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"NEW TOWN" AND "EXPANDED TOWN" DEVELOPMENT:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CUMBERNAULD AND LINWOOD

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Master of Philosophy

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an attempt to study the development of two towns and to compare the results of that development. The aim of the dissertation is to attempt some assessment as to which of the alternative modes of administration available is more appropriate for the development of a "new community". The two towns described are illustrative of the two main administrative means available of developing or expanding a town in Scotland. The towns concerned are Cumbernauld New Town, Dumbartonshire, and Linwood, Renfrewshire, both of which have experienced a rapid growth in population since c. 1960. The development of Cumbernauld has been managed and largely financed by the Cumbernauld Development Corporation (appointed by the Government under the terms of the New Towns Act, 1946) whereas the development of Linwood has been the responsibility of the local authorities (the County and District Councils) aided in their house building programme by the Scottish Special Housing Association (and, at first, by financial assistance from Glasgow Corporation under the terms of an overspill agreement as defined by the Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act, 1957).

An attempt will be made to investigate the hypothesis that the administrative apparatus made possible by the New Town legislation would have been more appropriate for the development of Linwood than that which was used.

This introduction will briefly outline the contents of the dissertation, and consider the main methodological problem encountered.

The basic methodological problem is that of the validity of comparison. It can be argued that comparison of two towns is not possible or valid because they are being developed for different purposes by different agencies at different rates, and with different target populations in view; the criteria for assessing the development of Linwood are not necessarily relevant for assessing the development of Cumbernauld. These points must be accepted, but they do not invalidate an examination of the development of each town with reference to its own particular aims or goals (insofar as these can be enunciated). But the intention in this dissertation is not so much to examine the achievement (or not) of specific goals, but to examine the problems encountered in the development of each town with reference to the administrative structures responsible for that development. There will be an attempt to assess whether the development of each town might have been more (or less) easily achieved by the use of an alternative administrative machinery. In particular there will be concentration on the adequacy of New Town legislation and its appropriateness for use in cases such as that of Linwood.

The dissertation will consist mainly of a comparative account of the development of each of the towns to the present day. Chapter 1 will start with a description of the background to the development of new communities in general. The growth of the new town idea will be described as well as the alternative means used to provide homes, jobs, etc.

The background to the development of Linwood and Cumbernauld will then be described with reference to the problems of West Central Scotland where they are both located. These problems (of unemployment, poor housing conditions etc.) are responsible to some degree for the development of both towns. Chapters 2 and 3 will consider each town separately; Cumbernauld in Chapter 2, Linwood in Chapter 3. An account will be given of the growth of population and housing, the employment structure, the provision of services, facilities, and community buildings, and the problems encountered in the development of each town. In Chapter 4 the development of the two towns will be compared with concentration on the effectiveness of the two types of administrative structures involved. Chapter 5 will consist of conclusions and a short summary of findings.

The data upon which this dissertation is based are derived from several sources. The annual reports of Cumbernauld Development Corporation form a useful source which was not available for Linwood. Census returns have been utilised for both towns. The annual summary of New Town statistics published by the Town and Country Planning Association were also consulted. Also useful was information contained in an unpublished dissertation (A study of the Community of Linwood) written by J.P. Hall as part of the requirements for the Diploma in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Strathclyde. There are numerous published accounts of the development of Cumbernauld and these have been utilised too. Finally use has been made of information given in interviews with officials, councillors and residents of the two towns.

Chapter 1

THE BACKGROUND TO NEW TOWN DEVELOPMENT AND TOWN EXPANSION

The Growth of the New Town Idea

The idea of the planned building of new towns is not new - either to Britain or to the twentieth century. The first indication that man believed it was possible to build an ideal town is found in Greek literature of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Mumford (1961) argues that:

"Up to this time, the actual city had been idealised; now an effort was made - twice in fact by Plato in Syracuse - to actualise an ideal city".

The Romans actually put into practise the building of new towns, mainly for colonising and military purposes:

"Not enough has yet been made of the new towns... built in the early days of the Empire... Yet the very scale of their construction implies the existence of what, drawing on England's contemporary pioneering, one may call a governmental 'New Towns' policy".

(Mumford, op.cit.)

In the Middle Ages too, planned new towns or expansions to towns were built, mainly for military or trading purposes:

"In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, the town was something more than the scum of its parts... There is even reason to believe that the wave of town founding that swept Europe in the second half of the thirteenth century was due to Thomas Aquinas's contention that the city was the ideal community"

(Lang, 1952).

The Renaissance led to the influence of neo-classical ideas being applied to the building of towns and cities in the Baroque style:

"Apart from overseas colonization, the chief new cities built from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century were 'residence cities' for kings and princes, like Versailles, Karlsruhe, and Potsdam, or garrison towns, residences of royal power in absentia, like Londonderry, Philippeville, and Christiansand". (Mumford, op. cit.)

The growth in the size of towns and cities which occurred concurrently with the Industrial Revolution led to a belief that the size of the town was responsible for the conditions within it.

"In the eighteenth century a few big towns... had their town-bred and even slum-bred populations, brutalised by ignorance, squalor, and the habits of gin-drinking..... Now this old evil assumed vaster proportions, and... great new social problems were created". (Thomson, 1950).

Solutions to these social problems in Britain were sought by men like Robert Owen in the building of new communities such as New Lanark (c.1800). At the end of the nineteenth century George Cadbury and William Henry Lever (later Lord Leverhulme) were responsible for the building of Bournville and Port Sunlight respectively:

"These new-type industrial villages... pioneered the planned and planted layout of good family homes with gardens in close relationship to healthy and efficient modern factories" (Osborn and Whittick, 1969).

At a national level the work of men like Edwin Chadwick and Lord Shaftesbury led to the enactment of measures relating to factory conditions and public health, e.g. the Factory Act of 1833, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, and the Public Health Act of 1875.

By 1870 local authorities were compelled to appoint sanitary inspectors and to provide sewers, water supply and refuse disposal services, and by 1914

"Nearly every state in Europe... had a code of legislation governing the building of houses and the making of streets; ensuring minimum standards of sanitation, safety, and conditions of labour in factories, mines, and mills, ... and enforcing standards of purity and cleanliness in food and drink" (Thomson, 1957).

In 1898 Ebenezer Howard, a clerk and Parliamentary shorthand writer, published a book which has had a profound effect on the development of new towns in Britain in the twentieth century. "Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform"¹

¹ revised 1902 and republished as "Garden Cities of Tomorrow"; latest edition 1965.

proposed the building of new towns in Britain as a means of both relieving the congestion, squalor, and degradation of the big cities and rejuvenating the countryside. Howard attempted to justify the building of what he called Garden Cities on ethical and economic grounds. A critical factor in Howard's proposals was the restriction in size of the town to 32,000, including the rural belt. He described in detail the physical appearance of the town he envisaged; with an agricultural green belt surrounding it; with industrial zones separate from residential; and a full provision of community services and buildings. He proposed that the site of the town should be owned by the people:

"He saw that the collective or quasi-public ownership of a whole town site did not necessitate the collective conduct of industry and business; these could be left to private enterprise or voluntary co-operation"
(Osborn and Whittick, op.cit.)

In 1899 Howard formed the Garden City Association,² and in 1903 the Association formed a company to develop a Garden City at Letchworth. Not surprisingly the Company was undercapitalised and development proceeded slowly. In 1967 the population was slightly short of its target, at 28,300.

In 1919-20 Howard's second project was started.

"Like First Garden City Ltd., Welwyn Garden City Ltd. had to finance its early development by bank advances and mortgage loans...(but)... by the 1930's Welwyn Garden City had become a visible entity - and had made a worldwide impression" (Osborn and Whittick,op.cit.)

2 Later renamed the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, and now known as the Town and Country Planning Association.

During the 1920's and '30's the Town and Country Planning Association continued its propoganda campaign for the adoption of a national policy of new town building. In 1920 The Report of the Committee on Unhealthy Areas, to which the Association gave evidence, recommended the restriction of factory industry in the London area and the dispersal of some population and industry to garden cities. In 1935 the Report of the Committee on Garden Cities and Satellite Towns recommended governmental support for the building of new towns.

In 1937, the Barlow Commission was appointed:

"To inquire into the causes which have influenced the present geographical distribution of the industrial population of Great Britain, and the probable direction of any change in that distribution in the future; to consider what social, economic or strategical advantages arise from the concentration of industries or of the industrial population in large towns or in particular areas of the country; and to report what remedial measures, if any, should be taken in the national interest".

The commissioners recommended several courses of action with the aim of restricting industrial growth in the prosperous areas and encouraging it in the depressed areas. A minority report recommended that control over the location of industry should be in the hands of one ministry. Although these recommendations were largely ignored by the Labour Government of 1945 - '51, Osborn and Whittick (op. cit.), conclude that:

"The Barlow Report did in the event prove the historic turning point in the governmental concern with urban development".

It can also be said that the Barlow Report proved to be the historic turning point in the governmental concern with regional planning.

The national desire to make a new beginning after the Second World War partly influenced the formation of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning in 1943. Also that year the County of London Plan was published, and in 1944 the Greater London Plan made proposals for the location of 1½ million overspill population.

The Legislation: New Towns and Town Development

The Labour Government which was elected on 26th July 1945 lost little time in appointing an Advisory Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Reith:

"to consider the general question of the establishment, development, organisation 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".

Eight months later the Committee had finished its work:

"Rarely has any Government Committee got down to business so quickly and effectively" (Schaffer, 1970).

The recommendations of the Reith reports were largely implemented in the New Towns Act, 1946. The development of New Towns was to be done by development corporations appointed by the Government (or the Secretary of State for Scotland) and financed by the Exchequer. The corporations were given a wide range of powers to acquire land and to undertake necessary development, including the provision of houses, factories, commercial buildings, and public services, and to appoint and employ staff:

"They were not, however, to replace the local authorities" (Osborn and Whittick, op. cit).

Once established the Development Corporation were to prepare an outline or master plan for the town:

"This master plan is not actually required by the Act, but such a plan is obviously desirable, and in practise, the Minister has required each development corporation to prepare one ... The master plan is followed by detailed plans". (Telling, 1968).

"The development corporation ... shall from time to time submit ... to the Minister³ ... their proposals for the development of land within ... the new town, and the Minister³, after consultation with the local planning authority, ... and with any other local authority who appear to him to be concerned, may approve any such proposals either with or without modification ... (Section 3 (1), New Towns Act, 1946).

³ or the Secretary of State for Scotland

"...a special interim development order made by the Minister³...may grant permission for any development of land in accordance with proposals approved under subsection (1) of this section" (Section 3 (2), New Towns Act, 1946).

In effect this obviates the necessity for the Development Corporation to obtain planning permission from the Local Planning Authority.

Money advanced by the Government was to be repaid over sixty years at the ordinary rate of interest on public loans. Furthermore:

"the act allows the corporation, with the Ministers³ approval, to make financial contributions to offset costs incurred for services rendered by local authorities or statutory undertakers" (Rodwin, 1956).

There have been only minor alterations to the New Town legislation since 1946, and it has been used to develop or partly develop 27 New Towns in Scotland, England and Wales.

Between 1946 and 1950 fourteen New Towns were designated - eight in the area around London, three elsewhere in England, one in Wales, and two in Scotland (East Kilbride and Glenrothes). There followed a period of ten years, in which time only one new town was designated - Cumbernauld, in December, 1955. Since 1961 twelve further New Towns have been designated, including another two in Scotland (Livingston and Irvine). The estimated total population of the British New Towns as at December 31, 1972 was 1,477,850, with a total of 261,692 houses completed since the designation of each New Town. (Town and Country Planning, 1973).

