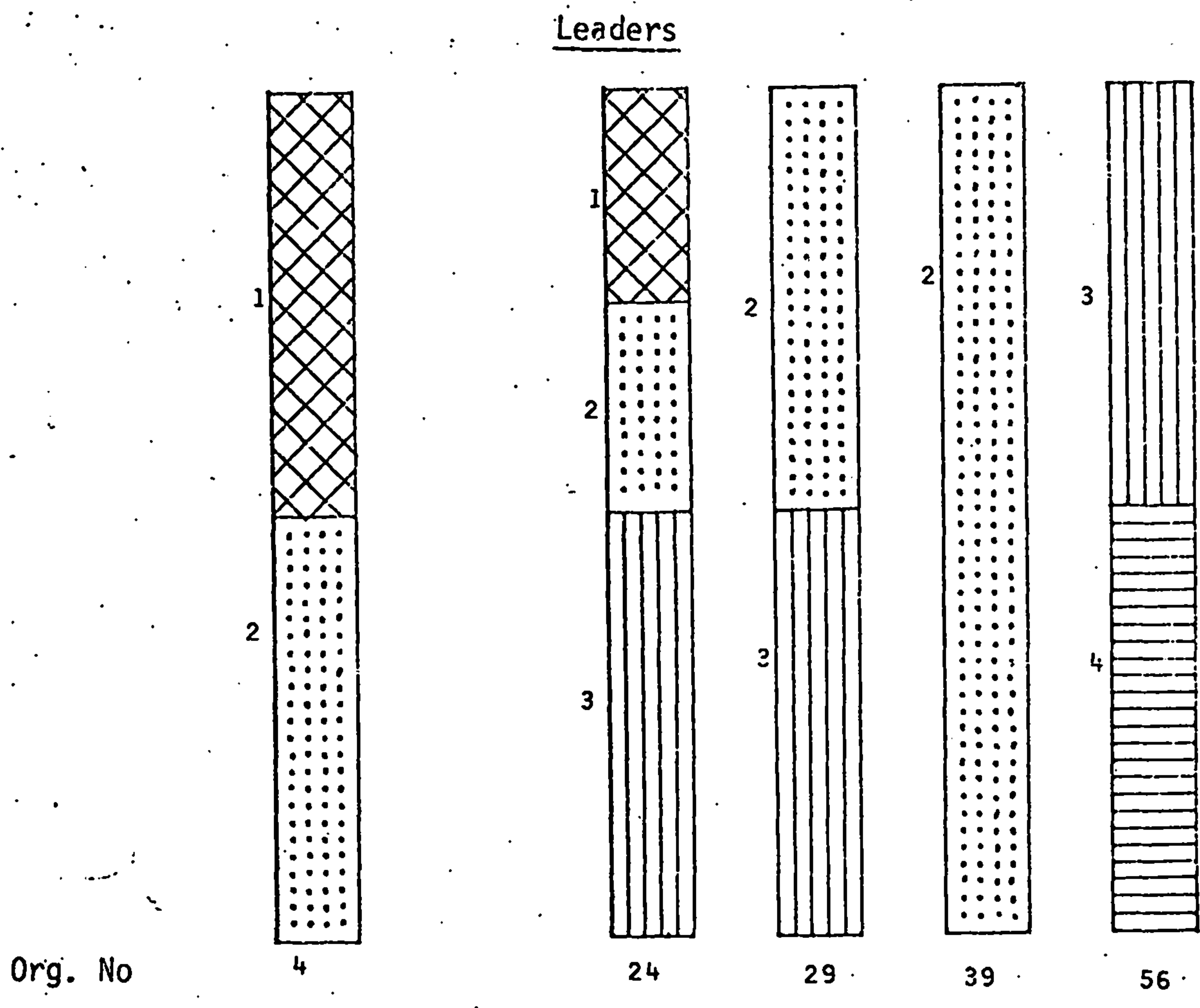
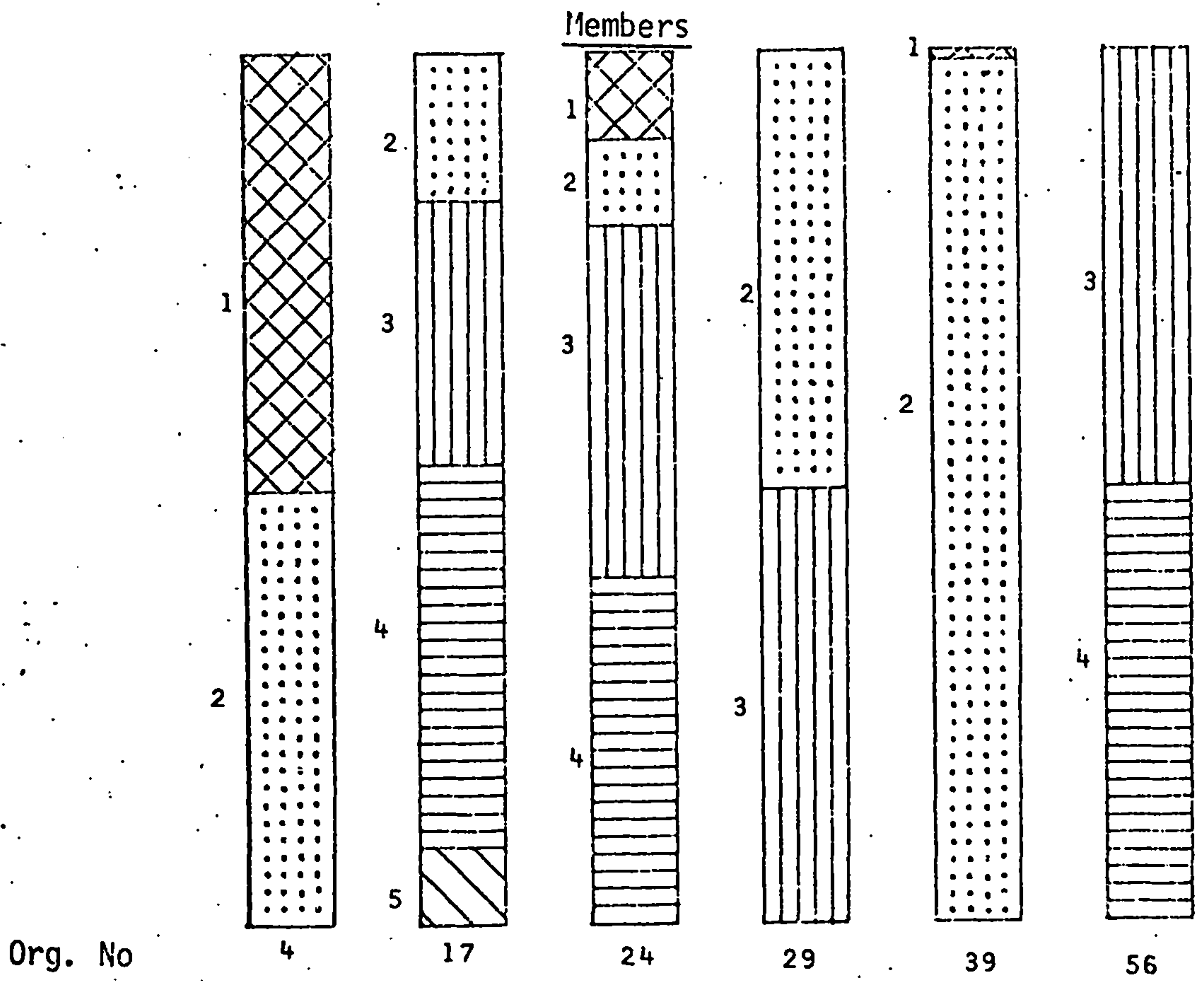


members as such, (who were all said to be in group 2) were not represented. In a sense, it would appear to be true as Bottomore put it, "that those who can afford to dispense charity - are the leaders of charitable organisations". In terms of "representativeness" of the general population, it is not surprising that Rotary and Round Table least resemble the composition of the general population, since, as was pointed out above, membership of these organisations is by invitation only. On the other hand, the Social Amenities Council most closely followed the occupational distribution of the towns' population, from which it seeks its "representatives". (see Table 90).

Womens' Organisations - Fig. 33

As can be seen from the bar-charts in the above figure, not one of the womens' organisations drew its membership from all five occupational groups. It would therefore appear that these organisations attracted members from certain occupational status groups only. The exception to this were the Co-operative Guild (No. 17), which because of its political affiliation, could be said to have at least as part of its purpose the elimination of differences based on occupational status; and the Catholic Womens' Guild (No. 24), which was the only organisation specifically for catholic women and would therefore presumably accept any member who fulfilled the primary conditions for joining (i.e. be a catholic woman) without any further differentiation on grounds of status.

FIG. 33) GLENROTHES - WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

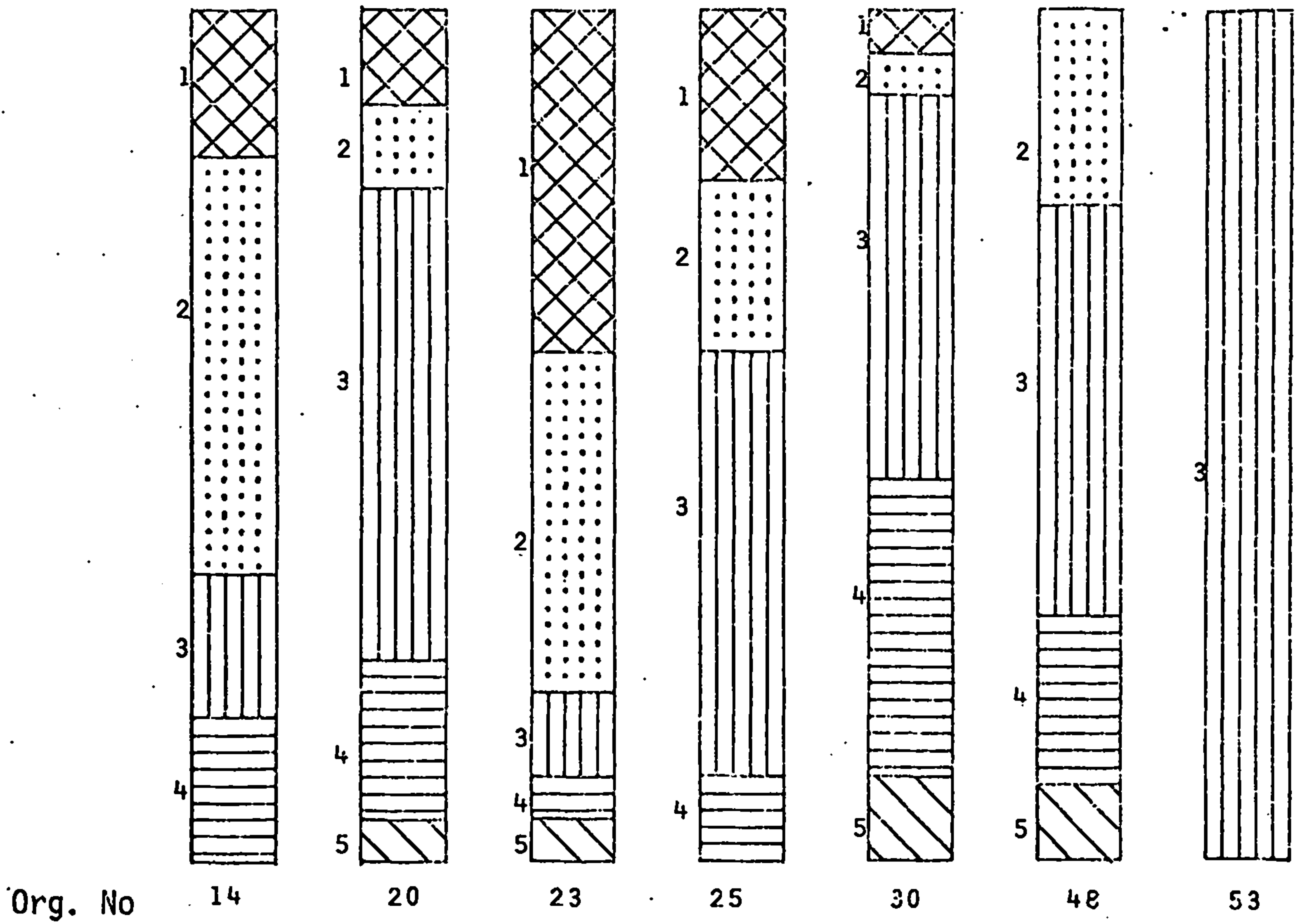


The bar charts illustrating the composition of the leadership are particularly interesting in as much as they, perhaps more than in any other category of organisations, reflect the composition of the membership. The exception to this was the Catholic Womens Guild (No. 24) where groups 1 and 2 accounted for 20% of the membership, but for 50% of the leadership, and, at the other end of the scale, the 40% of members said to be in group 4 were not represented at all. However, this exception within this category would tend to confirm the "rule" found almost everywhere else, regarding the prevalence of higher status groups among the leadership, in disproportion to their numbers in membership. (see Table 89). Comparing the occupational composition of these organisations with that of the town as a whole, it can be seen from Table 90 that the Catholic Womens' Guild (No. 24) and the Womens' Co-op Guild most closely followed the pattern of the town, whereas the W.R.I. (No. 39) and the Towns' Womens' Guild (No. 4) would appear to be least representative.

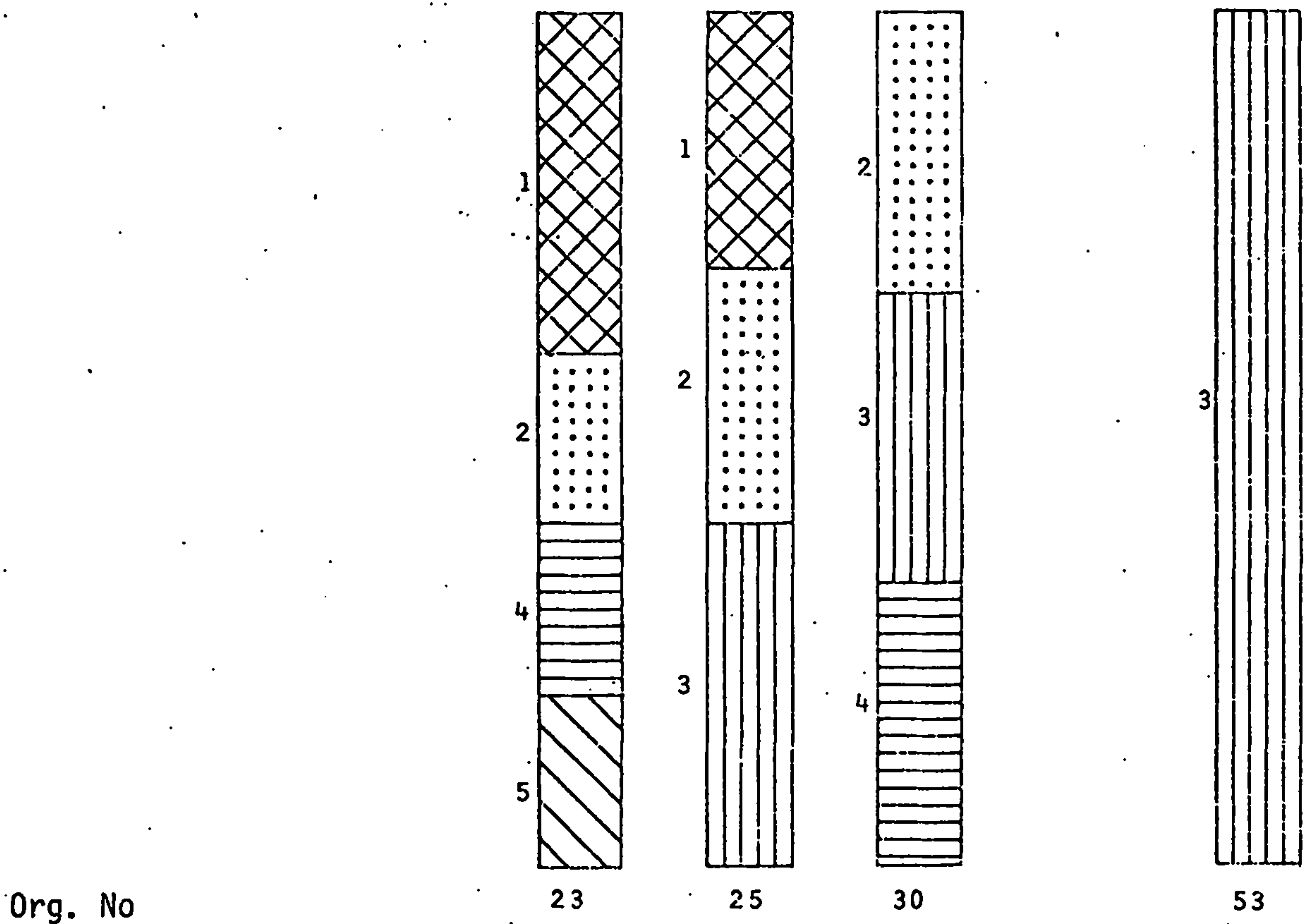
Hobby/Special Interest Groups - Fig. 34

A number of interesting factors emerge from the bar-charts in Fig. 34. In most of the organisations, all five (or at least four of the five occupational groups) were represented in the membership. Only the Angling Club (No. 53) would appear to be attracting members only from occupational group 3. In the Chess Club (No. 14) and the Camera Club (No. 25) there were no members from group 5, and at least as far as the Camera Club is concerned, this may be explained possibly on account of the expense involved in being an

Members



Leaders



amateur photographer. As might be expected, the Bridge Club (No. 23) had a large contingent of members (40%) from group 1; what is however more interesting is the fact that 5% of its members were found in occupational group 4 and another 5% in group 5. The secretary of this club confirmed this, and although he thought this to be unusual, was not able to explain the reasons for this. It would however appear that this might be a function of the location and character of the meeting place (Woodside Community Hall), and of the low annual membership fee of ten shillings.

Only four of the seven organisations in this category were able to indicate the occupational group of their leaders. As Table 89 shows, the proportion of members and leaders per occupational group is identical in the Angling Club (No. 53), followed by the Camera Club (No. 25). It is however of interest to note that in the Bridge Club, contrary to the notion of dominance of occupational group 1, which so far has been observed in connection with most of the organisations, groups 4 and 5, which account for 10% of the membership, together provide 40% of the leadership. This can be considered to be an exception, but it would appear that the small group of members in groups 4 and 5 are also very active in providing leadership.* In the Camera Club (No. 25), once again the "rule" to which the Bridge Club

* Perhaps this is one of these situations which Bottomore is referring to when he wrote: "The high occupational status of the members of an organisation may on the other hand, be an attraction to the individual whose own status is low if he is anxious to climb." p. 368 op.cit.

provides an exception, would appear to be confirmed again. Groups 1 and 2 provided 40% of the membership, but 60% of the leadership, and group 4, which accounted for 10% of the membership was not represented among the leaders at all. The Rothes Invitation (Racing Pigeons) Club (No. 30) provides a further interesting exception in as much as this was only one of five organisations in this sample, (the other four being the Archery Club (No. 12), the Festival Society (No. 2), the Rothes W.R.I. (No. 39) and the Communist Party (No. 55), in which occupational group 1 was represented in the membership, but did not provide any leaders. However in the case of the Rothes Invitation Club it might possibly be considered to be more surprising to find any members in group 1 at all, since racing pigeons has traditionally been regarded as a "working class" leisure pursuit. When comparing the composition of the membership of these organisations with that of the town as a whole (Table 90) it is of interest to note that the two organisations concerned with gardening (No. 20) and (No. 48) most closely resemble the pattern of the town as a whole. But then, as Bottomore pointed out,²⁹ the nature of the activities is of great significance. "A Rotary Club whose members meet once a week to have lunch together is a very different organisation from a horticultural society whose members cultivate their own gardens and may meet only once a year at the annual show."

29. T.B. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 370.

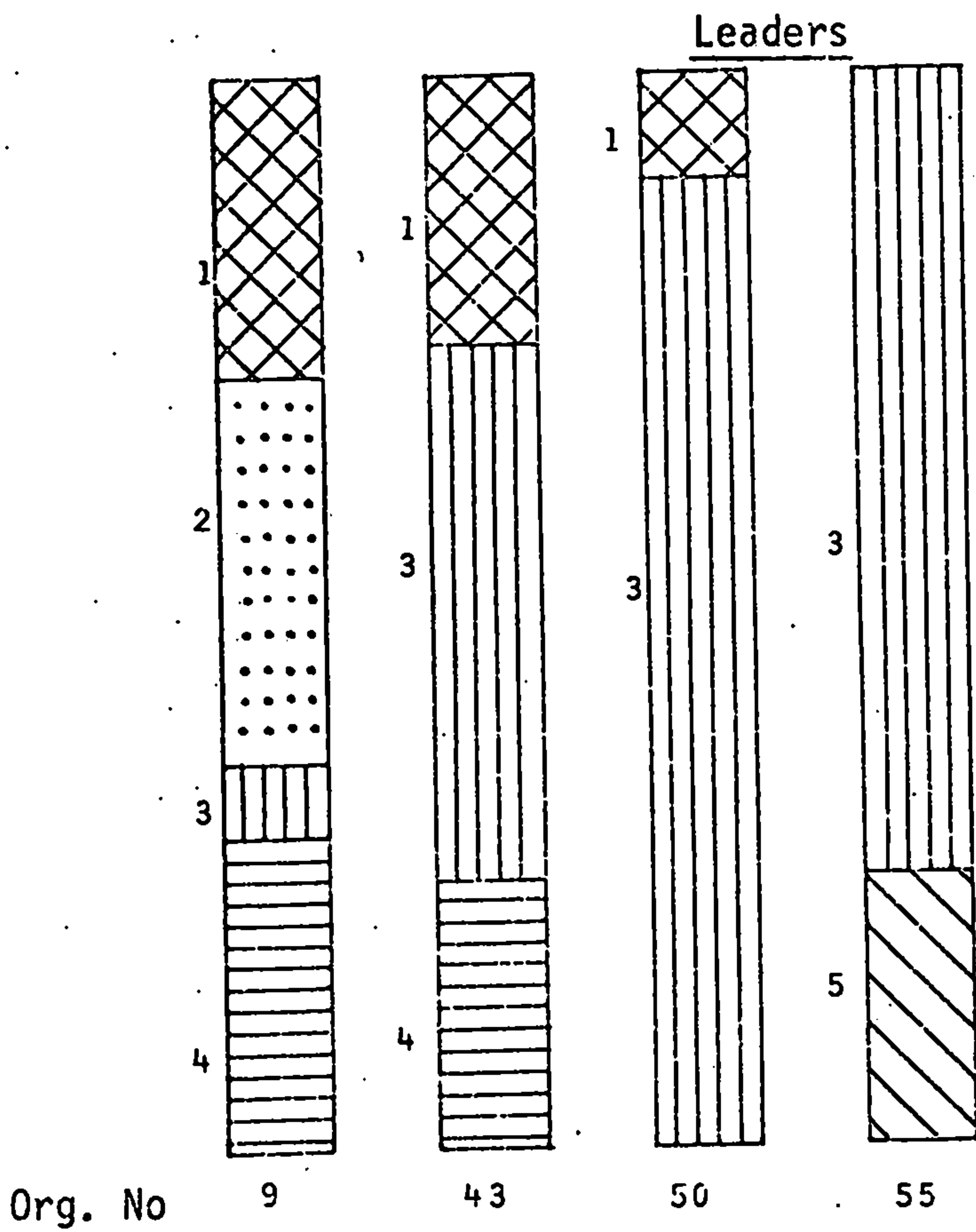
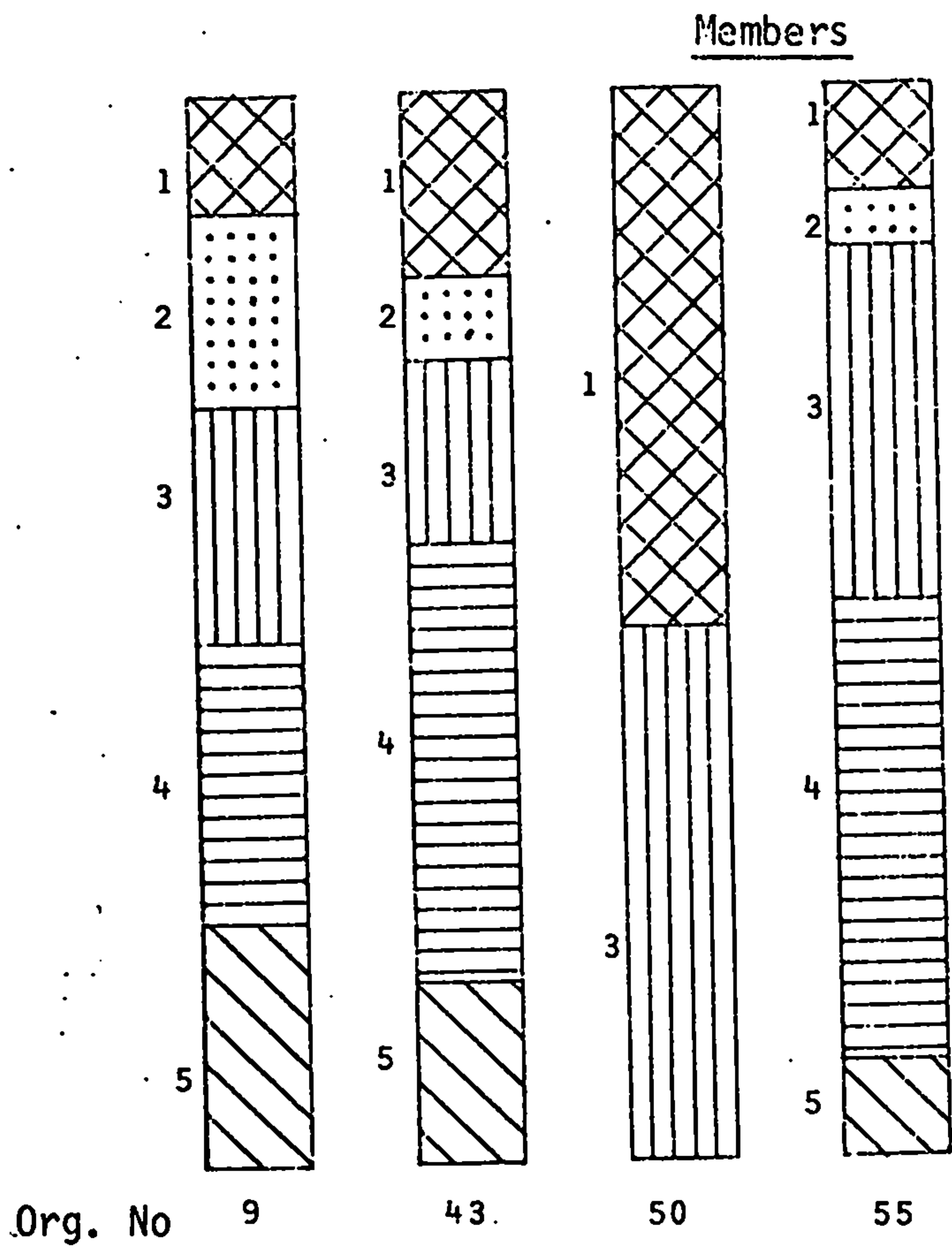
Political organisations - Fig. 35

Of the four organisations in this category which were able to supply data on the occupational status of their members, three had members in all five groups. Two of these, the Womens' Section of the Communist Party (No. 43) and the Communist Party (No. 55) proper, would presumably point out that it is part of their political doctrine to abolish any differences based on occupational status. On the other hand, 50% of the members of the Young Conservatives (No. 50) were found to be in occupational group 1 and the remaining 50% in class 3.

