

URBAN INFLUENCES ON RURAL AREAS WITHIN THE
LONDON METROPOLITAN REGION

Case Studies of Three Hertfordshire Parishes.

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SUMMARY

Most previous rural studies have been in isolated agricultural areas and little work has been done integrating the urban orientated studies of metropolitan regions with detailed studies of 'rural' communities within such regions. Hertfordshire has for long been influenced by London in its land values, ownership of land, system of farming and communications' network. Before 1945, apart from the Garden Cities, the main growth of industry and population was in the south-west of the county, between London and the Midlands. Post-war 'overspill' of population and industry beyond the Green Belt led to rapid growth along the central axis, leaving only the north-east of the county isolated and mainly agricultural. New people have moved selectively into rural areas, despite rising property values. To judge the effects of these changes, comprehensive household surveys of three parishes, differing in their social, geographic and economic characteristics, were made with particular reference to all links with "the outside world". Urban influences were seen to vary both between and within villages according to the socio-economic characteristics of the population. Newcomers are mainly middle class commuters because of social and economic factors. The differences between the working class villagers and the middle class overshadow those between commuters and non-commuters within the working class. Thus physical links with the outside world are less important than socio-economic factors in promoting the change from a hierarchical to a class-polarised community. Such changing communities are characteristic of the outer rings of the metropolitan region, and their

distribution is limited by the County planning policy, itself a product of the location of the area in relation to London. Within this limiting framework social, economic and geographic factors operate in the choice of specific villages by middle class commuters. This thesis is a contribution to the social geography of the rural-urban fringe.

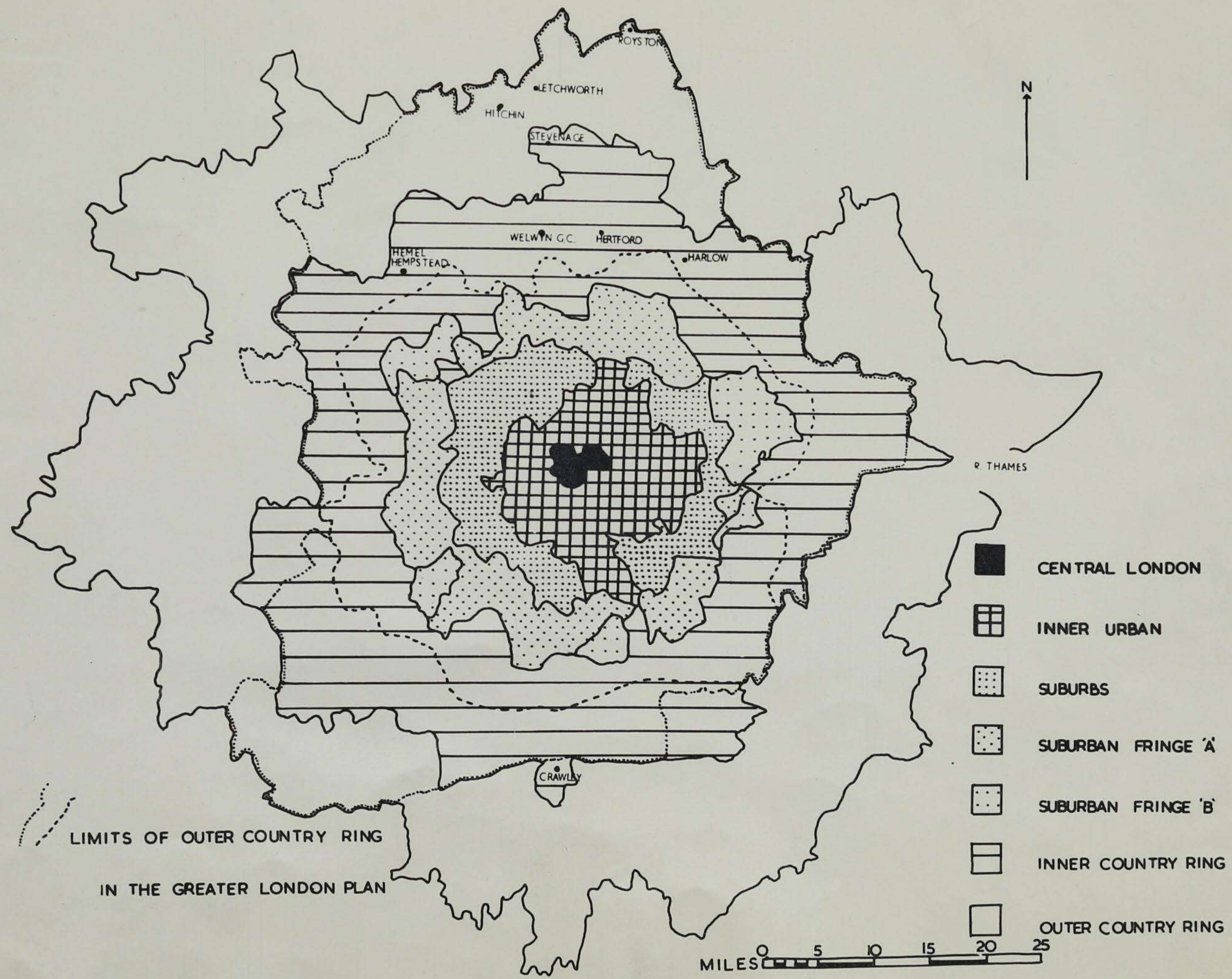


FIG. 1. THE LONDON METROPOLITAN REGION

(AFTER THE M.H.L.G.)

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A copy each of the questionnaire and the code sheet will be found in the back pocket.

PREFACE

This thesis is the natural outcome of the past four years when I have been the Resident Tutor in Hertfordshire for the University of Cambridge Board of Extra-Mural Studies. Apart from the area in the far South, for which I was not responsible, I suppose I must have travelled along almost every road in the county. In every town and many villages there are scores of people with whom I have talked about their communities when I was engaged in promoting adult education.

A vivid, subjective picture emerged during my early months in the county. I became particularly interested in the rural areas because I was living in a hamlet myself. I was introduced to a new circle of country-dwelling commuters, whose social small talk seemed to centre on the genuine fireplace they invariably seemed to discover, in the rooms in which I stooped and coughed wood smoke. The heavily renovated cottage hiding behind the sports cars of its owner was symbolic. So also was the man in city clothes who attended my lectures on the making of the landscape, in villages over thirty miles from his place of work.

However, equally symbolic was the landscape of the four New Towns in which I also tried to teach. Here was a world of new industries, with factories making guided missiles and computers among the lawns and flower beds of the industrial sites. The new shopping centres and acres of car parks, packed to the limit on a Saturday morning, were as much a part of the Hertfordshire scene as the old red-brick malting towns with their decaying cores.

A typical class in the New Town might be concerned with Town and Country Planning and young mothers would be gathering food for thought for when they did their housework or left the class to have another baby.

The shadow of London clearly lies heavy over Hertfordshire. Overspill population in the New Towns, and London Commuters in the villages probably read London papers and travel on London Transport every day. New Towns compete with old towns and both combine to compete with London for the custom of the people of Hertfordshire. The complete environment - both geographical and social - is in a state of flux. All the towns and some of the villages change from month to month as new housing estates are built. Roads throughout the county are being widened and modernised. New schools and colleges are built and immediately filled as the new, youthful population are trained for the new industries.

It was natural that with this background I should wish to systemize and clarify the situation and try to probe more deeply into one aspect of the changing social geography. That I ever started such a project as a formal piece of research and that it ever became possible to complete the work I owe an enormous debt to many people. J. T. Dodd first suggested that I should become a research student and it was fortunate that my duties in adult education phased so closely with the field work. I received small grants from the Central Research Fund and Hertfordshire County Council towards the analysis of my data, but I could not have completed the field work without the generous help of Miss Gabrielle Chavasse, Mrs. Clare Currey (née Wilson), Mrs. Shiela Edwards, Mrs. Mary Fairbairn, and Mrs. Delia Paul,

who did so much of the interviewing in the three villages with me. Should anyone from the villages read this thesis as it stands, I hope they will not feel that any confidences have been betrayed. Work of this nature depends so much on the willing cooperation of those chosen for interviewing in the sample and my memories of the door-knocking stage of this work are of the pleasantest. My debt to Mr. John Westergaard, who, together with Professor Emrys Jones, supervised me, is very real. It was he who sought to overcome my sociological naivety and arithmetical weakness with a spirit of penetrating intellectual insight and statistical rigour. That this thesis does not reflect his teaching in the way it should is entirely my own fault and I only wish I could have been a more worthy pupil. Finally it is difficult to avoid being fulsome when acknowledging the debt to my wife who has put up with this rival for so long and has done some of the dullest clerical and routine work with me in coding and checking the material. I shall just have to do my best to thank her in other ways. Mrs. Joan Giddings who has done typing for me at various stages of the work has created her own monument in the final draft.

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CHAPTER ONEA Critical Survey of Work on Rural Areas
and Metropolitan Regions

Since the main substance of this work is concerned with urban influences on rural areas within a metropolitan region it is necessary, in this first chapter, to draw together work which hitherto has developed along separate lines with little or no cross fertilization. We are concerned firstly with change in rural areas, secondly with the study of urban-rural relationships and finally with the development of metropolitan regions. A survey of the most important work in these fields and the major themes that have emerged will serve as a necessary introduction to what is to follow.

I. Change in Rural Areas

There has been considerable discussion as to whether change has in fact taken place in rural areas. This confusion is seen perhaps at its sharpest in the work of G. Duncan Mitchell, who on the one hand wrote

"Over a long period of years change has been slow, and has failed to alter the essential social structure... In other words, speaking generally, we may say that rural society has been characterized by a low degree of social change whilst modern urban society has undergone a high degree of social change." (1)

And yet in another paper written at about the same time he notes

"The social problem is a function of change, whether brought about by changes in population or economy, or arising from the new forms of social action associated with urbanization"

and

"In Midford especially there has been a wide acceptance of the urban culture, so much so that the village exhibits much the same atmosphere as a suburban area." (2)

It would seem to be almost self-evident that a change in the proportion of the population of England and Wales in rural districts from one half in the mid nineteenth century to one fifth in the mid twentieth century (3) coupled with the radical decline in rural industries (4) would be associated with fundamental change in rural areas. From the 1820's absolute declines were shown in an increasing number of rural communities and this exodus was aided by the rapidly developing transport system, particularly the railways. At the same time the effect of the enclosure movement, which reached its peak at about 1800, on the social and economic position of the village labourer did much to break up the old village. (5) As Cobbett said in 1821 "When farmers become gentlemen their labourers become slaves" (6) and this drawing apart of the rich and the poor, which could perhaps have been prevented by the activities of ^{the} parish church, destroyed whatever companionship of classes, that may have existed in the eighteenth century, and has continued to the present day. A further factor which hastened the decay of village social life was the agricultural depression of the 1870's and 1880's. (7) Even in Norfolk the price of wheat in 1894 was half the price it was twenty years earlier. The useful study by Springhall (8) describes the severe effects on farmers, landlords and local tradesmen, The village shopkeeper suffering more than any as town rivals extended into country districts and as the gentry withdrew their custom. The effect of

all this was to hasten the rural exodus, particularly of young people. Between 1861 and 1901 the decrease of male agricultural workers was just over 40%. (9). In a valuable recent work M.K. Ashby, writing of Tysoe in Warwickshire where the late 1870's was a period of substantial emigration to America notes

"The men and boys who left tended to be the more forceful and bright characters, the darlings of the families. For the village to say goodbye to ten, twenty, thirty good fellows seemed a calamity. It "would never be the same again". Looking back over the years it could be seen that emigration had taken several of the ablest families. Maybe Tysoe has indeed never recovered." (10)

It is quite clear that without employment opportunities there is nothing to stop such depopulation.

The early years of this century were also bad for British agriculture as refrigeration brought meat and butter through the tropics without the need for preserving in brine and at the same time Denmark became an important food exporter. As Astor and Rowntree remark 'again British farmers were caught'. (11) After a temporary respite during the first world war agriculture again suffered, this time from the invention of chilling and the consequent intense competition from Canada, Australia and the Argentine. Changes in the international economy had their impact on every parish in the country. Many large landowners, hard hit by death duties, had to break up their estates after the first world war. Between 1921 and 1939 it was estimated that 10,000 farmworkers a year left the land. (12) Not that this meant that agriculture was necessarily inefficient. On the contrary, as Professor Ashby estimated in 1942, production per hour of human

labour had probably risen about 87% in the previous seventy years and had risen about 25% in the interwar period. (13)

The important point is that the standard of living in rural areas remained low in comparison with urban areas, largely because the denuded settlements did not provide viable units for the adequate provision of public utilities and for the organization of effective rural slum clearance schemes. As Peake had argued in 1917 "We must have larger and more compact villages, real village communities suited to modern conditions... containing sufficient inhabitants to make communal life possible". (14) Mechanization had proceeded to such a degree that any attempt to 'bring people back to the land' could be achieved in the long run only at the expense of the standard of living of farmers and farm workers.