3 or the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The 1951-64 Conservative Government has been criticised for designating only one New Town in the 1950's. But this Government was not entirely inactive in the field of urban dispersal. In 1952 the Town Development Act, which applied to England and Wales, was given the royal assent, and in 1957 the Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act was passed:

"The Town Development Act had the same general aim as the New Towns Act - to provide accommodation outside the congested areas; but while the New Towns Act provided for the cost to be met by government credits, the Town Development Act relied on the machinery of local government, with central government assistance" (Nicholson, 1961).

The Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act allowed for overspill agreements between exporting and importing authorities, where an exporting authority could not meet the need for housing within its own area - in fact, the only exporting authority to sign agreements has been Glasgow. The Act also allows for the drawing up of Town Development Schemes:

"Where a receiving authority consider it expedient that ...there should be carried out other development, including the provision of...accommodation for the carrying on of industrial or other activities, appropriate public services, facilities for public worship, recreation and amenity and other requirements" (Section 10 (1)).

To 30 September 1972, 57 overspill agreements had been signed with 47 receiving authorities, providing for 33,505 houses

to be built, with approximately 26,000 of these already provided.

In England and Wales 163,495 new houses are to be provided under the terms of the Town Development Act, 1952; of these 78,908 had been completed at 30 June 1972. (Town and Country Planning, 1973).

Although the provision of housing etc. under the Town Development Acts has not been as great as under New Town Legislation (104,908 houses completed compared to 261,692 in the New Towns), neither has it been insignificant. Yet the New Towns have received almost all the attention of researchers on the subjects of urban dispersal, new communities etc. A glance through the list of references at the end of this dissertation will demonstrate this point adequately e.g. apart from the annual summary of statistics published by the Town and Country Planning Association nothing has been published specifically about the use of the Housing and Town Development Act in Scotland. This dissertation will trace and compare the development of two towns - one (Cumbernauld) built under the New Town legislation, the other (Linwood) partly built under the Town Development legislation. The list of references will again demonstrate that while a lot has been published about the development of Cumbernauld, practically nothing has been published about the development of Linwood.

The Regional Background to the Development of Cumbernauld
and Linwood.

Cumbernauld and Linwood are both situated approximately twelve miles from the centre of Glasgow. Cumbernauld lies to the North East, in the detached (Eastern) portion of Dunbartonshire. Linwood lies to South West, in Renfrewshire. Cumbernauld is surrounded by agricultural land; apart from one or two very small villages the nearest towns are four to six miles away (Kilsyth, Kirkintilloch and Airdrie). Linwood is mainly surrounded by agricultural land, although the large burgh of Paisley, the small burgh of Johnstone and the village of Elderslie each lie within one mile of it. Both towns can be said to have been developed as much because of Regional policy as because of New Town or Town Development Policy.

In the 1950's the West Central Scotland area was suffering from the results of the industrialisation of the previous century. The traditional heavy industries of shipbuilding, engineering and mining were in decline, and the newer, growing industries were not taking their place. Consequently unemployment rates were high, and were growing throughout the 1950's. In fact, unemployment in Scotland in the 1950's was consistently twice the national (Great Britain) average. (Ogden, 1965).

The housing conditions of the people of Glasgow were also very bad. Densities were very high and the standard of provision of amenities was very low. The 1951 Census showed

that Glasgow City had an occupancy take of 1.27 persons per room, compared to a rate of 0.83 for London. 43% of households in the Glasgow conurbation had no fixed bath and 29% had no internal water closet. (Thomas, 1969). The Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1946 (published 1949) proposed the dispersal of 300,000 people to areas outwith the City boundary. This plan was strongly opposed by Glasgow Corporation which was reluctant to lose its population (and hence rateable value) to surrounding local authorities. This policy of retention by the Corporation combined with the need to redevelop areas of very high density in the city centre led to the building of the large peripheral housing estates at Easterhouse, Drumchapel, and Castlemilk. In the early 1950's realisation of the immensity of the problem forced Glasgow to change it's policy:

"In 1954, the Regional Planning Advisory Committee was reconstituted (by the local authorities of the area covered by the Clyde Valley Regional Plan) and its Technical Committee advised it, after investigation, that the overspill and decentralisation proposals of the Plan could be broadly accepted; and that a further new town should be built at Cumbernauld".

(Grieve, 1960)

"By 1954 there was unity among all the local forces urging the government to designate a second new town for Glasgow" (Thomas 1969)

"At last the pressure became irresistible. The immovable object stirred. I suspect that the key man at this juncture was Robert Grieve (now Professor Sir). In summer, at a Town Planning Institute Summer School at St. Andrews he read a paper - which brought conviction to many professionals. In the secret chambers of St. Andrews House and York Buildings he had opportunities from time to time to convince high politicians". (Mitchell, 1967).

On 9th December, 1955 an area of 4,150 acres at Cumbernauld was designated as Scotland's third New Town. In 1958 the provisions of the Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act came into force and within three years Glasgow had initiated almost twenty overspill agreements with local authorities throughout Scotland.

The expansion of Linwood in the early 1960's was in accordance with an overspill agreement between Glasgow and Renfrew County. But the agreement was not so much the result of a desire to provide houses for Glasgow people, as the desire to house workers at the new Rootes car factory being built on the outskirts of the old village of Linwood. (In fact the factory separates Linwood from Paisley). The decision to locate the factory at Linwood was taken in the last few months of 1959 after the Company failed to get an Industrial Development Certificate (I.D.C.) from the government for development in the Midlands. The Government had been pressurised into its position partly by the rising numbers of unemployed in

Scotland, Wales and the North of England, and partly because of a vigorous campaign by Scottish Trade Unionists and M.P.'s. Rootes decided to go to Linwood because the combination of advantages were greater at Linwood than at any other site acceptable to the Government.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUMBERNAULD

Introduction

As described in Chapter 1, the development of Cumbernauld has been (and still is) mainly the responsibility of Cumbernauld Development Corporation. But the Corporation is not normally responsible for services and functions supplied and performed by the local authorities:

"The development corporation has parallel powers to build houses and roads, and can, if necessary, be authorised to provide water and sewerage services. It can also contribute to the local authorities' costs. But it cannot levy rates and in practise, apart from house building, does not overlap with the general run of local government functions" (Schaffer, op. cit.).

In Cumbernauld's case the local authorities concerned with development in the town were the County Council of Dunbarton and, for the first twelve years, the District Council of Cumbernauld. In 1968 Cumbernauld was granted small burgh status and the division of responsibilities was slightly changed. Some of the responsibilities of the County Council (e.g. housing, sewage) were handed over to the Town Council which, therefore, has a more significant contribution to make to the development of the town than the District Council had. The boundaries of the area covered by the Town Council are the same as those which define the designated New Town area, and this area is wholly contained within the County of Dunbarton. This "neat" arrangement of administrative

boundaries does not always occur in New Towns or new communities, although the potential advantages in terms of ease of co-ordination and co-operation are obvious. The designated area of Livingston New Town, for example, straddles the boundary between the Counties of West Lothian and Midlothian; and it will be seen that Linwood has no clear administrative status of its own, being only one of several communities which are the responsibility of one District Council.

Population

The population resident in the designated area of Cumbernauld New Town in 1956 was approximately 3,000, contained mainly within the two villages of Cumbernauld and Condorrat. On 31st December 1972 the population was estimated to be 35,000 (Town and Country Planning, 1973). Therefore in 16 years the population has grown by 32,000. The build up in population is shown in Table 2.1. It will be seen that after a slow start the population has been growing at a rate of about 3,000 per annum over the past eight years, until 1972, when a comparatively smaller rise occurred. At the 1971 Census the population was 31,557.

Table 2-2 compares the age structure of the population of Cumbernauld with that of Scotland as a whole. In fact the Table demonstrates the typical age structure composition of new towns, with larger proportions of young children and young married couples, and smaller proportions of teenagers and old people than in the population as a whole. This age structure

TABLE 2 - 1

POPULATION OF CUMBERNAULD, 1957 - 72*

Year	Population
1957	3,000
1958	3,500
1959	4,000
1960	4,800
1961	6,400
1962	8,350
1963	10,500
1964	14,500
1965	17,500
1966	21,000
1967	23,000
1968	26,000
1969	28,000
1970	31,000
1971	34,000
1972	35,000

* as estimated at 31st December each year; figures published January and/or February, Town and Country Planning.

TABLE 2 - 2

POPULATION AGE STRUCTURE; CUMBERNAULD AND SCOTLAND 1966*

(FIGURES ARE PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION)

Age	Cumbernauld		Scotland	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
65+	1.36	2.10	4.30	6.96
60-64	0.82	1.14	2.49	2.96
45-59	5.20	4.70	8.61	9.73
30-44	12.31	11.85	9.06	9.52
25-29	4.68	5.01	2.91	3.06
20-24	3.71	4.60	3.10	3.19
15-19	2.79	2.75	4.12	3.97
5-14	11.90	12.52	8.46	8.08
0-4	6.06	6.50	4.73	4.48

* From Census returns, 1966.

composition is due principally to the way in which tenants for Cumbernauld are selected, and partly to the tendency for young people to be more willing to undertake the disruptions involved in moving to a New Town:

"Priority is given to families approved as overspill by Glasgow Corporation who have a job in Cumbernauld, to nominations made by Glasgow for persons being displaced by Urban renewal projects, irrespective of whether or not they have a job in Cumbernauld, and to key workers nominated by Cumbernauld's industries and organisations... (if) there are dwellings left over for letting they are next offered to 'Glasgow Commuters' irrespective as to whether there is overspill approval by Glasgow Corporation". (Thomas, op.cit.)

To 31st March 1972 the origins of families living in Cumbernauld was as follows:

"City of Glasgow	76%
Dunbartonshire.....	4%
Elsewhere in Scotland.....	18%
Elsewhere in the United Kingdom....	2%

(16th Annual Report of Cumbernauld Development Corporation, 1972)

Most of the categories of tenant described by Thomas are likely to be made up of young families living in overcrowded conditions who welcome the prospect of a new house in a New Town, without the necessity for a long wait on a housing list. Many of those who are "displaced by urban renewal projects" are likely to have been on Glasgow's housing list for several years, and these tend to be older than those who move to a new job in Cumbernauld:

"Those who remained at the time of clearance were on average, older, and the households smaller... young married couples with no family as yet, or perhaps one child, may obtain a house in a new town by industrial selection before they would qualify on the housing lists" (Nicholson, op.cit.).

The population is therefore a young one, with many children and is likely to remain so for several years yet as the town proceeds towards its initial target population of 70,000 and eventual population of 100,000.

Housing

The allocation of houses to tenants has been described in the previous section. This section will concentrate on the build up of houses in the New Town. Table 2 - 3 shows the number of houses completed each year since designation to 1972.

The Development Corporation was formally appointed on 16th February 1956; the first house to be completed in the New Town was handed over to the tenant on 28th March, 1958.

TABLE 2 - 3
HOUSING IN CUMBERNAULD, 1957 - 72*

completed during	by Development Corporation	Local Authority	other	cumulative total
1957	-	-	-	-
1958	137	-	-	137
1959	208	-	-	345
1960	280	-	-	625
1961	520	56	-	1,201
1962	526	-	-	1,727
1963	550	-	-	2,277
1964	1,054	30	3	3,364
1965	854	-	25	4,243
1966	1,108	-	-	5,351
1967	530	6	3	5,890
1968	898	-	-	6,788
1969	884	23	17	7,717
1970	1,162	-	25	8,899
1971	532	-	31	9,462
1972	457	-	90	10,009
Totals:	9,700	115	194	10,009

* From January Editions, Town and Country Planning.

(2nd Annual Report, 1958). This two year "delay" is hardly surprising considering the preparation work required - in general planning of the town, provision of infrastructure, and time required for site preparation and building.