Looking at the bar-charts relating to the composition of the leadership it is interesting to note that in the case of the Scottish National Party (No. 9) and the Communist Party Womens Section (No. 43) the shift of dominance, which was observed in most other organisations occurs also. In other words, in the case of the Scottish National Party, occupational group 1 provided 11% of the membership, but 28% of the leadership, whereas group 5, which has 23% of the membership was not represented among the leadership at all. A similar trend, albeit less marked, can be observed in the Womens' Section of the Communist Party. There occupational group 1 accounted for 17% of the membership, but for 25% of the leadership, and group 5, which was represented by 17% in the membership, was not found in the leadership at all.

However, with the other two organisations, the Young Conservatives (No. 50) and the Communist Party (No. 55), this shift also took place - but in the opposite direction. In the

FIG. 35) GLENROTHES - POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS



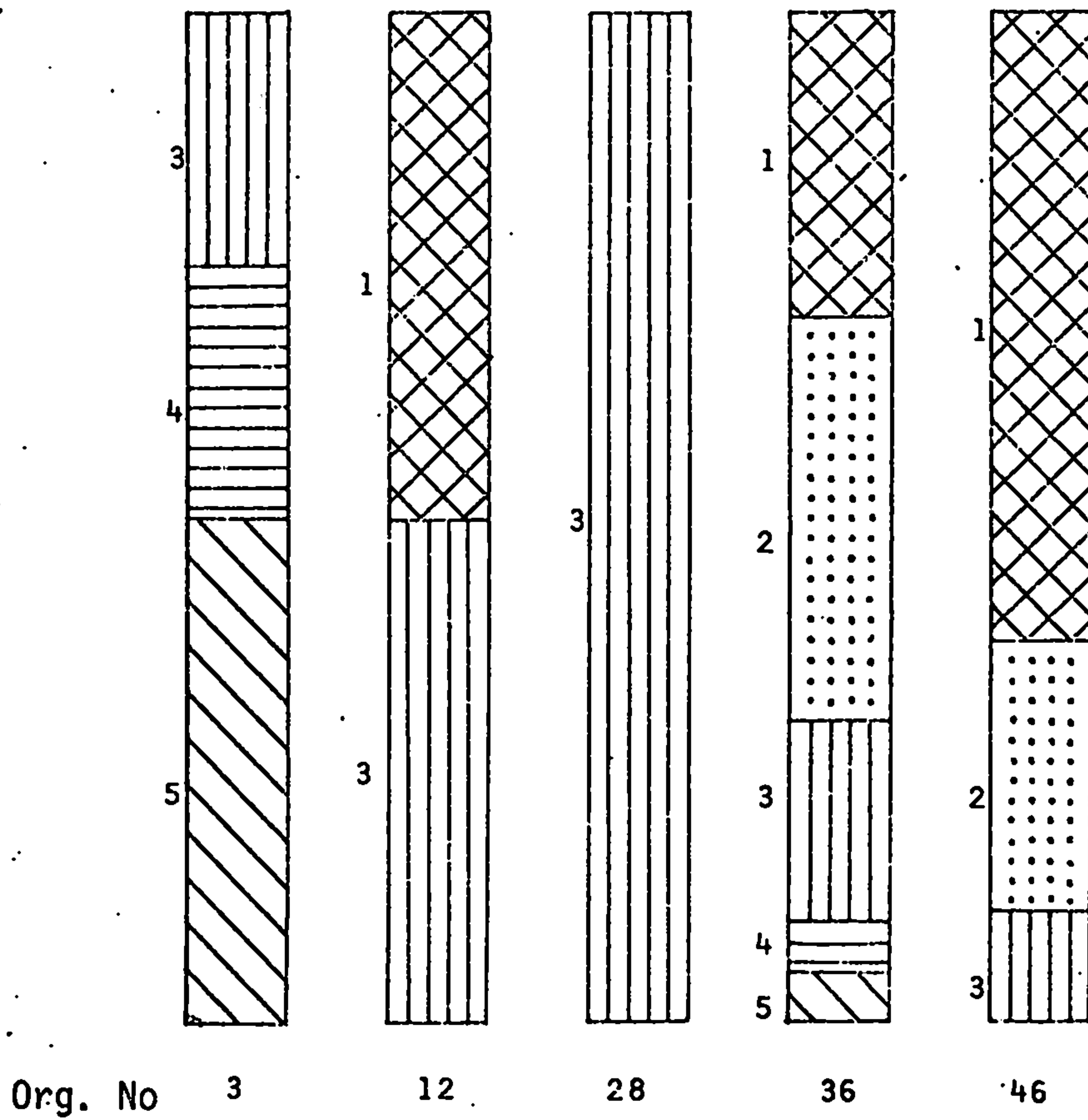
case of the Young Conservatives group 1 accounted for 50% of the membership, but only for 10% of the leadership. This at first appeared to be surprising, but a possible clue for this situation might be found in Bottomore's observation³⁰ relating to Conservative organisations in Squirebridge, where he found that the members with high occupational status were less inclined to attend regularly. One of the factors in this, he suggested, was that the Conservative organisations were regarded as conferring prestige, and that those members with a slightly lower occupational status sought, by "assiduous attendance and whole-hearted participation to raise themselves in the world". In the case of the Communist Party (No. 55) occupational groups 1 and 2 accounted for 15% of the members, but they were not represented in the leadership at all. On the other hand the skilled workers, which accounted for 33% of the membership provided 75% of the leadership. As Table 90 illustrates, the Communist Party also happened to be the one organisation in this category, with the occupational status composition, which most closely resembled that of the population of the town.

Sports Organisations - Fig. 36

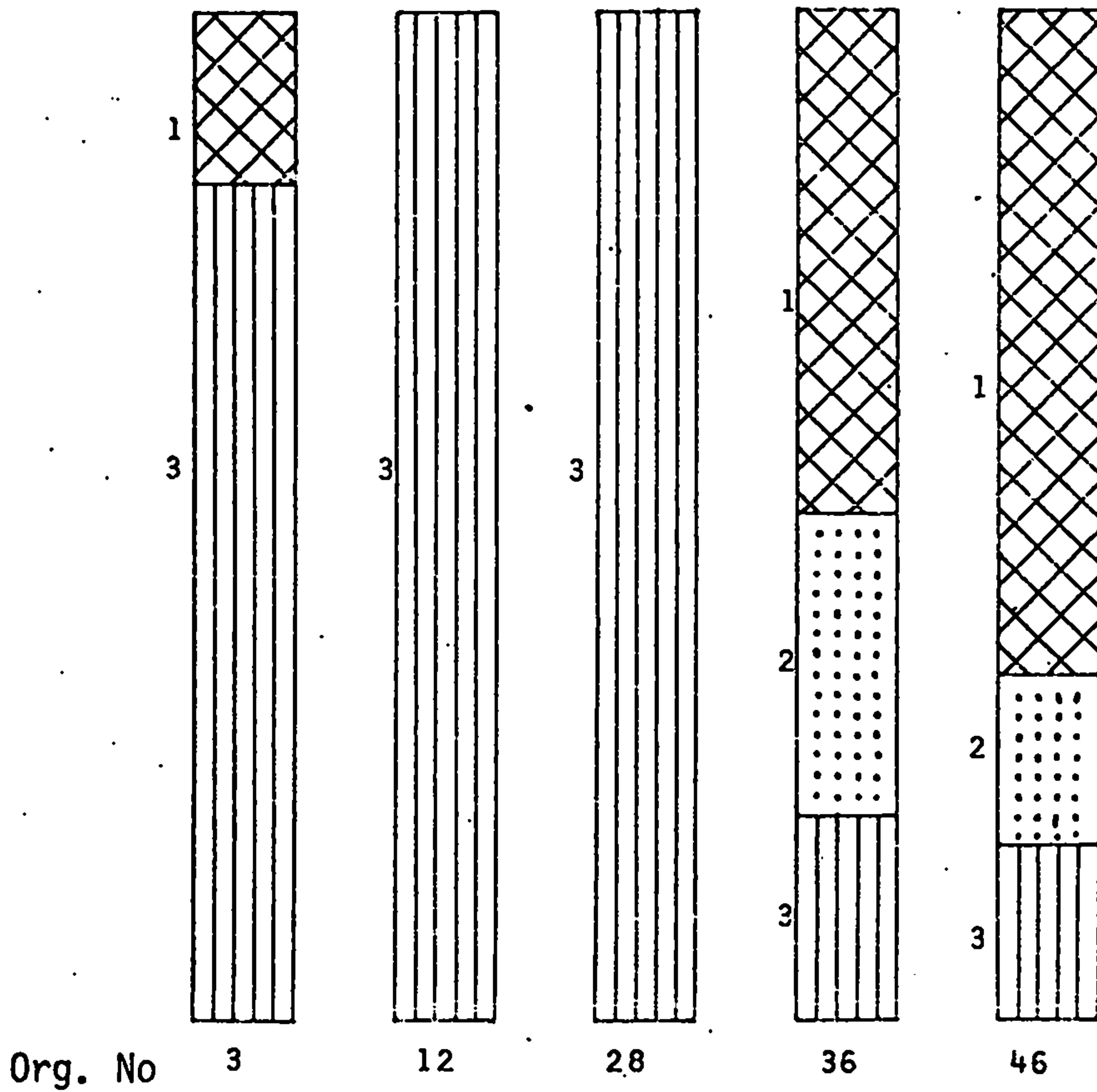
It is of interest to note that only one of the organisations in this category would appear to cater for members in all five occupational groups, namely the Golf Club (No. 36). The Boxing Club (No. 3) on the other hand only attracted members from occupational groups 3-5 (50% being in group 5). The Bowling Club, which is attached to the Recreation Centre

30. T.B. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 363.

Members



Leaders



and Social Club consisted entirely of members in occupational group 3. When comparing the composition of the leadership with that of the membership, it is found that once again group 1 was more prominently represented in proportion to the actual number of members. For instance, in the Boxing Club (No. 3) there were no members in group 1, but 17% of the leadership belonged to this group. The Archery Club (No. 12) as has already been noted was an exception to this "rule"; but in the Golf Club and the Mountaineering Club once again occupational group 1 figured prominently in the leadership. Table 90 shows that none of the Sports Organisations represented here could really be said to resemble in the occupational status structure the town as a whole, although, (because of the predominance of group 3 in the general population), the Bowling Club comes nearest to it.

Social/Dancing Organisations - Fig. 37

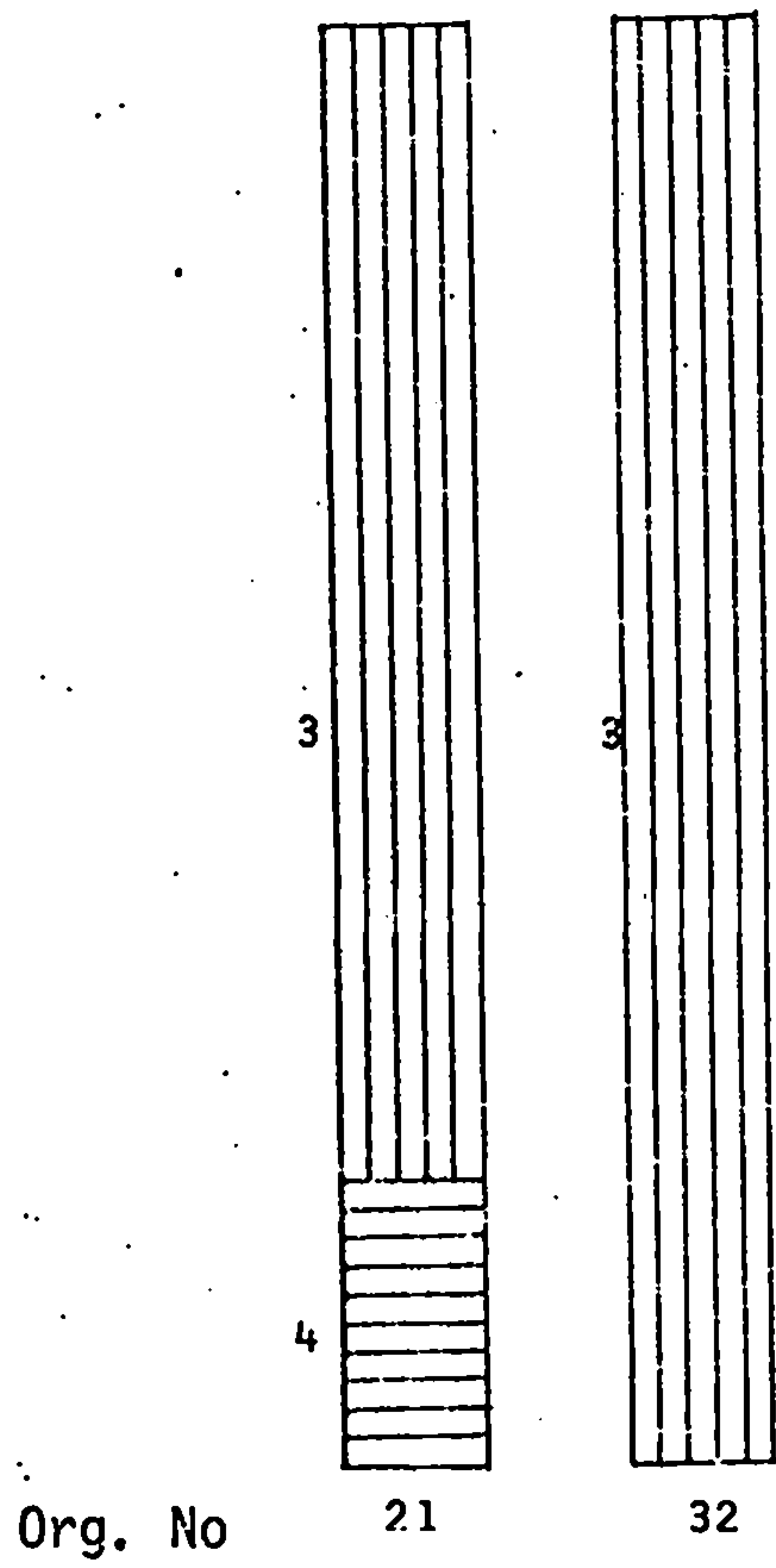
The two organisations represented by the bar-charts in Fig. 37, i.e. the Glenrothes Recreation Centre & Social Club (No. 21) and the British Legion (No. 32) are to all intents and purposes the equivalents of "Working Men's Clubs", and are therefore not catering for members in occupational groups 1 and 2. However it is of interest to note that no members in the British Legion would appear to come from groups 4 and 5, and none in the Recreation Centre and Social Club from group 5.

Old People's Organisations - Fig. 38

It is of interest to note that not one of the three organisations represented by the bar-charts in Fig. 38 would appear to cater for members in occupational group 5. On the

FIG. 37) GLENROTHES - SOCIAL/DANCING ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders

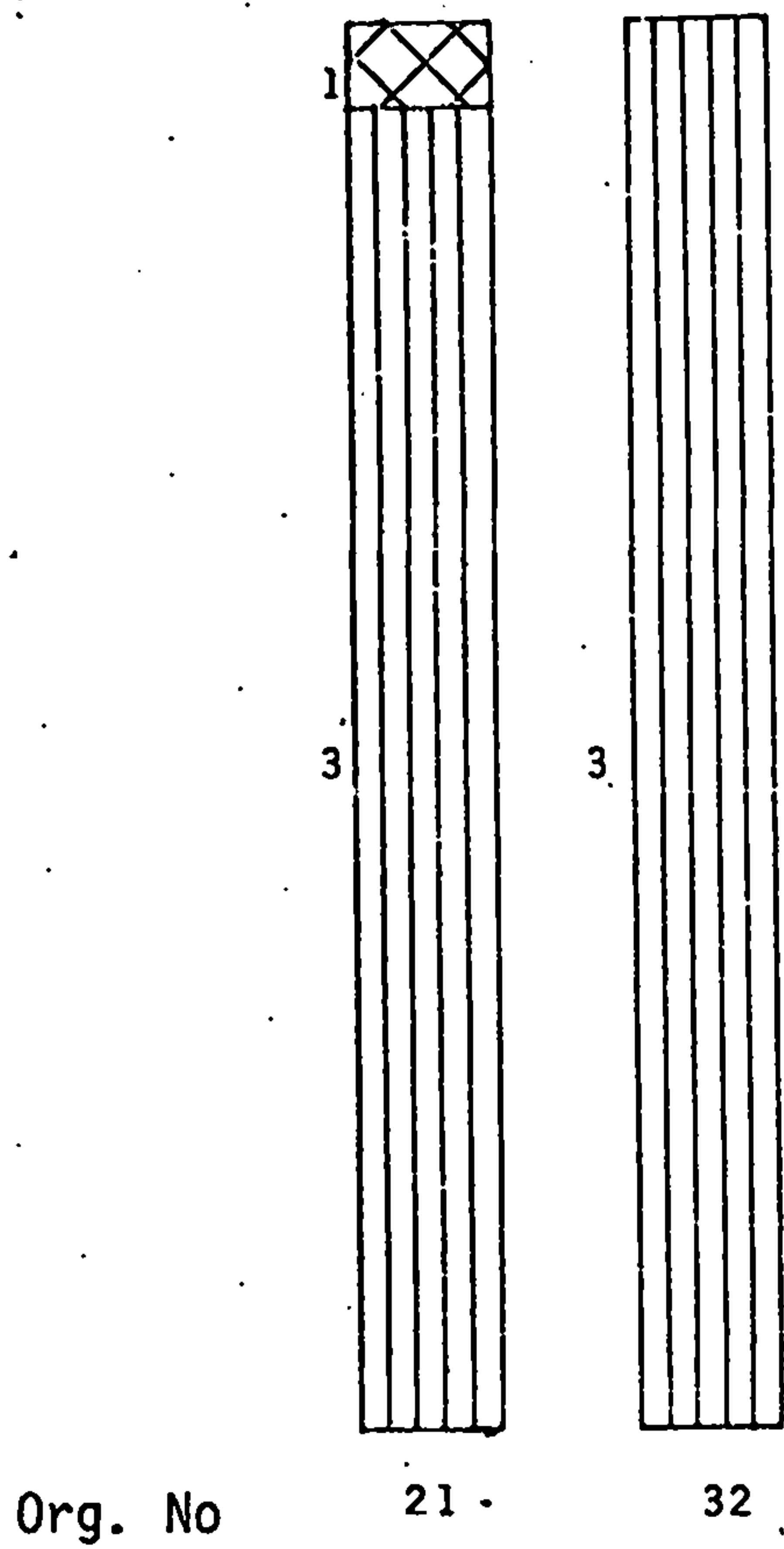
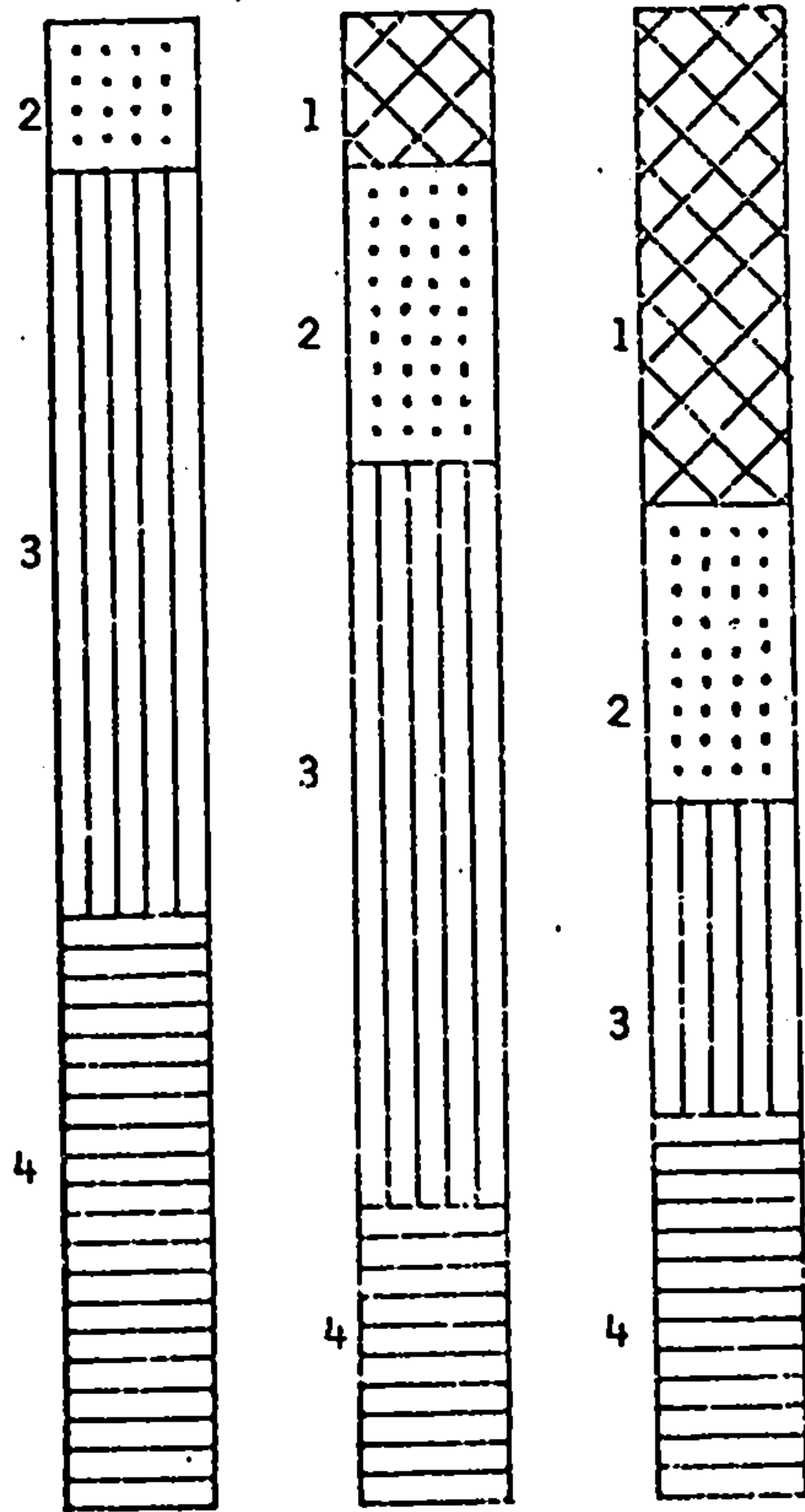