There were perhaps three main themes in the interwar period before the publication of the Scott Report. (15) Firstly there were the accounts by informed laymen protesting against the sentimental view of rural areas held by townsmen. Secondly there was the fear of the urban encroachment on agricultural land which found expression in the work of the Land Utilization Survey. Finally there was the debate as to whether the introduction of industry into rural areas would save or ruin the countryside. Each of these will be examined in turn.

It is difficult to assess the accuracy of the accounts by such writers as Bennett in 1914 (16) or Robertson Scott who published his vitriolic 'England's Green and Pleasant Land' anonymously in 1925. (17) Certainly in 1904 and 1905 when Davies did her fieldwork at Corsley in Wiltshire under the

direction of the Webbs at the London School of Economics, she was surprised at how few of the inhabitants were in real poverty. (18) This must be classed as one of the few objective surveys of rural life in contrast to the number of urban surveys in the period before the second world war. It seems certain that rural areas have only been considered in English political life at a time of crisis. Townsmen, who of course would have dominated in national affairs, held the curious arcadian pastoral image which has prevented the acceptance of the true situation in rural areas. One can understand how it was possible to say with fair justification in 1939 that "the village bids fair to become the Africa of the modern missionary". (19)

The second major theme during the period concerned the use of land, which the rapid expansion of suburbs and ribbon development had called to public attention. Between 1919 and 1939 it was estimated that 3.8 million houses were built on agricultural land. (20) The history of the struggle to produce the Land Utilization Survey provides a veritable saga as it slowly extended its cover of the country in the 1930's and early 1940's. (21) However, in retrospect, it is perhaps unfortunate that the energies of so many young geographers, which might have been directed elsewhere, were utilized in producing the various county reports. Although the summary of changing land use provided in these reports is useful enough and the contemporary picture was of use to the Ministry of Agriculture, it is difficult to accept individual reports as works of great scholarship.

The information was largely of ephemeral value, owing to the ploughing of grasslands during the war, and no attempt was made to pioneer with sampling techniques. This is perhaps one of the main reasons for the serious lack of useful work in the social geography of rural areas in this country compared with, say, the United States where work in human ecology had developed from the 1920's. (22)

The obsession with changing land use and the classification of land which seems to have dominated geographical thinking in the 1930's had very serious repercussions on our third theme concerning the introduction of industry into rural areas, which formed the basis of the controversy over the Scott report. The majority report accepted that "the services provided in the village, whether of education, health or any other of the social services...were of a standard far inferior to their urban counterpart" (para. 67) and yet believed that the solution required "goodwill rather than money" ! (23) The committee was particularly asked in its terms of reference to consider "the factors affecting the growth of industry, having regard to...the well being of rural communities" but the majority concluded that industry would give rise to discontent and do more harm than good in the countryside.(paras 98 and 106) The final conclusion was that "the maintenance (sic) of agriculture together with improved housing and main services will in themselves have the effect of reviving country life". (para 199)

It is easy to understand why the Economist should consider such ideas as 'due either to deliberate self-deception or sheer incompetence of thought'. However, it was perhaps overstating

the case to call it "vague romantic flub dub" and "antiquarianism of the worst kind". (24) The geographer Stamp was vice Chairman of the Committee and, according to the Economist, "behind the loose economic arguments of the Scott Report", so that it might be better termed the "Stamp Report" with the "woolliness of its well-intentioned list of incompatible recommendations". (25) If this is true then indeed the land use enthusiasts have done a great disservice to the countryside through being blind to the social issues. What Stamp may have seen as "obvious logic" (26) others saw as the way to keep rural areas permanently depressed. Professor S.R. Dennison in his minority report rejected the idea that beautiful scenery was any substitute for being ill-fed and ill-clad and insisted that the lower paid agricultural workers should not be protected from the impact of higher standards associated with industry. He objected to,

"maintaining two isolated types of community with different standards of living in order to avoid incurring "disadvantages to agriculture and the beauty of the countryside" (these being regarded as the same thing). . . . I see no reason why the benefits of economic progress should not be further extended to the countryside. Indeed it is by the introduction of some industrial development that there is most hope of the improvement of the social and economic conditions in the countryside" (para 38) "Our duty is to foster the "well being" of rural communities, not to "preserve them". (para 40)

The work of A. W. Ashby and C. S. Orwin provided further realistic analyses of the problems of rural areas. Orwin, as an agricultural economist, pointed out that the quality of land taken by industrial development mattered little, since the adjoining

land would gain a new and heightened value. The profitability of the land depends on its accessibility more than its quality.

(27) G.P. Wibberley whose work carries on the fine traditions of Ashby and Orwin points out that to see land use as a basic issue is mistaken.

"In the isolated rural areas land is often the only thing plentiful and cheap, and it is people, and opportunities to live a complete life which are few and scarce. The keynote of physical planning in rural areas is therefore people, their number, and their needs." (28)

However, the majority report had done its worst "as the rough blue-print from which a stream of legislation has followed as Stamp recently claimed, seemingly with pride. (29) The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 followed the Scott Committee's lead and most county development plans adopted a negative attitude to rural areas. "Our county maps are quite silent on the amount of development which should take place in each village and on its physical forms and limits" Stirling complained in 1953 and his description of the rural parts of the county map as "a field of status-quo sown with hot-cross buns" was a vivid summary of the situation. (30) The "buns" were the circles drawn on the map giving information on existing or proposed facilities for each village. Orwin, Ashby and Clark joined with Stirling in making some positive proposals to planners (31) but they appeared to be unheeded. In 1962 the County Planning Officer for Hertfordshire admitted that his first reaction to village planning was to be "agin it" since "our villages are heirlooms: they are beautiful, they are useful, and they are microcosms of our history; they are a traditional and permanent facet of "this England". (32)

Change in the Local Community

As already shown the correction of the arcadian view of rural areas had been by and large left to intelligent laymen during the first half of this century but the publication in 1950 of an important work by Rees on a village in Montgomeryshire was the first of several more serious and scholarly works to appear in recent years. The approach of some anthropologists emanating from Aberystwyth, who turned from the study of more primitive societies to contemporary rural communities in advanced societies, did much to remedy the lack of social insight in earlier works. It was perhaps unfortunate that Rees, who was concerned with "those elements which distinguish the rural culture of Wales from that of rural England" (33) should be followed by Williams, who, in his study of Gosforth in Cumberland, emphasized those aspects of the culture which distinguished it most from Lowland England or urban centres. He devoted more attention to the farmsteads than their numerical importance warranted "because the traditional aspects of community life have survived among farm families to a much greater degree than among village families". (34)

Even in Williams' more recent study of a Devon parish he felt it "essential that the community should be rural, that is, based on an agricultural economy" (35) despite accepting that the "notion of a rural community as a social isolate has become progressively abandoned in recent years". (36) However useful the work may be in emphasizing the amount of change in family farming, and particularly in its attempts to relate the changing society to the land, it is unfortunate that such an isolated village

should have been chosen. To have three major studies concentrating on the celtic fringe with only Pons' unpublished thesis (37) on lowland England, leaves a serious gap in our understanding of contemporary rural England. At Gosforth, as Williams notes in his penultimate page, the acceptance of urban culture over the previous twenty years in the form of better transportation, new industries, new immigrant population and the widening of horizons through travel and the spread of mass culture, was appearing to threaten the whole social frame-work. It is such spatial relationships of social and economic change in rural areas which has still not been adequately analysed and it is perhaps the urban nature of rural areas which should be emphasized. This theme will be developed later.

No attempt has been made up to now to define 'urban' or 'rural' and Saville in his work on rural depopulation found this to be one of his main problems. "The nearer we approach our own day, the greater is the mixing of urban with rural and the greater the impact at every level of economic and social influence, of the urban upon the rural". (38) The final report of the 1951 census divided up the urban districts, wards and civil parishes according to whether they were built up, i.e. with 10 or more people to the acre. It was then found that of the 31.5 million people at such densities in England and Wales, half a million live in rural areas, whereas of the 12 million people at lower densities, as many as 4.5 million live in urban administrative areas. Hence there were more people living in non-urbanized land in urban areas than on urbanized land in rural districts.

Vince showed in his map of areas of severe 'rural dilution' between 1921 and 1931 (that is Rural Districts characterized by an

increase of the total occupied population of over 15%) that areas of 'urbanization' - or severe rural dilution were mostly around the larger towns in the central axis of England, with Greater London providing the largest and most continuous example of severe rural dilution especially in South Essex, Hertfordshire and South Buckinghamshire. (39) Thus we have the development of the final theme in this survey of work on rural areas - the concept of the tertiary or 'adventitious' population, (40) who would do for rural development what neither agriculture nor the introduction of industry had done, namely, to ensure that the provision of the minimum amenities would be economically practicable. This adventitious population is a symptom of the greater mobility provided by the motor car and the centres of such population provide growing points of rural development. Both Vince and Saville urged the need for more field surveys in order to analyse the social composition of the population increases in rural areas, echoing the growing unease that informed workers were feeling at their lack of adequate knowledge of these new, changing, rural areas. Despite the awareness of this growth in adventitious population and a feeling for its significance, hardly any detailed studies have been made by either geographers or sociologists.

II. Urban-Rural Relationships

One of the important pioneers to break away from the geographer's preoccupation with land use was R. E. Dickinson whose 'City, Region and Regionalism' was published in 1947. He did much to challenge the town/country dichotomy since as,

he said, "an area of common living can be defined only in the key trait of that common living, that is, in terms of social considerations, not of a particular set of physical factors which condition that pattern of living in part". (41) Despite some weakness, discussed below, the book did redress the balance by making more widely known the work done in America since 1915 when C. G. Galpin's Social Anatomy of a Rural Community was published.

A major theme to emerge in the post war years was the study of urban hinterlands. According to Dickinson a region "is an area of interrelated activities, kindred interests and common organizations, brought into being through the medium of the routes which bind it to the urban centres". (42) This transport determinism and the vogue for service area analysis was itself a reflection of the urban approach to rural areas. Thomas had objected in 1939 to the way in which bus routes reflected urban and not rural interests. Villages not on main routes between towns had much less chance of a bus service and cross-country routes were rare. (43) Maybe because the "service factor" (Dickinson's phrase) is measurable it has received so much attention. Typical work in this field is the study of bus services by F. H. W. Green in 1950 (44) and the exhaustive analysis of service areas in Wiltshire by H. E. Bracey in 1952. (45) Such work is admirable as an objective approach to the grading of service centres. However it does involve a tremendous amount of work with little attempt to analyse the processes which are involved in changing patterns: service areas are not static but are related to the technology of the period.

The main criticisms against this work may be stated briefly. Firstly, the social area of the community may not bear much relationship to the service factor. The detailed studies of rural communities discussed above are useful correctives here. Secondly, the service areas themselves are suspect. Dickinson assumes, with apparently no justification, that "where the farmer buys and sells his farm goods, he and his wife will carry out much of their other business and make most of their social contacts". (46) Personal knowledge of farmers in lowland England does not bear this out and empirical investigation would be unlikely to show such a simple link with one town and moreover such a pattern, if it existed, could not be guaranteed for farm workers, who would, of course outnumber the farmers. They would be unlikely to use a bank (one of the frequently quoted service factors); they would be more closely tied to the public transport system and their family and kinship net would be of greater importance in determining their movements than any statistical service area. The adventitious population would have yet another pattern.

Already before World War II there was evidence of "a new mobile generation in the country", (47) and the recent Jack Report noted that from 1947-1952 the number of registered private cars increased by 5.8% per annum and by 1959 they numbered nearly double the 1952 total. The ratio of private cars to population is likely to be higher in rural areas than in urban areas and the rate of increase quickened earlier in the rural areas. (48) The following table shows the rapid increase in current licenses in rural Northumberland related to that of the country as a whole. (49)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Country as a Whole</u>	<u>Selected Areas of Rural Northumberland</u>
1950	100	100
1953	122.1	127.5
1955	156.2	161.5
1959	219.9	212.5

Admittedly Green's work on bus services was done at a time when most people were obliged to travel by public transport but such an index for hinterlands used now would merely reflect the journeys made by those without cars - the working class wives, the old and the poor.