Although the rate of house building quickly rose to a figure of 1,108 in 1966, the numbers of completed houses each year consistently failed to reach the targets anticipated e.g. the Corporation expected to complete 750 houses in the year 1961/2 but only 338 of these were complete on the 31st March, 1962. The reasons for this, as stated in the Annual Report, were severe weather conditions, and the "adverse effects of conditions....in the building industry". Over the years the most frequently cited reasons for delay are shortages in materials and labour, and severity of weather conditions, and more recently, the problem of keeping within cost allowances:

"Indicative cost allowances, although recently increased by 6%, have failed to keep up with rapidly increasing costs. Substantial delays in obtaining departmental approvals have resulted, and it has only proved possible to keep housing projects within acceptable cost limits by adopting emergency expedients".

(15th Annual Report, 1971).

The proportion of owner-occupied housing in the New Town has been very low, but has increased in the last few years. On 31st December, 1972 there were an estimated 200 owner-occupied houses in the New Town, completed since designation, with a

further 200 (approximately) sold by the Development Corporation. This represents only about 4 per cent of the total housing stock, but:

"The Corporation's new policy is to encourage private building for owner-occupation, and aims at about 17 per cent of the total houses being owner-occupied" (Zweig, 1970).

In 1969 45 per cent of dwellings were flats or maisonettes (Zweig, op. cit.) but:

"the Corporation have reviewed their policy governing the proportion of flats in housing developments, in the light of the growing preference for self-contained housing and have decided that the proportion of flats be reduced" (15th Annual Report, 1971).

Several other features of housing in Cumbernauld deserve attention. The policy of the Development Corporation has always been to satisfy the priorities of housing Glasgow overspill and key workers in the town's industries, but other aspects of the town's development have not been neglected. The Corporation have built 48 houses on behalf of the local housing authority (originally the County Council, now the Town Council); they have also sold several houses to the Police Authority, and in 1964:

"The Corporation decided that their housing output and progress justify the operation of a positive policy to introduce some of the population elements necessary to achieve social and economic balance. They have, therefore, granted a limited number of applications for tenancy of higher income housing ... which would not otherwise have been considered. The Corporation are also encouraging parents and sons and daughters of residents to settle in Cumbernauld with a view to strengthening family ties and establishing a better balance of age structure in the population".

(9th Annual Report, 1965).

In accordance with this policy, by 1967, 360 flats and 88 houses had been let at higher rentals to tenants, 95% of whom were non-manual workers.

In 1966 two sites were reserved for the County Council to build houses for the elderly and handicapped, and by 1972 plans were almost complete for the building of one scheme of 31 "sheltered" houses. In 1968 and 1969 eighteen flats were furnished and let by the Corporation to the Scottish Joint Y.M./Y.W.C.A. Committee to be sublet to young unmarried people in the town. In 1971 a 204 place Y.M.C.A. Hostel, built in collaboration with the Development Corporation, was opened. It is to be used mainly by students at a training centre which is situated in the town.

Finally, as a guide to the standard of housing provided in Cumbernauld it should be stated that the town has received seven Awards for good design and layout, from the Saltire Society.

Industry and Employment

The growth of industry and employment in Cumbernauld has been slow but relatively steady since 1957, as Tables 2 - 4 and 2 - 5 show, apart from a recession in 1971-2. The total employment in the town, as at September 1972 was estimated to be 8,860 of which 5,000 jobs were occupied by males and 3,860 by females. On 31st March, 1972 ninety-three firms were established or had firm intentions of becoming established in the New Town. Of course the employment opportunities offered by these vary enormously.

The town can be said to have got off to a "flying start" in the field of industry and employment:

"When the Corporation was appointed negotiations were already proceeding between Burroughs Adding Machine Ltd., (now Burroughs Machines Ltd.) and the government departments concerned for the establishment...of a new factory in Cumbernauld ...it is, however, imperative that...diversity of employment should be available" (1st Annual Report 1957)

"Landing this big firm helped to ensure that others followed...by 1958 the Corporation got approval to build advance factories. In 1959 they secured authority from the government to offer concessional rental terms to industrialists...The Development Corporation also appreciated the value of publicity.

TABLE 2 - 4

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRY, SHOPS,
OFFICES, ETC., IN CUMBERNAULD,
1967 - 72*

September 1967	-	7,460
September 1968	-	8,600
September 1969	-	9,642
September 1970	-	10,189
September 1971	-	8,889
September 1972	-	8,860

* From January editions, Town and Country Planning

TABLE 2 - 5
 INDUSTRY IN CUMBERNAULD,
 1957-72*

New factories completed by December	no. of occupiers	no. of employees
1957	1	40
1958	1	950
1959	1	1,150
1960	1	1,150
1961	7	1,510
1962	12	2,550
1963	12	2,450
1964	21	3,262
1965	32	3,762
1966	39	4,570
1967	53	4,650
1968	57	5,086
1969	81	5,911
1970	90	6,430
1971	101	5,270
1972	117	5,498

* From January editions, Town and Country Planning.

By 1959 there was an energetic public relations department... By 1961 the Development Corporation was already going after offices...the preliminary planning proposals were revised to increase the proportion of office and service employment from 30 to 48 per cent... At present the town has employment for about 8,000. But Burrough's is still by far the largest firm and there is plenty of empty factory and warehouse space available for new employers" (Thomas, op. cit.).

The diversity of employment hoped for has not yet been achieved (in 1969 Burrough's accounted for more than 33 per cent of all jobs in the town). It was partly the heavy dependence on Burroughs which caused the employment situation in 1971 to appear so bleak, after heavy redundancies at the factory:

"These redundancies, together with those of the previous year amounted to more than a quarter of the total industrial employment in the town at the beginning of 1970" (16th Annual Report, 1972)"

Also in 1971 the new Conservative Government announced the closure of the Scottish Office of the Land Commission which had been located in Cumbernauld since 1967. However:

"it is a measure of the resilience and underlying growth potential of the town...that (the redundancies) have now in large part been made up" (16th Annual Report,op.cit)

Jobs in Cumbernauld are not all occupied by residents of the town, and not all residents are employed in Cumbernauld - far from it, in fact. The 1966 Census returns show that only 46% of those working in the town actually live there, and that 31.8% of residents of Cumbernauld in employment commute to Glasgow. In 1969 a 10% household postal survey conducted by the Development Corporation showed that 38.2% of heads of households worked in Cumbernauld, but 41.7% worked in Glasgow. This lack of "self-containment" in Cumbernauld's employment balance is partly due to a lack of job opportunities in the town, and partly to the house letting policy which allows overspill families from Glasgow to live in Cumbernauld whether or not a member of the family has a job there.

The socio-economic structure of the population of Cumbernauld in 1966 is shown in Table 2 - 6.

Shopping

To fully understand this account of the shopping provision in Cumbernauld it is necessary to look at the intentions of the Development Corporation as stated in their original planning proposals:

"The central area of the town will provide sites for shops, offices and public, cultural and recreational buildings... With the compact form of the town the neighbourhood system of planning is not necessary and all the major facilities can be concentrated in the central area, easily accessible to all the inhabitants... the maximum distance from the houses to the

TABLE 2 - 6

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE
MALES IN CUMBERNAULD AND SCOTLAND, 1966 *

(PERCENTAGES)

Classification	Occupations	Cumbernauld	Scotland
3 and 4	Professional Workers	3.5	3.8
1, 2 and 13	Employers and Managers in Central and Local Govt., Industry, Commerce	6.1	9.5
8, 9, 12 and 14	Foreman and Supervisors, Skilled Manual and Non- professional own-account workers	30.8	39.4
5 and 6	Intermediate and Junior non-manual workers.	30.9	15.8
7, 10 and 15	Personal Service, semi- skilled and agricultural workers	21.5	19.5
11	Unskilled Manual Workers	6.2	10.4
16 and 17	Members of the Armed Forces, and persons whose occupation was inadequately described	1.0	1.6

* From Census returns, 1966.

shopping centre is $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and 70 per cent of the houses will be within one third of a mile..... In case the population eventually exceeds 50,000 there is a long term plan based on a number of 'villages' around the hilltop area. Each would be complete with local shops and other minor facilities but would depend on the main centre for the principal shopping, recreational and cultural activities."

(Appendix to 3rd Annual Report, 1959).

In fact the target population of the town was raised, to 70,000 in 1960, and the final population target of 100,000 was informally set in 1970. The proposals described above are being adhered to, with the additional provision of small local general shops to serve c.350 houses in the housing areas.

The provision of shops in the New Town was given early thought. Plans of a temporary development were included in the proposals for the first housing development. The first shop was let in 1959 - this was the first of the local general shops mentioned above. The small development of shops (twelve) was let in 1961 and these provided a wide range of everyday goods. In 1964 a further four shops were provided by the Development Corporation, through the conversion of 4 houses. During 1960 a Report was produced by the Development Corporation on Retail and Service Trade Provision and Car Parking. The terms of reference were:

- 1 "To predict the total floor space required for retail trade in the central area when a population of 70,000 has been achieved
 - 2 to determine the provision that should be made for parking cars as a result of this retail activity.
 - 3 to estimate the number of persons engaged in retail employment in the central area"
- (Appendix to 5th Annual Report, 1961).

Using the predictions of this report, planning of the First Phase of the central area was commenced:

"It is extremely important that the first stage of the central development should be available...by 1965, so that the services and facilities essential to the population as it will then be, may not be lacking".
(6th Annual Report, 1962).

In fact it was Autumn 1966 before the first shops were able to open for business, and the development was formally opened in 1967. This First Phase provided 117,000 square feet of shopping space, also 43,000 square feet of office space, 16,000 square feet for catering facilities, 9,000 square feet for a health centre, 7,000 square feet for a library, 7,2000 square feet for a Public Hall, and 11,000 square feet of banking accommodation. In addition a site for a 40 room hotel was provided. Some of these facilities were not in use until 1969. The use of the temporary shops was phased out as the shops in the Town Centre came into use.

The Town Centre Development included what was Scotland's largest supermarket, and a department store, although the large multiple-store firms were not attracted at this stage. In 1968, when work started on the first part of the Second Phase of the Town Centre, one large unit was still to be let in Phase One. Phase Two was completed in 1972, adding a further 44,500 square feet of shopping space and 23,000 square feet of office space to the Town Centre. In 1972, also, negotiations were completed for the building, by F.W. Woolworth and Co. Ltd., of a giant department store (retail sales area of 80,000 square feet) in the Town Centre.

In 1971 construction started on the first of the village Shopping Centres, at Abronhill, and this development was in use by the end of 1972, providing 21,000 square feet of shopping space (a supermarket and fifteen shops). Plans for the second village shopping centre were at the design stage in 1972.

Education

The provision of educational facilities in new and expanding communities is a notoriously difficult problem:

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

(Cullingworth, 1967).

As Tables 2 - 2 shows Cumbernaulds population in 1966 demonstrated the unbalanced structure so typical of new communities.

The large number of young school age children at an early stage in a new town's growth can lead to the possibility of a "bulge" moving through the educational system and leaving an overprovision of school places, but:

"We note that in new towns at least a comparatively high level of demand has continued" (Cullingworth, op.cit.)

In Cumbernauld several problems have been encountered in the provision of sufficient school places to keep up with the influx of population. Up to 1972 sixteen new schools had been built in Cumbernauld by the Education Committee of Dunbarton County Council. These included three Comprehensive Secondary Schools, the remainder being Primary Schools.

A temporary primary school was available when the first tenants moved to Cumbernauld in 1958. This was built by the Corporation as agents of the Education Committee. The first two permanent primary schools were opened in 1960 and 1961.

Plans for the first Secondary School were delayed because of a change in the policy of the Education Committee (i.e. to provide Comprehensive Secondary Schools, instead of Junior and Senior Secondary Schools), and because of the "rethinking" required after the target population was increased to 70,000 in 1960. Before the first High School was completed in 1965, children of Secondary School age had to travel to Kirkintilloch (6 miles away).

The second High School was opened in 1968 (for Roman Catholic pupils) and a third (non-denominational) was opened in 1971. In 1972 the Corporation were asked to suggest a site for a fourth High School.