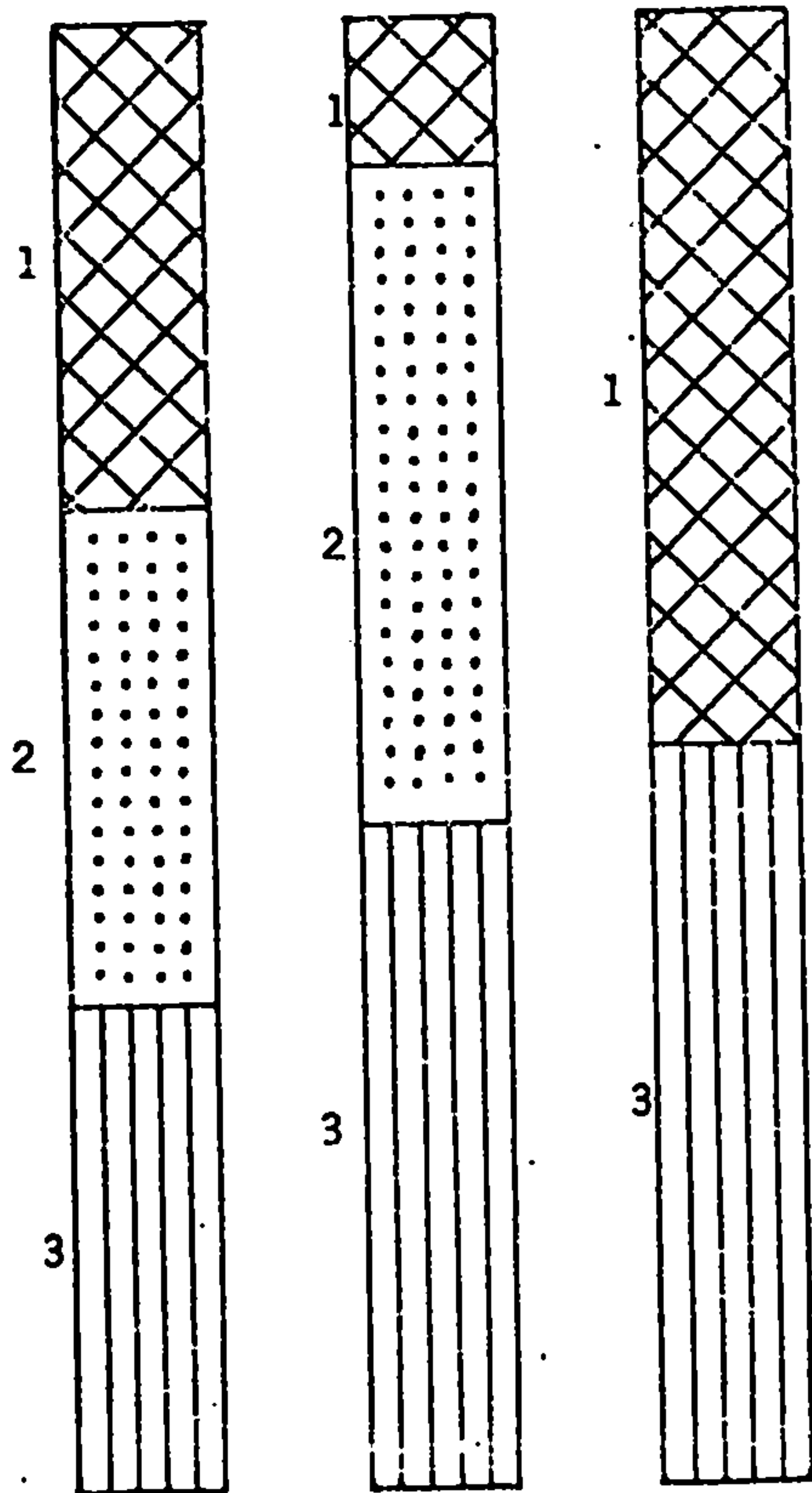
FIG. 38) GLENROTHES - OLD PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Org. No 18 27 31

Leaders



Org. No 18 27 31

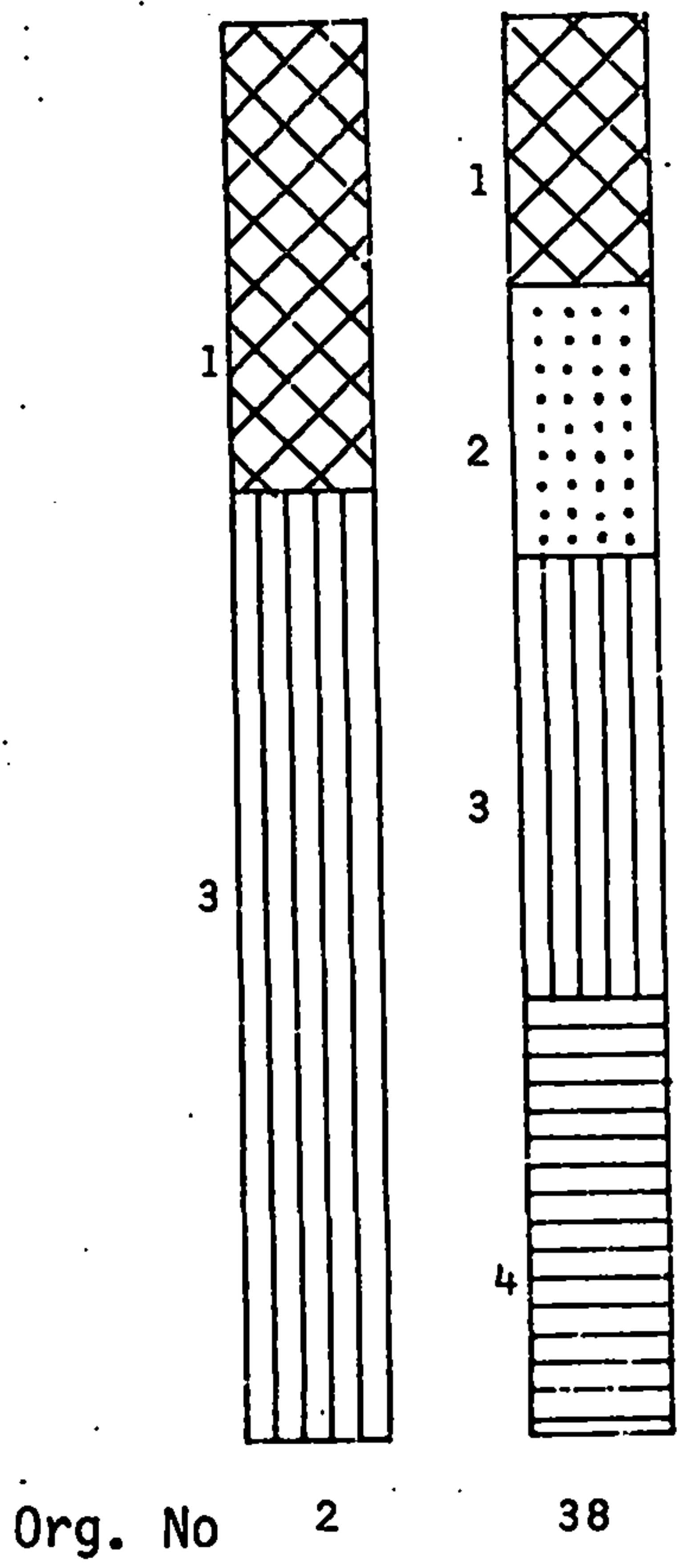
other hand, group 1 figured more prominently in the leadership than in the membership, except in the case of the "Sunshine Club" (No. 27) where the proportions were equal as far as group 1 was concerned. Group 4 was represented in all three organisations in the membership, but not in the leadership. Once again, as with every other category, except in a few cases, the leadership tended to be confined to the higher occupational status groups. Table 90 illustrates that the distribution of occupational groups in the Sunshine Club (No. 27) most closely resembled that of the population at large.

Others - Fig. 39

Both organisations represented in this figure were "community associations". The history and purpose of both, the Festival Society and the Glenrothes Community Association have been referred to previously. It is however of interest to note for instance that although occupational group 1 made up 33% of the membership of the Festival Society (No. 2), none were among its leaders. In Bottomores' terms, one of the factors might be that leadership in this society, particularly since it had been declining for some time, was not seen to be "status-conferring". Similarly the community association had more group 1 members proportionately, than leaders (19% as opposed to 12%). Both organisations at the time of this study were going through a period of stagnation, and according to their secretaries, it was difficult to find people who were willing to serve as leaders and committee members. However whether this was the cause, or an effect of this decline would be difficult to determine.

FIG. 39) GLENROTHES - "OTHER" ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders

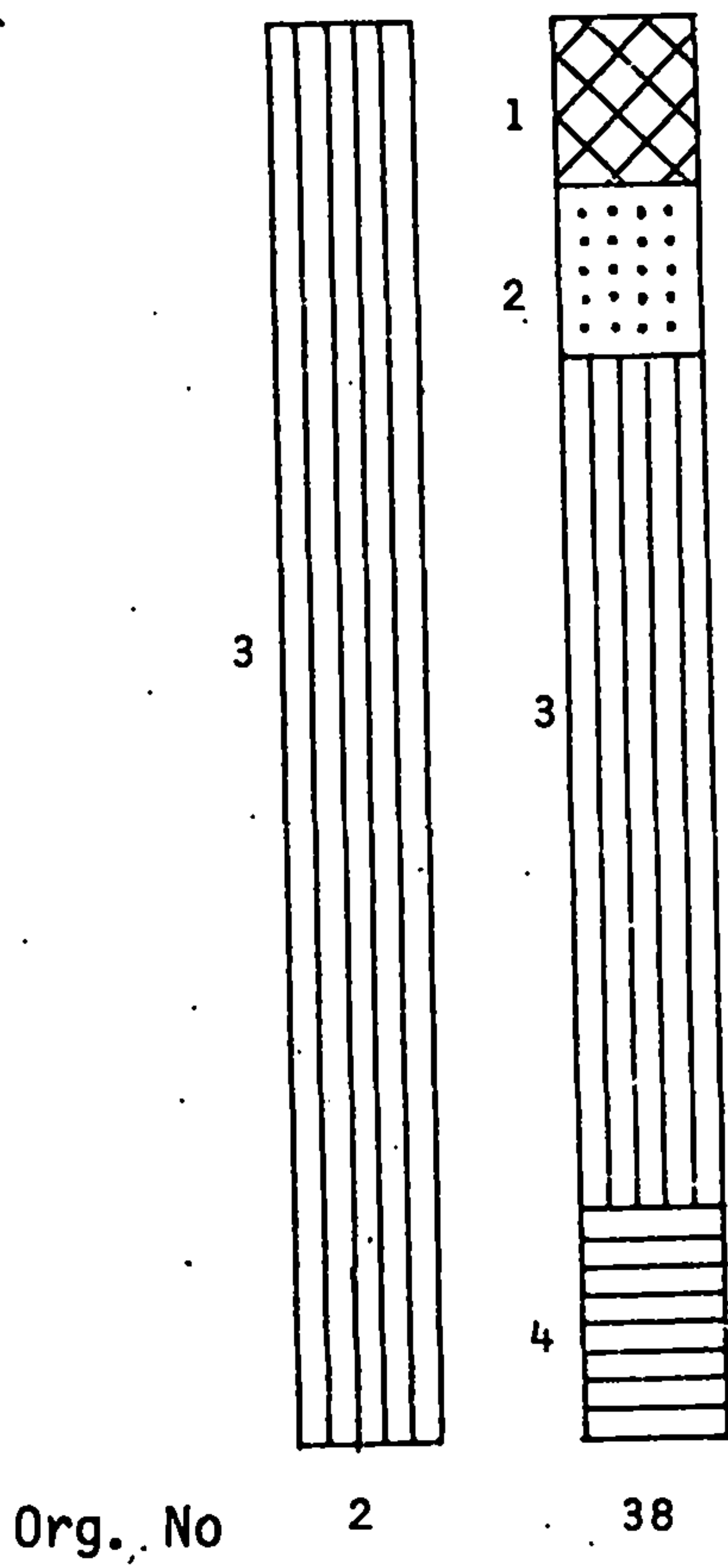


TABLE No.89

GLENROTHES - COMPARISON OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MEMBERSHIP/LEADERSHIP

	Membership Organisation No.	Members Occupational Group					Leaders Occupational Group					Chi Square value
		Occupational Group					Occupational Group					
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
Youth	49	16	30	30	14	10	37	27	22	11	3	35.54
	52	20	20	20	20	20	50	10	20	10	10	60.00
Arts & Cultural	58	20	23	37	13	7	20	25	50	5	0	16.66
	13	25	40	15	10	10	70	30	0	0	0	118.50
	33	5	75	15	5	0	5	90	5	0	0	14.67
	51	43	28	29	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	132.56
Social Services	7	70	30	0	0	0	75	25	0	0	0	1.19
	11	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0.00
	15	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	999999900.00
	19	9	28	36	9	18	50	0	50	0	0	247.22
	45	9	53	38	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	224.95
Women's	4	50	50	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	0.00
	24	10	10	40	40	0	25	25	50	0	0	87.50
	29	0	50	50	0	0	0	50	50	0	0	0.00
	39	1	99	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	1.01
	56	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	50	50	0	0.00
Hobby/Special Interest	23	40	40	10	5	5	40	20	0	20	20	110.00
	25	20	20	50	10	0	30	30	40	0	0	22.00
	30	5	5	45	35	10	0	33	34	33	0	174.60
	53	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0.00
Political	9	11	18	22	26	23	28	36	7	29	0	77.85
	43	17	8	17	41	17	25	0	50	25	0	99.07
	50	50	0	50	0	0	10	0	90	0	0	64.00
	55	10	5	33	43	9	0	0	75	0	25	139.90
Sports	3	0	0	25	25	50	17	0	83	0	0	28900175.56
	12	50	0	50	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	100.00
	28	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0.00
	36	30	40	20	5	5	50	30	20	0	0	25.83
Social/Dancing	46	62	27	11	0	0	66	17	17	0	0	7.23
	21	0	0	80	20	0	6	0	94	0	0	3600010.45
	32	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0.00

TABLE 89 (contd.)

Membership Organisation	Members Occupational Group					Leaders Occupational Group					Chi Square value	
	Occupational Group					Occupational Group						
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
Old People	18	0	10	50	40	0	33	34	33	0	0	108900037.38
	27	10	20	50	20	0	10	45	45	0	0	51.75
Other	31	33	20	21	26	0	50	0	50	0	0	94.81
	2	33	0	67	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	49.25
	38	19	19	31	31	0	12	12	60	16	0	59.55

TABLE NO. 90

Comparison Occupational Status Membership/Population
GLENROTHES

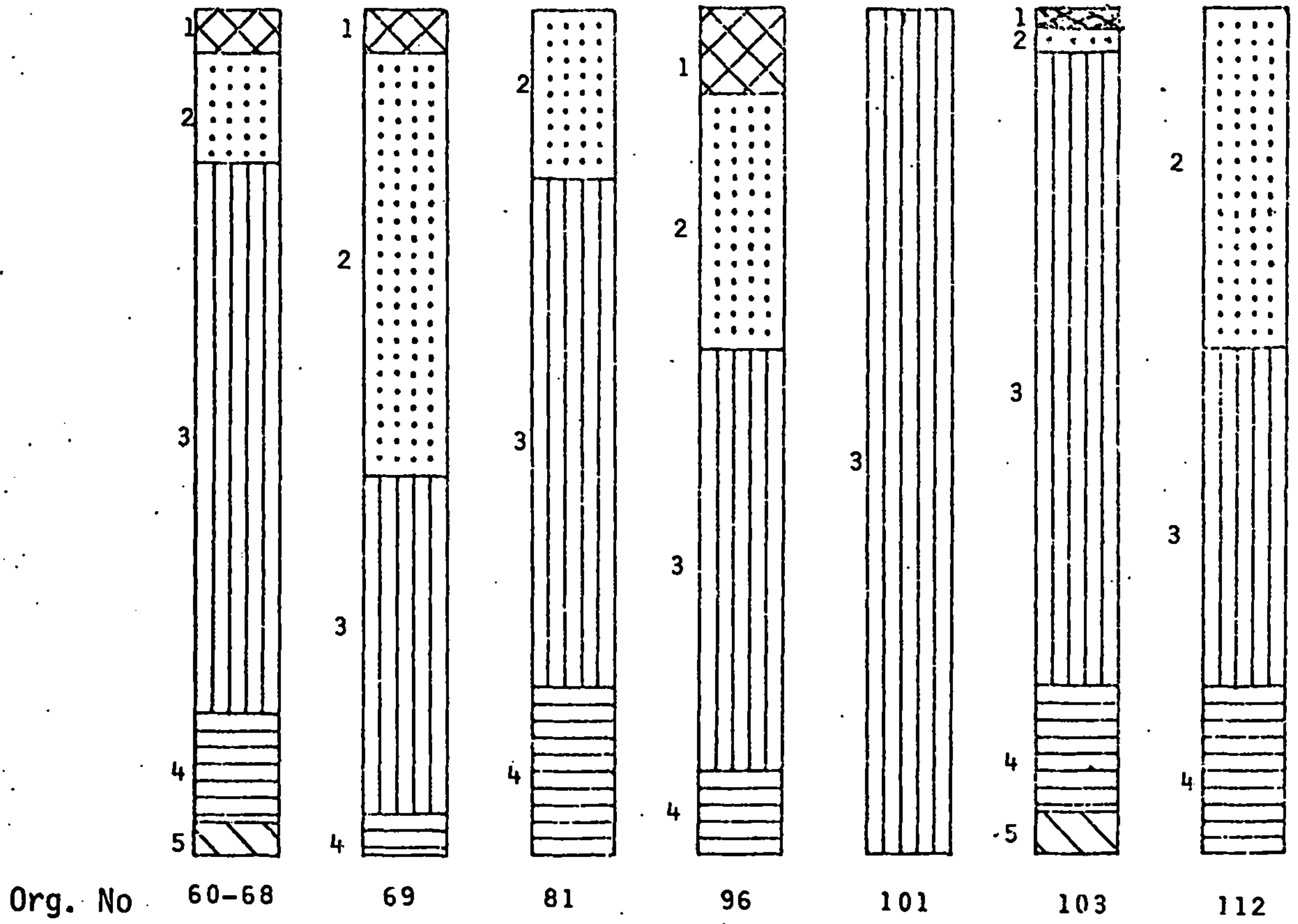
	Organisation No.	Occupational Group					<u>Chi-square value</u>
		1	2	3	4	5	
Towns population		7	14	54	18	7	
Youth	22	5	19	54	16	6	2.72
	26	1	2	72	23	2	26.39
	35	5	25	50	15	5	10.58
	49	16	30	30	14	10	42.70
	52	20	20	20	20	20	72.49
	58	20	23	37	13	7	36.67
Arts & Cultural	5	20	30	30	10	10	57.94
	10	10	20	40	25	5	10.78
	13	25	40	15	10	10	127.58
	16	20	58	18	4	0	204.32
	33	5	75	15	5	0	310.91
	51	43	28	29	0	0	235.72
Social Service	7	70	30	0	0	0	664.29
	11	100	0	0	0	0	1328.57
	15	0	100	0	0	0	614.29
	19	9	28	36	9	18	42.36
	34	0	33	33	34	0	62.17
	45	9	53	38	0	0	138.96
Women's	4	50	50	0	0	0	435.71
	17	0	17	30	44	9	56.44
	24	10	10	40	40	0	39.95
	29	0	50	50	0	0	124.87
	39	1	99	0	0	0	600.21
	56	0	0	50	50	0	85.19
Hobby/Special Interest	14	17	49	17	17	0	134.19
	20	11	10	55	19	5	4.07
	23	40	40	10	5	5	249.67
	25	20	20	50	10	0	37.57
	30	5	5	45	35	10	25.20
	48	0	23	48	20	9	14.25
	53	0	0	100	0	0	85.19
Political	9	11	18	22	26	23	62.52
	43	17	8	17	41	17	85.88
	50	50	0	50	0	0	303.44
	55	10	5	33	43	9	50.53
Sports	3	0	0	25	25	50	303.44
	12	50	0	50	0	0	303.44
	28	0	0	100	0	0	85.19
	36	30	40	20	5	5	155.22
	46	62	27	11	0	0	503.46
Social & Dancing	21	0	0	80	20	0	40.74
Old People	32	0	0	100	0	0	85.19
	18	0	10	50	40	0	42.33
	27	10	20	50	20	0	11.38
	31	33	20	21	26	0	129.87
Other	2	33	0	67	0	0	138.70
	38	19	19	31	31	0	48.54

East KilbrideYouth Organisations - Fig. 40

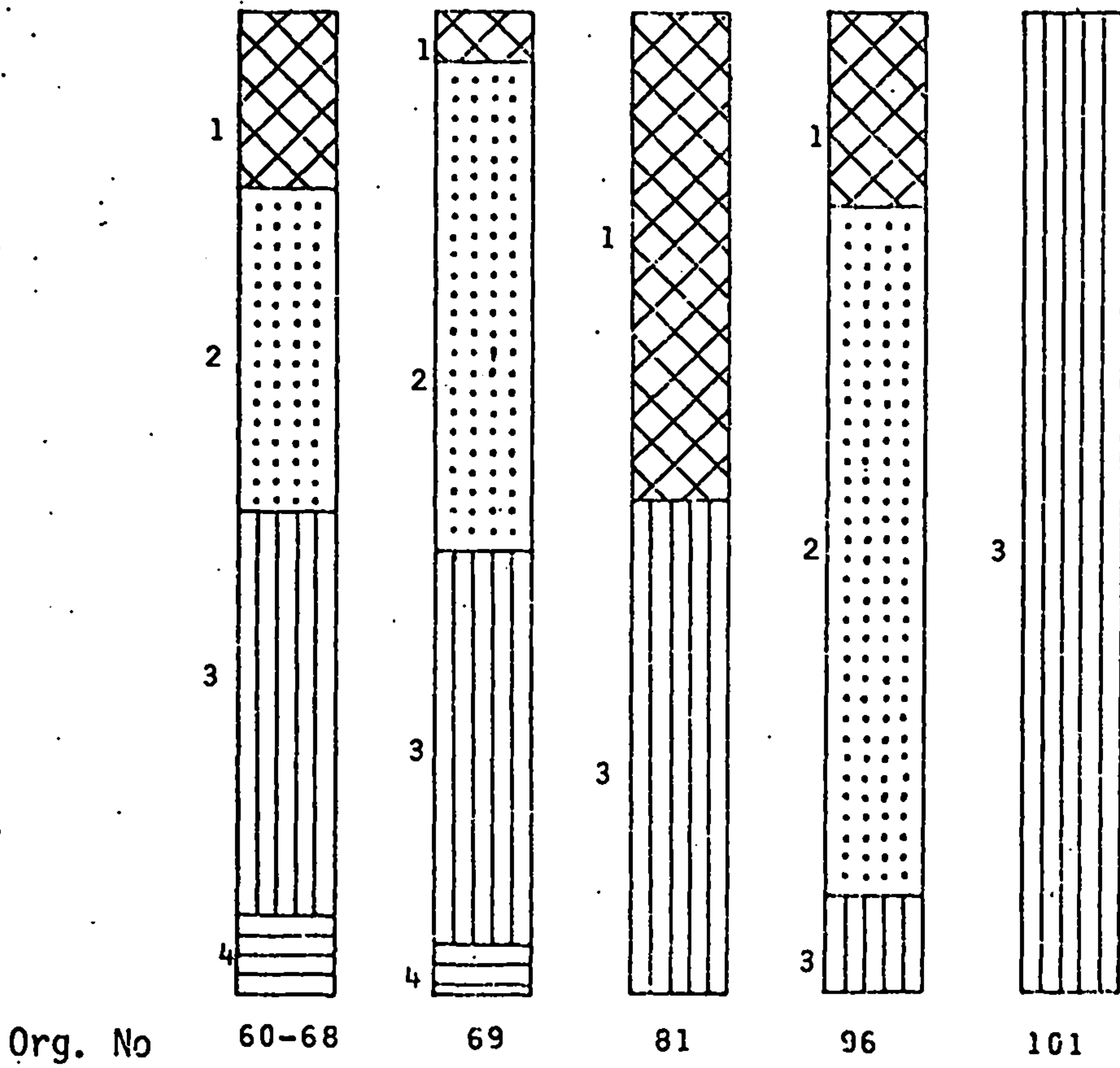
As the bar-charts in the above figure illustrate, only two organisations, the Scouts (No. 60-68) and the Duncanrig Youth Club (No. 103) had members from all five occupational groups. This is in contrast with the situation in Glenrothes, where every youth organisation in the sample comprised members from all five groups. It is also of interest to note that, as was the case in Glenrothes, the uniformed organisations (i.e. the Scouts, the Venture Scouts and the Girl Guides attracted the highest proportion of children of parents in occupational group 1. The bar-charts relating to the composition of the leadership once again confirm the general trend, which has been observed throughout the Glenrothes sample, namely the disproportionate representation of occupational group 1 within the leadership as compared with the number of members in that group. Two exceptions to this however have to be noted, i.e. the Venture Scouts (No. 69) and the Murray Youth Club (No. 101) where the proportions were exactly equal in both the membership and leadership. In the case of the other three organisations, where such a comparison was possible the proportions varied considerably. For instance, in the case of the Scouts (No. 60-68) Occupational group 1 accounted for 5% of the members, but for 18% of the leaders, and group 5, although represented in membership, did not provide any leaders. This shift was even more marked in the case of the South Parish Youth Club (No. 81) where occupational group 1 was not re-