Perhaps Dickinson's most useful theme for our present purposes was his argument that no clear cut distinction can be drawn between the urban and rural ways of life. In his chapter in the structure of the city he notes that the life of the people in a broad fringe of land surrounding cities is neither "urban" nor "rural". He judges that the way to understand urban influences on rural areas "is to examine various conditions statistically on the basis of small administrative units in the environs of the town". (50) This echoes Saville's point about the need for field surveys mentioned above.

The Growth of the London Metropolitan Region

"The Metropolitan Region is the child of modern facilities for transportation and communication" (51) and in 1899 Weber had drawn attention to the depopulation from central London and parts of New York city. (52) A brief account of the growth of the London

Region will give a clearer idea of this new and unprecedented social and economic entity.

London has probably always been the chief manufacturing centre of the country and certainly was by 1861. As early as 1911

"In many districts, urban and rural, outside the boundary, both the volume of population and its abnormal rate of increase must be partly attributed to their situation with respect to the Metropolis, and although the distance to which the Metropolitan influence extends cannot be defined with accuracy, it can hardly be put at less than 30 miles from the centre..... The rates of increase in many seaside places and inland towns, which, though outside the 30 mile limit, are within easy reach of London, have also been far above the average. Men whose daily work is in London, often reside at a distance corresponding to a railway journey of not less than an hour's duration." (53)

The Barlow Commission's Report in 1940 (54) showed that in the period 1921-37 the total population of London and the home counties increased by 18% as against the figure of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ for Great Britain as a whole. In fact no less than 55% of the national increase in the period was absorbed by London and the home counties. The rate of increase in the number of insured persons during the same period was nearly twice as high in this area as in the whole country. New and expanding industries within the London region were located on cheap waste land on the main arterial roads and railways radiating out of London. (55)

The attractions of the area for growth industries, apart from the advantage of cheap electric power available from the 1920's onwards, were well described in the Barlow Report.

"The importance of London as a market is not fully measured by its population. It has those advantages associated with a capital city - probably in greater measure than any other capital city. For some new industries London is the first market in point of time; it provides a sort of initial goodwill and is the first which the industrialist seeks to capture. It contains a large body of wealthy potential consumers and attracts many others from the provinces; these constitute the first approach to the national market. Further, many industrialists wish to be near the pooling centre of experience and initiative and the centre of discussion and communication. Finally the raw material of some industries is imported into London from overseas." (56)

In order to house the workers in these new and growing industries

"an unbridled rush of building was proceeding in the form of a scamper over the home counties...unrelated trading estates....and isolated factories...wallowed in the sea of suburban housing". (57)

London and the South East flourished with, from 1925, a lower percentage of unemployed than elsewhere in Britain.

Planned decentralization, aimed to help clear the worst of the slums and to relieve the congestion which was threatening to strangle the main arteries of the metropolis, turning Londoners into 'a race of straphangers' in Abercombie's phrase, was delayed in the immediate post war years. Difficulties in getting the new legislation to work smoothly coupled with the dollar crisis were perhaps the main reasons for the delay. Thus the following statistics show most clearly the population pattern in the London Metropolitan Region during the key period of post war change. (58)

<u>London Region</u>	<u>Population</u>		<u>Change</u>	<u>% Change</u>
	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1951-61</u>	<u>1951-61</u>
1. Central London	240,370	213,413	-2,6960	-11.2%
2. Inner Urban	4,833,701	4,599,601	-234,100	-4.8
3. Suburbs	2,346,153	2,283,769	-62,384	-2.7
4. Suburban Fringe A	927,796	1,075,119	147,323	15.9
5. Suburban Fringe B	404,438	479,705	75,267	18.6
6. Inner Country Ring	1,255,728	1,839,127	583,399	46.5
7. Outer Country Ring	1,657,171	1,962,638	305,467	18.4
Total London Region	11,665,360	12,453,372	788,012	6.8

Although the region as a whole did not grow very much faster than England and Wales as a whole - 6.8% compared with 5.4%, the massive redistribution within the region provides some striking contrasts. That central London should continue to be losing population is less noteworthy than the decreases now shown in the suburbs. The increase in the Inner Country Ring is exceptional in that the eight New Towns with an aggregate target population of over half a million have accounted for not much more than a half of the increase and the increase is thus equally due to the expansion of the population in existing towns and villages. The fact that the Outer Country Ring increased by three times as much as the region as a whole emphasizes the strong centrifugal tendencies in the region, which will be described in detail later.

As a recent White Paper admits "the tremendous growth in offices, service trades and white collar jobs in industry was not foreseen".(59) It shows that there has been an increase of 32% in office floor space in Central London since 1939. (60) From

1952-1960 the London Region gained 40% of the new jobs created in Britain although it has but 27% of the country's population. (61) "Employment in central London is still increasing. And as ever wider parts of the conurbation lose population to the outer districts both the volume of long distance commuting to the centre and the length of the journeys involved must still be growing." (62) It should be noted that it is only central London which draws its labour force from great distances and from all over the region. Daily journeys to work in the rest of the conurbation are generally short and local in character. (63) However, by 1962 there were one and one-quarter million daily rush-hour commuters into central London, the number having increased by an average of 20,000 per annum during the previous five years. A total of 123,000 people go to work in the central area by private transport, three-quarters of them by private cars. Indeed during the five year period, there has been an increase of 25,000 people commuting into Central London by private car. (64) A recent report has claimed that not only are present public transport facilities at almost peak capacities but that new forms, such as monorails, would not provide an adequate solution. (65)

The employment opportunities in the London region have put great pressures on housing and in 1961 there was still an excess of households over dwellings of 150,000 within the conurbation. (66) During the last quarter of 1962 the average price of houses mortgaged to the Cooperative Permanent Building Society was in London £3,584 compared with £1736 for the north-east and £1651 for the north-west regions. In the rural areas within the

Metropolitan region 'even small derelict buildings have been reaching £3000 or £4000 from purchasers who have the intention of spending at least as much again on conversion and modernization'. (67)

All the available evidence gives the same picture of continual outward growth of central London's daily catchment area. The centrifugal movement of young, fertile, married couples (as shown, for example in the high rate of natural increase of New Town populations) is drawn to the outer ring of rapidly expanding industrial towns. This pattern will be illustrated with regard to Hertfordshire in a later chapter. The ownership of private cars in the region is expected to reach 5 million in 1971, almost double the 1961 total. It has been said that "to civilise the motor car is to create the City Region", (68) but it would seem that it is the 'uncivilised' motor car which is creating new social and spatial patterns.

We have now got to the state where

"In respecting certain traditional distinctions between 'town' and 'country' and between 'town' and region, the very merger of the conditions most directly associated with each of these concepts, as this merger has applied to Greater London and the surrounding region, has not been fully accepted.... We are more ignorant concerning the physical manifestation of the interlocking character of the Metropolitan community than we are on other seemingly remote questions, such as the internal heat of stars". (69)

Work on Metropolitan Regions in the United States

In order to give a stronger emphasis to the trends just sketched for the London Region, some attention will now be given to the

valuable descriptive and conceptual work which has appeared in the United States since 1945.

In the 1950 U.S. Bureau of the Census Report, cities of 50,000 upwards, together with a defined 'urban fringe' were formally grouped into 'Standard Metropolitan Areas' (SMAs) and this new category has been used to provide more meaningful analyses of urbanized areas. (70) D.J. Bogue utilized ecological concepts in analysing the metropolitan community. He classified the metropolis itself as a dominant, smaller cities as sub-dominants and rural non-farm communities as subinfluent, with each category defined by the size of the area and the number of functions controlled. Thus not only smaller towns but also rural populations functioned with reference to the metropolitan centres while they themselves exerted a more limited and integrative effect upon the surrounding physical environment.

"It is evident that the economic and social entity that may be termed the 'metropolis' and its immediate environs' or 'metropolitan area' is much greater in size than either the central city or even the urbanized area." (71)

Not only has there been, in Bogue's phrase 'a progressive metropolitanization of the population' but the centrifugal forces turning cities into metropolitan regions are becoming stronger. In 1900 metropolitan areas had 32% of the nation's population; by 1950 they had 57%, and showed 80% of the population growth occurring between 1940 and 1950. Most of this growth took place outside city limits. The land lying outside the central city but within the SMA is generally termed the 'metropolitan ring'. Between 1940 and 1950 the rings grew almost two and one-half

times as fast as central cities. This rapid growth is not confined to the defined urban fringe but also to a much broader area which generally has a low population density at present but will expand enormously during succeeding decades. (72)

An officer of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, evaluating Bogue's work, criticises him for his concern with the structure of the metropolitan region at the expense of work on the forms and processes of metropolitanisation. (73) However, Bogue had already accepted the need for "dozens or hundreds of studies into the various aspects of change and changing structure". (74)

Two recent surveys of the New York Metropolitan Region help to put flesh on the bones of Bogue's structural analyses. (75) Gottmann found all previous patterns of urban regions based on central cities and hierarchies of suburbs and satellite towns to be totally inadequate as tools to analyse his 'megalopolis'. "A totally new order in the organisation of inhabited space is emerging" he claims (76) and Dickinson's work, useful in its time, is now quite outmoded. (77) "Megalopolis constitutes a laboratory where the geographer studies the evolution of a type of urban region which will be a future characteristic of highly developed countries." (78) Gottmann can find no orderly pattern for this but only a "nebulous structure". This structure is held together by the motor car. Between 1948 and 1956 the number of subway passengers entering the main Central Business District between 7 and 10 a.m. dropped by 11.7%, whereas from 1950-53 the number of private cars in the region rose by 30% so that by 1955 there was one car for every three people. (79) The region has 16 million people and 7 million jobs, two-thirds of the latter

being in the five counties of the core. Despite the fact that two-fifths of all the commuting journeys in the region are Manhattan bound, centrifugal forces are such that it is estimated "the people of the region and many of the enterprises on which they work will devour space at a faster rate than before". (80)

There has been some interesting discussion in the face of the forces described above as to how 'urban' and 'rural' areas should be defined. (81) Wehrwein and Balk defined the rural urban fringe in terms of its curious land use and this definition of a "geographical no-man's land" was recently accepted by Golledge working in Australia. As early as 1940 Nichols had suggested that the occupations of the people should determine whether a community is rural or urban, irrespective of local land use. This social approach was also argued by Whitney and Myers and Beegle. Such studies reflect the increasing unease about the validity of rural-urban differences. Undoubtedly changing society/land relationships are seen in their most extreme form in the rural-urban fringe and if a new type of social and spatial organization is emerging then old concepts and terminology will quite clearly be inadequate. An approach to the social geography of such areas will be attempted in the final chapter.

Urbanization and Social Geography

We have seen that the centrifugal movement of population to the periphery of metropolitan regions is a dominant social, economic and geographical fact in highly developed countries, such as Britain or the United States. Ashworth has given a useful summary (82) of the development of an anti-urban reaction to the

industrial city perhaps epitomized in Howard's scheme for a 'garden city' in England or Borsodi's attempts to fuse town and country patterns of living in the United States. (83)

This preoccupation with the physical manifestations of town and country life misses the crucial point Park pointed out in 1916 (84) that the city is 'a state of mind' so that "urbanization no longer denotes merely the process by which persons are attracted to a place called the city" but also "the changes in the direction of modes of life recognized as urban which are apparent among people, wherever they may be, who have come under the spell of the influences which the city exerts by virtue of the power of its institutions and personalities operating through the means of communication and transport". (85)

Not only is a city a state of mind but so also is a village, or a suburb or something which is believed to be altogether different. "If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences" (86) and this is a powerful notion in support of the social definition of patterns of living. Sociologists are becoming increasingly aware that 'rurality' is disappearing leaving something for which they have not yet found a generally accepted term, but which is held to be a new kind of urban existence. This is how Ruth Glass tries to describe it.

"The countryside is overrun and festooned with ribbons of pseudo-rural habitations. New towns, or new parts of towns, are made in the same fashion; they, too, have neo-rustic neighbourhood units. Thus in fact a new form of configuration of settlements is emerging; most strikingly in the metropolitan regions of Tokyo, of London, of Los Angeles and along the Eastern Seaboard of the United States.