There were also problems to be faced in the provision of Primary Schools. In the Seventh Annual Report (1963) it is stated:

"Both the Corporation and the Education Committee are naturally concerned to note that restriction may be placed on their school building programme for reasons of finance"

The following year:

"The concern expressed in the last Report.... proved to be justified during the year. The Committee's programme of schools building was in fact curtailed and the Corporation felt bound to bring to your attention (i.e. the Secretary of State for Scotland) the very real danger... that the Education services in the New Town would rapidly become inadequate to match the Corporation's house building programme. This danger is averted by the Education Committee having decided to erect as an expedient a number of demountable classrooms... the long term solution appears to require a building programme in the New Town in excess of one primary school per annum for non-Roman Catholic children".

This problem is mentioned in the following three Annual Reports. In 1966 the allocation of capital investment to the Dunbarton Education Committee was the subject of discussions among officers of Cumbernauld Development Corporation, Dunbarton County Council and the Scottish Education Department. But concern is expressed at the situation again in the Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1967. Since then, however, the situation seems to have improved steadily and, in 1972, the school construction programme is said to be "well advanced".

Throughout this period excellent relations seem to have been maintained between the Development Corporation and the Education Committee:

"The Corporation wish to record their tribute to the continuing enthusiastic co-operation received from (the) Education Committee and officials, in the planning and putting into operation of their programme for school and other educational provision" (15th Annual Report, 1971).

Consultations and negotiations are frequently reported to have taken place and the Corporation were able to help on more than one occasion, by the provision of houses for conversion into temporary school premises. One of these temporary schools is now being used as a Special School for Handicapped Children, until a permanent building can be provided. An occupational centre is also going to be provided, and work is due to start in 1973 on the building of a technical college.

Medical Services

Throughout the town's history the provision of medical services has generally kept pace with the growth in population, although one of the disadvantages of the town's location has been demonstrated, in its distance from a general hospital. (The nearest is Falkirk, about 11 miles away). The Corporation has constantly campaigned for the siting of a General Hospital in the town, and the residents have also sought this, through a Hospital Campaign Committee. In 1966, after negotiations with the Western Regional Hospital Board, a site of 28 acres was set aside as the site for a District General Hospital. So far no definite plans have yet emerged for the use of this site, and residents of the town continue to express concern at the inconvenience caused by the lack of a Hospital.

General Practitioner services have been generally provided in pace with the build up of population. One of the first houses to be let was occupied by a doctor and one floor of the house was converted for use as a surgery and waiting room. These arrangements were used again before the first Medical Centre was ready for use in 1962. This Centre was provided by the Scottish Home and Health Department in co-operation with the Development Corporation and the local health authority. Provision was made in it for local health authority services (e.g. the school health service), general practitioner and general dental services, and consultant sessional clinics. In 1967 this accommodation was augmented by a further Medical Centre located in the First Phase of the Town Centre development.

This Centre is going to be replaced by a new Health Centre in the Town Centre, which will have accommodation for fifteen doctors and will provide a full range of medical services for the town, including outpatient hospital services. It is expected that this accommodation will be sufficient until the town's population exceeds 50,000.

Communications and Transport

The road pattern of Cumbernauld is well known, with its rigid segregation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The aesthetic merits of the system are largely a matter for personal opinion, but the road safety merits are well established e.g. the 1970/71 accident rate was only 31% of the national average.

Most of the roads in the town have been built by the Development Corporation as agent of the County Council. Work on these proceeded satisfactorily in opening up areas for development. But in the realignment of trunk roads which passed through the area of the New Town frustrating delays were experienced - e.g. in the Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1960:

"We have noted with regret that progress has not been made with the same scheme for the diversion and realignment of Trunk Road A73".

Work was not started on this diversion until 1964 (the same year as work finished on the realignment of the other trunk road passing through the area), and work was completed in 1968.

The Railway service between Cumbernauld and Glasgow has been the subject of much controversy since the New Town was designated. The first few annual reports contain optimistic forecasts of a possible resiting of the railway station (situated then on the main North-South, Larbert to Glasgow line) and the building of a second station in the town. These hopes were dashed by the news in 1963 of the proposed closure of the station, due to the closure of Buchanan Street Station in Glasgow, and the rerouting of main-line North-South services. Discussions between the Development Corporation and British Rail were started immediately. In 1964 the use of the station for goods traffic was lost, due to the concentration of goods traffic on Falkirk. In 1964 the General Manager of the Scottish Region of British Rail visited the town and was given "a first hand appreciation of the town's development" (9th Annual Report, 1965). In 1965 it was announced that the line was to be retained for passenger traffic, but passengers would have to change trains on the outskirts of Glasgow, in order to join the City's suburban electric service. The Development Corporation objected to these proposals on the grounds that the eventual size of Cumbernauld justified electrification of the line, and that the increase in journey time under the new system would act as a deterrent on the use of the railway line. British Rail's proposals were accepted by the Secretary of State for Scotland and the service was introduced, under rather uncomfortable conditions for passengers:

"An old railway carriage serves as a waiting room and a piece of waste land as a car park" (Thomas op.cit.).

Bus services in Cumbernauld have improved slowly but steadily with the development of the town. In 1963 the Highland Bus Company started a rather infrequent local bus service in the town. In the same year W. Alexander and Sons (Midland) Ltd., started routing some buses through the town. In 1966 the Highland Bus Company was bought by Alexanders and a more frequent local service was introduced. Over the years the frequency and routing of buses through the town has been the subject of much local debate, but the service has generally improved with the build-up of population and the siting of a bus garage in the town. In 1970 a Public Transport Working Party was set up consisting of technical officers of the Development Corporation, officers of the Town Council and officials of the bus company, to consider improvements and future prospects of bus services in the town.

The public transport system of Cumbernauld is perhaps of less importance than in other towns because of the high car ownership rate and the compactness of the town. But at the same time these factors make it very difficult to establish an efficient or economic service for those who need it (especially the old, the very young, and women who do not have the use of a car). In 1967 60 per cent of households had a car (Sykes et al, 1967). The average for Scotland in 1966 was 43 per cent. The 1969 postal survey of household's conducted by the Corporation showed that of those residents who travelled to work in Cumbernauld 31.4% used a car, 38% used a bus and 29.3% went on foot. Of those travelling

outwith the town more travelled by car than by any other means e.g. of those travelling to work in Glasgow 46.3% travelled by car, 24.2% by bus, and 27.8% by train.

Public Utilities and Local Government Services

Throughout the town's history the provision of water, electricity and gas services have kept in pace with housing and industrial developments. In 1969 the responsibility for the provision of water was transferred from the County Council to the (new) Mid Scotland Water Board. Electricity services have been provided by the South of Scotland Electricity Board who have constructed two substations in the town to provide sufficient power. In 1958 it was reported that "the Corporation have received the welcome assurance that there will be no overhead lines passing through developed areas within the town". (2nd Annual Report).

In 1964 the County Council and the Development Corporation provided a composting plant to deal with the town's refuse.

Public lighting was provided by the District and County Council's (now by the Town Council), after negotiations with the Development Corporation. There has been disagreement at times over the provision of lighting on footpaths not situated in built up areas, but this has been resolved.

The surface water and foul drainage systems were mostly provided by the Development Corporation acting as an agent of the County Council (and now the Town Council). These arrangements operated successfully apart from a temporary pause in 1960 when:

"there emerged...matters relating to main drainage and sewerage provision which did not prove capable of local adjustment" (4th Annual Report, 1960),

but these were settled after a meeting at the Scottish Office of all interested parties.

In 1959-60 the existing sewage purification works were extended to cope with the growing population until the first new works were complete in 1961. These works were designed to cope with a population of 20,000 in the New Town but the second sewage works was not opened until 1971 when the population was 31,000.

A strain was put on the telephone exchange with the build up of the New Town. After several large extensions had been made to it a new telephone exchange was opened in 1965, with a capacity for 10,000 connections, although there were only 2,000 connections in the towns at that time.

Recreational and Community Facilities

The use of "temporary" premises has been more common in the field of community facilities than in any other in the development of Cumbernauld.

There are eleven churches in the town, including 3 "belonging" to the Church of Scotland and 2 Roman Catholic Churches. All of these congregations now have their own permanent "home" but before each building was ready for use worship was conducted in various temporary premises, including schools and tenants meeting rooms. Most of the church developments include a church hall.

Library services were provided in temporary premises in the old village of Cumbernauld, and in a school, until the library in the Town Centre was opened in 1969.

There are approximately seventeen pre-school playgroups in the town, catering for more than 400 four and five year olds. It was largely because of the enthusiasm for playgroups demonstrated in the town that Dunbarton County Council appointed its first permanent playgroup supervisor.

In 1966 Cumbernaulds Civic Trust was formed, with the participation of more than fifty organisations, and the co-operation of the Development Corporation, who made available premises for the setting up of a Citizen's Advice Bureau. The Youth and Adult Standing Committee's of the Civic Trust are responsible for the co-ordination of youth and adult activities; they also organise youth leader training courses, Commonwealth Youth Sunday parades etc.

The Development Corporation has built, since the early 1960's a number of small tenants' meeting rooms in the housing developments. There are eight of these in existence throughout the town and they are extensively used by various community groups, such as Residents Associations and Senior Citizens, and one is used by the local branch of the Scottish Society for Mentally Handicapped as a Day Centre.

The Tenants Association which was formed in 1958 as soon as people started moving to the New Town is still in existence and it has been "supplemented" by Residents Associations in the newer parts of the town.

In the first few years of the New Town's life the Tenants Association held regular meetings with officers of the Development Corporation.

The first residents to move to Cumbernauld were invited to attend receptions given by members of the Development Corporation. As the numbers of newcomers increased these receptions were replaced by exhibitions of plans and proposals for the New Town, held mainly in local schools and attended by members and officials of the Development Corporation. These exhibitions are still held when a large new development is being planned. New arrivals are now given an "official" welcome to the town three to six months after they arrive, when they are invited to attend a tea party which neighbours and officials of the Development Corporation also attend.

The temporary shops (which were in use before the Town Centre was built) were converted into a Youth Centre and a youth club operates from them. There are also youth clubs associated with the various churches in the town. The Y.M./Y.W.C.A. centre in the town also provides facilities for young people, including a cafe.

The children are not neglected either. The Corporation has included in all its housing developments play spaces for areas near houses. The District Council (and now the Town Council) were responsible for providing larger playgrounds for older children, with play equipment and space for "informal" football.

Provision of sports facilities has also been made on a shared basis. In 1960 a new football pitch in the old village of Cumbernauld was built by the Development Corporation as agents of the District Council. Work also started in 1960 on the provision of

extensive playing fields, with the aid of a grant of £20,000 from the Isaac Wolfson Trust. By 1965 these playing fields provided four football pitches, six tennis courts, a bowling green and a cricket wicket. The costs of the fields exceeded the grant of £20,000 and the balance was met by the Corporation. When complete the maintenance of the fields was made the responsibility of the District Council. In 1969 a large warehouse was converted by the Development Corporation for use as an indoor sports centre. The costs of maintenance and administration are paid by the Town Council, and the County Council pay the salaries of coaches. Work is due to start in 1973 on a permanent sports centre in the central area of the town. The first part of this complex - a swimming pool - has recently been completed. This central sports complex is being provided by the Town Council.

Commercial facilities for entertainment are still largely conspicuous by their absence. There is neither cinema nor dance hall, although a site in the central area has been reserved for a cinema. The hotel, three restaurants and numerous public houses provide some entertainment, and there are two Social Clubs in the town, one sponsored by Burroughs Machines Ltd., and the other by the local branch of the Labour Party. The Cottage Theatre, run by amateurs, provides a varied selection of entertainments in a converted cottage. This project was partly sponsored by the Development Corporation.