FIG. 40) EAST KILBRIDE - YOUTH ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



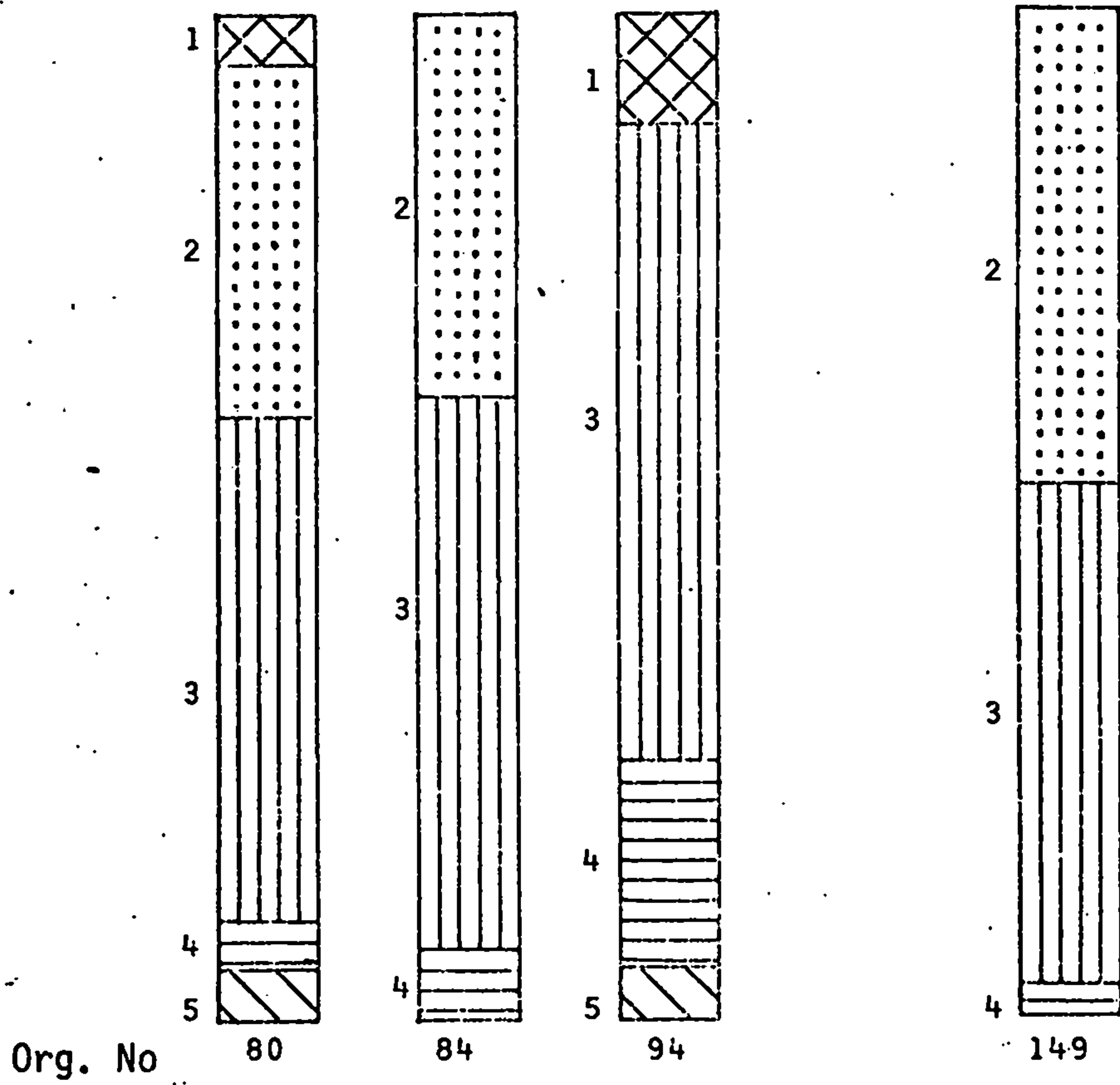
presented among the membership, but provided 50% of the leaders; and again in the Girl Guides (No. 96) where groups 1 and 2 accounted for 40% of the members and constituted 90% of the leadership. Finally, when comparing the composition in terms of occupational groups within the membership of these organisations, with that of the town at large (see Table 92), it is of interest to note that the uniformed organisations most closely resembled the composition of the towns' population, whereas in Glenrothes it was the non-uniformed organisations which did so.

Arts & Cultural organisations - Fig. 41

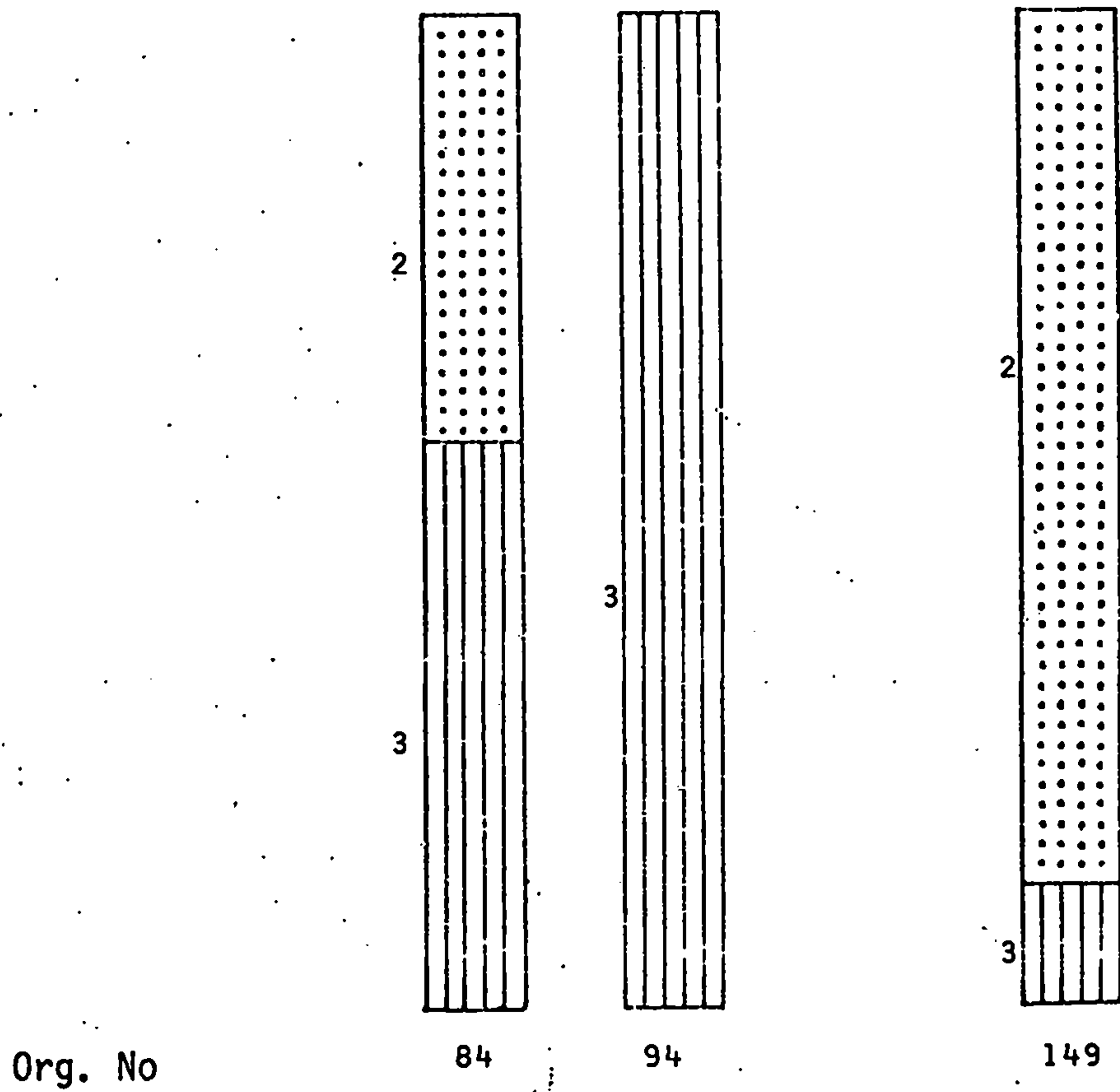
The bar-charts in Fig. 41 show that two of the organisations in this category had members from all five occupational groups, namely the Light Opera Club (No. 80) and the Burgh Pipe Band (No. 94). The other two organisations, The Rolls Royce Male Choir (No. 84) and the Repertory Theatre Club (No. 149) would appear to be catering for occupational groups 2-4 only. As far as representation among the leaders was concerned, however, in each of the organisations, for which figures were available, the lower status groups 4 and 5 were not found in the leadership. However, it is of interest to note that in the case of the Burgh Pipe Band, although all five groups were reputed to be in membership, the leadership consisted entirely of members in group 3. A shift of this kind however, as has been shown, was an exception. In fact in the East Kilbride sample there were only six organisations which had members in group 1, which were not represented in the leadership. A comparison of

FIG. 41) EAST KILBRIDE - ARTS & CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



the composition of the leadership with that of the membership shows that the Rolls Royce Male Choir (No. 84) most closely reflected the composition of its membership in the leadership (see Table 91). On the other hand, it would appear from Table 92 that the membership of the Burgh Pipe Band resembled the general population more closely than any other organisation in this category.

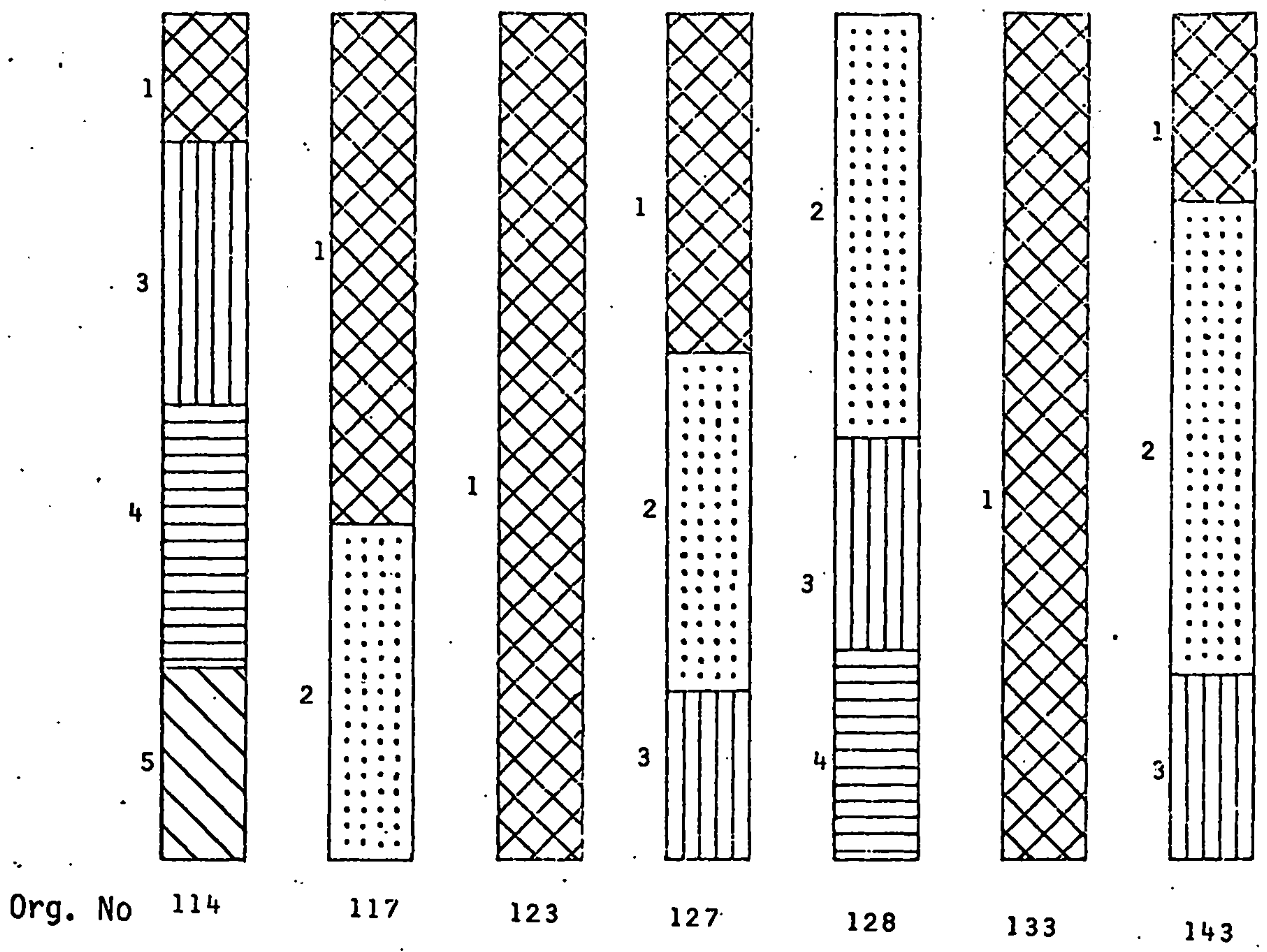
Social Service Organisations - Fig. 42

Once again, as was found with the organisations in this category in Glenrothes, membership, (and even more so, leadership) of social service organisations was to a large degree the domain of the higher status occupational groups. Only one organisation, the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 114) had members in all five groups. The Red Cross (No. 128) also, the only other "First Aid" organisation in the sample, had members in occupational group 4, but the remainder would appear to be very much more exclusive. The Round Table (No. 117) consisted entirely of members in groups 1 and 2, the Inner Wheel (No. 123) (the wives of Rotarians), and the Royal National Life Boat Institution (No. 133) had only members from group 1. However, in the strict sense of the word, the R.N.L.I. has no "membership", but exists as a committee to raise funds. Once again it would appear that Bottomore's "dictum" about membership (and leadership) of charitable organisations consisting of those who could afford to dispense charity, is shown to be correct.

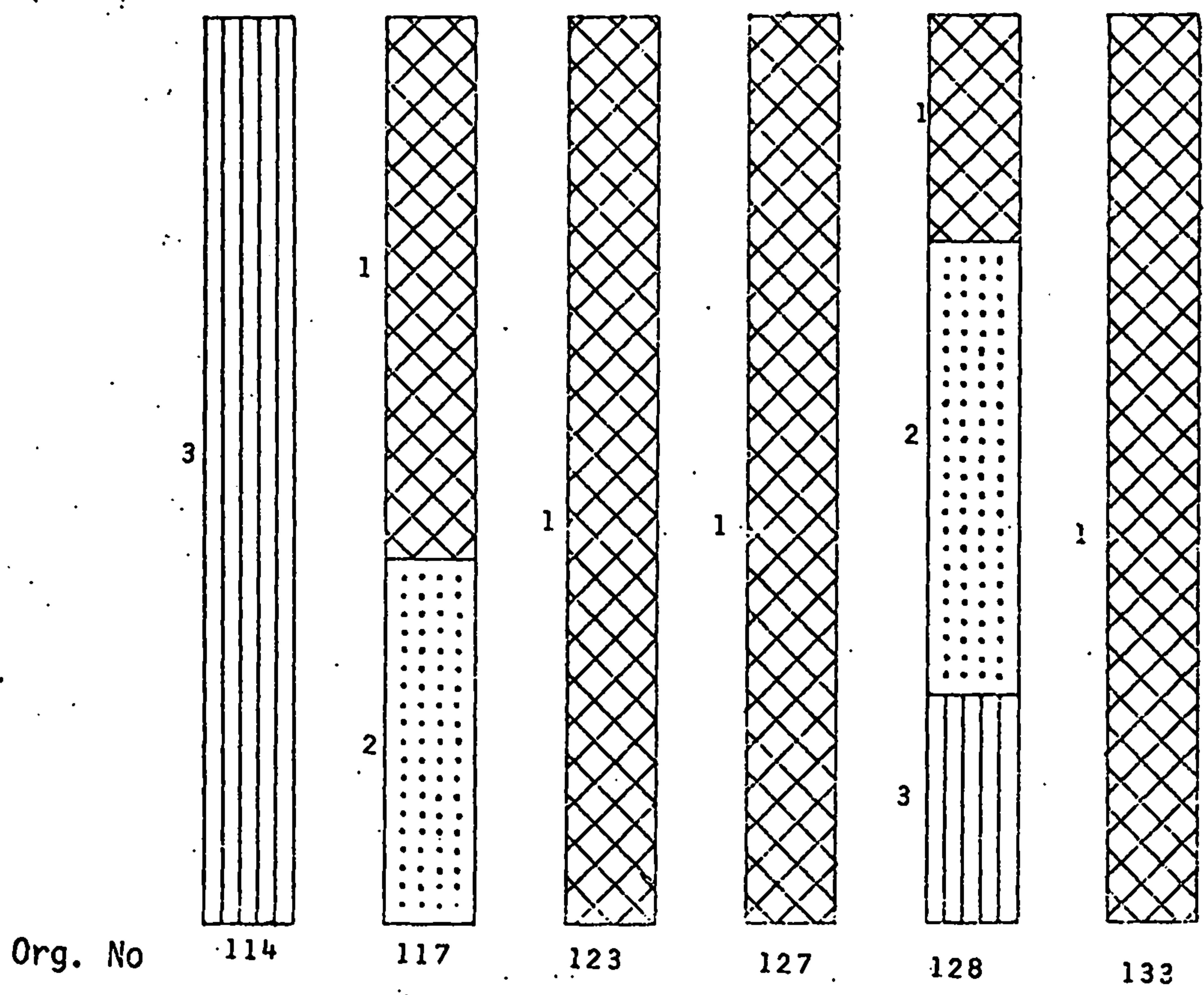
As far as leadership is concerned, there would appear to be only one exception to the trend of "higher-status

FIG. 42) EAST KILBRIDE - SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



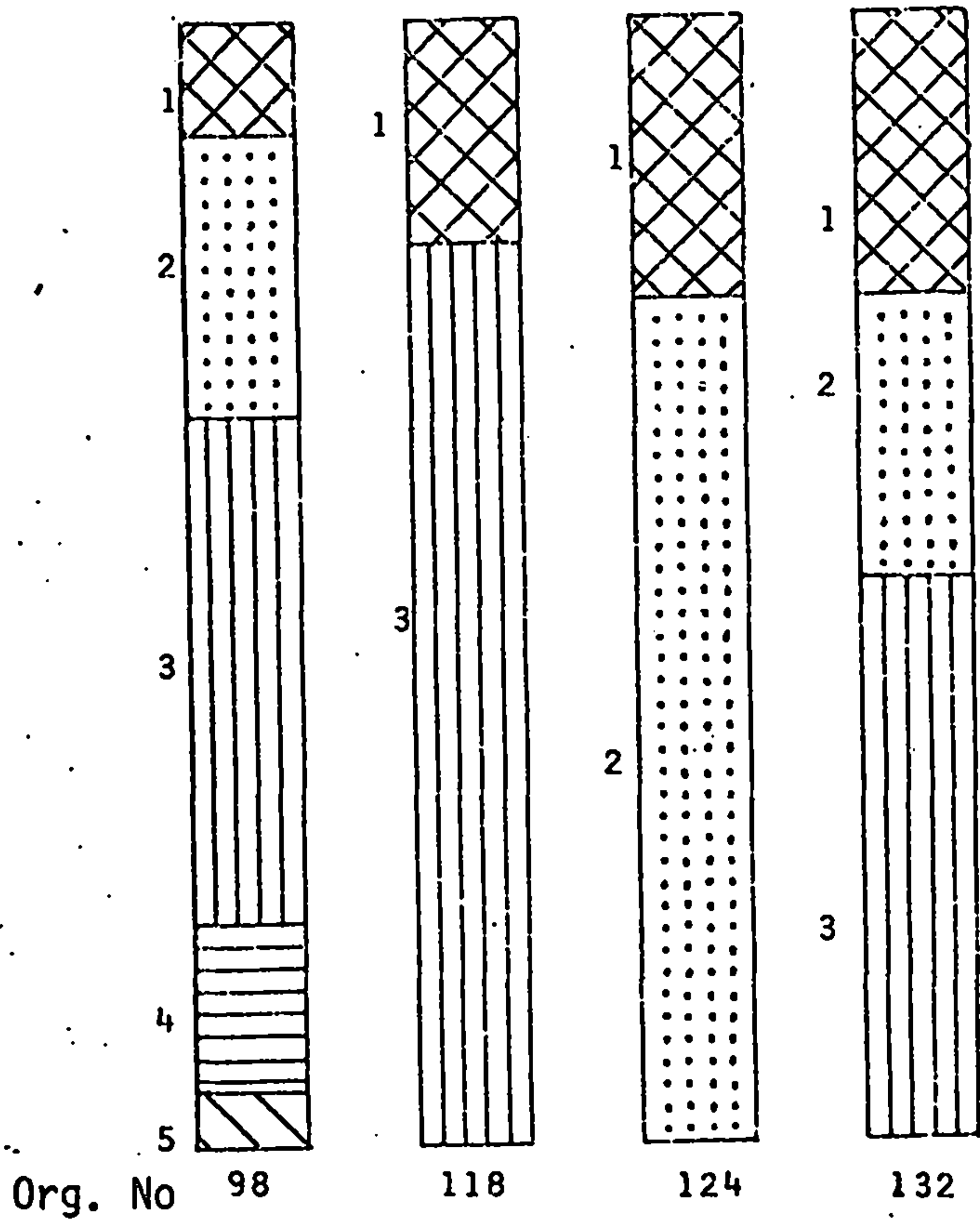
dominance", which has been observed with the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 114). The bar-chart shows that all five groups were represented among the membership, but only group 3 provided leadership. On the other hand, just as was the case in Glenrothes, the Red Cross (No. 128) had no members in group 1 - but 25% of the leaders were from that group. Table 91 illustrates that there was in fact only one other organisation in the East Kilbride sample (South Parish Youth Club No. 81) where the difference in composition between membership and leadership was greater. The comparison between membership and the population at large, as contained in Table 92 shows that the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 114) most closely resembled the pattern of the town, followed by the Educational Association (No. 127).