Such a metropolitan region is a sprawling expanse, neither town nor country, and here and there submerging the remnants of both. It is so vast and undifferentiated that traces of nucleation are obscured; it appears to be featureless; monotonous without contours. To anyone not yet used to it, it looks like the chaos of a new order." (87)

Hence although the anti-urbanism described by Glass for this country and Riesman for the United States (88) has led to the escape to the suburbs or exurbs this has not stopped urban people from being urban. In fact as "country" people acquire an urban outlook and 'urban' people try to escape from the physical urban world, it seems likely that in an urbanized nation those people who are, say, most truly villagers are those who have defined themselves in their own minds as villagers and therefore act as they suppose villagers should act.

To turn from such social definitions of urbanization to the strictly physical criterion of land use is to sense a feeling of anti-climax. Although the proportionate increase in the size of the urban area between 1900 and 1950 in England and Wales has been about 80%, the turnover of agricultural land to urban development has not been more than about 5%. (89) Quite clearly such figures relate to nothing but changing land use and cannot be taken as a guide to the rate of urbanization.

The social geographer, concerned with the spatial relationships of social and economic change and the processes involved in the differentiation between social areas, has a fruitful field of study in the area where the frontier of an expanding metropolitan region passes over rural areas already in the process of

change. Because of the urban bias of most previous work concerned with urban influences on rural areas the ensuing study will be from a rural standpoint. Until the final chapter no attempt will be made to stress the geographical at the expense of the social factors. Clearly at this stage the examination of the problem is of greater importance than the boundaries of disciplines. However, any study of human space relations in a mobile urbanized society cannot but be geographical in part and it is important that if knowledge is to be advanced in a disciplined fashion, detailed problem orientated work should be theoretically conceptualized. A failure to do this would result in the social sciences being subdivided solely in terms of their tools of analysis.

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CHAPTER TWOBackground to HertfordshireIntroduction

This study is concerned with Hertfordshire as part of the London metropolitan region, and in particular with three parishes within that county. As such it is necessary to present some account of the area in both temporal and spatial terms as a necessary background to what is to follow. This seemingly simple task raises some fundamental problems which most geographers seem to ignore. As Professor Darby recently said, "It is a humiliating experience for a geographer to try to describe even a small tract of country in such a way as to convey to the reader a true likeness of the reality". (1) Most geographers, happy in their knowledge of lithology and pedology, plunge into "Chapter One - The Physical Background". Hooson, in his most useful complementary thesis on population in Hertfordshire (2), started bravely with an account of soils and 'natural regions' with only the most fleeting of guilty backward glances to imply that the physical background did not necessarily 'cause' the settlement pattern. The sociological study of Little Munden by Pons (3) is prefaced by an account of the economic history of agriculture in Hertfordshire, and, since from pre-Roman times to the nineteenth century the county has been outstanding for its corn and malt, Pons' approach is pragmatically sensible.

Clearly, to start with the physical background as the given constant would be extremely naive: a superficial knowledge of the history of

Hertfordshire agriculture is sufficient to show the overriding importance of London on land use and land values in the county. Accessibility regions would appear to be more logical than physical regions, if regions, as a form of necessary shorthand, are held to be important. Certainly one requires a point of departure, and one has sympathy with those concerned with writing text books in areal differentiation; unfortunately their intellectual incapacity to see any more significant pattern of distributions than those of lithology and relief with which to form the foundation of their work, has led workers in other disciplines to imagine that such physical descriptions are the essence of geography. Thus many so-called geographical introductions often do little more than bore the reader and make a mockery of geography as a discipline.

For the problem under discussion here, the significant factors are the changing patterns of accessibility and the distribution of population between town and country. From this emerges the problem of how far back in time one is obliged to go in order to "explain" the present situation. The spatial patterns in Hertfordshire have varied with the changing relationship between culture and technological achievement, or between the will and the ability to use resources, of which space must be one. As Isaiah Bowman said, "It follows that the natural environment is always a different thing to different groups. Its potentialities are absolute but their realization is a relative matter, relative to what the particular man wants and what he can get with the instruments of power and the ideas at his command and the standard of living he demands or strives to attain". (4)

For example, the loams of central Hertfordshire could not be

cultivated until a sufficiently heavy plough could be developed, when they became important for corn production. Later, when the London market developed and road and rail communication provided easy access, the same land became noted for market gardening and milk production. In a phrase, technology and market forces determine land use, and to begin by assuming that the utility of the soil is somehow a non-variable factor is to be unscientific and naive.

One can, however, be fairly sure that the relief of Hertfordshire has remained fairly constant historically! The gently dipping cretaceous and tertiary strata of the northern flank of the London basin provide little of the rather bolder scenic outlines resulting from the more complicated structure in the south of the basin. However, there are interesting differences in scenery and soil type provided by the superficial glacial deposits which give character and variety to the landscape. (5) Moving south from the bare chalk of the north of the county, spreads of chalky boulder clay in the east contrast with the clay-with-flints in the west. In the former area ponds and seasonal streams contrast with the dry valleys and beech woods of the west. The central Hertfordshire depression, once the course of the Winter Hill Thames and Lake Hertford, has great local variety of soils; south of this area on the London clay much land still remains wooded. Whatever further needs to be emphasized of the physical structure in relation to the theme under review will appear, where relevant, in the discussion on settlement.

The Settlement of the County.

A discussion of the evolution of the villages and towns of Hertfordshire, and their changing space relationships with each other and with London, would seem to provide the most useful line of departure for an introduction to the period following the second world war, on which most emphasis will be placed.

Until the Belgae (Iron Age C) arrived in about 70 B.C. with a heavier plough, fitted with mouldboard and coulter, settlement had been limited to the lighter soils of the north. However, the Belgae established settlements successively at Wheathamstead, Prae Wood (near St. Albans) and Welwyn, and also, at some time, at Baldock and Braughing. Their communications' network ran along an east-west axis between Colchester and Central Hertfordshire, and by the time of the Roman invasions this belt of loamy cornland was the home of the richest and most powerful groups in Britain.

The Romans eventually chose London as their capital, rather than Verulamium or Colchester, because of its geographical advantages as a communication centre, but it may well have originated as the port for Verulamium. Be that as it may, the reorientation of axis from east-west to north-south was firmly established, so that almost from the beginning Hertfordshire was orientated in terms of communications and settlement in relation to London.

Despite being so close to London, it took some 1,500 years for Hertfordshire to become colonised. The Anglo-Saxon settlement, which affected South East England so profoundly, came late to Hertfordshire. The two main lines of penetration into the south east

were the estuary of the Thames and the Wash. Hence, in Hertfordshire the earliest settlements were along either the River Lee and its tributaries or along the Icknield Way in the north, which had provided an easy route for the invaders from the Wash, through Cambridge, to the Thames. However, the Romano-British Kingdom, which remained in the Chilterns, blocked the expansion of settlement into west and central Hertfordshire; it was not until the end of the sixth century that the English were able to move south from the Hitchin region into the British territory. This is thought to explain the fact that the Hertfordshire dialect is a form of midland English and is not so closely related to that of south or eastern England.

The consolidation of settlement continued into medieval times, the frontier of settlement moving southwards towards London, with the monks of St. Albans providing one of the main driving forces in the clearing of the woodland. With the expansion of trade coming with more settled times in the thirteenth century, the Lord of the Manor in certain areas invested in a Royal Charter as a form of private speculation in market development. Without going into details for individual towns, it seems broadly true that two rings of market towns developed in Hertfordshire on the radial roads out of London. The inner ring of Hemel Hempstead, St. Albans, Ware and Bishops Stortford were well placed. Neither Hatfield nor Hertford could become as successful as St. Albans (6) and Ware, the former on the Watling Street and the centre of a powerful monastic organisation, and the latter having the dual advantage of being on the Ermine Street and an important inland port on the Lee. The outer ring consisted similarly of four market towns - Berkamsted, Hitchin,

Baldock and Royston. Again their space relations were such that those market towns at intermediate distances, such as Buntingford and Stevenage, were not successful competitors. It appears that the towns of the inner ring flourished partly on account of their own rich hinterlands and partly on account of their spatial relations to London. As Norden noted in 1598, Hertfordshire "is much benefited by thorrow-fares to and from London Northwards, and that maketh the markets to bee the better furnished with such necessaries as are requisite for Innes, for th'intertainment of travaylers". (7) The towns on the outer ring flourished partly through tapping hinterlands in adjoining counties and (apart from Berkhamsted) partly from being on the orbital Ickniel Way.

Until the end of the nineteenth century Hertfordshire remained basically an agricultural county of small villages and market towns. The little agriculturally based industry that did develop brought little increase in population, while much of north and east Hertfordshire was characterised by hamlet settlement.

London and Hertfordshire to the end of the Nineteenth Century.

The influence of the London market was felt in Hertfordshire at least as early as 1247 when barges came up the Lee to fetch corn from Hertford. "The men of London had begun a capitalist enterprise against the local merchants." (8) More important and more typical was the effect of London on land values, which were higher in the south of the county in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (9) Not only that, but Londoners started to buy land in Hertfordshire,

turning from the commerce by which they made their money, to farming which would make that money more respectable. In the Tudor period considerable London capital was invested in Hertfordshire and "banking and brewing, chiefly in London, are responsible for the rise and wealth of a quite exceptional proportion of families". (10) In a list of freeholders and copyholders with estates worth £10 a year or more in 1699, the number of Londoners is remarkable. London merchants who wanted small country estates within reasonable reach of the city had moved out as far as Stevenage by the early fifteenth century. "The first known commuters were Richard Foster and John Sylam, both of London and the latter a pewterer, who in 1402-3 held little freehold estates within the manor of Westminster at Stevenage." (11)

"The wealth of Elizabethan and Jacobean houses in Herts is exceptional. It is no doubt to be explained by the nearness to London." (12) Pevsner is clearly right, but London introduced a further factor: "the ayre for the most part is very salutarie, and in regard thereof, many sweete and pleasant dwellings, healthful by nature and profitable by arte and industrie are planted there". (13) It would seem to be a clear case of rationalisation by the merchants, who hid their desire for social status by emphasising the geographical conditions. As Martin noted in the mid-eighteenth century,

"The air of the county is esteemed so peculiarly clear, serene and healthful that it is the Residence of many Gentlemen; and it is an Adage founded in truth "He who buys a House in Hertfordshire, pays two Years purchase extraordinary for the Air of it". (14)

It seems clear that, although in the first place Hertfordshire recruited a high proportion of its wealthy families from banking and commerce, the money they invested in the county considerably increased its amenities. As Arthur Young shrewdly noted in 1804, (15)

"A considerable addition is made to the beauty of this county, by the villas and seats of rich proprietors presenting themselves to our view in every direction. Although they occupy a considerable space of ground, which would otherwise be held by common farmers, yet their decorated lawns, and ornamental grounds, not only adorn the county, and please the travellers' eye, by their neatness and general beauty, but may also be considered as a national benefit, from the very extensive employment with which they supply the industrious poor in their neighbourhood."

But London did not influence Hertfordshire solely through raising land values and injecting new gentry. Also, the arrival of landowners in Hertfordshire, who had made their money in London, was not a once and for all phenomenon. Roper-Power provided a useful summary of the cycle, (16)

"From the sixteenth century onwards there came from the city of London periodic waves of nouveaux riches seeking the social status which landed proprietorship alone could give - in the sixteenth century some scriveners and goldsmiths, in the seventeenth brewers and mercers, in the nineteenth nabobs and merchant princes. The old nobility disappeared early, and even the newer Tudor gentry, save for the Cecils, were soon supplanted. At the present time, apart from about three families, there are no landed families within ten miles of the town that can claim residence of much more than a century. The cause underlying this cycle of changing landownership is this:

Hertfordshire adjoins London and provides a natural quarry for the merchant seeking patrician status. The process of this cycle is as follows:- The original owners, many of whom were impoverished, were easily tempted by the rise in land values. They sold out. Now the newcomers were able to subsidise their newly acquired estates from income derived from commercial sources. They ran them as hobbies on an uneconomic basis. But after a generation or so this source of income tended to dry up and contacts with the city became weaker. The descendants of the original nouveau homme, now turned from Whig merchants into Tory squires, became in their turn easy victims to the new wave of rich men from London. And so the process went on. But the consequences of this cycle are of even greater moment. Local estates have received what amounts to a subsidy from the city. They have been run as social amenities and have attracted a considerable army of hangers-on of one sort and another.