Chapter 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINWOOD

Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the development of Linwood has been (and still is) mainly the responsibility of the local authorities (County and District Councils), with a large house building programme conducted by the Scottish Special Housing Association (S.S.H.A.).

The County Council is responsible for most local authority services, including education, sewage disposal and the social work services. Two members, of the Council of twenty-nine, represent the wards of Linwood East and Linwood West. The District Council (responsible for some local authority services in Linwood) covers an area which includes the villages of Bridge of Weir, Houston, Brookfield, Kilbarchan and Lochwinnoch as well as Linwood. During the period 1961-66 the population of the Fourth District (as it is called) increased from 14,774 to 22,190, an increase of 7,416, of whom 6,507 were accounted for by the increase in the size of Linwood. The duties of the District Council are mainly delegated from the County Council, and include responsibility for refuse collection and disposal, burial grounds, community halls, public parks, open spaces, sports facilities, bus shelters and wayside seats. The income of the District Council is derived from a proportion of the rates levied by the County Council. In the current financial year the income

of the District Council was received from a levy of 6p in the £, the total rateable value of the District being £1,149,000 i.e. an income of £68,850 was raised. Linwoods representation on the District Council is four, out of a total membership of twenty-three.

Of the three thousand houses (approximately) built in Linwood over the past 10 years, 2,200 have been built by the S.S.H.S. The S.S.H.A. was established by the government in 1973 to erect houses in the Special Areas of Scotland i.e. the economically "depressed" areas which received Special government aid. The Housing (Scotland) Act, 1944 empowered the Association to build in any district in Scotland (with the permission of the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Treasury). The Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act empowered the Association to provide houses for overspill population, in co-operation with a "receiving authority". The Association is also empowered to assist Housing Societies and is the construction agent for houses required by Government Departments. The role of the Association has usually been to supplement the housing programme of local authorities, and hence relieve some of the financial burden imposed on them by house building.

Under the terms of two overspill agreements between Renfrew County and Glasgow Corporation, in 1962 and 1963, a total of 1,725 houses were to be built in Renfrewshire for overspill population from Glasgow. In Linwood 1,023 were built by or for the County Council. Under the terms of

the Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act the County Council prepared a Town Development Scheme for Linwood but the Scheme was never submitted to the Secretary of State for approval. The reasons for this are difficult to establish. As one County Council official said "that was two County Clerks ago". It seems that various factors were involved. House building proceeded so fast that the overspill targets had been almost reached before the Town Development scheme was ready. The Scottish Office had few staff to deal with the work involved in assessing the County's proposals.¹ The proximity of Linwood to Paisley and Johnstone and the relatively small number of houses being built at that stage also led to the belief that, apart from housing and schools, little else in the way of development would be necessary in Linwood.

1 Of the 42 local authorities involved in overspill agreements with Glasgow, 20 are providing fewer than 200 houses, 14 are providing 200-500 houses, 4 are providing 500-1,000 houses, and only 4 are providing more than 1,000 houses. The largest agreement (by far) has been for the provision of 3,000 houses at Erskine New Community in Renfrewshire. This project has led to an increase in the number of staff at the Scottish Development Department dealing with Town Development Schemes.

In 1963, however, the Government published a White Paper on the economy of Central Scotland (A Programme for Development and Growth) which suggested a target growth rate of 4 per cent per annum in the Scottish economy and proposed the concentration of development in growth areas (including Cumbernauld New Town). Furthermore:

"the Johnstone-Linwood complex based on the development of the motor car industry has scope for some rapid further expansion. Although such areas are not defined as growth areas in this paper, they have a valuable contribution to make to the whole programme of economic development".

These proposals were converted by the S.S.H.A. into a programme of house building in Linwood which started in the late 1960's. In the period 1969-73 the S.S.H.A. built 1,317 houses in Linwood as part of a programme which the Association calls "Housing for Economic Expansion".

Population

In 1951 the population of the village of Linwood was 2,513. Ten years later it had increased by only 70 to 2,583. Over the next five years it increased by almost seven thousand, to 9090, and in 1971 it was 10,506. Since Census day, 1971, an estimated 900 houses have been completed in Linwood, bringing the population to approximately 13,200 - 13,600². An allowance should also be made for an excess of births over deaths in the

2 estimate based on an occupancy rate of 3 - 3.5 persons per house

TABLE 3 - 1

POPULATION OF LINWOOD, 1951-73

year	population
1951 (census)	2,513
1961 (census)	2,583
1966 (census)	9,090
1971 (census)	10,506
1973 (estimate)	13,500 - 14,000

TABLE 3 - 2

POPULATION AGE STRUCTURE, LINWOOD AND SCOTLAND

1966

(percentages)

Age	Linwood		Scotland	
	males	females	males	females
65 and over	1.87	2.52	4.75	6.96
60 - 64	1.22	0.55	2.49	2.96
45 - 59	4.40	4.73	8.61	9.73
30 - 44	12.20	10.80	9.06	9.52
25 - 29	4.84	5.26	2.91	3.06
20 - 24	3.41	3.41	3.10	3.19
15 - 19	1.62	2.86	4.12	3.97
5 - 14	11.68	8.48	8.46	8.08
0 - 4	<u>10.90</u>	<u>9.15</u>	<u>4.73</u>	<u>4.48</u>
	<u>52.14</u>	<u>47.76</u>	<u>48.05</u>	<u>51.95</u>

- " 2) essential incoming workers in service industries,
businesses and professions
- 3) essential local workers in new and expanding
industries
- 4) essential local workers in service industries,
businesses and professions
- and 5) applications from others".

Applications for categories 1 - 4 are made through an employer, and most applications in categories 1 - 3 are met within three months. Housing is not restricted to those with jobs in Linwood, and residents include workers in all parts of Renfrewshire and Glasgow.

The ultimate population of Linwood by 1981 is expected (by the County Planning Department) to be 14,750. The S.S.H.A. plan to build a further 140 houses in the town, starting in 1973, but the County Council have no plans for further building.

Housing

The build-up of housing in the town is summarised in Table 3 - 3. In the period 1920-1940, 516 houses were built by Renfrew County Council in Linwood. These housed the majority of the population, but there were also some two-storey tenement blocks of flats and a few owner-occupied houses. (Hall, op.cit). In 1962 the period of rapid expansion of population began, after the decision to locate a major car factory at Linwood. The houses built in 1963/64 were largely occupied by workers, or potential workers, at the car factory, and included "key workers" who moved from the existing Rootes factories in the Midlands.

TABLE 3 - 3
HOUSING IN LINWOOD,
1920-73*

completed	by Local Authority	S.S.H.A.
1920-40	516	-
1962	300	-
1963,-4,-5	278**	1,023
1969	-	206
1970	28	206
1971	-	322
1972	-	269
1973	-	174
	TOTAL	
	<u>3,322</u>	
	TOTAL	
	since 1962	
	<u>2,806</u>	

* compiled from information supplied by the County Council and the S.S.H.A.

** 250 of these were built by the S.S.H.A. for the County Council; they are owned and managed by the County Council.

The decision to provide housing in Linwood for workers at the car factory seems to have been taken by the Scottish Office although the County Council was also anxious to ensure that a potential employer of thousands of men was not lost. The County Council was anxious to appear co-operative, but at the same time it felt that a large housing development in Linwood would create a "one-industry" town. The fear proved to be largely unfounded as most of Linwood's work force actually work in surrounding areas. The government policy expressed in the 1963 White Paper led to the further expansion of Linwood in the late 1960's. Again the County Council were not whole-hearted in their support of the proposals of the S.S.H.A. but the Council had no grounds for objection acceptable to the Government, who, of course, finance the S.S.H.A. building programmes.

The S.S.H.A. building programme in Linwood has largely proceeded according to plan, although there has been one serious delay of 3-4 years, in the building of 264 flats in the town centre area which were expected to be ready for occupancy in 1969/70, when the new shopping centre was ready. Delays, partly caused by the unsuitability of the land for high-rise development, led to the postponement of the building until 1972. These flats (including two high-rise blocks) are now complete, and are in the process of being occupied.

Of the dwellings built since 1960, by the S.S.H.A., and the County Council, approximately 50% are flats and 50% are houses.

The 1971 Census returns show that only 1% of housing in the town is owner-occupied, 96.1% is County Council or S.S.H.A. owned, and the remaining 2.9% is mainly other rented unfurnished accommodation. The proportion of owner-occupied housing could rise in the future because of a recent decision by the S.S.H.A. and the County Council to sell houses to sitting tenants.

Industry and Employment

The economy of the original village of Linwood was based, until the middle of the nineteenth century, on a cotton mill. In 1874 the mill was converted for use as a paper mill, and together with the mining and distillation of shale-oil, provided the main employment in the village. (Hall, op. cit.). In the 1930's a small engineering works was established on the outskirts of Linwood and this workshop was expanded to serve as a Royal Ordnance Factory during the Second World War. In 1948 the Pressed Steel Company Ltd. took over the factory, initially to manufacture railway rolling stock, but in the 1950's it started producing truck and car bodies. In 1961 this factory had a labour force of approximately 2,700. In 1959 the Rootes Group announced plans for a large expansion in production. At this time other motor manufacturers were planning expansions and the Government was anxious that one of them at least should locate in Scotland. Rootes were refused an I.D.C. for development at their existing factories and so had to consider alternative sites. One of the sites suggested by the Scottish Office, in co-operation with the local authorities, was at Linwood. The site was a suitable one, with good (or potentially good) communications links,

an ample supply of labour and the prospect of a steel mill at Motherwell to supply steel for the car bodies, which were to be manufactured on the adjacent site occupied by the Pressed Steel factory. (For fuller account of the location of the Rootes plant at Linwood, see Johnson, 1972). The factory was officially opened in 1963. In 1964 the American company of Chrysler bought a substantial interest in Rootes. In 1966 Rootes took over the Pressed Steel Co. and in 1967 Chrysler gained a controlling interest in the firm, which was renamed in 1968. Since then there has been expansion in production and by 1970 the factory was employing over 8,000 workers.

Other employment in Linwood is insignificant in comparison to that provided by the car factory. There is a precision gear manufacturing company which employs 130 people and the paper mill employs 190. The paper mill actually stopped producing paper in 1972 (causing 200 redundancies), and the 190 employees are engaged in the marketing and distribution of paper and book-binding materials.

In October 1970 there were 8,676 jobs in the three industries mentioned, but only 1,146 of these were occupied by residents of Linwood. There were 8,014 jobs at the car factory of which only 935 were occupied by residents of Linwood. (Hall, op.cit.) Table 3 - 4 shows the area of residence of employees at the factory in 1970.

TABLE 3 - 4
 EMPLOYMENT AT THE CAR FACTORY, LINWOOD,
 1970*

Area of residence of employees	Percentage of factory labour force
Paisley	27.8
Glasgow	23.9
Johnstone and Elderslie	17.4
Linwood	12.3
Greenock and Port Glasgow	4.3
Remainder of Renfrewshire	7.8
Ayrshire	5.3
Lanarkshire	1.2
	<u>100.0</u>

* from Hall, op. cit.

Although only about one eighth of the work force at the car factory live in Linwood, this employment does represent about 30 per cent of the Linwood male labour force (Hall,op.cit.) hence the car factory is the largest employer of Linwood residents.

A survey conducted by Renfrew County Council in 1970 (reported in Hall, op. cit.) suggested that about 27 per cent of Linwoods male labour force were employed in Glasgow, about 30 per cent were employed in Paisley and about the same number at the car factory; the remaining 13 per cent were distributed evenly in Renfrew, Johnstone and the Hillington Industrial Estate (Glasgow).

The socio-economic structure of the population of Linwood is shown in Table 3 - 5, with comparative figures for Scotland. In view of the house-letting policy of the S.S.H.A., and the lack of owner-occupied housing in the town the figures are not surprising.