Women's Organisations - Fig. 43

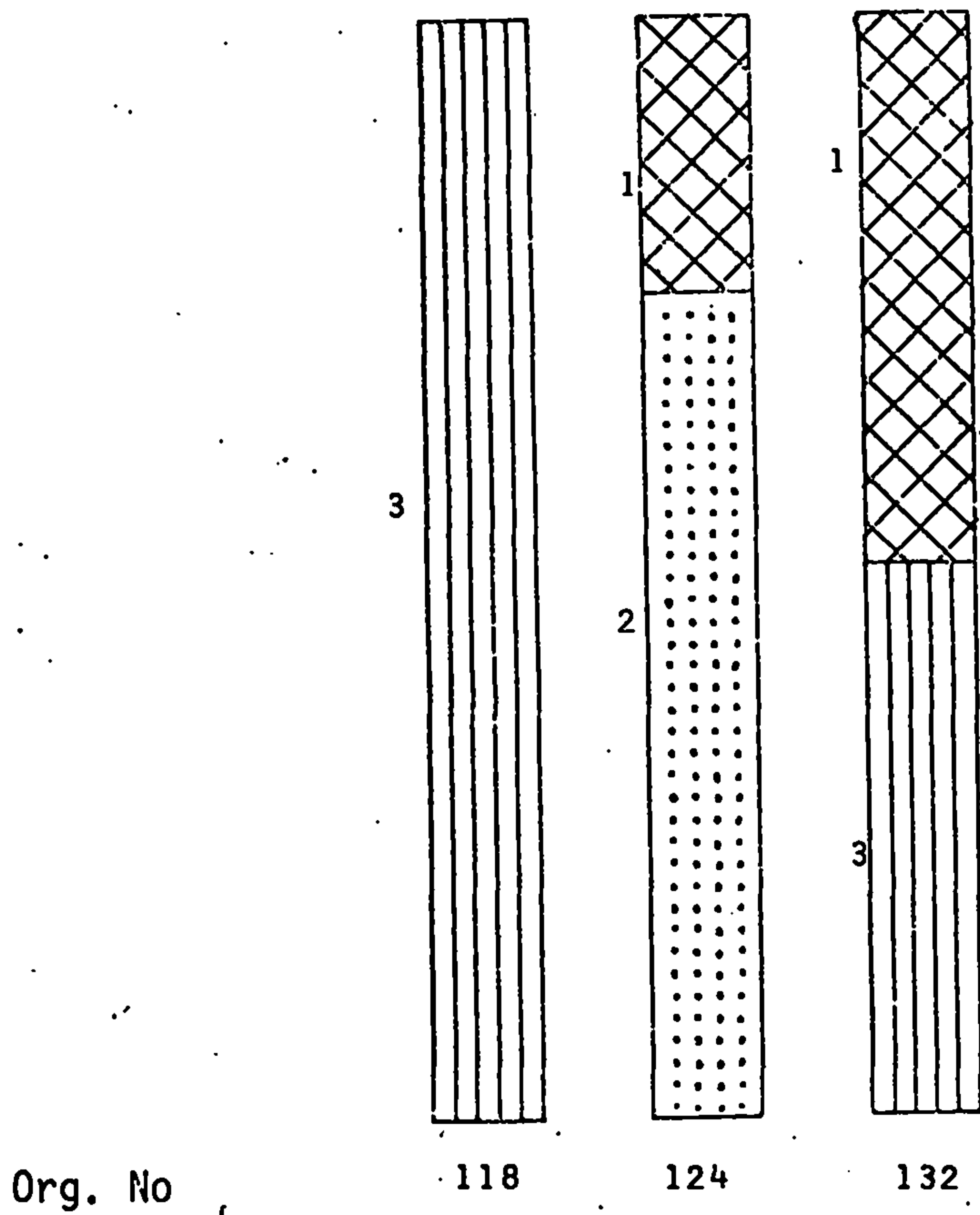
As can be seen from the bar-charts in this figure, only one of the women's organisations catered for all five occupational groups, i.e. the Calderwood Ladies Club (No. 98). (In Glenrothes no women's organisation embraced all five groups - as far as it is possible to generalise from these two samples, it would therefore appear that there are very few women's organisations which cater for women in all occupational groups, and particularly those in low-status groups). Of the remaining three organisations, the Business & Professional Womens Club of course specifically incorporated in its name that it only caters for a given group. The composition of its membership was therefore a function of its recruiting policy. It is also of interest to note that, as was the case in Glenrothes, by and large the leadership of

FIG. 43) EAST KILBRIDE - WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



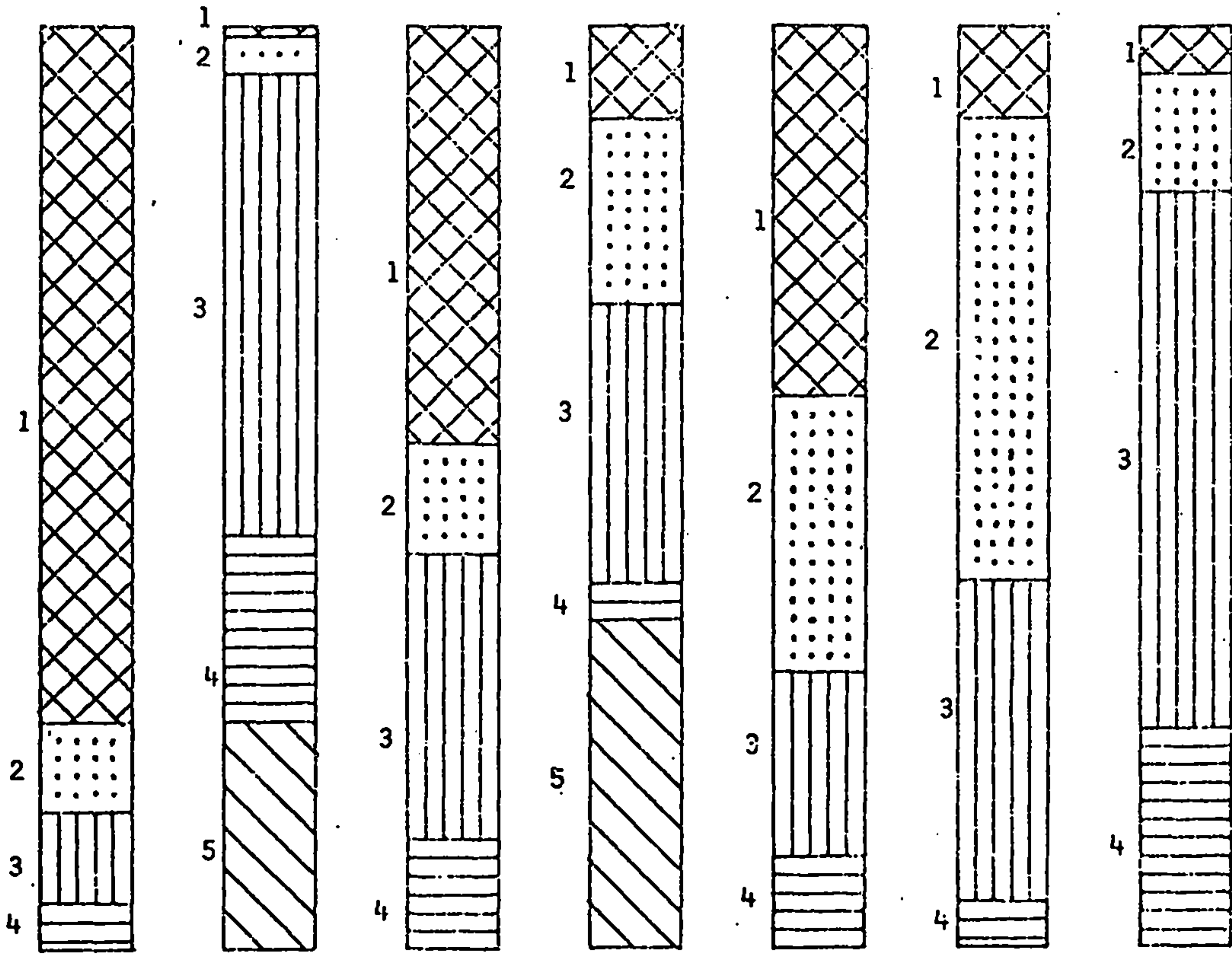
organisations in this category reflected the composition of the membership closely, although the Auldhouse W.R.I. (No.118) was another one of the few exceptions where group 1 was represented in the membership, but not in the leadership. Table 92 illustrates that the Calderwood Ladies Club (No. 98) resembled the composition of the general population most closely, followed by the Towns Womens Guild (No. 132).

Hobby/Special Interest Groups - Fig. 44

As the bar-charts representing the clubs in the above category illustrate, each one of the organisations represented in this sample embraced members from at least four occupational groups, and two of them, the Freemasons (No. 108) and the Photographic Club (No. 129) had 25% and 35% respectively, of their members in group 5. It was also observed in Glenrothes that organisations in this category would appear to be able to attract a wide cross section of the community, with members from the various occupational groups mixing in the same clubs, in pursuit of a specific Hobby or Special Interest. However, once again the bar-charts relating to the leadership of these organisations show that with the exception of two organisations, in every case the higher status occupational groups accounted for a higher proportion among the leaders than among the members. The two exceptions were the St. Andrew Lodge (Freemasons) (No. 108) and the Chess Club (No. 138) where group 1 was represented in the membership, but not in the leadership. On the other hand, in both the Bridge Club (No. 134) and the United Nations Association (No. 107) four occupational groups were represented in the membership - but all the leaders

FIG. 44) EAST KILBRIDE - HOBBY/SPECIAL INTERESTS GROUPS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Org. No 107

108

115

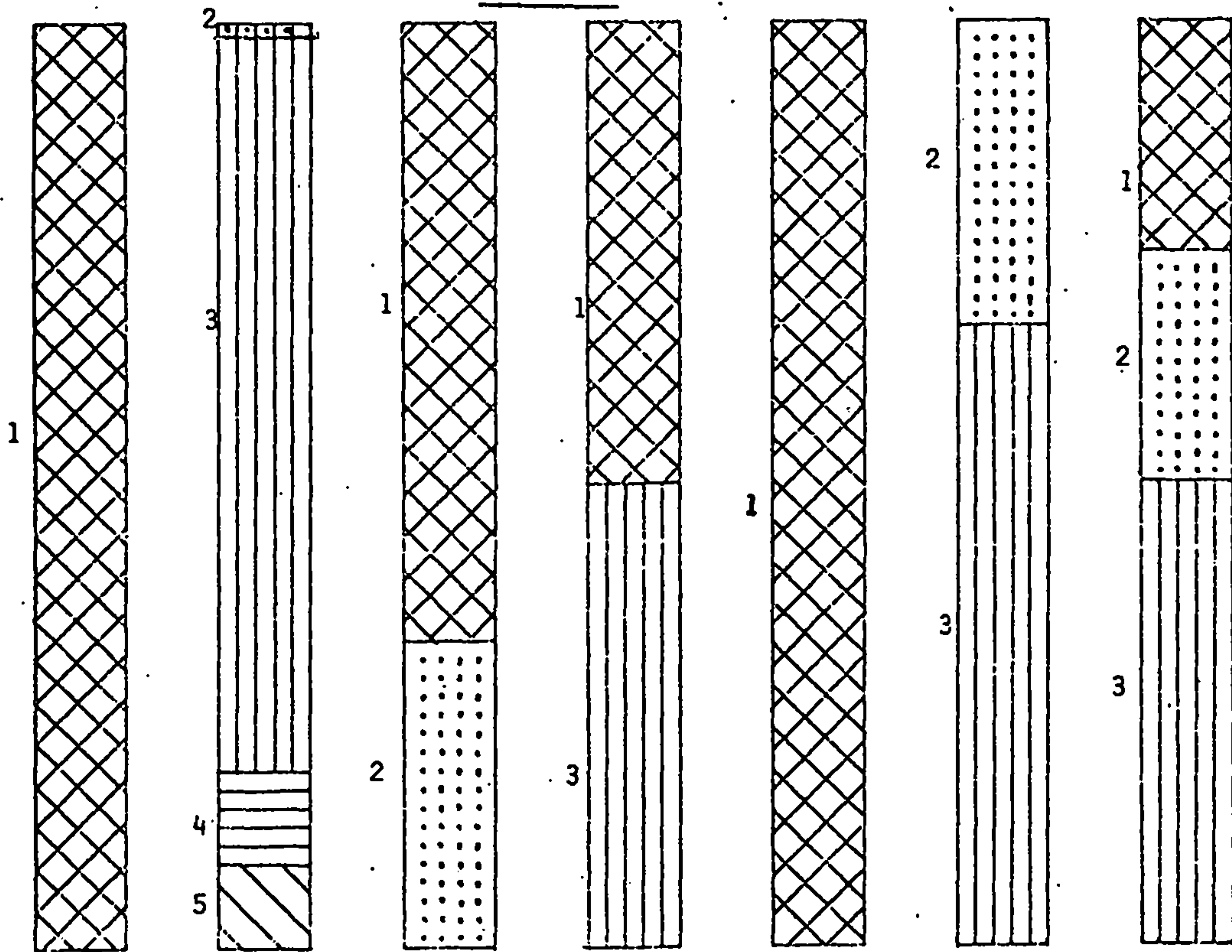
129

134

138

139

Leaders



Org. No 107

108

115

129

134

138

139

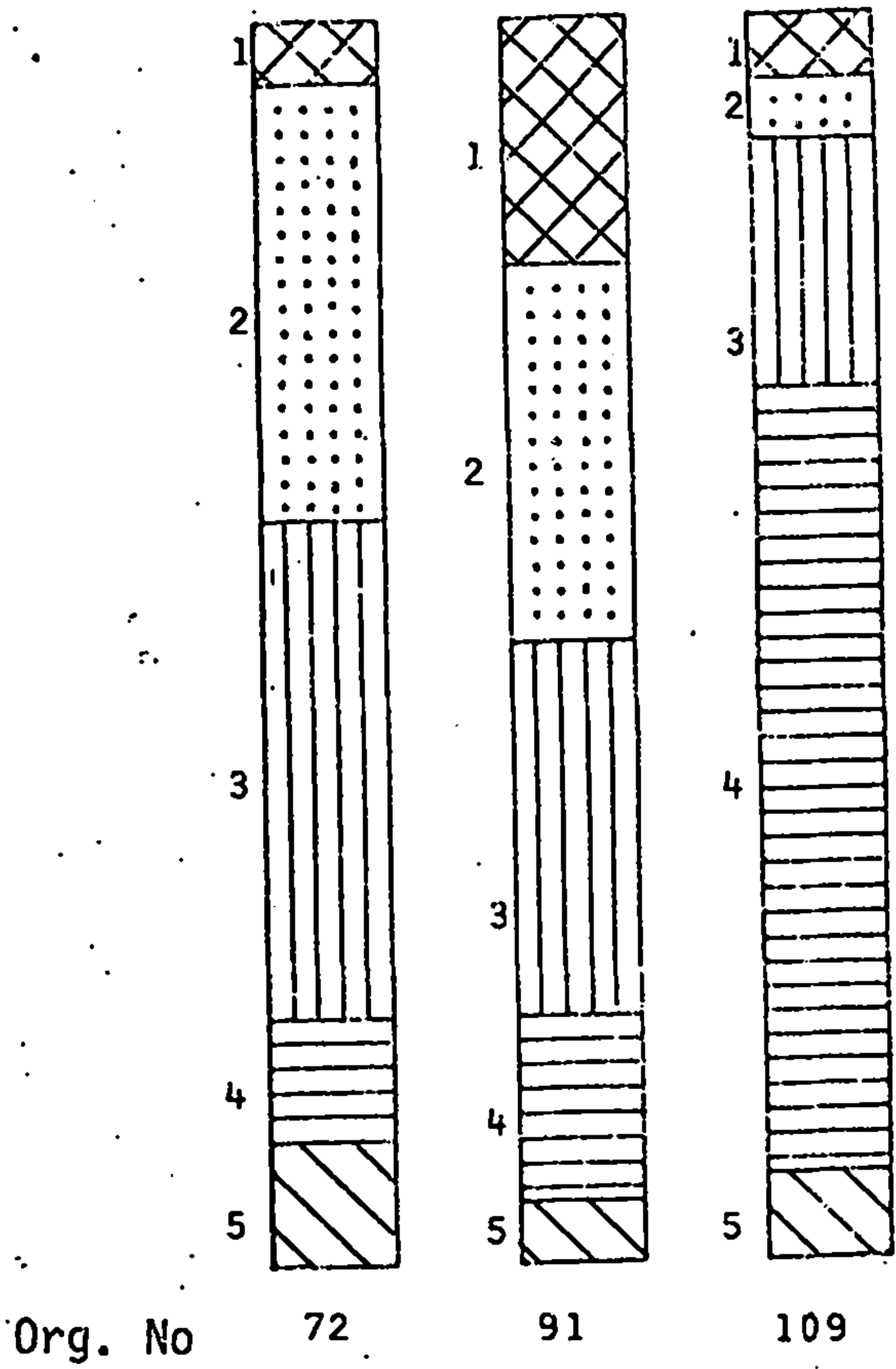
were drawn from group 1. With the remaining organisations in this category, the same shift of emphasis can be observed. Table 92 indicates that in this category, the membership of the Savings Committee (No. 115) and the Motor Club (No. 139) most closely resemble the composition of the population at large.

Political Organisations - Fig. 45

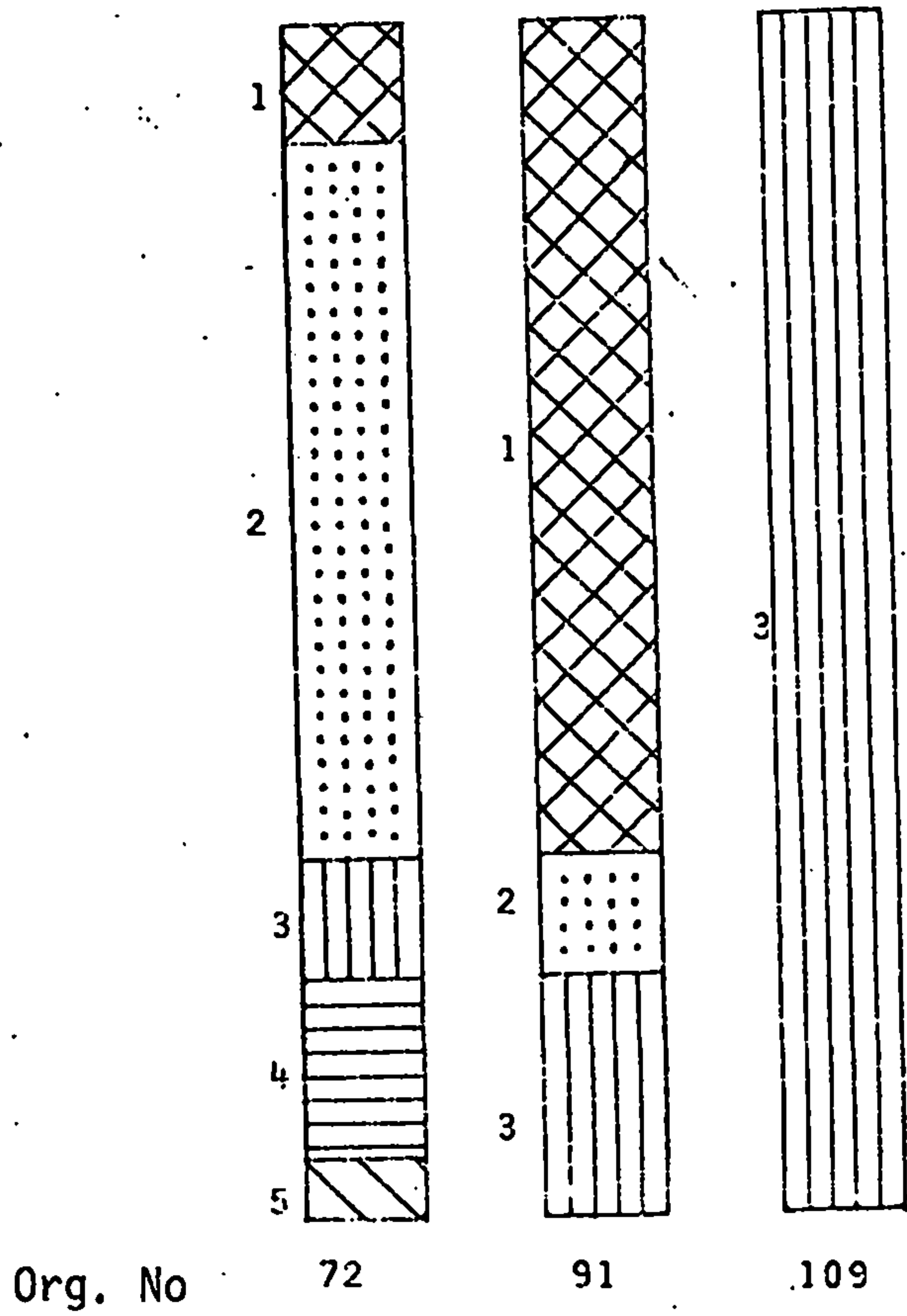
As was the case in the Glenrothes sample (see Fig. 35) each of the political parties represented by the bar-charts in the above figure, drew its membership from all five occupational groups. Furthermore, a number of factors emerged which are of interest. For instance the Westwood Ward Labour Party (No. 91) had 20% of its members in occupational group 1 and 20% in groups 4 and 5 combined. The 20% of members in group 1 however provided 70% of the leadership and groups 4 and 5 were not represented at all. In the neighbouring ward of West Mains however, which is older and also incorporates parts of the old village of East Kilbride, the Ward Labour Party (No. 109) had members in all five groups, but the 20% found in group 3 provided virtually all the leadership. Details for the occupational group compositions of the various wards that make up East Kilbride were not available, but it might be possible to surmise that the different compositions of these two ward associations of the Labour Party are a function of the two different phases of development of the towns which they represent. (The bulk of West Mains was completed in the period 1955-1959 - whereas a major part of Westwood was not completed till the period

FIG. 45) EAST KILBRIDE - POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



1965-1970). It is also of interest to note that of these three organisations, the Conservative & Unionist Association had the kind of leadership structure which most closely resembled the pattern of the membership. Although group 1 had only 5% of the membership and provided 10% of the leadership - and group 5 had 10% of the membership and only 5% represented in the leadership, the "shift of dominance" was not as marked as for instance in the Westwood Ward Labour Party (No. 91). It was also a relatively rare occurrence to find that all five groups, which made up the membership, were also found in the leadership.

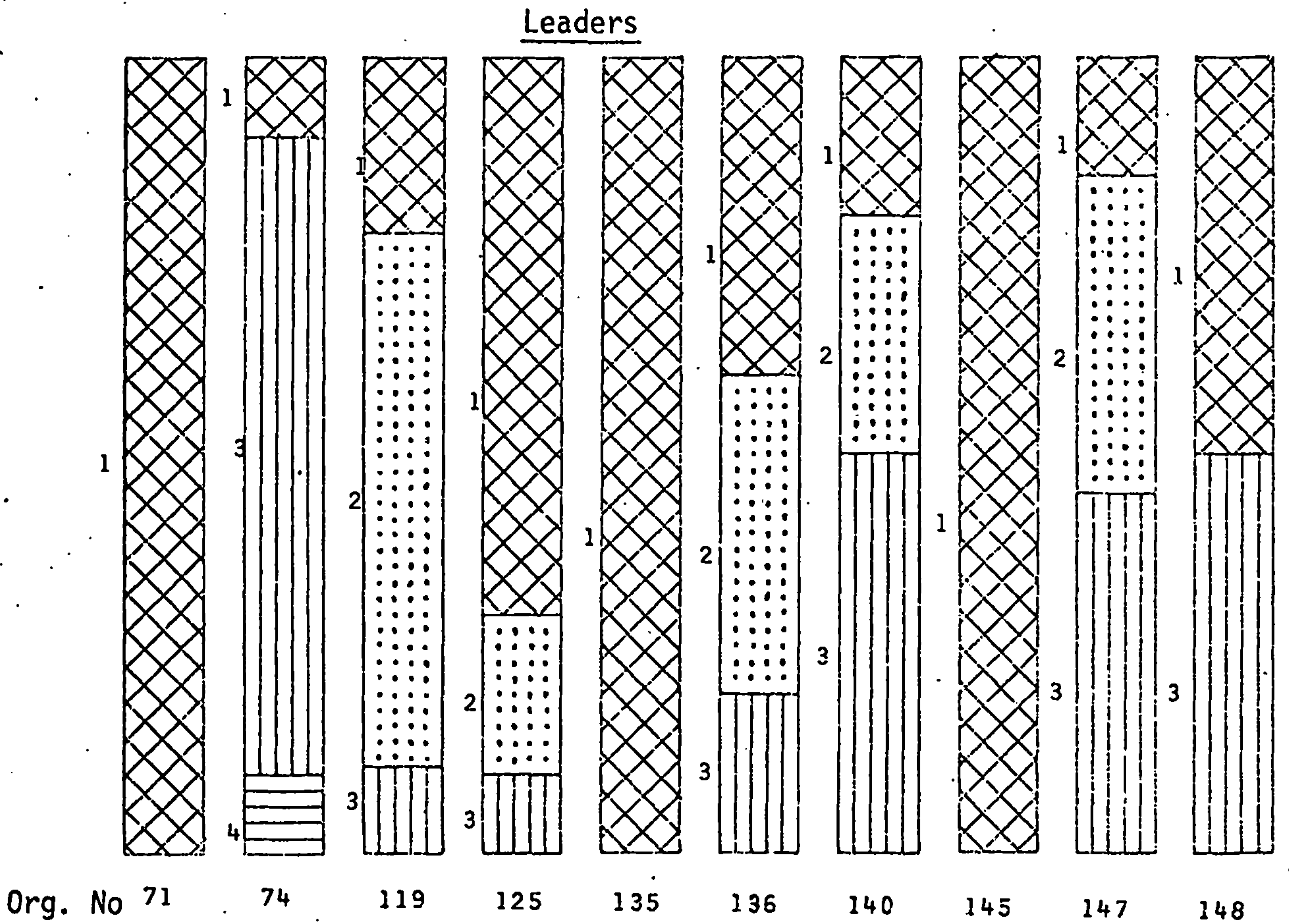
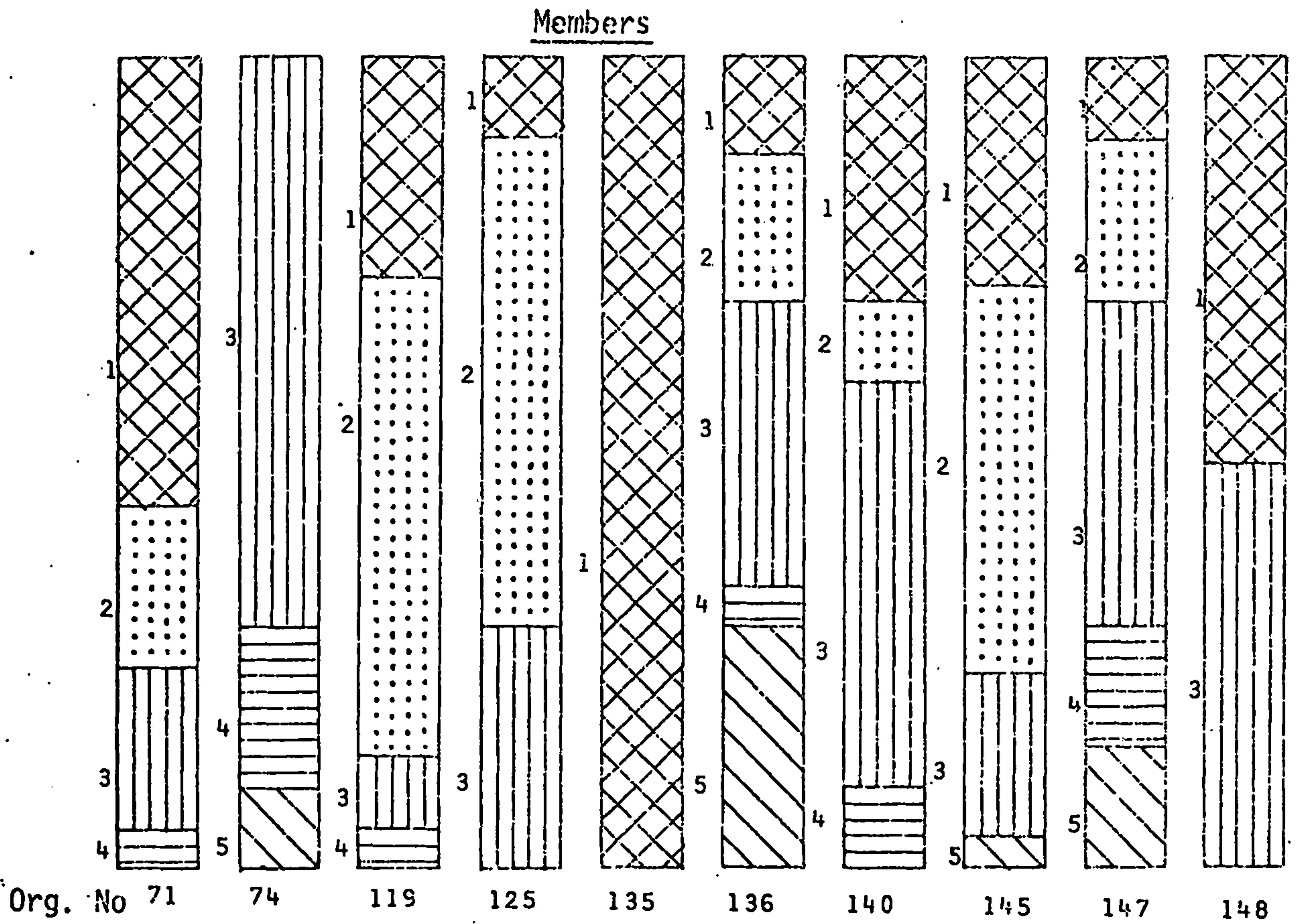
Comparing the membership composition however with the population at large, as was done in Table 92 it was found that the Westwood Ward Labour Party most closely reflected the pattern prevailing in East Kilbride as a whole.