London not only raised the price for the products of Hertfordshire agriculture but also provided the manure to raise the productivity of the land and helped to make it one of the leading agricultural counties in the country in the eighteenth century. This has been well described by William Ellis of Little Gaddesden, writing in 1732, who noted that although the county's soils were naturally poor they were "of late greatly improved by the Industry of its Farmers, who living within a Days Journey of London, many of them have been encourag^d to imploy their Teams at Vacant times to carry Meal, Bran, Chaff, Corn, Wood and other Vendables thither in order to load back again with Sut, Ashes, Hoofs, Horn-shavings, Rags etc. for dressing their Land, that by the help of these and good Ploughings many have the benefit of Grain, Grass, Turnips etc. Yearly, without the Loss of one Summer for the fallow Season, which of late has become so Profitable That our Chiltern Farms lets for more than

the Vale Grounds that are themselves Richer than the Hilley lands". (17) This is a clear example of Von Thünen's principles which have recently been the subject of much attention by geographers. (18)

Arthur Young had also noticed that proximity to the metropolis secured higher wages and more consistent employment than in other counties. (19) During the nineteenth century Hertfordshire remained relatively prosperous when much of the rest of the country was suffering from severe agricultural depressions. This was partly due to the straw hat industry, based on the red lammas wheat of north-west Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, (20) but it was the expansion of the London market throughout the century which ensured its prosperity. Barges had been able to move up the Grand Junction Canal to Boxmoor at the turn of the century and in 1837 the Euston-Boxmoor railway was opened, both providing an economic stimulus to the agriculture of south-west Hertfordshire. A paper-making machine was set up at Frogmore Mill on the river Gade near Boxmoor in 1804 and the next few decades saw a considerable expansion of paper-making in the Gade valley through the energies of John Dickinson. (21) The proximity to the metropolis and an expanding transportation system became dominant themes for the rest of the century. Following the London and North Western Line of 1837 the Great Northern Railway opened the line from Kings Cross through Hatfield and Hitchin to the North in 1850 and in 1869 the main Midland line from St. Pancras through St. Albans and Luton was opened. In the east of the county the line to Broxbourne and Bishops Stortford had been open from 1840 and throughout the period some further branch lines were built and many more projected ones discussed.

Farmers along the line of rail, particularly in the south of the county, rapidly put down their land to grass from the 1870's, and by selling milk to the metropolis avoided the effects of the slump in grain prices. Thousands of dairy cattle were grazed on the heavy clays of South Hertfordshire, the increase in pasture being as follows: (22)

1870	86,113 acres
1890	116,134 acres
1910	129,950 acres

Poultry, potatoes and hay became more prominent features, while the greater use of artificial fertilizers and foodstuffs helped to raise the general standard of production. The cultivated area rose until 1887 and then started to fall, so that from 1885 to 1929 there was a 40% decrease in the area devoted to wheat and barley, but a 50% increase in the number of dairy cattle. From early in the century Scottish and, later, Cornish farmers moved into the country and took up potato farming, attracted by the prosperity made possible by the proximity to metropolitan markets. Specialised market gardening developed. Watercress was cultivated in the valleys of the Colne, Gade and Lea from 1850 and the glass-house industry of Cheshunt boomed from 1883. From twenty five nursery firms in the mid-nineteenth century market gardening expanded so that there were a hundred such firms in the county in 1902.

It would be wrong to see the influence of London on Hertfordshire's agriculture as wholly good. From the farmers' point of view, as Evershed noted in 1864, land was lost, and in the south of the county "villa residences occupied by families from London, have largely encroached on these grass farms". (23) Not only did London take land

but also it took labour. Rider Haggard notes that only the worst of the younger men were left. (24) The smarter ones, who were earning better money in London, came back to their homes "with a blistering tale, and entice away those that remain". (25)

However, nineteenth century trends were no real portent of the flood of Londoners into Hertfordshire in the present century. Perhaps the nicest description of what was happening in the 1870's and 1880's at Watford in the south west of the county is provided by the following contemporary account. (26)

"The growth of towns situate a few miles from the metropolis has been most extraordinary within the last ten or twelve years; in whichever direction you travel, you may notice hundreds of houses that have been raised within that period, and hundreds more recently erected or in course of erection; while many acres of land have been cut up and laid out for building purposes, and many more are undergoing a similar process, which, in a short time, will be covered with respectable and convenient dwellings. Many members of the great trading community of the metropolis, who at one time saw the country and breathed its pure air only on the occasions of their journeys on business or periodical holidays, have of late years deemed it necessary to the health of themselves and families to reside out of town; the head of the family going to London each morning to business, and returning to the country in the evening..... The facilities offered by railways have greatly encouraged this exodus; indeed, the frequency with which trains run to and from London and neighbouring towns has been the principal, if not the sole, means of enabling many to get away from London smoke, fog, and sewer gases, to the salubrity and quiet of the country.....

"Of the many towns within a circle of ten or fifteen miles from the metropolis, none, perhaps, have been more influenced by all this than Watford; but in noticing its growth and importance, we must not attribute it in too great a degree to railway facilities and its short distance from London; it has natural attractions, that persons seeking a residence in the country make their chief consideration. Its soil is gravel on chalk; its water, although somewhat hard, of excellent quality; its air bracing; its drainage complete; noblemens' and gentlemens' seats numerous; scenery very pretty, and walks and drives most beautiful."

The author describes what he thinks makes business men move out to a country town; it was only the towns which could advertise themselves as "the country" before the invention of the internal combustion engine. Certainly to move out to Watford became the fashion. From a population of 7,461 in 1871 it increased by nearly 300% to 29,327 thirty years later, to become the first town by size in the county. And this was not due to the introduction of industry.

The expansion of Watford was regarded with jealous eyes by St. Albans, which had hitherto been more important in West Hertfordshire. In 1903 the counterblast to Watford's claims of attractiveness appeared: (27)

"St. Albans is one of the healthiest towns around London and as a place of residence or as a health resort it is difficult to find its superior in the Home Counties..... It has broad, well paved streets and excellent roads, a splendid supply of water of undoubted purity..... it is lighted with gas, principally incandescent.... it has one of the best drainage systems in England, it is well provided with excellent shops, its houses are well built and, for the City's proximity to London, their rentals are moderate, and the rates are not exorbitant..."

"There are frequent trains to London and all parts and the Metropolis can, by the majority of trains on the Midland system, be reached in half an hour. Compared with the slow suburban trains this to the business man is most favourable....

The stable industry of St. Albans is the manufacture of straw hats, but there are large silk mills, boot and printing factories which employ a number of hands. It will thus be seen that St. Albans has peculiar advantages as a residential centre.... as a residential suburb for London it has claims which cannot be conceded to ordinary suburban London for there is civic and social life in abundance, and its rural surroundings and splendid train service make it an ideal place of residence for the city man."

These quotations have been cited at length since they do much to set the tone of what was to be a dominant theme in the next sixty years. "Although so near to London it is almost purely agricultural in character", said Rider Haggard in 1902. (28) The frontier of change was moving up the railway lines, especially in the west of the county where the rail services were fastest. The old Hertfordshire raised a cry of alarm, "Of course railways are not pretty things and they bring noise; but the real injury that they do to rusticity is the opening up of building sites, which are quickly covered with architectural atrocities", (29) and having made its point retired in despair to the records of a safer, more distant period.

Garden Cities and the Inter-War Industrial Expansion in Hertfordshire.

The arrival of commuters in South Hertfordshire led to the spread of dormitory suburbs at Chorleywood, Bushey, Radlett, Barnet and Totteridge. Harpenden had London commuters soon after the railway reached it in 1869 and Knebworth grew round the station from 1881.

Even outside the main centres substantial villas for commuters implied that the latter were willing to drive, or be driven, to the station by carriage before catching their train. In the period before 1914, however, the railways dominated the expansion of Hertfordshire towns. A comparison of towns, an equal distance from London yet differentially placed with regard to the line of rail, makes this very clear. A comparison of the rates of growth of pairs of towns such as Hitchin and Baldock or Harpenden and Redbourn underlines this point.

People moving into the county had of necessity to be prosperous enough to buy a villa and pay the extra fares of this journey to work. Throughout the nineteenth century various philanthropists and enlightened industrialists had concerned themselves with the plight of the industrial working classes who could not afford this. Cobbett in 1822 saw the need for "overspill" - planned dispersal from London, "But how is this wen to be dispersed? I know not whether it is to be done by knife or by caustic; but dispersed it must be!" (30) For example, the night population of the city of London fell by 32.0% from 1871-1881, yet the day population grew by 53.4%. A concentration of poorer houses grew east of the city because the Great Eastern Railway was the first to issue cheap working mens' tickets. Elsewhere, industrialists with capital and consciences built places such as Saltaire, Bournville, Port Sunlight or Earswick, but each of these was designed for the workers of only one industrial enterprise. It was Ebenezer Howard who, in his own words, took a "leaf out of the books of each reformer and bound them together by a thread of practicability". (31) It was in Hertfordshire that Howard's ideas took shape in the form of the first garden city, Letchworth, followed later by the second, Welwyn Garden City.

It is important to be clear about Howard's ideas, because these are stuff out of which city regions are made. Despite what later writers have ascribed to him, he was not basically anti-urban (although perhaps he was anti-metropolis). In his book he describes the 'town magnet' with its lure of work, higher wages and the bright lights of the city offset by smoke, dirt, disease and slums. It is well to note that the nineteenth century 'wen' with its 'peasoup' fogs was an unhealthy place to live in. The 'country magnet', on the other hand, had health, fresh air and beauty, at the cost of low wages, dullness and decay. His problem therefore was,

"How to restore people to the land - that beautiful land of ours with its canopy of sky, the air that blows upon it, the sun that warms it, the rain and dew that moisten it - the very embodiment of Divine life for man." (32)

This was the social symbolism of rural areas, as perhaps held by a typical member of the urban, earnest, chapel going lower middle class. When such people made their money in trade their descendants might be able to fulfil this desire - to have "a house in the country".

Much of Howard's book deals with the practical matters of revenue, finance and administration and he cannot be held responsible for the excesses of his disciples, who adopted his more purple passages with such relish. For our purposes it is enough to note that the garden city movement arose partly in response to the inadequacies of the social environment of London, although the attempt to create a system whereby the increment of value attached to the land be given to those who create that value, was an early experiment in public ownership of the land, and had a wider

political significance. The question arises, why was the first garden city at Letchworth? The requirements stipulated by the company formed to create it were naive: 6,000 acres at agricultural prices, good communications and a large population ripe for overspill nearby. An estate in Staffordshire was about to be bought, but just before the contract was signed "the solicitor of the company, Herbert Warren, who had a business in Baldock in Hertfordshire put forward a proposal for joining together a number of properties between Baldock and Hitchin". (33) The land was finally bought from 15 owners, from each of whom the object of the purchase had to be kept secret. Thus was created what was to become one of the most rapidly developing industrial towns in the country. The impact on the old rural area could not have been greater.

From a population of 400 in 1903, Letchworth grew to 14,454 in 1931, and yet, ironically, when Purdom inquired of K. and L. Steelfounders and Engineers Ltd., one of the largest enterprises in the town, why they chose to move to Letchworth they replied:

"Owing to the proximity of London (sic!), because suitable land, water, gas and electricity services were readily available and at that time there was ample housing accommodation for workers." (34)

Welwyn Garden City, founded after the first world war, again with a social purpose - to influence the national housing policy - grew from 430 in 1920 to 13,500 in 1937. London undoubtedly contributed to its growth and it was more consciously designed for middle class London commuters. When I.C.I. was asked by

Purdom their reasons for choosing to move to Welwyn Garden City they mentioned "the advantages of nearness to customers, government departments and three large University centres. The garden city and the surrounding district would also in normal times attract the right type (sic!) of staff for their purposes". (35) This last comment is most significant since it gives some indication of the way in which new towns have an impact on rural areas; the founders of the garden city movement tended to assume that the rural areas were a sort of vacuum into which towns could be scattered at random, with no thought as to the effect this might have on existing towns and villages.

An important survey by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt in the late 1930's gives some indication of the effect of the expanding town on surrounding areas. As many as 1,264 (28 per cent) of those employed in the Garden City commuted from elsewhere.