Shopping

Prior to the expansion of Linwood in the 1960's the village was served by a handful of small shops situated in the old village, with one "corner shop" in the pre-war housing development. After the expansion of the mid 1960's a small shopping development was built in the new housing area, to the North West of the old village. This small development of four shops was easily let, but still provided only everyday needs.

TABLE 3 - 5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE

MALES IN LINWOOD AND SCOTLAND, 1966*

(percentages)

Classification	Occupations	Linwood	Scotland
3 and 4	Professional workers	0.8	3.8
1, 2 and 13	Employers and Managers in Central and Local Government, Industry, Commerce	3.6	9.5
8,9,12 and 14	Foremen and Super- visors, skilled manual workers, non-profess- ional own-account workers	44.7	39.4
5 and 6	Intermediate non- manual and junior non- manual workers	7.9	15.8
7,10 and 15	Personal service, semi- skilled and agricultu- ral workers	32.3	19.5
11	Unskilled manual workers	10.4	10.4
16 and 17	Members of the Armed Forces and persons whose occupation was inadequately described	0.3	1.6
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0

* from Census returns, 1966

In the mid-1960's the County Council approached private developers with a view to providing a shopping centre in the town. The developer chosen suggested a scheme for a Regional Shopping Centre designed to serve a population of 120,000, in Linwood and the surrounding district. The centre was to be located at the South East corner of the town, at least half a mile away from the newer housing developments, and more than a mile away from the housing developments of 1969-73. The advantages of the site were that it was easily accessible by road from the surrounding area, and that the S.S.H.A. were to build 264 houses on an adjacent site which would help redress the "unbalance" of the town with housing at one end and the shopping centre at the other. The shopping centre was ready by 1970; it was officially opened in 1971. There is provision for 49 shop units, with a total area of 75,000 square feet, with an additional 11,500 square feet of office accommodation. In 1971 only seven of the shops had been let, but by 1973 fifteen had been let, including one occupied by a comparatively small branch of F.W. Woolworth and Co. Ltd., and another by a popular Scottish retail furniture group. Altogether about 40 per cent of the retail space has been let, and about 75 per cent of the office space. The "regional" nature of the development is at present, questionable - developments in Paisley and Johnstone since 1970 have taken potential custom from the Centre, and for local use it is almost as convenient for most residents of Linwood to travel into Paisley to shop as they are "taking a bus anyway".

Furthermore the shops in Paisley offer a much more extensive range of products and more variety than those in Linwood.

The private developer concerned hopes that the shopping centre will become of "regional" importance in the next 5 years or so. There is an adjacent site available which could be used for expansion, but it is not envisaged that there will be sufficient demand for at least 15 years.

Education

The provision of schools in Linwood has, on the whole, kept pace with the build up of housing, although there has been some temporary overcrowding. The typical problems associated with the build up of population in a new community have been encountered.

In 1962 when the build up of housing commenced there were two schools in the village - one non-denominational and one for Roman Catholic children. Both buildings were nearing the end of their useful life and plans were well advanced for the provision of new schools. Since then five new primary schools have been built (including two for Roman Catholic children), and two secondary schools (one for Roman Catholic children). The old non-denominational school was closed in 1963 and is now used as premises for a youth club. The secondary schools are Junior High Schools, teaching pupils up to "O" level standard. Pupils must then travel to Paisley or Johnstone for teaching up to University entrance standard.

The secondary schools are both at present suffering from some overcrowding but extensions are being built which will provide sufficient space. Both are also being provided with a "Youth Wing" which will provide recreational and cultural facilities for pupils and ex-pupils.

All but one of the primary schools have sufficient space at the moment, and the needs of the over-crowded school are met at present by the use of two temporary huts.

In 1972 a Day Centre for mentally handicapped children was opened in the town. It provides accommodation for surrounding towns and villages as well as Linwood.

No further schools are planned by the Education Committee, although a site is being kept in reserve. It is thought that the demand for school places will not increase and might decrease.

Medical Services

When the expansion of Linwood started in 1962 there were two "part-time" general practitioner practises in the village. One of these is based in Paisley, the other in Johnstone. Since 1963 the Paisley doctors have stopped practising in Linwood, but the Johnstone ones have continued and extended the number of patients on their list. In late 1962 a doctor decided to establish a full-time practice in the village, and, after failing to find suitable premises, she obtained the use of a room in the small Masonic Hall. She then bought a portable hut but had difficulty in getting planning permission to erect it; eventually a site was found and a 3 doctor practice was built up and conducted from these temporary premises until 1971.

In 1970 a Health Centre was opened on a site adjacent to the shopping centre. This centre, built by the County Council, with financial assistance from the Scottish Home and Health Department, provides a full range of public health authority services, including the school health services, a family planning clinic, a health visiting service and social work services. However, hospital outpatient services are not provided and this means a journey on the bus to Paisley where a full range of hospital services are available. The proximity of Paisley (c.20 minutes by bus) reduces the inconvenience caused.

In 1971 the 3 doctor practice mentioned above moved into premises in the Health Centre, causing overcrowding. This overcrowding will be alleviated in 1973 when an extension to the Health Centre is completed, providing surgery facilities for 6 doctors.

There is a dental practice in Linwood, and a full range of in-patient hospital care is available in Paisley.

Communications and Transport

Linwood is situated within two miles of the M8 (Glasgow-Greenock) motorway, and hence is well placed for quick communications to Glasgow, but there is no public service along this route. There is a bus service from Linwood into Glasgow which is routed through Paisley, and two housing estates in Glasgow. This journey takes about forty minutes. There is a more frequent service between Linwood and Paisley, and a very infrequent service to Johnstone.

The bus service is operated by a relatively small company which has extended its service to cope with the increase in population. In 1964 a request by Linwood residents to have buses operated by a large operator (W. Alexander and Sons(Western) Ltd.,) re-routed through the town was refused on the grounds that the existing bus operator was responsible for services in the town. Since then the bus service has improved considerably.

The nearest railway station to Linwood is about 1 mile from the Western edge of the town, but only about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across a "forbidden" field. This station is on the Glasgow-Kilmacollm line which has been threatened with closure. The line passes within one hundred yards of houses on the South West edge of Linwood, and for the past six years there has been a continuing campaign to persuade British Rail to provide a Railway Halt for the use of the town. The campaigners have been the Tenants Association and the local branch of the Labour Party. A survey conducted by these organisations suggested there was sufficient support to justify a halt but British Rail rejected the findings after doing their own survey. The whole question has been referred to the Glasgow Passenger Transport Authority and a decision is awaited anxiously by many residents:

"the major question will not be whether a Rail Halt should be built...but whether the whole line will be retained. This year the Government are to give a grant to British Rail to cover the loss which,

according to traditional accounting methods, the Glasgow - Kilmacolm line is calculated to make. In fact one of the strongest points in favour of a Linwood station is that it will help quite considerably to reduce the operating deficit of the train service now running" (Linwood Gazette, 2nd March '73)

The internal road system of Linwood is constructed on more traditional lines than that of Cumbernauld. The main problem caused by it is the congestion which occurs when shifts at the car factory are changing. There is a through-road which passes very close to built up areas and has been the scene of several accidents. In 1969 and 1970 there were thirty one accidents on this stretch of road (fortunately none fatal). There have been some improvements made recently, and the construction of a bypass road to the South of the town in the next few years will improve the situation more:

"Significantly, the accidents involving pedestrians occur in Bridge Street, where most of the shops are situated;... along Clippens Road, close to the bus terminus and intersections with other roads" (Hall, op cit.).

Table 3 - 6 shows that in 1966, more than half of those travelling to work did so by public bus. The next most frequent means is on foot, which probably includes many who work at the car factory. The next most frequent method is by car (12.6 per cent); this is a very small proportion, compared to the figures for Cumbernauld (in 1969, 31.4 per cent of those travelling to work in Cumbernauld used a car, and 46.3 per cent of those travelling to Glasgow used a car). In 1966 26 per cent of households owned one car, compared

TABLE 3 -6

TRAVEL TO WORK - LINWOOD, 1966*

Method of travelling to work	Percentage
Train	3.0
Public Bus	52.6
Private Bus	1.1
Car	12.6
Goods Vehicle	1.1
Motor Cycle	0.3
Pedal Cycle	2.5
Foot	25.5
None	1.3
TOTAL	<u>100.0</u>

* from Census returns, 1966

to 60 per cent in Cumbernauld in 1967, which perhaps says as much about public transport in Cumbernauld as it does about the financial circumstances of residents in Linwood.

Public Utilities and Local Government Services

Electricity is supplied to Linwood from a substation in the town. Unfortunately two transmission lines pass very close to the town. These were built before it was considered possible that Linwood would be expanded. Gas was supplied from Paisley until 1972 when appliances were converted to take Natural Gas. Water to the town is supplied from the Muirdykes Filter Station near Howwood (Renfrewshire), which should be able to supply a population of 18,000 in Linwood at current consumption rates. The Loch Lomond water scheme would be able to supply more water if required (Hall, op cit.).

A new sewage works was built by the County Council in the early 1960's to the east of Linwood, to serve the villages and industries surrounding the town as well as Linwood itself:

"There is sufficient flexibility in the design of the sewage works to serve an additional population of 5-10,000 people" (Hall, op.cit.).

The telephone exchange in Johnstone has been enlarged to cope with the expansion of Johnstone and Linwood in recent years, and at present is sufficient to cope with demand.

Public lighting is the responsibility of the Highways Department of Renfrew County Council, and this duty was carried out in pace with the development of the town. Refuse disposal is the responsibility of the District Council, and at present an

incinerator is being constructed near Linwood for the use of all towns in the Fourth District Council's area.

Recreational and Community Facilities

The use of temporary community buildings has perhaps been even more common in Linwood than in Cumbernauld.

There are two churches in the town, both quite new and both with supplementary accommodation in the form of rooms or a hall. The new Roman Catholic Church was opened in 1967, to replace an old and inadequate building on the outskirts of the town. The new Parish Church (Church of Scotland) was opened in 1965, also to replace an old and inadequate building in the old village. The hall associated with the old Parish Church is still in use, and even with the accommodation provided with the new church there is insufficient space for all the activities associated with the church. One of the activities held in the Church hall is a (non-denominational) play group, the only one in the town.

A library was built by the developers of the shopping centre, for the County Council, and came into use in 1970. Previous to this a part time library service was available three evenings a week, in the old school, where the youth club is now held each week day evening. This youth club is administered by the County Education Committee.

For the first few years after the expansion of Linwood commenced, there was no community hall or meeting place available for general use. The small Masonic hall which had existed in the

old village for many years was used for several activities (including use as a doctor's surgery). In 1963, after the old Primary School was closed for use as a school, the Education Committee installed toilets and converted the building for use for youth activities. In the mid 1960's the Tenants Association took over a nissen hut structure and converted it for use as a community "hall". The local scout troop held its meetings in this building, and the Tenants Association organised dances and other activities. Unfortunately this building was gutted by fire in 1968, but by this time it was likely that a permanent community hall would be provided. The Linwood representatives on the District Council had been trying to persuade their fellow-members on the Council that a community building was required, and eventually agreement was reached to spend "approximately" £80,000 on a hall. In fact the hall cost more than twice this amount (£186,000). It was opened early in 1971, and provides seating accommodation for 700 people in two halls, with additional rooms and catering accommodation. The hall is administered by the District Council, and is extensively used for all kinds of community activities.

There is a serious shortage of outdoor recreational space in the town. There are two very uneven and badly maintained football pitches, and a small children's swing park. Since about 1964 the S.S.H.A. has been providing play areas in its housing developments, but these are only suitable for the young children. This situation is likely to improve in the near future, if the District Council obtain permission from the Government to borrow sufficient capital

to start a project for the provision of indoor and outdoor sports facilities on a site on the edge of the town. Work has in fact started on the laying out of football pitches:

"It is intended that there will be a double sports hall plus four squash courts, weight training room, creche area, and administrative block. Additional recreational facilities are to be developed including ten soccer pitches, two of which are to be floodlit...a rugby pitch is also included, and in the long term bowling greens and a pitch and putt course".