Sports Organisations - Fig. 46

From the bar-charts relating to this category it would appear that apart from a few exceptions, organised sports activities were mainly pursued by the first three occupational groups. Out of the organisations for which information was available, only two would appear to cater for all five occupational groups, namely the Sub Aqua Club (No. 136) and the EK Hamilton & District Gun Club (No. 147). In the case of all the other organisations groups 1-3 would appear to provide the majority of members, except in the case of the Rugby Club (No. 74) where groups 1 and 2 were not represented in the membership at all.

Given therefore the preponderance of members in the higher status occupational groups in membership, it is not

FIG. 46) EAST KILBRIDE - SPORTS ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS



surprising to find that group 1, once again provided a higher proportion of leaders than members. For instance, the Ladies Hockey Club (No. 125) had 10% of its members in group 1, but this group provided 70% of the leaders. Or, in the case of the East Kilbride Sports Council (No. 145), which consisted of delegates from various sports organisations, group 1 accounted for 28% of the membership - but for 100% of the leadership. There were some exceptions to this, where the composition of the leadership was identical with that of the membership (such as in the case of the Torrance Rifle Club (No. 135) and the Bowling Club (No. 148) - or the Cricket Club (No. 119) where the difference was minimal. The overall tendency however would appear to be that the majority of the officials of sports organisations were of high occupational status. Bottomore³¹ observed the same phenomenon in Squirebridge, and stated that the organisations themselves considered it to be desirable that their affairs should be in the hands of officials of some standing, who did not have to account for every minute of their time, and who possibly could make use of clerical assistance and had ready access to a telephone. To some extent of course, this could be said to apply to officials in any one of the categories into which organisations have been put in this study - however, it would seem that this comment is particularly relevant in the case of sports organisations, which, at least during the playing season, require a great deal of day-to-day administration, such as arranging fixtures, notifying teams, booking playing fields, finding referees etc.

31. T.B. Bottomore, op.cit., pp. 365-366.

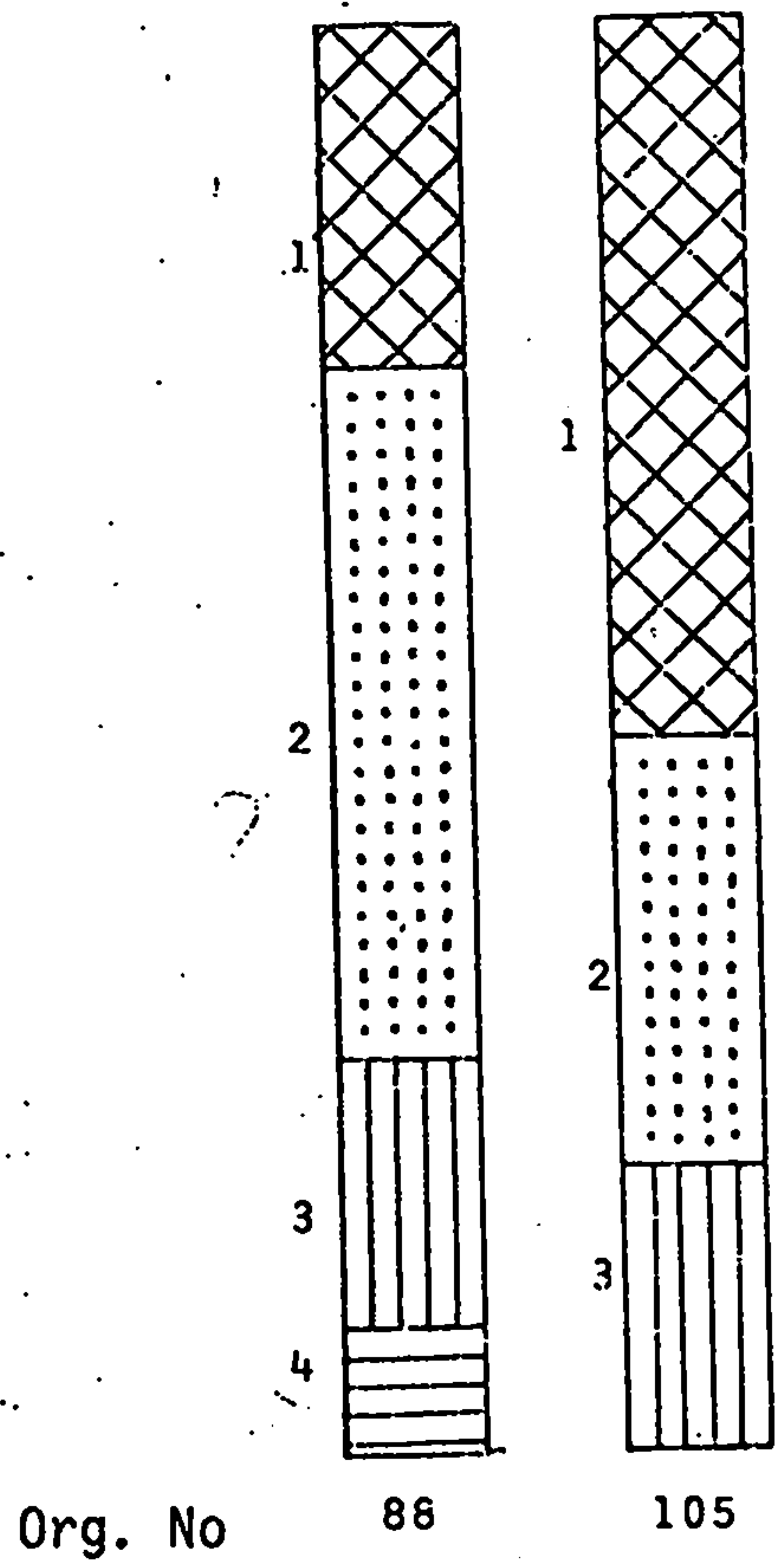
It is also of interest that the three sports organisations which according to Table 92 would appear to reflect in their membership the composition of the towns population most closely, were the Curling Club (No. 140), the Gun Club (No. 147) and the Bowling Club (No. 148) - which are all minor sports - but can be pursued by members of almost all ages.

Others - Fig. 47

As was the case in Glenrothes, both organisations represented by the bar-charts under this figure were "community associations". As can be seen, the East Kilbride Civics Association (No. 88) had members in four occupational groups and the Whitemoss Residents Association (No. 105) which confined its membership to a clearly defined geographical area, consisted of members from occupational groups 1-3 only. In both cases, only members from groups 1 and 2 were represented in the leadership, thus once again bearing out the tendency of higher status members to be "over-represented" in the leadership, a tendency which has been observed throughout this, and the Glenrothes sample.

FIG. 47) EAST KILBRIDE - "OTHER" ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders

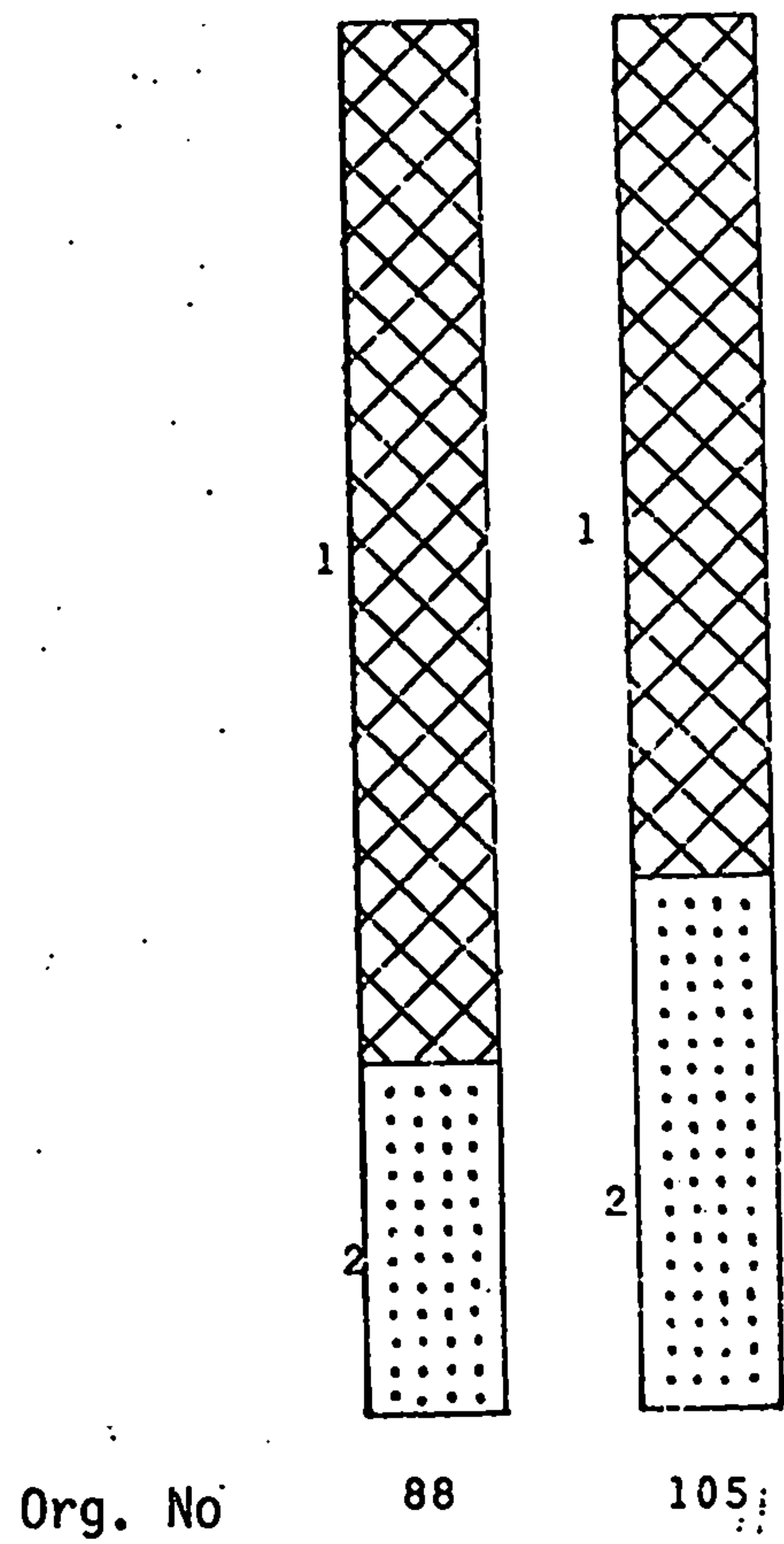


TABLE No. 91

EAST KILBRIDE - COMPARISONS OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MEMBERSHIP/LEADERSHIP

Membership Organisation No.	Members Occupational Group					Leaders Occupational Group					Chi Square Value	
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
Youth	68	5	13	65	13	4	18	33	41	8	0	79.35
	69	5	50	40	5	0	5	50	40	5	0	0.00
	81	0	20	60	20	0	50	0	50	0	0	249999941.67
	96	10	30	50	10	0	20	70	10	0	0	105.33
	101	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0.00
Arts & Cultural	84	0	38	55	7	0	0	43	57	0	0	7.73
	94	11	0	63	21	5	0	0	100	0	0	58.73
	149	0	47	49	4	0	0	87	13	0	0	64.49
Social Services	114	15	0	31	31	23	0	0	100	0	0	222.58
	117	60	40	0	0	0	60	40	0	0	0	0.00
	123	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0.00
	127	40	40	20	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	150.00
	128	0	50	25	25	0	25	50	25	0	0	62499975.00
	133	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0.00
Women's	118	20	0	80	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	25.00
	124	25	75	0	0	0	25	75	0	0	0	0.00
	152	25	25	50	0	0	50	0	50	0	0	50.00
Hobby/Special Interest	107	75	10	10	5	0	100	0	0	0	0	33.33
	108	1	4	50	20	25	0	1	80	10	9	36.49
	115	45	12	31	12	0	67	33	0	0	0	90.51
	129	10	20	30	5	35	50	0	50	0	0	233.33
	134	40	30	20	10	0	100	0	0	0	0	150.00
	138	10	50	35	5	0	0	33	67	0	0	50.04
	139	5	13	58	24	0	25	25	50	0	0	116.18
Political	72	5	35	40	10	10	10	60	10	15	5	50.36
	91	20	30	30	15	5	70	10	20	0	0	161.67
	109	5	5	20	65	7	0	0	100	0	0	400.00

TABLE No. 92

Comparison Occupational Status Membership/Population
EAST KILBRIDE

		Occupational Group					
		1	2	3	4	5	
Towns population		25	13	41	13	8	
	Organisation No.						Chi-square value
Youth	68	5	13	65	13	4	32.05
	69	5	50	40	5	0	134.26
	81	0	20	60	20	0	49.34
	96	10	30	50	10	0	41.90
	101	0	0	100	0	0	143.90
	103	2	3	75	15	5	58.48
	112	0	40	40	20	0	92.87
Arts & Cultural	80	5	35	50	5	5	61.25
	84	0	38	55	7	0	88.63
	94	11	0	63	21	5	38.69
Social Service	149	0	47	49	4	0	129.71
	114	15	0	31	31	23	72.49
	117	60	40	0	0	0	167.08
	123	100	0	0	0	0	300.00
	127	40	40	20	0	0	96.83
	128	0	50	25	25	0	155.63
	133	100	0	0	0	0	300.00
	143	22	56	22	0	0	172.40
Women's	98	10	25	45	15	5	21.90
	118	20	0	80	0	0	72.10
	124	25	75	0	0	0	357.69
	132	25	25	50	0	0	34.05
Hobby/Special Interest	107	75	10	10	5	0	137.05
	108	1	4	50	20	25	71.14
	115	45	12	31	12	0	26.59
	129	10	20	30	5	35	111.77
	134	40	30	20	10	0	50.68
	138	10	50	35	5	0	128.11
	139	5	13	58	24	0	40.36
Political	72	5	35	40	10	10	54.45
	91	20	30	30	15	5	27.61
	109	5	5	20	63	7	224.11
Sports	71	55	20	20	5	0	63.45
	74	0	0	70	20	10	62.78
	119	27	59	9	5	0	200.83
	125	10	60	30	0	0	202.87
	135	100	0	0	0	0	300.00
	136	12	18	35	5	30	74.98
	140	30	10	50	10	0	12.36
	145	28	47	21	0	4	114.04
	147	10	20	40	15	15	19.23
	148	50	0	50	0	0	60.98
Other	88	24	48	19	9	0	115.31
	105	50	30	20	0	0	78.99

Livingston

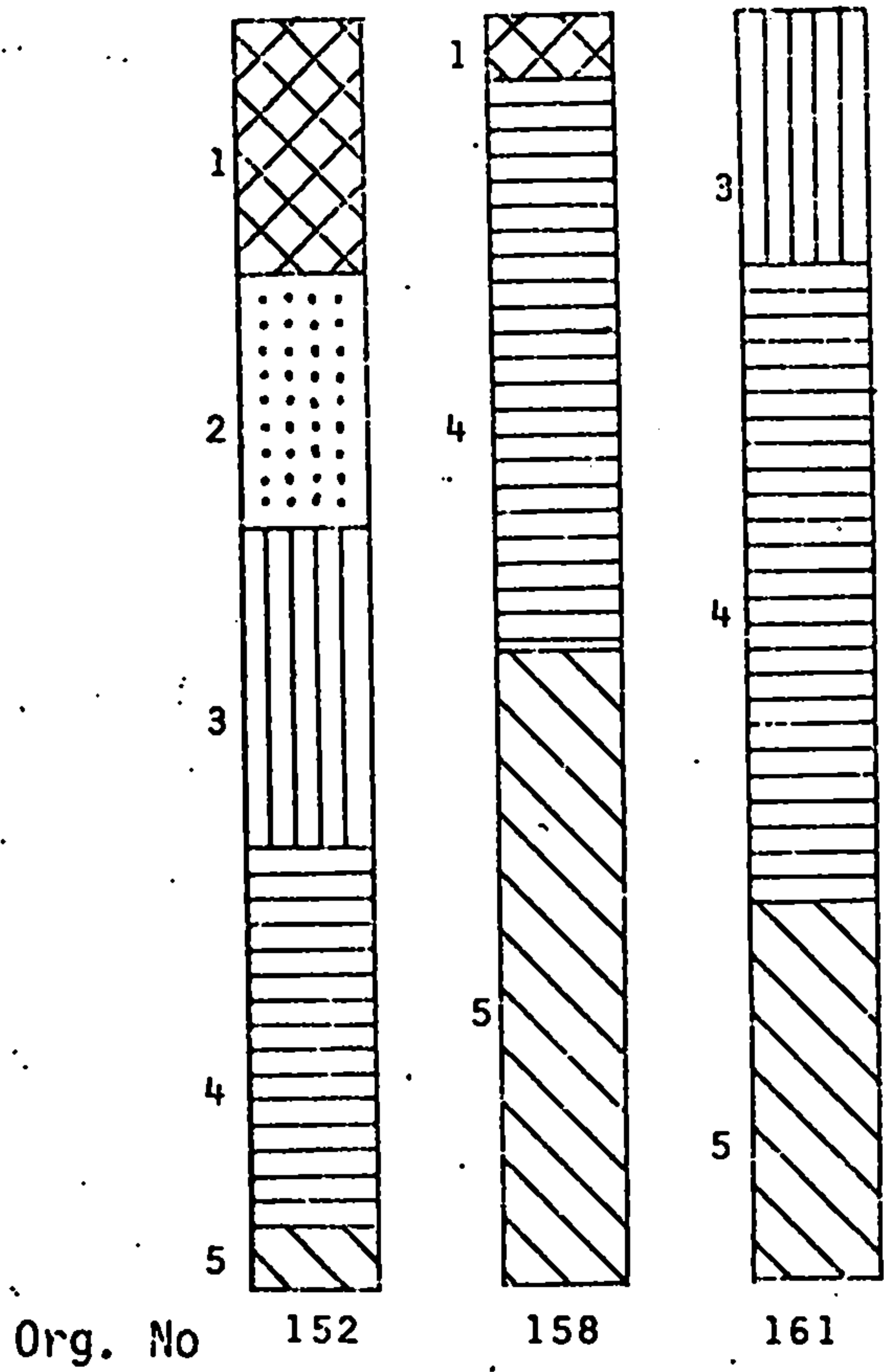
Since Livingston is a very much younger new town than either Glenrothes or East Kilbride, naturally fewer organisations were in existence at the time of this study, although their number is growing all the time. Furthermore, with some of the organisations the membership had not been consolidated yet to the extent which would have allowed the secretaries to compile reliable membership records, or indeed supply a breakdown of the membership into occupational groups. Consequently the sample, for which it was possible to draw up bar-charts is smaller than in the other two towns, which in turn does not allow for detailed comparisons, other than at the level of general trends.

Youth Organisations - Fig. 48

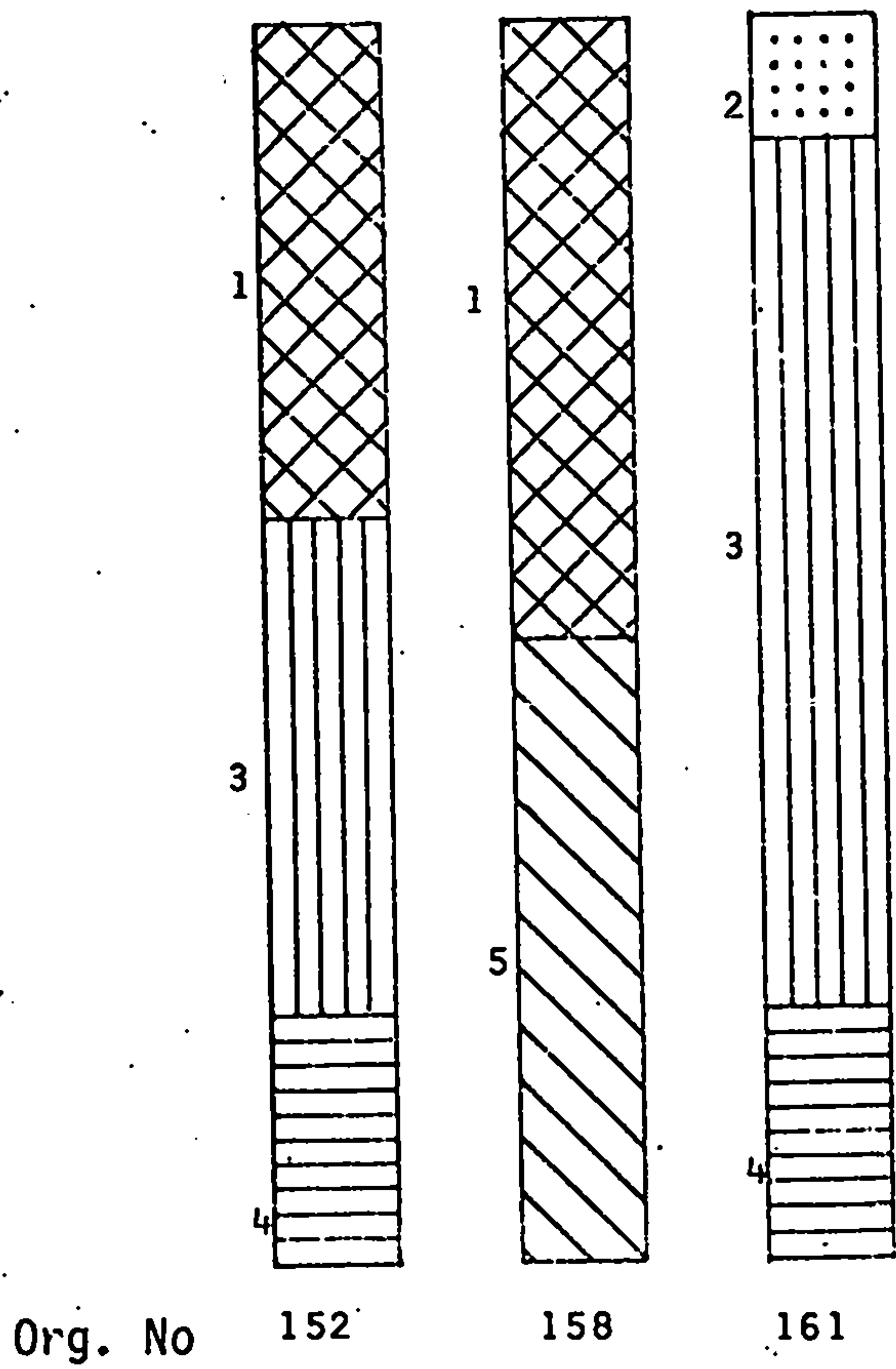
The bar-charts under this figure represent the YMCA/YWCA (No. 152), the 1st Calder's District Rangers Unit (No. 158) and the Riverside Youth Wing Over 15's Club (No. 161). Each of these in a sense represent a different category of organisation according to a distinction which is frequently made in the Youth Service, namely a Voluntary Organisation, a uniformed organisation and a local authority Youth Club. Whilst it would be difficult to generalize from such a small sample, it is of interest to note that the local authority Youth Club (No. 161) would not appear to attract any members in occupational group 1 and 2. The YMCA/YWCA (No. 152) was in fact the only organisation in this category which would appear to be able to attract members from all five occupational groups. In this respect this category would appear to differ

FIG. 48) LIVINGSTON - YOUTH ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders



from the sample in Glenrothes, where every organisation contained members from all five groups. In East Kilbride however, as Fig. 40 illustrates, the majority of clubs did not cater for all five occupational groups. The trend, according to which the higher status occupational groups were found to be more prominent in the leadership in comparison with the proportion they made up of the membership, was once again apparent. This was particularly marked in the case of the Rangers Unit (No. 158) where 5% in group 1 in the membership, provide 50% of the leadership. Table 93 illustrates that the pattern of distribution of occupational groups in the membership, compared with that of the leadership, was most similar in the case of the YMCA/YWCA (No. 152). As Table 94 shows, this is also the organisation in which the membership most closely resembled the composition of the population of Livingston.