"Broadly speaking the villages within the seven mile orbit contribute a larger proportion of their population than the townships in the same area.... 40 per cent of the labour coming daily into Welwyn Garden City came from small villages, some of these being on the immediate outskirts of the town. It was mainly low skilled labour and contained a great proportion of the building trade. Most of this labour represented a permanent pool of workers surplus to the requirements of their immediate locality, that, but for the establishment of the garden city, would probably have had to leave their villages and emigrate to towns elsewhere." (36)

Evidence of early cross commuting is shown by the fact that for every nine persons who travelled to work outside the district, twenty-one came in to work in Welwyn Garden City itself. Some

6.0 per cent of the wage earning population then commuted to London, but for every four that went to London, six came from London to work in the town. The origin of the Welwyn Garden City wage earners by Tyrwhitt's household survey is as follows:

Local Origin (Herts)	20 per cent
'London'	30 per cent
'Depressed Areas'	34 per cent
Elsewhere (Incl. Midlands)	16 per cent

Although nearly one in three of the inhabitants were Londoners (probably middle class), half of the new arrivals came from elsewhere, particularly the north and north-east, Wales and Scotland. The limitation of rural depopulation was also an important effect.

The inter-war growth of population and industry in Hertfordshire has been analysed by Hooson. (37) From 1901-1951 the population more than doubled, a rate five times that of the country as a whole. The following table brings out the contrast between Hertfordshire and England and Wales as a whole:

	<u>Percentage Population Changes</u>	
	<u>1921-1931</u>	<u>1931-1951</u>
England & Wales	5.5	9.5
Hertfordshire	20.4	52.0

A focal area developed in the south west of the county with many small industrial and residential settlements concentrated from Welwyn Garden City through St. Albans to Watford. By 1951 over a third of non-natives living in Hertfordshire had come from London and Middlesex and a quarter from the county of London itself; in that year

only 40 per cent of the inhabitants had been born in the county, compared with 53 per cent in 1931 and over 70 per cent in 1871. From being a county of dispersion in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the tide turned in the 1890's so that it became overwhelmingly one of absorption. In the seven years before the second world war 80 per cent of the immigrants came to the south west focal area, south of a line between Berkhamsted and Welwyn Garden City, and the same area received the same proportion of immigrants in the seven years following the war.

In 1951 Greater Watford (including Rickmansworth and Bushey) contained over a third of the county's employment. The industries of the area are entirely a twentieth century phenomenon, including printing, engineering - particularly parts for aircraft and motor cars - and a wide variety of the food and drink group of industries. In the inter-war period Watford was the best balanced and largest of Hertfordshire's industrial towns: in February 1930 it was practically the only town in Britain with no unemployment. This diversity and quantity of flourishing industries, in the words of a guide of the 1930's, "employ a large number of executives who find adequate accommodation in the town or its immediate neighbourhood". (38) From 1931-1951 Watford Rural Parish grew from 3,894 to 22,415, an increase of 475 per cent! The 17½ miles to Euston took 21 minutes in the 1930's and the residential suburbs surrounding Watford grew rapidly. Rickmansworth received 14,000 immigrants, an increase of 113 per cent from 1931-1951, and from 1931-1938 alone, over 6,000 people moved in as a direct result of the extension and electrification of the suburban railway system.

St. Albans, too, flourished as an industrial town, with the same development of aircraft and electrical industries as Watford, with also printing, patent foods, textiles. The aircraft industry dominates Hatfield where about 70 per cent of the employment is still provided by the de Havilland Aircraft Company. The development of this industry and its poor quality residential areas from 1926 was a tragedy which could have been avoided if it had been incorporated into the growing Welwyn Garden City.

By and large the other industrial towns which developed in the inter-war period had a great diversity of light industries with no remarkable concentration, although one might mention the film industry at Borehamwood, the chemical group - paint, plastics and cosmetics - at Welwyn Garden City and the heavier, metal using industries at Letchworth.

Hooson's thesis of a focal area or heartland in the south-west is certainly largely true for the inter-war period but is less so for the post-war period, as will be explained below. He believed that:

"The position of this most favoured region astride the main lines of communication between London and the expanding industrial centres of the Midlands clearly carries considerable weight as industrial firms become more and more interdependent." (39)

This echoes the useful discussion of industry and employment in the Report and Analysis of the County Development Plan (1951) and Hooson seems to have drawn some of his conclusions from this source. It is noted that most of the industry which migrated to Hertfordshire came from London and not from the North of England or the Midlands. High cost of land in central London, good

communication links in Hertfordshire, cheap labour in the outer suburbs, lower rates and sometimes empty premises in Hertfordshire towns, the artificial stimulus provided by the two garden cities and the less stringent demands of Hertfordshire Trade Unions are among the reasons given for this exodus.

It is nevertheless true that at the same time as Watford, St. Albans, Hatfield, Welwyn Garden City and Letchworth were expanding industrially, a contemporary guide could say,

"Of all counties Hertfordshire seems the most desirable. Perhaps because it is the essence of a peace loving people with its neatly hedged fields: narrow deep set lanes, little towns and hamlets that scarce own a name... story book villages with houses and cottages grouped about a green.... Nearly all Hertfordshire towns enjoy a rural setting, for the county is true to its old industry - agriculture." (40)

In 1945, then, Hertfordshire was "a county of small towns set in a rural background on London's fringe", (41) and those who saw it as the most rapidly expanding county in the country, in terms of population and industry, were as much right as those who saw it as a rural retreat of sleepy market towns and quiet lanes. After all the total increase from 1901-1947 was only about 321 thousand whereas in the fifteen years from 1947-1962 a further 278 thousand were added. Hooson's over-reliance on percentages may give a false impression of the importance of inter-war expansion in comparison with more recent growth.

Notes to Chapter Two

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19. Arthur Young op. cit. pp. 221-222.
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CHAPTER THREEThe Postwar Scene: Hertfordshire From
1946 - 1961.Growth of Population

Hertfordshire has continued to increase its population at a faster rate than any other county in the country. The Greater London plan envisaged the planned dispersal of just over a million people, together with the decentralisation of industry, largely to the outer country ring. Hertfordshire, lying entirely within Abercrombie's London Region, was to receive about a third of this 'overspill'. In the report of the county plan in 1951, when the L.C.C. housing estate at Oxhey had been largely built, it was anticipated that a further 239 thousand migrants from London alone would be received between 1951 and 1971. About 138 thousand of these would be accommodated in the four designated new towns - Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield, Stevenage and Welwyn Garden City - and in the second L.C.C. estate at Borehamwood. In the event, the following table shows the actual increase which has occurred, 1951-1961, based on the sub-divisions of the metropolitan region, already described above when discussing the region as a whole.

Table 3 - 1 Increase of the County's Population 1951-1961 (1)

<u>London Region</u>	<u>By Natural Increase.</u>		<u>By Migration.</u>		<u>Total. Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent</u>		
-2.7 Suburbs	2,320	77.2	686	22.8	3,006	4.6
15.9 Suburban Fringe A	6,710	20.5	25,985	79.5	32,695	62.1
18.6 Suburban Fringe B	4,270	47.5	4,712	52.5	8,982	8.8
46.5 Inner County Ring	32,480	21.1	121,434	79.9	153,914	57.1
18.4 Outer County Ring	6,950	29.3	16,766	70.7	23,716	19.7
	<u>52,730</u>	<u>23.7</u>	<u>169,583</u>	<u>76.3</u>	<u>222,313</u>	<u>36.5</u>

Thus nearly four-fifths of the increase in the county's population has been due to migration: and, of course, by far the greater proportion of migrants went to the four new towns.

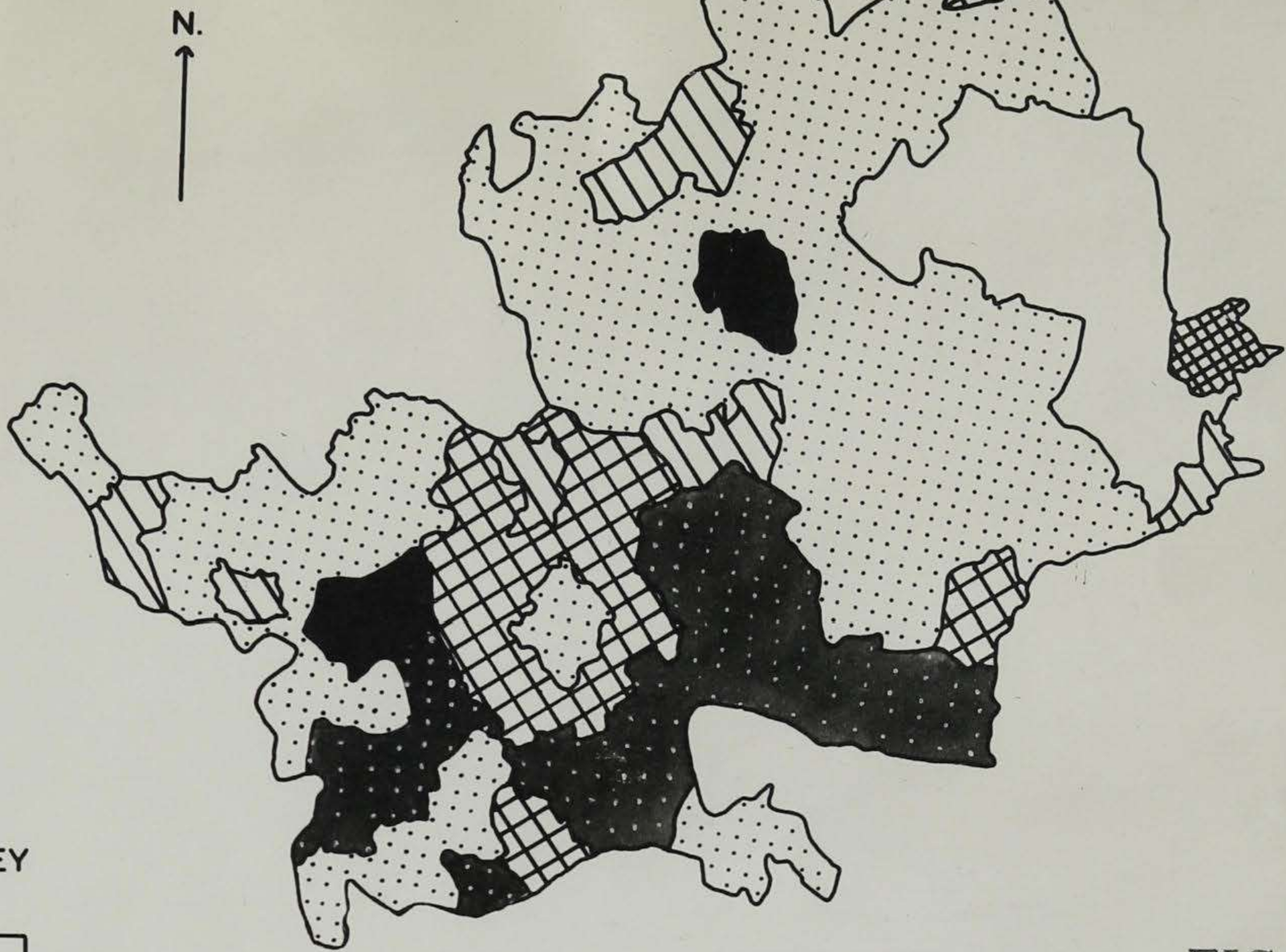
Appendix I gives the detailed breakdown of increases by local authority areas, and the proportion of such increases due to migration. It can be seen that nearly all of the towns in the county showed significant increases by migration during the decennial period. The following table highlights some of this information.

Towns showing an increase from 1951-1961 of:

Table 3 - 2

a) <u>1,000-2,999</u>	<u>Per cent due to migration.</u>	b) <u>3,000-5,999</u>	<u>Per cent due to migration.</u>
Barnet	61.3	B. Stortford	79.6
Berkhamsted	76.6	Bushey	80.4
Chorleywood	89.4	Harpenden	76.1
Hertford	61.1	Hitchin	75.2
Royston	84.7	Hoddesdon	74.3
Tring	92.5	Letchworth	71.3
Ware	89.6	Rickmansworth	63.1
Watford	2.0		

Five towns showed net increases of over six thousand - Cheshunt (12,352), Hemel Hempstead (32,978), Stevenage (35,673) and Welwyn Garden City (17,375). To these should be added the fourth new town of Hatfield which had an increase of 11,260 within the Hatfield Rural District. (2) The map showing the increase or decrease of population, expressed as a percentage, is drawn according to local authority boundaries; thus where a town over-flows into a neighbouring Rural










- KEY
-  DECREASE
 -  0 - 20%
 -  20 - 30%
 -  30 - 40%
 -  40 - 50%
 -  50 - 100%
 -  OVER 100%

FIG. 2.