(Linwood Gazette, 30th March, 1973).

It is unlikely that a swimming pool will be provided in the sports complex as there is one in Paisley, and work is almost complete on one in Johnstone.

Commercial facilities for entertainment are almost totally absent from the town. There are three public houses and a small hotel, and discotheques are held regularly in the community hall for pre-teen and teenagers. These are usually organised by the Community Council, which was formed in 1972, in anticipation of the reformed system of local government. There are two Social Clubs in the town, and another is being planned. The proximity of Paisley of course adds to the range of entertainment facilities available. There are two cinemas in Paisley, two or three Bingo clubs, a variety of restaurants and hotels, but no dance hall. The last bus to Linwood in the evening passes through the centre of Paisley at 11.00p.m.

Chapter 4

THE DEVELOPMENTS COMPARED

The expansion of Linwood has been going on for almost as long as that of Cumbernauld. This period, (since c.1960) has been one of, at times, severe economic restraint by the Government. This has led to curbs on local government spending e.g. on roads, schools, and housing. Nevertheless the development of the two towns has proceeded generally to plan, with the provision of infrastructure and services being achieved more or less when required. But the circumstances under which this has been done have been very different for each town.

The main difference between the two towns has been the difference in the administrative structures responsible for their development. Cumbernauld has been developed by a body appointed by the Government for the sole purpose of developing a town. The membership of the Development Corporation has been eight (or nine) throughout its life. These members are given part time appointments, normally for three years, and the appointments carry a salary. The Development Corporation has met, throughout the years, approximately once a month, with more frequent meetings of the Committees of the Corporation. The Corporation has been responsible for the appointment of Chief Officers and staff to aid them in their work. This staff has grown in number from 130 in 1959, to 350 in 1965, and 529 in 1972. This final number was made up of 6 chief officers (a General Manager, a Secretary and Legal Advisor, a Chief Finance Officer, a Chief Engineer, a Chief Estates Officer, and a Chief Architect and Planning Officer),

205 technical staff (including Architects, Planners and Civil Engineers), 120 Legal, Administrative and Finance Staff, 20 Estates Staff, and 178 Manual workers.

As already described , the Development Corporation does not take over responsibility from local authorities, although in Cumbernauld a lot of local government work has been done by the Development Corporation as agent of the local authority normally concerned. These arrangements usually include a financial contribution from the Corporation. Nevertheless it can be said that the local authorities have been involved to a high degree in the development of the town, particularly in the field of education.

In 1968 Cumbernauld was granted small burgh status. Since then a Town Council, consisting of 21 elected members, has been responsible for some local authority services, including housing, sewage disposal, and the provision of recreational facilities. When it was elected the Town Council and the Development Corporation formed a Liaison Committee of members of each authority. This Committee meets regularly to discuss matters of mutual interest .

Also involved in the development of the new town are statutory undertakers and other public bodies responsible for the provision of services. It is the job of the Development Corporation to co-ordinate the activities of these authorities, and ensure the provision of services when, and if, required. Also concerned in the development of the town are voluntary organisations such as churches, which have been extensively

consulted throughout the town's development, and aided in their search for suitable sites for development. Also consulted have been commercial interests responsible for the provision of shopping services etc. With their power to build advance factories and aid industrialists, the Development Corporation has also been concerned with the industrial development of the town.

Linwood in contrast has had no such body solely responsible for its development; but this does not necessarily mean that the work of co-ordinating and planning has not been done by the local authorities (especially the local planning authority). It is more difficult to assess the work done by the local authorities since most of it is of an informal nature and there is no "annual report" of progress.

The local authorities concerned in the development of Linwood, as described in Chapter 3, were the County Council of Renfrew, and the Fourth District Council of Renfrew. Of these the County Council has more responsibilities, including that of planning, and vastly greater financial resources. The District Council carries out its responsibilities in an area of the County which includes several smaller communities as well as Linwood. This necessitates decisions being taken on the distribution of limited resources between and among the various communities concerned. The villages, in the District Council area, have little social cohesion, or ties of any kind. Linwood, an industrial-urban settlement, is very unlike the others which are older agricultural and/or commuter villages. Although the population

of Linwood, in 1971, was 10,506, and that of the District was less than 30,000 Linwood had only four representatives on the Council of twenty three. The staff of the District Council consists of a Clerk, an Assistant Clerk and four clerical assistants, with an additional twelve employed as caretakers and cleaners of community halls. The responsibilities of the District Council which are delegated from the County Council (refuse collection and disposal, management of burial grounds and maintenance of open spaces) are carried out by a work force which is formally employed by the District Council, but their wages are reimbursed by the County Council. The income of the District Council is derived from the rate levied on property in the Council area, but unfortunately the "industrial area" of Linwood i.e. the square mile or so occupied by the car factory, is included in the administrative area covered by another District Council. Hence the rateable income obtained from the car factory is used for the provision of facilities in another District. As Table 3 - 4 shows Linwood residents make up 12.3% of the labour force at the factory, whereas the rest of Renfrewshire¹, which includes four other District Council areas provides only 7.8% of the labour force. The economy of Linwood is dependent to a greater extent on the car factory than any other town, and yet the provision of community facilities in the town is the responsibility of a District Council which can derive none of its income from the car factory.

1 excluding the large and small burghs, which are separate rate-levying authorities

The responsibility for the provision of housing in Linwood has been principally a duty of the Scottish Special Housing Association, whose sole responsibility is to build houses. The Association has no power to provide amenities, and it is only since the late 1960's that play areas have been provided in the S.S.H.A. housing areas in Linwood. The job of co-ordinating S.S.H.A. developments with the provision of local authority services has been done by the County Planning Department. This job might have been more easily done if the housing was being developed by the County Council too. The S.S.H.A. is responsible to the central government, not the local authority in whose area it is operating, and the pursuance of central government policies by the S.S.H.A. can come into conflict with the executions of County Council policy. Even within the County Council there is a conflict between the two Linwood councillors, who are official Labour Party representatives, and the other members of the Council who are "independents".

The various aspects of town development described in Chapters 2 and 3 will now be reconsidered, bearing in mind the differences in the administrative structures involved in the development of both towns.

Population

The population of Cumbernauld is still growing rapidly and will continue to do so until it reaches 70,000. A slower growth will then continue to 100,000. At the time of writing the designated area of the New Town has been almost doubled, to provide space for housing and industry to accommodate the population which cannot be located in the original designated area. To what extent, if any, this will alter the original conception of the town as a compact urban unit it is too soon to tell. Linwood, on the other hand, has almost reached the limits of growth - there are plans for only another 140 houses to be built by the S.S.H.A. It is difficult to predict what will happen to the age structure of the two towns, but it is likely that each will eventually resemble that of the country as a whole, although Cumbernauld's will remain "unbalanced" for a longer period of time. The socio-economic structure of the population of Cumbernauld already closely resembles that of Scotland as a whole. In Linwood the situation is very different and seems likely to remain so. The high proportion of Council-type housing in the town will possibly act as a deterrent on people considering buying their own house. The County Council, as well as the S.S.H.A., have recently adopted a policy of selling houses to sitting tenants but it is too soon to assess the reaction in Linwood.

Housing

The housing policies of the Development Corporation and the S.S.H.A. have been described in Chapters 2 and 3. It was seen that both have tended to encourage young, mobile families, and, especially in Cumbernauld, a high proportion of Glasgow overspill. Cumbernauld has operated a policy of encouragement and co-operation with tenants who desire to move a house in another part of the town e.g. after an increase in family size. In Linwood no such policy has been possible. Council tenants are the responsibility of the County Council housing department, and of course the S.S.H.A. tenants are cared for from an S.S.H.A. office, in Paisley.² Moves between the two types of house are only possible by mutual arrangement of tenants. Within the S.S.H.A. housing areas moves are not allowed between the "overspill" houses and the houses built under the "economic expansion" scheme. This has led to several problems. The dwellings built under the overspill agreements consisted of approximately 50% flats and 50% terraced houses. Since 1963/4, when the tenants moved in, families have grown with the birth of new babies, and overcrowding has resulted. Out of 1,023 houses built by the S.S.H.A. under the overspill agreements, only 61 are 5 - apartment dwellings.

2 opened in 1972; previously tenants in Linwood were dealt with from the Glasgow office.

The relatively high proportion of flats is unpopular with tenants, especially those with young families, and shift workers in the family, who find it difficult to sleep during the day.

The standard of landscaping of open spaces and footpaths in Linwood is generally very low:

"The absence of attempts at landscaping is particularly noticeable little attention has been paid to the areas surrounding (foot-paths) - the wooden fences are neglected, the small grass areas are badly worn, and the ubiquitous grey roughcast finish of the houses is monotonous ... If Linwood is to retain its current population, the standard of the environment must be improved" (Hall, op. cit.)

The District Council is the body responsible for the open spaces, but lack of finance has prevented a better job being done.

Cumbernauld, on the other hand, has achieved high standards of layout and landscaping. The co-ordination of house-building and landscaping was perhaps more easily achieved in Cumbernauld because the Development Corporation was responsible for both.

Industry and Employment

The growth of industry and employment in Cumbernauld is partly the responsibility of the Development Corporation and partly the responsibility of the central government through its regional planning and development area legislation. The industry which exists in Linwood was "attracted" to the area through central government incentives, and the local authority was only

marginally involved. There is some land available for expansion at the car factory but any other industrial development in the area would be directed to the Industrial Estate at Inchinnan, which is 4 - 5 miles from Linwood. Cumbernauld is likely to expand its Industrial areas and (hopefully) a large build-up of employment will occur with the build-up of population and housing.

Shopping

The provision of shopping facilities in the two towns has been described in Chapters 2 and 3. The Cumbernauld central area development was the responsibility of the Development Corporation, based on a lot of research, and consultation with commercial interests. The Linwood development was a joint exercise by the County Council and a private developer, with the Council leasing the land to the developer. It is not known how much or what kind of research went into the plans for the development, but, so far, it has obviously failed in its aim of providing a Regional Shopping Centre. The shops in Cumbernauld have been comparatively easily let, probably because of the higher, actual and potential, population of the New Town.

Education

The provision of educational facilities in both towns has been the responsibility of the relevant Education Authority. In both towns there has been some over-crowding and inconvenience.

In Linwood three new primary schools were provided very quickly to replace the old schools and provide accommodation for the over-spill population. There followed a period of relative stability before the second influx of population, starting in 1969. Two further primary schools have been built since 1969 and the situation is now largely satisfactory. In Cumbernauld there has been a continued influx of population over a period of fifteen years. This led to the problems of provision, described in Chapter 2, which were caused by central government restraint, in the mid - 1960's. This situation has now improved, but the provision of sufficient school places will continue to be a problem as the population of the New Town grows.

Medical Services

In Cumbernauld the provision of medical services generally kept pace with the growth in population. The first Medical Centre was ready for use in 1962, the second in 1967. General Practitioners were, when necessary, given the lease of Corporation houses to be converted for temporary use as surgeries. The town is however, unfortunately situated in regard to hospitals and a lot of inconvenience has been caused by the time spent in travelling to Falkirk. Linwood was provided with a Medical Centre in 1970 after a period of relative deprivation, although the proximity of the town to Paisley alleviated some of the inconvenience caused to patients. The doctors in Linwood also suffered great inconvenience before the Medical Centre was ready.

Communications and Transport

The main issue in the provision of transport facilities for both towns has been the fate of the railway lines passing through the towns. In Cumbernauld's case the relative certainty of population growth, and the powers of persuasion of the Development Corporation probably influenced the decision to "save" the line. In Linwood, the organisations concerned have been unable to persuade British Rail that a Rail Halt is justified, and when the District Council approached the County Council to supply a grant for the building of platforms etc., it was refused on the grounds of cost. Whether the existence of a Development Corporation (or a Town Council) and a more accurate assessment of the ultimate population of Linwood would have produced another result is a matter for debate, but it seems likely that a Development Corporation is in a better position to succeed in persuading British Rail than a District Council with very few powers, and hence little influence.