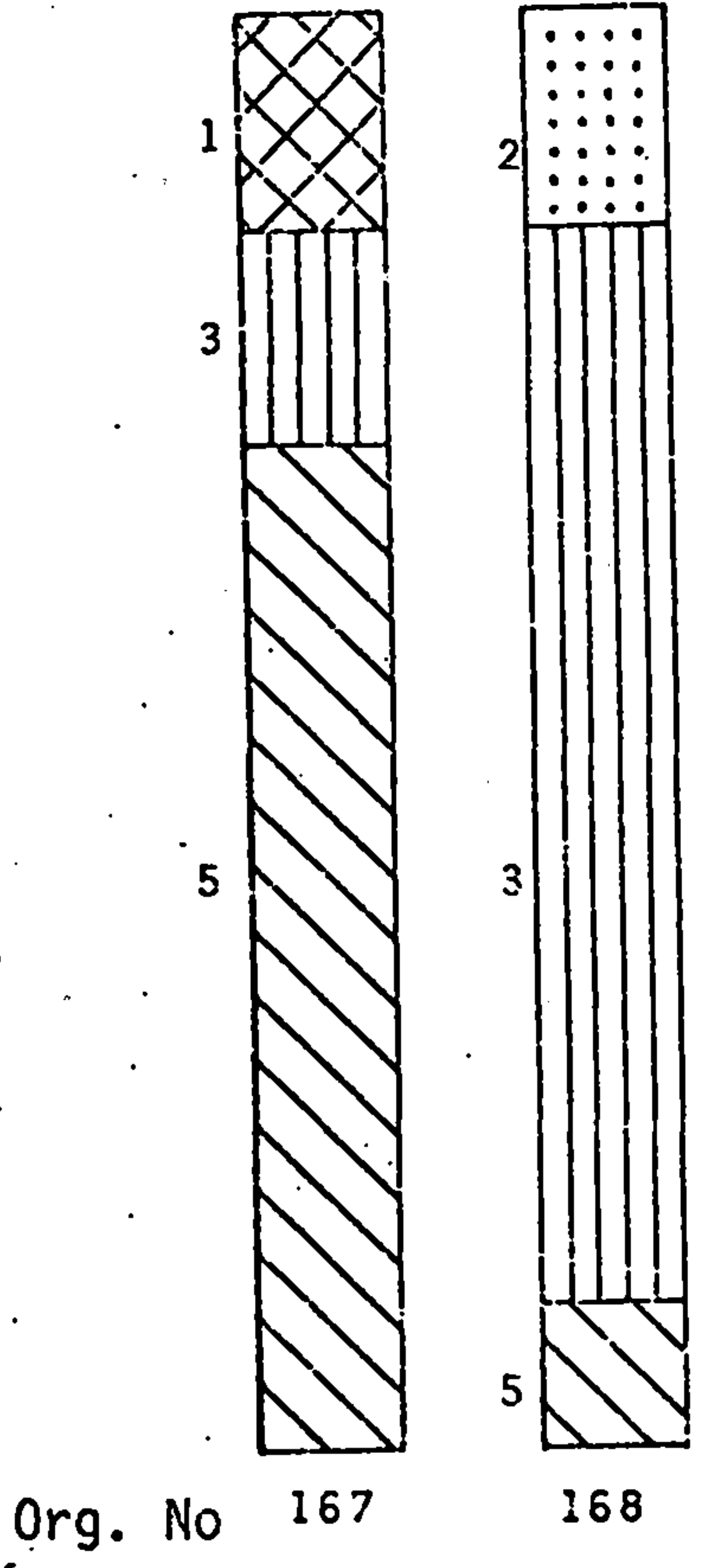
Social Service Organisations - Fig. 49

The two organisations represented in this category were the Citizens Advice Bureau (No. 167) and the St. Andrews Ambulance Association (No. 168). It would appear that, as in Glenrothes, the St. Andrews Ambulance Association did not have any members in occupational group 1. A comparison however, between the membership and the leadership was not possible, since figures for the leadership were not available. In the case of the Citizens Advice Bureau (No. 167) it is of interest to note that 15% of the membership in group 1 accounted for 66% of the leadership. On the other hand, 70% of the members* were in group 5, which was not represented in the leadership at all.

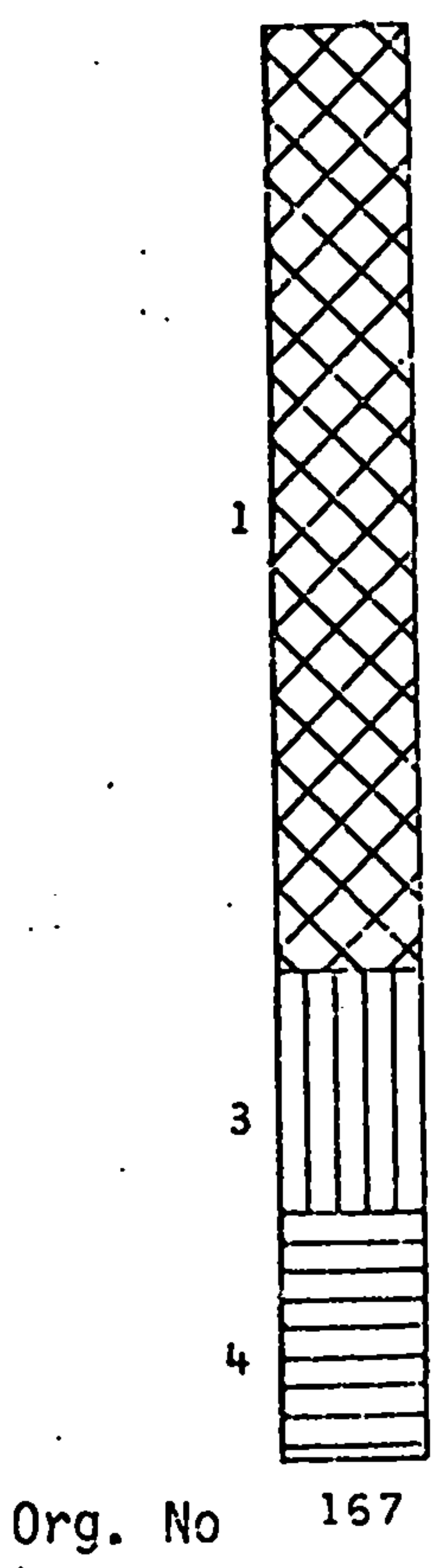
* The term "members" here denotes people who have undergone training courses for volunteers staffing CAB enquiry desks.

FIG. 49) LIVINGSTON - SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders

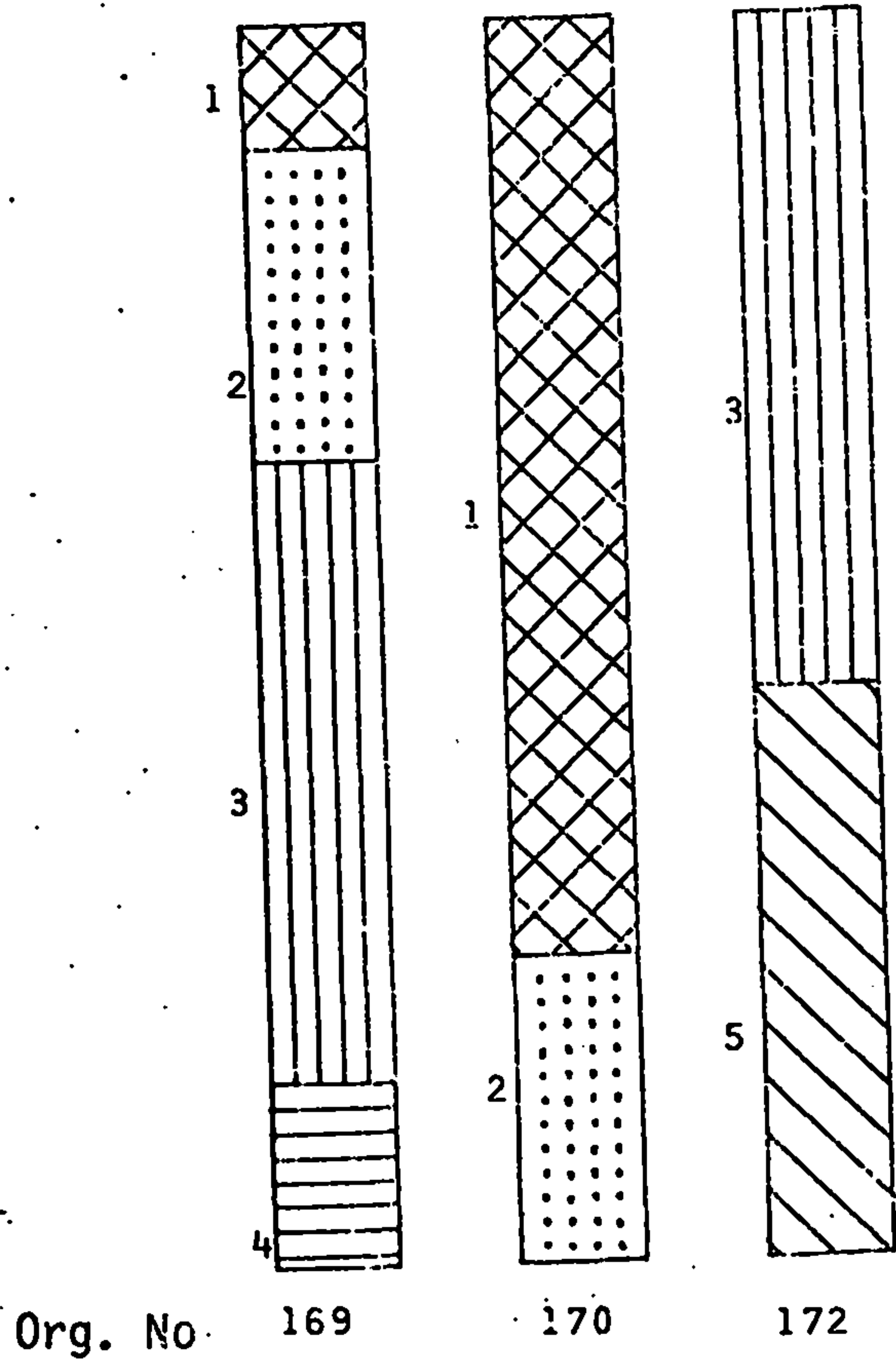


Womens' Organisations - Fig. 50

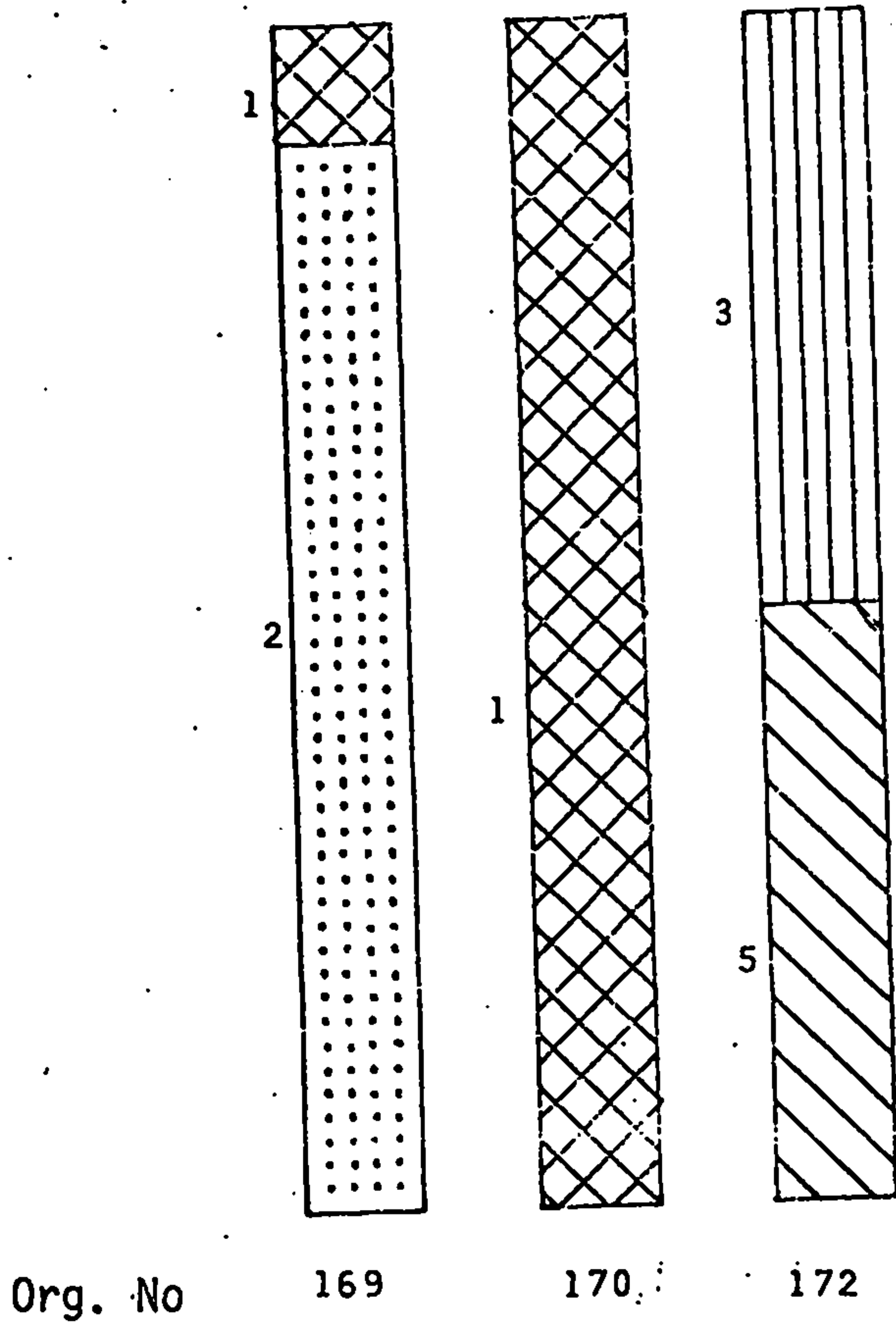
Two points of interest appear to emerge from the bar-charts in this category. First, once again, as was the case in Glenrothes and East Kilbride (with one exception) in Livingston too, not one of the Womens' Organisations catered for members from all five occupational groups. In other words, womens' organisations can be said, from this evidence, to attract members from specific status groups. The Craigshill S.W.R.I. (No. 169) catered for four occupational groups and would therefore appear to embrace a fairly wide cross-section of the community. The Howden Ladies Club (No. 170) on the other hand, drew its membership entirely from occupational groups 1 and 2, which also happens to be concentrated in one geographical area (see also Map. Fig. L9). The Co-op Womens Guild, by contrast, attracted members from groups 3 and 5 only. Secondly, a further observation, which would appear to be applicable to womens' organisations in all three new towns, relates to the "representativeness" of the leadership. In each of the towns it would appear that the composition of the leadership more closely resembled that of the membership than in any other category of organisation. In other words, although the "shift of dominance" which took place in most organisations, also took place in the case of womens' organisations, it was less marked than anywhere else. Of the Womens' organisations represented under Fig. 50, it would appear from Table 94 that the Craigshill S.W.R.I. (No. 169) resembled in its composition the population at large more so than any other organisation in this sample.

FIG. 50) LIVINGSTON - WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



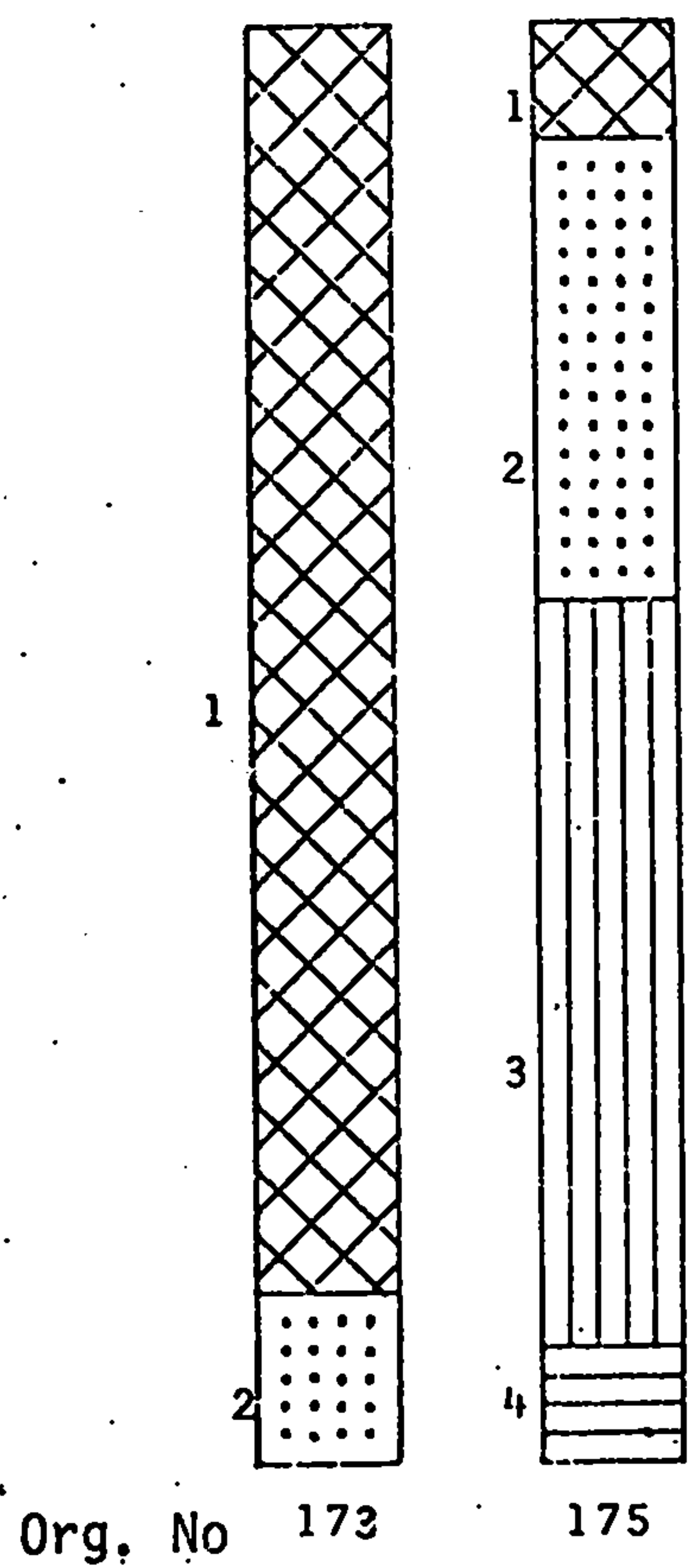
Leaders



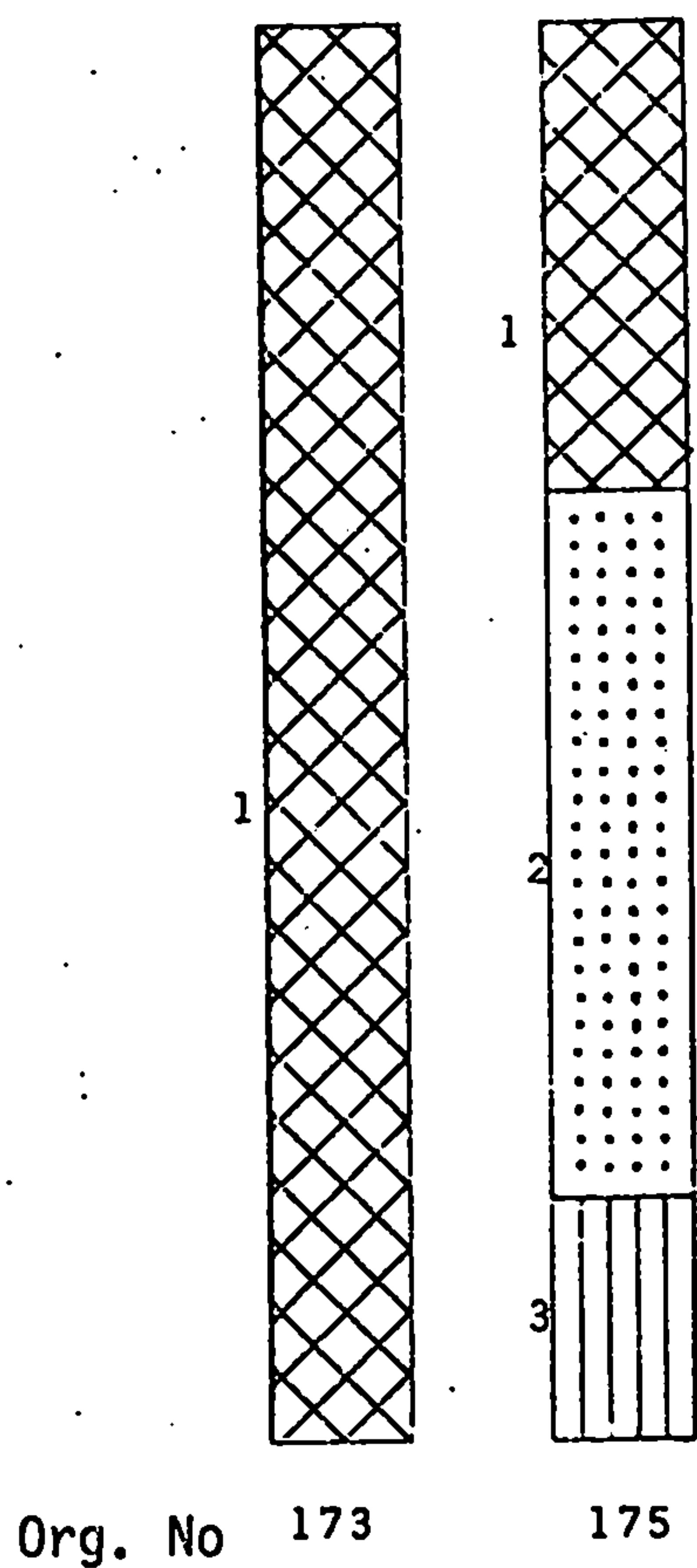
Hobby/Special Interest Groups - Fig. 51

The two organisations represented in this category were the Bridge Club (No. 173) and the Camera Club (No. 175). It is interesting to note that whereas in Glenrothes the Bridge Club (see Fig. 34, No. 23) had members from all five occupational groups, and in East Kilbride (See Fig. 44, No. 134) had members from Group 1-4, in Livingston only two groups were represented. In fact, 88% of the members were from group 1 and 12% from group 2. In Glenrothes and East Kilbride, these two occupational groups accounted for 80% and 70% of the membership respectively. On the other hand, the leadership consisted of members of group 1 only, both in Livingston and East Kilbride, whereas in Glenrothes, as was noted earlier, group 1 only accounted for 40% of the leadership. A comparison between the Camera Clubs in these three towns shows that the composition of the Livingston Club and the Glenrothes Club, were very similar. (Occupational groups 1 and 2 accounted for 40% in each case, group 3 for 50% and 52% respectively, and group 4 for 10% and 8% in each case. Group 5 was not represented in either of these two. In East Kilbride however, the Camera Club (No. 129) had over a third of its members (35%) in group 5. This marked difference in composition may possibly be accounted for by the following factors: First, the East Kilbride Club asked for a lower annual subscription (i.e. £1.-) than the other two clubs in Glenrothes and Livingston, where the annual subscription was thirty shillings and two guineas respectively. Second, the East Kilbride club met in public premises, i.e. a school which was readily accessible for members, even without cars, whereas the Glenrothes Club had its own premises and the Livingston Club met at Howden House - and both of these

Members



Leaders



meeting places were readily accessible by car only. It would therefore appear to be possible from this evidence, to support the suggestion that cost of membership and accessibility of the premises are important factors, which determine whether certain occupational groups are to be found in membership of a particular organisation or not - perhaps much more so than the actual type of activity which is offered.