POPULATION INCREASE: 1951-1961
BY LOCAL AUTHORITY AREAS

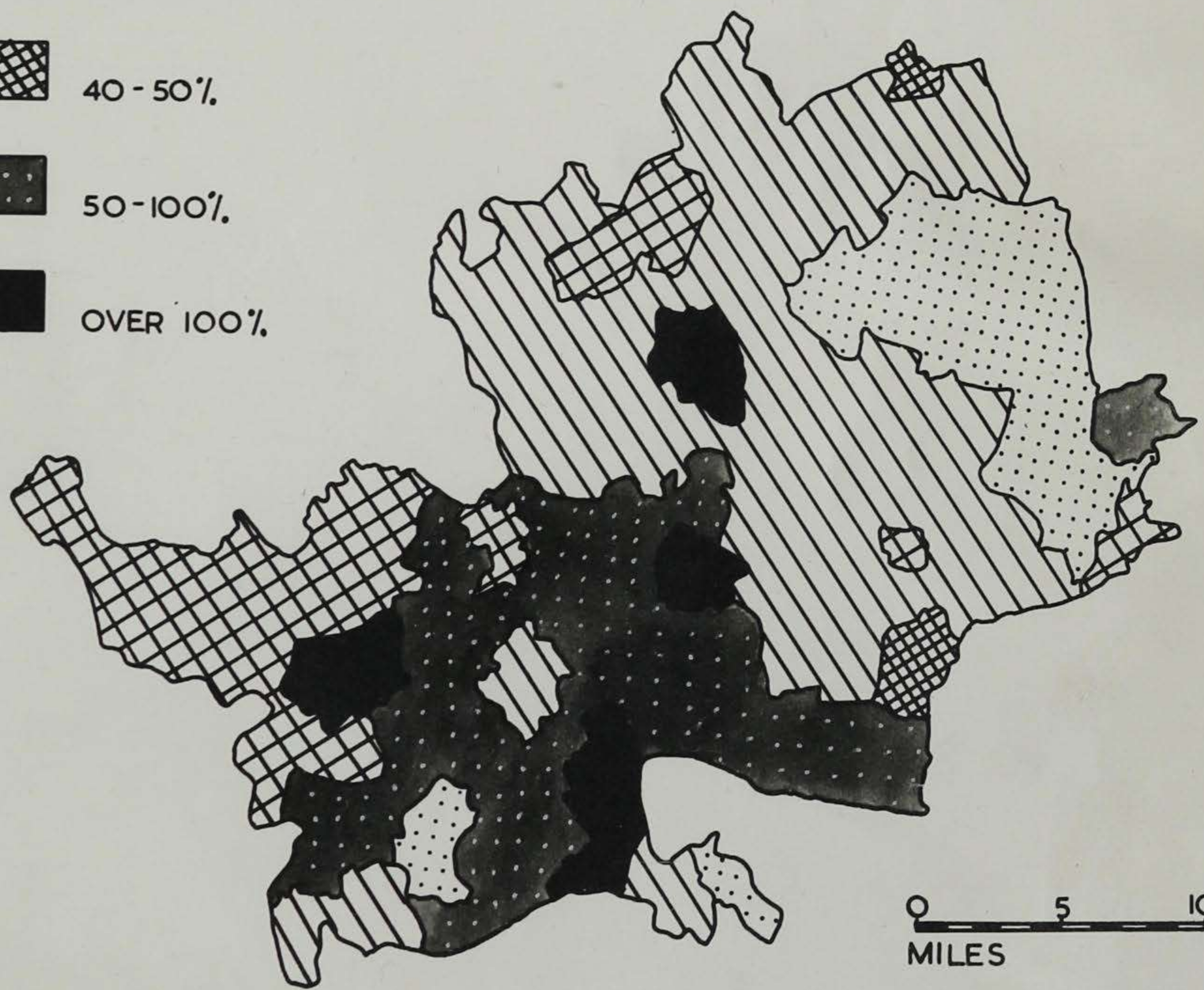


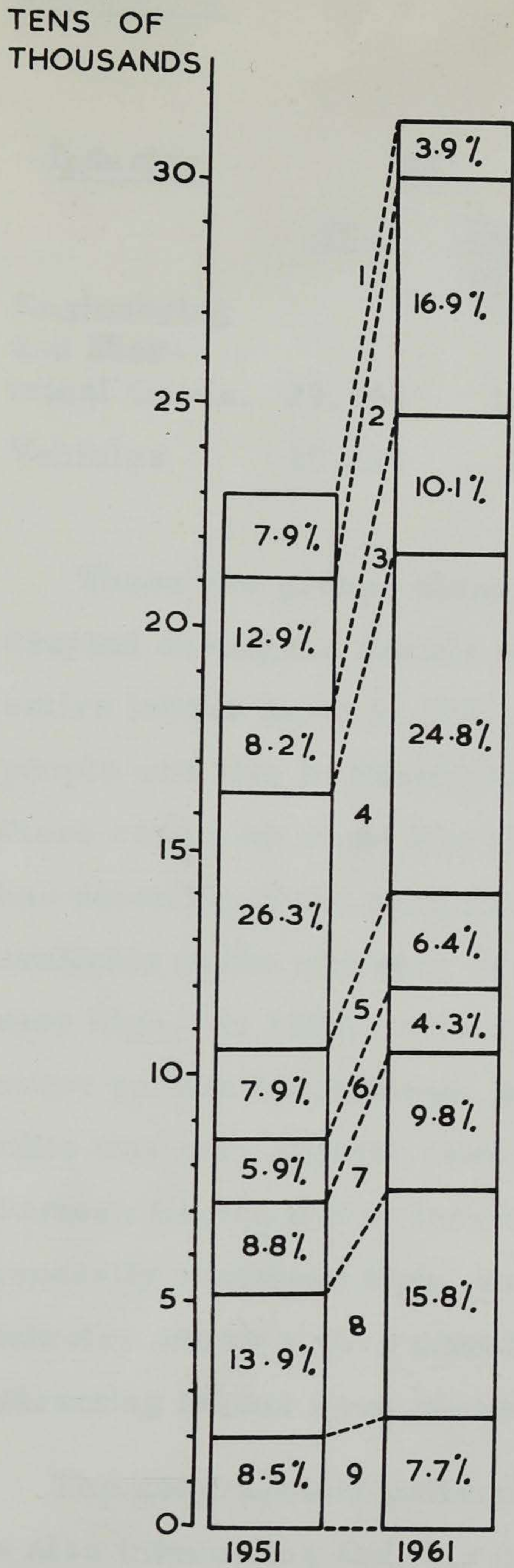
FIG. 3.

INCREASE IN DWELLINGS: 1951-1961
BY LOCAL AUTHORITY AREAS

District (for example at Hatfield or Hemel Hempstead) any change is spread throughout that area giving a false impression. Increases in 'rural' parishes such as North Mymms or Abbots Langley can be explained in this way. Similarly, the increase of over 100 per cent shown for Elstree is a reflection of the L.C.C. housing estate at Borehamwood. Such difficulties in analysing rural areas will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. It is sufficient to note here that crude as well as proportional increases in population have been concentrated in the towns, especially the new ones. The development of Stevenage has been an important factor in avoiding the concentration of all the population in the south west focal area and a new 'population axis' can be discerned developing in Central Hertfordshire from Hatfield, through Stevenage, to Letchworth. Nevertheless, the map showing the proportional increase of dwellings constructed during the period shows with great clarity the development of the west-central wedge, including the 'Rural' Districts of Watford and St. Albans.

Growth of Industry and Employment

Employment in the county increased at about the same rate as population from 1951-1961, during which period 82,805 additional jobs were created, an increase of 35.90 per cent. However, the increase has not been proportionately the same for all industries, as can be seen from Figure 5. As would be expected, agriculture proportionately declined, from having 7.5 per cent to only 3.9 per cent of the employed population, which represents a crude loss of over 5,000 workers. In the manufacturing industries two industries stand out especially, as shown below. (3)



KEY

- 1 AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE, GRAVEL WORKING.
- 2 MANUFACTURE OF ENGINEERING AND ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT.
- 3 MANUFACTURE OF VEHICLES AND AIRCRAFT.
- 4 OTHER MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.
- 5 BUILDING.
- 6 TRANSPORT AND PUBLIC UTILITIES.
- 7 DISTRIBUTION.
- 8 PROFESSIONAL AND PUBLIC SERVICES.
- 9 MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE OF
HERTFORDSHIRE E.E.A.S IN

1951 AND 1961

FIG. 5.

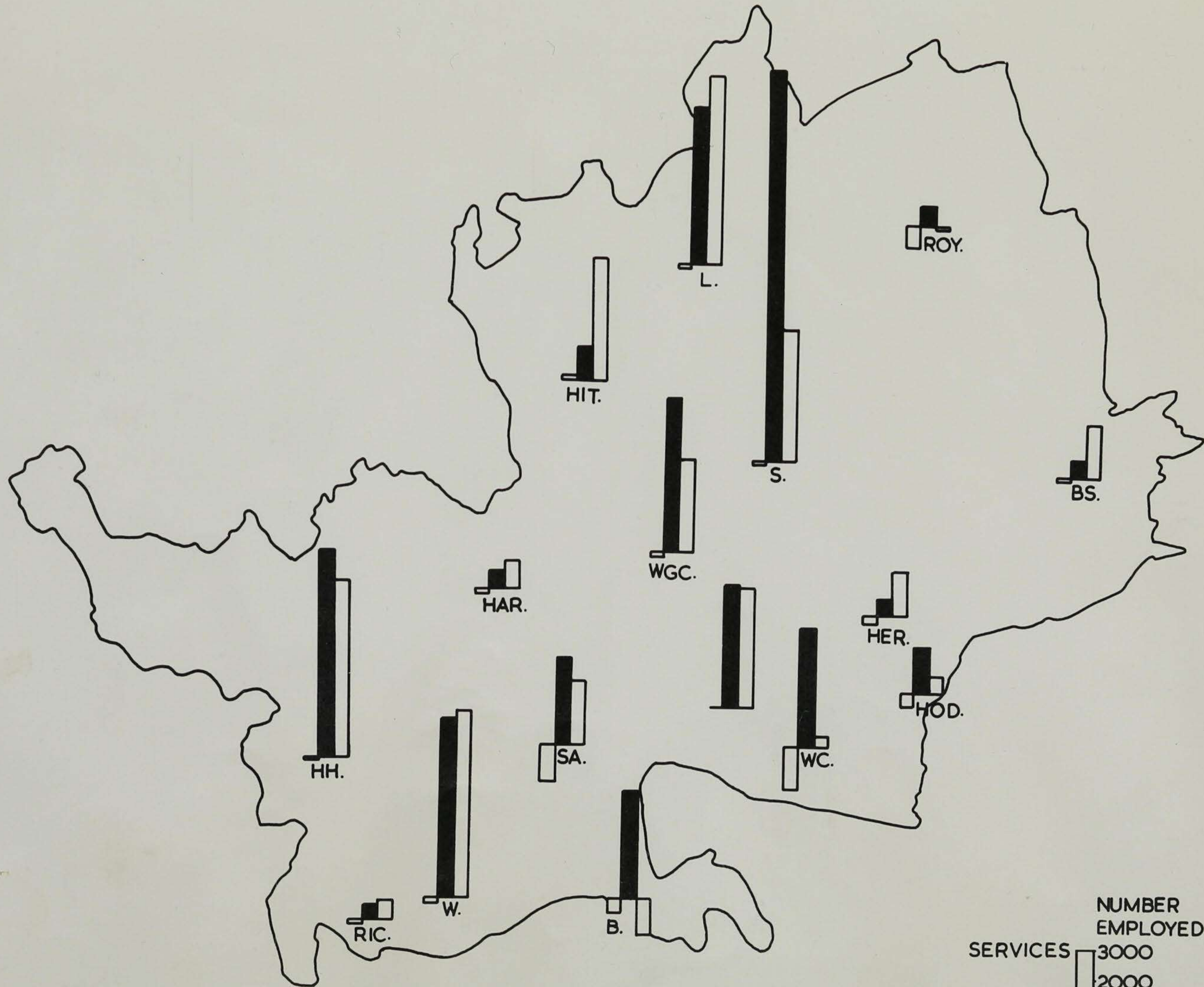


FIG. 6. CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE 1951-1961

(BY EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE AREAS)