Public Utilities and Local Government Services

Provision of these services has generally been satisfactory in both towns, apart from a temporary disagreement between the Development Corporation and the Local Authority in Cumbernauld which was solved by a meeting at the Scottish Office. In Linwood the presence of electricity transmission lines and supporting pylons:

"present a considerable intrusion into the townscape of this area which no amount of landscaping can conceal"
(Hall, op. cit.).

Recreational and Community Facilities

In both towns the use of temporary and cramped accommodation for community activities has been common. The churches, however, have demonstrated an enthusiastic approach to the provision of new buildings, but in Linwood the Parish Church is still lacking in sufficient space. Facilities for general community use were more quickly obtained in Cumbernauld than in Linwood; for example the small meeting rooms built in the housing areas. In Linwood a community hall was not provided until 1971. In Cumbernauld a public hall was provided in the central area development, c.1968. Until then use was made of temporary premises, mainly made available by the Development Corporation. The availability of a temporary sports hall in Cumbernauld was made possible by the Development Corporation; no such provision was possible in Linwood. The swimming pool and sports complex being provided in Cumbernauld Town Centre, by the Town Council, is receiving a "substantial contribution towards the capital costs" from the Development Corporation. (15th Annual Report, 1971). The sports complex being provided in Linwood by the District Council is being partly financed by the County Council, but no direct central government grant is available for the development.

Both towns are poorly provided with commercial entertainment facilities, but the situation in Cumbernauld is likely to improve with the build up of population. Linwood residents can make use of facilities in Paisley. Both Linwood and Cumbernauld are approximately twelve miles from Glasgow and can therefore benefit from the wide range of entertainment and cultural facilities available in a large city.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

In Chapter 1 the background to the development of New Towns and town expansion was outlined. It was established that Cumbernauld and Linwood were both developed in an attempt to alleviate the overspill problem of Glasgow. Cumbernauld was developed by a New Town Development Corporation; Linwood was expanded (at first) under the terms of an overspill agreement between Glasgow and Renfrew County.

In Chapter 2 the development of Cumbernauld was described, with particular emphasis on the problems involved in developing a New Town. In Chapter 3 the development of Linwood was described, with particular emphasis on the problems encountered by the various authorities involved.

In Chapter 4 the development of Cumbernauld was directly compared to that of Linwood. It is now possible to draw some conclusions from previous chapters.

Throughout the development of Cumbernauld the work of all the authorities and organisations concerned has been co-ordinated by the Development Corporation. Obviously there is a lot of co-ordinating, planning, and financial work required to be done in the development of a town for an ultimate population of 100,000 people. But is it necessary to establish a "non-democratic" body such as a Development Corporation to do this?

Could the local authority not do an equally good job of planning and co-ordination, with some financial assistance from the central government? The development of Linwood is a valid example to use in an attempt to answer this question. The initial circumstances of the expansion of Linwood and Cumbernauld were similar. Both towns were to be the location of a major industrial development, and both were to relieve the overspill problem of Glasgow. But the emphasis on these aims was different. Linwood was expanded in the early 1960's principally to provide accommodation for workers at the car factory; Cumbernauld was planned as a more long term solution to part of the Glasgow overspill problem. Cumbernauld was designated in December 1955, and the first new houses were occupied in March, 1958. In Linwood the first "overspill" houses were ready for occupation in 1962, but it had been known that the car factory was going to be located in Linwood since early 1960. The "delay" is almost exactly the same. In the years 1962-65, approximately 1,600 houses were completed in Linwood; in the years 1958-61 approximately 1,200 houses were completed in Cumbernauld. In Linwood the large house building programme was designed to provide housing for a rapidly growing work force at the car factory; no doubt a similar programme could have been achieved in Cumbernauld under similar circumstances (the build up of employment at Burroughs was slower than at Rootes).

It seems obvious that such a rapid and large expansion of the village of Linwood would create a need for community facilities, open space etc. The County Council of Renfrew carried out

its statutory requirements with regard to sewage, lighting, education, etc., but at this stage (1962-5) there was no effort to aid or encourage the District Council to perform its functions. The lack of finance, and the minority position of Linwood councillors on the District Council, also hindered development. It is interesting to conjecture what would have happened if a Town Development Scheme had been approved at this time. The Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act, 1957, states:

"Where a receiving authority consider it expedient that... there should be carried out other development, including the provision of ... accommodation for ... recreation, amenity and other requirements, they may...make and submit a scheme...and, on approval... any duty which it proposes should be undertaken by the receiving or any public authority, shall be a duty of that authority" (section 10 (1)).

In other words, if an approved Development Scheme had proposed provision of e.g. a community hall, it would have been the "duty" of the District Council to provide it. In addition:

"where the receiving authority incur expenditure in connection with -

- (a) the acquisition of land...or the clearing or preliminary development of land...or
- (b) the provision...of any water supply or sewerage service,

the Secretary of State shall pay to the receiving authority contributions...such as may be determined by him" (section 14 (1))

However, a Town Development Scheme was never approved and

a period of relative stability followed until the S.S.H.A. started building houses again in 1969. This further expansion was largely the result of Government policy, as stated in the 1963 White Paper (op.cit). By 1969 community facilities (churches, hall, shopping centre) were becoming available, or had been built, and residents who have moved into the town since 1969 have obviously enjoyed a much better standard of provision than those who moved in between 1962 and 1965.

It seems likely that the existence of a Town Development Scheme might have led to an earlier provision of community facilities in Linwood, in the early 1960's, but the expansion which has occurred since the late 1960's is not being done under the terms of an overspill agreement, and hence a Town Development Scheme could not apply.

These later housing developments were the result of central government policy and have been carried out largely independent of the local authorities. This has led to a lack of flexibility in the provision of housing in the town, with three distinct categories of tenant¹, and little opportunity for movement among them. It has been seen that in Cumbernauld the existence of one main housing authority, and the flexibility of its policy, has avoided the problems of Linwood. In the provision of play areas and landscaping, too, the existence of one development authority has produced better results than in Linwood.

1 County Council, "overspill" S.S.H.A., and "other" S.S.H.A.

The multiplicity of authorities responsible for the development of Linwood has obviously produced problems of co-ordination and provision of facilities, but were any alternative arrangements possible? Would the administrative apparatus made possible by the New Town legislation have been more appropriate for the development of Linwood than that which was used?

The body responsible for the overall co-ordination of planning and development in Linwood was, and is, the local planning authority i.e. the County Council, but the body mainly responsible for the provision of housing was the S.S.H.A. Furthermore the authority responsible for the provision of most community and recreational facilities was the District Council. The planning authority had many duties and responsibilities in the 1960's apart from the development of Linwood, and no special section was created to deal with the work involved; the County Council also might have been accused of giving preference to Linwood if a large amount of capital expenditure had been approved early in its development. Similarly, the District Council, with its irrational boundary, which deprived the District Council of the rate revenue from the car factory, had to allocate its inadequate resources among six communities. In the absence of a single development authority, the next best arrangement might have been a steering committee or liaison committee consisting of members of the two local authorities and representatives of the S.S.H.A.

Such a committee was never established, and as far as can be ascertained, it was never even contemplated. Such a committee was unprecedented in the history of the County Council; but the circumstances were unprecedented too.

A separate body responsible for the development of Linwood might have been provided by the existence of a Town Council. In Cumbernauld small burgh status was achieved in 1968, when the population was 26,000. However the population of Linwood in 1966 was only 9,090 and individual residents who enquired about small burgh status at this time were told the population did not justify such status. When the further expansion of Linwood started in 1969 the "Wheatley Report" (on the reform of local government in Scotland) had been published and the early legislation expected prevented any application being made. But even if Linwood had achieved small burgh status, the Town Council would not have been a planning authority, and the problem of co-ordination between the Town and County Councils would have arisen.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the creation of a Development Corporation would have resulted in a more satisfactory development at Linwood. The central government were mainly responsible for the location of the car factory at Linwood, but it seems they did not "think through" sufficiently the impact of the factory in terms of housing and associated developments.

It might be argued that the creation of a New Town Development Corporation to develop a town for a population of up to 15,000 is not justified², but in a planning system which purports to care about the best use of land, and the creation of "balanced communities for living and working" the size of the town should be irrelevant. A satisfactory arrangement might have been the creation of a Development Corporation for the expansion of Linwood, and the adjacent small burgh of Johnstone which has accepted 1671 "overspill" families since 1962.

In defence of the haphazard way in which the development of Linwood proceeded it might be said that it is only since the mid-60's that much thought has been given to the "needs of new communities" of all kinds. Up to this time the desperate shortage of acceptable housing led to the building of New Towns, expanded towns, and large housing estates on the outskirts of cities. Some of these developments, especially the large housing estates, were built with no amenities, no provision for jobs and no thought for anything except the provision of houses. By the mid-1960's some of the immediate housing needs of the large cities had been provided for and more thought was given to the provision of amenities. In 1965 a committee was appointed by the Central Housing Advisory Committee:

"to consider the scale of community facilities and services needed in new and expanding communities, and in particular to consider administrative and financial problems arising in town development schemes, and to make recommendations"
(Cullingworth, op.cit.)

2 there is little suitable land for further development in or adjacent to Linwood.

The Report of this Committee (The Needs of New Communities) gives a full account of the problems encountered in the development of new communities, and especially in the expansion of towns in England and Wales under the terms of the Town Development Act, 1952.

The main recommendations of this report make a useful "check list" against which to assess the development of Linwood and Cumbernauld:

"All new communities require a master plan for physical development, but this should be accompanied by a Social Development Plan and Programme".

In Cumbernauld the preparation of a physical plan was one of the first tasks of the Development Corporation, and social development has been given much thought, including the creation of a social development section in the Housing Department. In Linwood neither a physical nor a social development plan was adopted:

"All authorities undertaking town development schemes should...(set up) a special Development Committee".

As has been stated no such Committee was established by Renfrew County; in Cumbernauld a Liason Committee exists, consisting of members of the Development Corporation and the Town Council.

"Where the local authority do not have a separate housing management department we recommend that one should be set up"

In Cumbernauld the housing department is also responsible for social development; in Linwood the housing authority is more often than not the S.S.H.A. who have no direct means of providing a link between the tenant and other local government services, especially the social work services.

Finally:

"We consider that the finance of large-scale population movement is a national responsibility and that more Exchequer aid is necessary".

Cumbernauld's development is financed mainly by Exchequer loan; in Linwood the S.S.H.A. is financed in a similar manner, and the County Council has assistance in the provision of roads, schools, etc., but there was no means of obtaining financial aid for the development of community facilities as in a New Town.

Perhaps the obvious conclusions are best summed up by the same report:

"The planning of any new community is essentially an exercise in team work. Even in the new towns, where an ad hoc public corporation is set up to develop the town, a number of services has to be provided by other authorities... Although the difficulties which beset town expansion schemes have led to the suggestion that some form of development corporation should be established for town development schemes, a close examination shows that it is not any alleged administrative superiority of the development corporation per se which is important. Far more important is the

feeling that new towns involve a greater commitment on the part of central government, more favourable Exchequer assistance, and greater priority on the part of the Board of Trade.... It is however, clear that team work can develop only in a framework of confidence; and that the "unsuccessful" and "difficult" town expansion schemes suffer from a lack of this necessary confidence".

It is sufficient to add only that an alternative administrative structure, with a committee or body solely responsible for planning and development in Linwood, would have created a greater feeling of "confidence" in the minds of the residents that someone, somewhere was responsible for what was going on in the town. As one resident expressed it:

"This place is like Topsy - it just grewed!"

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