Political organisations - Fig. 52

The only organisation for which information was available was the Craigshill Branch of the Scottish National Party (No. 176). Only limited comparisons were therefore possible, particularly since the East Kilbride sample did not include a Scottish National Party Branch. However, it is interesting to compare the composition of the Livingston Craigshill Branch (No. 176) with that of the SNP in Glenrothes (see Fig. 35) both for their similarities and dissimilarities. The respective bar-charts show that in Glenrothes there was a higher proportion of members in groups 1 and 2, namely 11% and 18% respectively. Group 3 accounted for twice as many members in Livingston than in Glenrothes, i.e. 50% as opposed to 22%, but the proportions of members in group 4 turned out to be remarkably similar (20% and 26% respectively), and indeed in both SNP branches the proportion of members in group 5 was identical with 23% in each case. This also happens to be the highest proportion of members in occupational group 5, noted with any of the political organisations in all three towns, which would suggest that at the time of the

FIG. 52) LIVINGSTON - POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

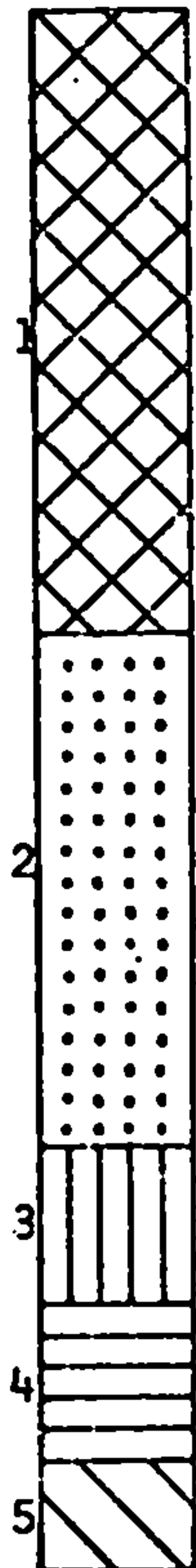
Members



Org. No

176

Leaders



Org. No

176

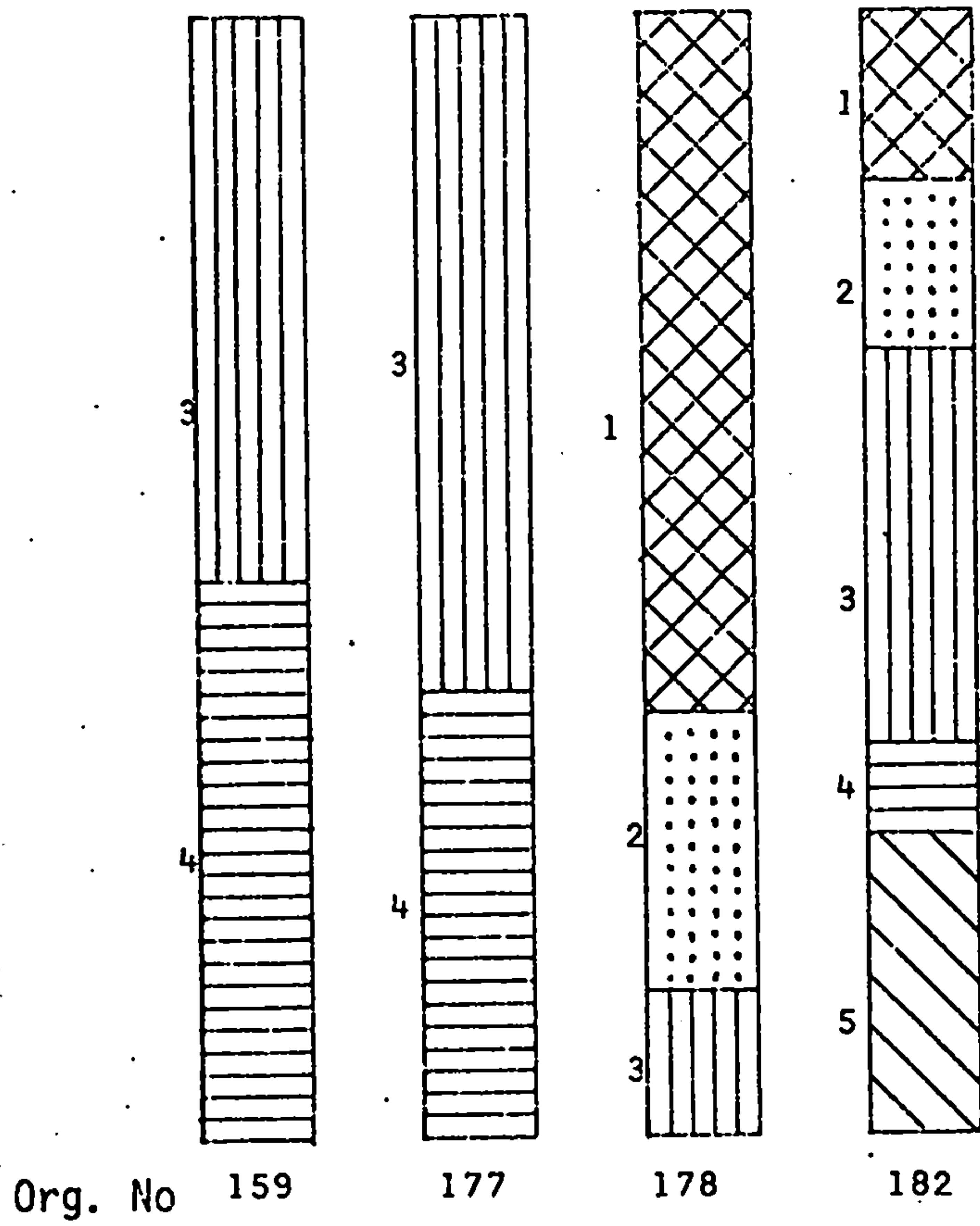
study at least, in terms of membership, the Scottish National Party had more support, proportionately among the members of occupational group 5 than any other political party.

Sports Organisations - Fig. 53

Once again, as was found with Sports Organisations in Glenrothes and East Kilbride, most clubs in Livingston tended to cater for one or two specific occupational groups - and those attracting members from all five occupational groups were a minority. In Livingston, only the Rugby Club (No. 182) had members in all five groups. The Riverside Table-Tennis Club (No. 159) had 50% of its members in group 3 and the remaining 50% in group 4. A comparison between the two Badminton Clubs, the Grove (No. 177) and the Riverside Badminton Club (No. 178) is particularly interesting in as much as it supports the suggestion that different clubs cater for different occupational status groups, sometimes even if they pursue the same activity. For instance, the Grove Badminton Club had 60% of its members in group 3 and 40% in group 4, whereas the Riverside Club had 62% in group 1, 25% in group 2 and 13% in group 3. The bar-charts relating to the leadership once again illustrate that the higher status groups provide most of the leadership. (see also discussion of this point under "Sports Organisations" East Kilbride above).

FIG. 53) LIVINGSTON - SPORTS ORGANISATIONS - OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Members



Leaders

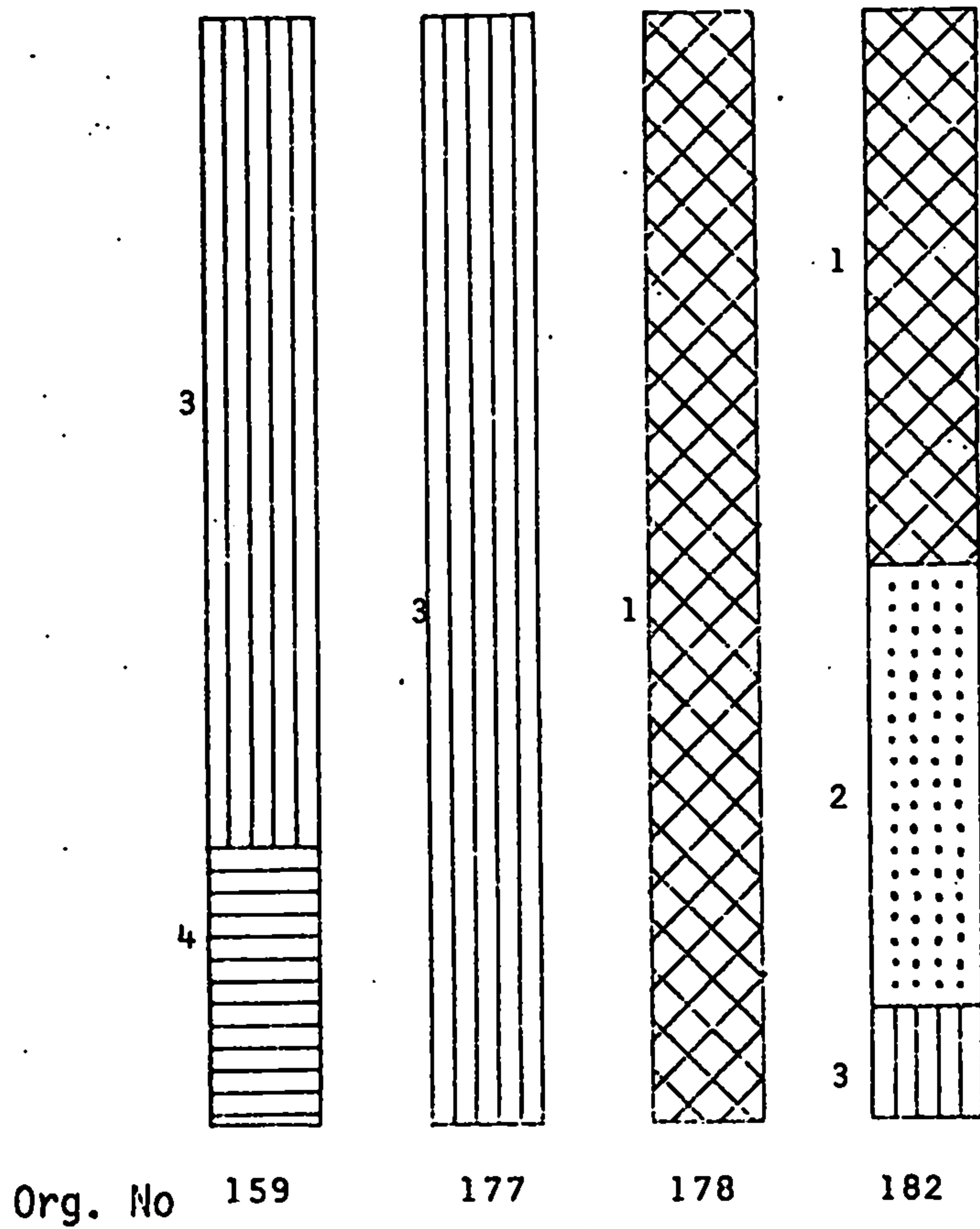


TABLE No. 93

LIVINGSTON - COMPARISONS OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MEMBERSHIP/LEADERSHIP

	Membership Organisation No.	Members Occupational Group					Leaders Occupational Group					Chi Square value
		Occupational Group					Occupational Group					
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
Youth	152	20	20	25	30	5	30	0	40	20	0	42.33
	158	5	0	0	45	50	50	0	0	0	50	450.00
Social Services	161	0	0	20	50	30	0	10	70	20	0	10000153.00
Women's	167	15	0	15	0	70	66	0	17	17	0	28900209.67
	169	10	25	50	15	0	10	90	0	0	0	234.00
	170	75	25	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	33.33
	172	0	0	55	0	45	0	0	50	0	50	1.01
Hobby/Special Interest	173	88	12	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	13.64
	175	8	32	52	8	0	33	50	17	0	0	119.81
Political	176	4	3	50	20	23	40	33	10	10	7	672.13
Sports	159	0	0	50	50	0	0	0	75	25	0	25.00
	177	0	0	60	40	0	0	0	100	0	0	66.67
	178	62	25	13	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	61.29
	182	15	15	35	8	27	50	40	10	0	0	176.19

TABLE No. 94

Comparison Occupational Status Membership/Population
LIVINGSTON

	Organisation No.	Occupational Group					<u>Chi-square value</u>
		1	2	3	4	5	
Towns population		7	12	55	17	9	
Youth	152	20	20	25	30	5	57.56
	158	5	0	0	45	50	300.47
	161	0	0	20	50	30	154.33
Social	167	15	0	15	0	70	480.68
Service	168	0	15	75	0	10	32.13
Women's	169	10	25	50	15	0	25.06
	170	75	25	0	0	0	755.65
	172	0	0	55	0	45	180.00
Hobby/Special	173	88	12	0	0	0	1018.29
Interest	175	8	32	52	8	0	47.40
Political	176	4	3	50	20	23	30.80
Sports	159	0	0	50	50	0	92.51
	177	0	0	60	40	0	59.57
	178	62	25	13	0	0	504.30
	182	15	15	35	8	27	57.93

Summary

As was noted in the introduction to this chapter, the Reith Committee assumed that the various occupational classes would all play their part in the social organisations of the new towns. Lewis Silkin re-iterated this aspiration when he stated that it was his hope "that the different classes "would mix freely in their leisure". One must now ask how far these expectations have been fulfilled in the three new towns subject to this study. Table 95 shows the proportion of organisations in each of the three towns, which contain members of a given number of occupational classes. This in turn can be taken to be an indication as to the extent to which organisations do act as "meeting grounds" for all sections of the community.

TABLE No.95

Number of occupational groups represented in organisations

	Percentage of organisations containing:				
	at least 5 occ. groups	at least 4 occ. groups	at least 3 occ. groups	at least 2 occ. groups	at least 1 occ. group only
Glenrothes	30.6%	47.2%	61.1%	86.1%	13.9%
East Kilbride	17.9%	53.8%	76.9%	87.2%	12.8%
Livingston	21.4%	35.7%	64.3%	100.0%	-

It is of interest to note that in all three towns, less than a third of all organisations catered for all five occupational classes.* On the other hand, in Glenrothes slightly less,

* As was also the case in Bottomore's Squirebridge (See page 368 op.cit.) but it has to be noted that he used only three categories which make a more detailed comparison with his findings impossible.

and in East Kilbride slightly more than half (47.2% and 53.8% respectively) cater for at least four occupational classes. In fact, as the table illustrates - as the minimum number of occupational groups catered for decreases, so the proportion of organisations in that particular category rises. For instance, in Glenrothes 61.1% of all organisations had within their membership people from at least three occupational classes, and 86.1% from at least two classes. A similar development can be observed both in East Kilbride and Livingston.

At the other end of this particular scale it is found that in Glenrothes and East Kilbride 13.9% and 12.8% of the organisations cater for one occupational class only. The bar-charts however illustrate that it would be wrong to assume that one-class organisations necessarily cater for class 1. (see for instance Fig. 40, No. 101, or Fig. 34, No. 53). In Livingston on the other hand, all organisations in this sample had at least two occupational classes among their members.

Since however there were some differences in the occupational class composition of the population of these three new towns (see Fig. 29), it was thought to be useful to compare the composition of the various organisations with that of the particular town in which they operated, in order to achieve some measurement of the "representativeness" of the membership. This, it was felt would give a further indication as to how far these organisations fulfilled a function as meeting grounds for the different sections of each of these

three communities. Table 96 summarises, by categories, the results given in Tables 90/92/94, which indicate the chi-square value of this comparison for every organisation.

TABLE No. 96

Summary: comparison of occupational status membership/population in all three towns.

Average chi-square* value per category:

Category	Glenrothes	Rank Order	East Kilbride	Rank Order	Livingston	Rank Order
Youth	31.93	1	78.97	1	70.79	2
Arts & Cultural	157.88	7	79.57	2	-	-
Social Service	475.10	10	180.63	8	256.41	4
Womens Orgs.	223.73	8	121.44	7	320.24	5
Hobby/Special Interest	78.59	4	80.81	3	532.85	6
Political	125.60	6	102.05	5	30.80	1
Sports	270.15	9	111.15	6	149.02	3
Social/Dancing	62.96	3	-	-	-	-
Old Peoples	61.19	2	-	-	-	-
Other	93.62	5	97.15	4	-	-
Overall average chi-square value for all organisations	175.15		109.07		255.11	

* If composition of membership were identical with composition of general population, then chi-square value = 0.00

From this table a number of interesting factors emerge. It would appear that judging by the above criteria of "representativeness" the youth organisations in each of the three new towns were more representative of the general population in terms of occupational groups than any other category of organisation (except in Livingston, where they

were No. 2 in the rank order). It would therefore appear that the youth organisations above all provided the kind of meeting ground, where every section of the community was represented. However, beyond this definite statement, applying to all three towns, a number of trends appear to be discernible, particularly when Glenrothes and East Kilbride are compared with each other. (Livingston more often than not provides an exception in cases, where the different stage of development of that town would appear to be significant.) For instance, it has already been pointed out in the text above that Social Service organisations tend to cater for those who are in a position to "dispense charity". Table 96 would tend to confirm this in as much as both in Glenrothes and East Kilbride the social service organisations ranked last in their particular order (No. 10 and 8 respectively). The womens' organisations too have been found to cater for specific occupational classes only, frequently leaving out the lower status groups. It is therefore significant that in all three towns they rank low in the particular ranking order. On the other hand, the Hobby/Special interest groups, at least in Glenrothes and East Kilbride would appear to be able to provide a meeting ground for a cross-section of the community. In Livingston however, as has been pointed out in Chapter 5, it is too early to draw conclusions, since the type of organisation found in this category is among those which can only get under way, once a given catchment area has been developed up to a given point. It is also of interest that in Glenrothes and East Kilbride the political

parties, taken as a category, rather than individually, (for individual scores see Tables 90 and 92) were no more than "moderately" representative of the population in their membership. The exception to this was found in Livingston, where however the sample only consisted of one organisation, i.e. the Scottish National Party, which at the time of the study was in fact one of the organisations with a membership composition which most closely resembled that of the town at large. The Sports Organisations would appear to be less significant as instruments of "mixing" all sections of the community, than might have been assumed, at least as far as the samples for Glenrothes and East Kilbride are concerned. It is however conceivable that they might play a more important role in this respect at an earlier stage of the development of a new town, since in Livingston they rank third, as compared with ninth and sixth in Glenrothes and East Kilbride respectively. The Social/Dancing and Old Peoples organisations were in this instance only represented in the Glenrothes sample - the community associations, listed under category "Others" in both Glenrothes and East Kilbride both figure at mid-point in their respective ranking orders.

As far as it is meaningful to calculate an average chi-square value - measuring the "representativeness" of all the organisations in these three new towns, it is of interest to note that generally speaking the organisations in East Kilbride were more akin in the composition of their membership to the composition of the general population, than Glenrothes and Livingston. Whether or not there is a relationship

between the "maturity" (i.e. stage of development) of a town, and the degree to which its organisations become "representative" would be difficult to demonstrate conclusively within the remit of this research, although it is of interest that according to Table 96 it happens to turn out that way. In other words, East Kilbride, which is the town in the sample which is nearest to completion provided the lowest chi-square value in this comparison, followed by Glenrothes, which is not as near yet to its eventual target, - and the highest chi-square value (more than twice that of East Kilbride) is indicated by Livingston, which is the most recent development. (For further details on relationship between development of town and development of organisations, see also Chapter 5).

Apart from ascertaining the incidence of different occupational groups within the membership, an attempt has been made in this chapter to establish how far the leadership was representative (proportionately) of the membership. The results of this part of the investigation, which have been discussed above in more detail, are summarised below, in Table 97, by categories according to town.

Again this table is of interest, both because of the parallels between the new towns, and the differences which emerge. For instance, it is striking that in both Glenrothes and East Kilbride the category with the lowest recorded chi-square value (and therefore those most suitable in terms of composition of leadership compared with the membership) were the Womens' organisations. And also in Livingston this category ranked among the first three.

TABLE No. 97

Summary comparison of occupational status of membership and leadership in all three towns.
Average chi-square value per category

Category	Glenrothes	Rank Order	East Kilbride	Rank Order	Living- ston	Rank Order
Youth	37.40	3	46.17	3	164.11	4
Arts & Cult.	88.57	7	43.65	2	-	
Social Service	118.34	9	74.52	4	-	
Womens Orgs.	17.70	1	25.00	1	89.44	3
Hobby/Special Interest	76.65	6	101.41	6	66.72	1
Political	95.21	8	204.01	8	672.13	5
Sports	33.27	2	109.61	7	82.28	2
Social/Dancing	-		-		-	
Old Peoples	73.28	5	-		-	
Other	44.40	4	86.20	5		

Furthermore, the Youth organisations in both Glenrothes and East Kilbride ranked third, the Hobby/Special Interest group ranked sixth in both, and the political organisations, again in both, ranked eighth - and in Livingston too, the discrepancy between the composition of leadership and membership was greatest in this category. By and large, with only a few exceptions, which have already been referred to above, these differences were accounted for by the "shift of dominance" towards the higher status groups. It has been shown that they tended to be represented in the leadership to a greater extent, proportionately, than in membership. It is therefore possible to state that a relationship exists between high occupational status and the exercise of leadership, without however being able to specify the precise nature of this relationship.

In this respect the findings of this study, as they relate to participation and leadership, would seem to concur with those of a number of other studies in this field. Bottomore for instance, found the same to be true in "Squirebridge".³² Similarly, L. Reissmann, referring to a number of American studies³³ stated:

"the combined findings of a number of separate studies seemed clearly to support the existence of a positive relationship between social class position on the one hand, and the character and extent of leisure activity and social participation on the other. Those in "higher" class positions were more active and diverse in their participation than those in "lower" positions. Phrased in somewhat less rigorous terms, this can be interpreted to mean that middle class generally tends to dominate the organisational activity, the intellectual life and the leadership of the community."

Further evidence, pointing in the same direction, at least as far as the link between high occupational status and holding office in associations is concerned, comes from W. Bell and M. Force who wrote, again in the American Sociological Review:³⁴

"Men living in the high economic status neighbourhoods belong to the greater number of associations, attend more frequently and hold office more often than men living in low economic status neighbourhoods."

From within the United Kingdom too there are a number of examples which would tend to support the above findings.

32. Bottomore, op.cit., p. 369.

33. L. Reissmann: American Sociological Review, Vol. 19, 1954.

34. W. Bell and M. Force: "Urban Neighbourhood type and participation in formal associations." American Soc. Review Vol. 21 No. 1 February 1956, p. 333.

Vereker and Mays for instance found in their study of social conditions in central Liverpool that the working class were less frequent "joiners" and that areas in which working class pre-dominated were characterised by a paucity of formal activities.³⁵ Willmott & Young too found that in Woodford³⁶ "Clubs and other organisations plainly attracted middle class people more than working class". Similarly, Cauter and Downham³⁷ found in Derby that the middle-class people "were easily most interested in joining clubs." Josephine Klein³⁸ in samples from English Cultures comments on the question of leadership as follows: "The history of working class associational life is be-devilled by the fact that leadership in many associations comes from the same classes who are thought of as "they". In other words there exists an "de haut en bas" relationship. As far as the tendency of "joining" as a middle-class peculiarity is concerned, she however warns that there are certain difficulties of interpretation, i.e. there are forms of association, say emanating from an informal gathering in a pub, such as Darts Clubs and Domino Leagues, etc., which are not readily listed by (middle class) social scientists as formal associations. The

35. C. Vereker and J.B. Mays, "Urban Redevelopment and Social Change: A study of social conditions in central Liverpool 1955-56. Liverpool University Press, 1961.

36. P. Willmott & M. Young: Family & Class in a London Suburb, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960.

37. T. Cauter and J.S. Downham, "The communication of ideas", pp. 64-66.

38. J. Klein - Samples from English Cultures - Vol. 1, pp. 206 & 7 Routledge and Kegan Paul 1965.

fact that this particular study does not claim to include all forms of social activity in these three new towns, has already been referred to. However, having sounded this warning, Klein did not doubt the validity of the findings of Young and Willmott and Cauter and Downham referred to above. Furthermore, Peter Willmott, in another article,³⁹ which is more closely relevant to the present research than any of the other studies quoted as examples, compared East Kilbride with Stevenage and wrote:

"The residents of both new towns, after a little more than a decade, enjoy a good deal more of this kind of organised activity than do those of the 40 year old housing estate (i.e. Becontree estate at Dagenham). This contrast with Dagenham is partly explained by social class differences between the new towns and the estate. Whereas the population of the latter is overwhelmingly working class in occupation, both new towns have fairly high proportions of professional, managerial and white collar people. And in both new towns, more of what might be called the middle classes belong to clubs than do in other parts of the country."

This statement suggests that there is a relationship between social class and membership (and therefore incidence) of social organisations; and makes also clear that in terms of the image which "haunted" the Reith Committee, "a series of new Becontrees" has indeed been avoided. Furthermore, the above chapter shows that mixing of different sections of these communities does take place to a certain extent within social organisations, and to varying degrees. However, whether or not it can be said to have met the ideals and assumptions of the Reith Committee, and indeed the post-war

39. P. Willmott "Some social characteristics of a Scottish and an English New Town. Town Planning Review XXIV 1963-64, p. 314.

Labour government, responsible for passing the appropriate legislation, largely depends on the political and ideological standpoint of the reader interpreting these figures.