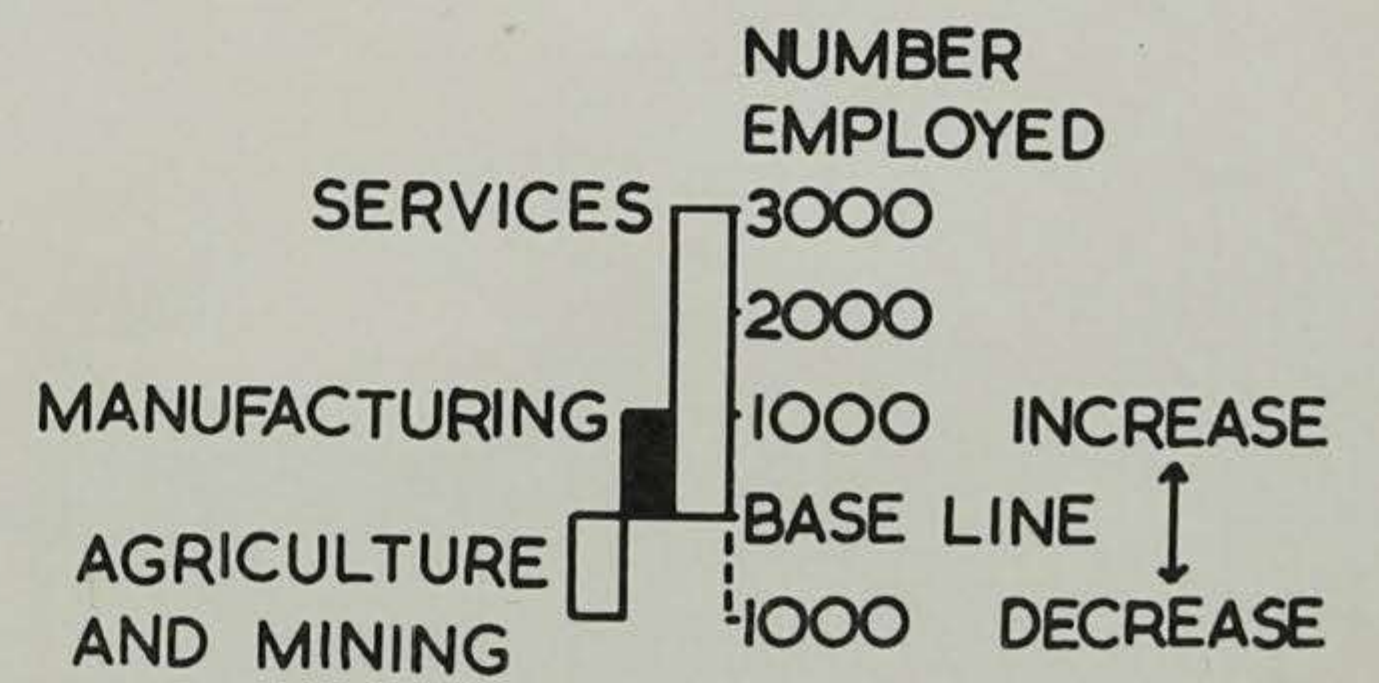


Table 3 - 3

<u>Industry</u>	<u>1951</u>		<u>1961</u>		<u>Change 1951-1961</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent of total.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent of total.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent of total.</u>
Engineering and Electrical Goods.	29,664	12.86	53,121	16.94	23,457	79.07
Vehicles	18,859	8.17	31,597	10.08	12,738	67.54

These two groups alone accounted for 44 per cent of the new jobs created during the decade and employed 27 per cent of the county's entire labour force in 1961. Bearing in mind the high proportion of people who live in Hertfordshire but work in London (discussed below), there can be no doubt that the number of opportunities in employment has outstripped the available working population. The ratio of jobs available to the numbers of people unemployed has been consistently very high. In 1956, for example, there were 8 jobs available for every person unemployed, and yet in the country as a whole, the ratio was only slightly over 1 to 1 and even in the London and South-Eastern Region it was less than 2 to 1. Since then the ratio has generally remained high, so that it would seem that Hertfordshire industry shows a good potential for expansion and acts as a magnet, attracting labour from elsewhere.

The geographical pattern of the changes in the industrial structure is also interesting and this can best be shown by mapping as in Figure 6. The increase in manufacturing industry at Stevenage is very striking and solidly balanced increases of services and manufacturing at Watford, Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield and Letchworth contrast with the slow growth of employment in East Hertfordshire.

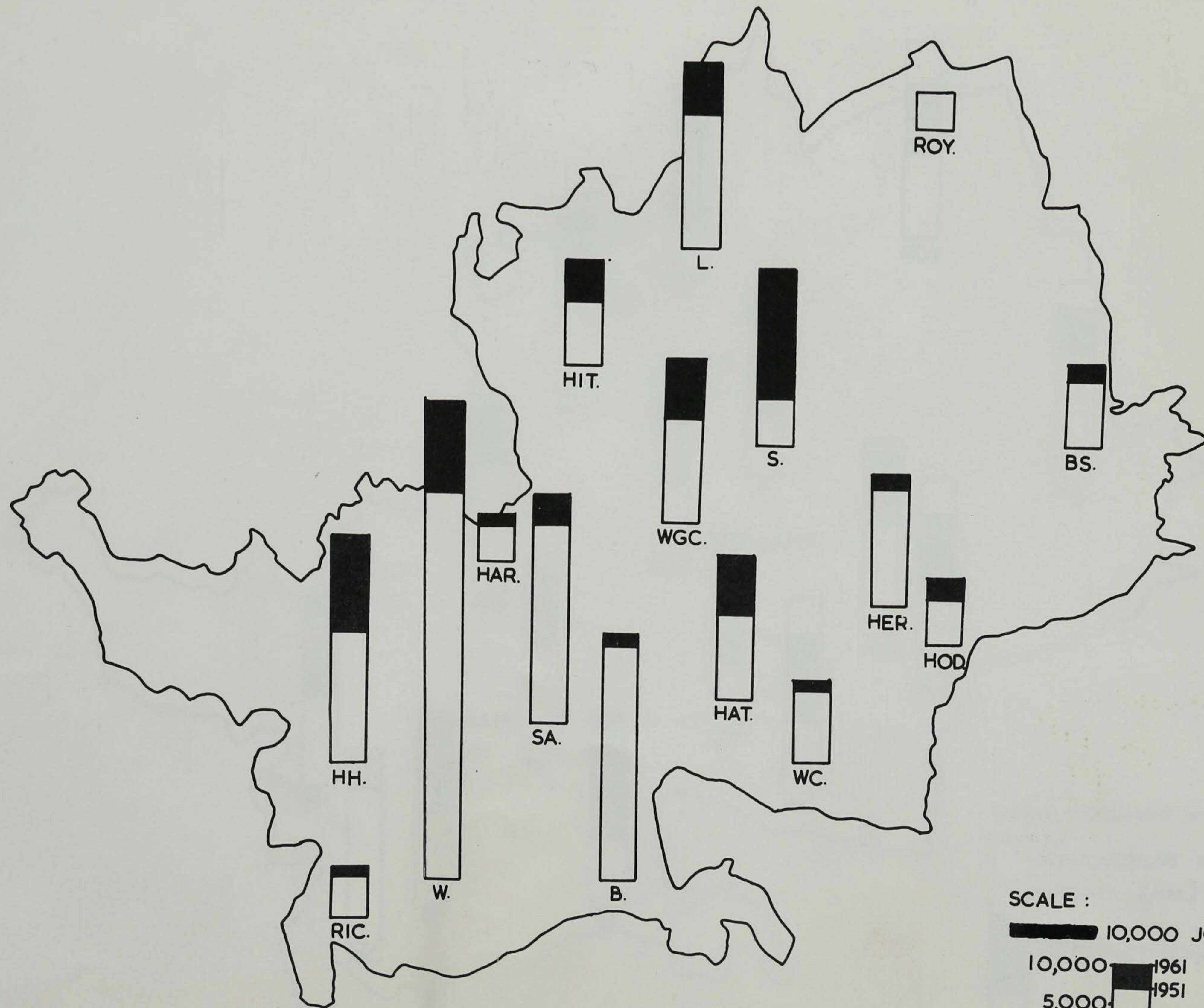


FIG. 7. INCREASE IN EMPLOYMENT 1951 - 1961
 (BY EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE AREAS)

SCALE :
 10,000 1961
 5,000 1951

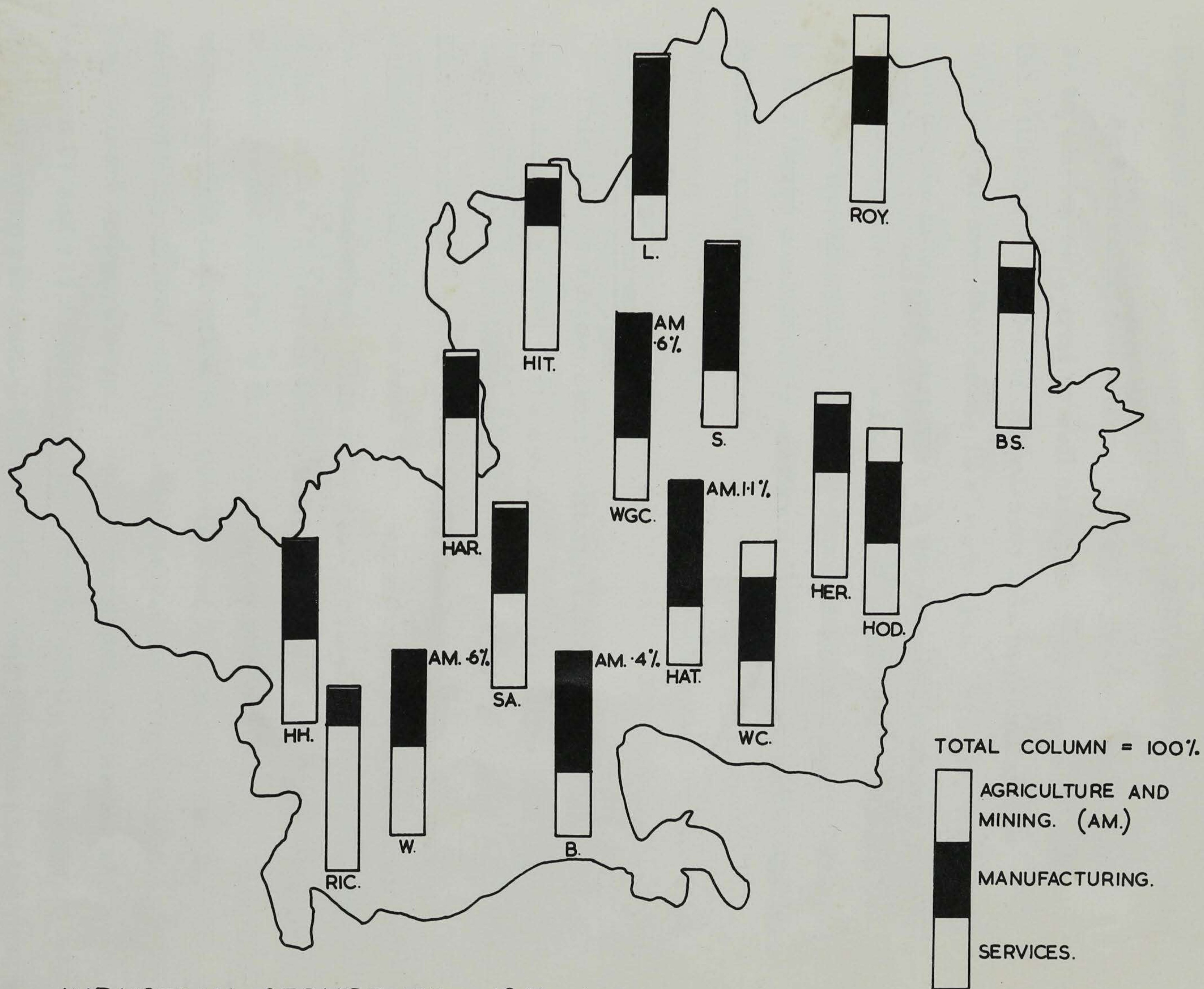


FIG. 8. INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE 1961 (BY EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE AREAS)

The decline in the number employed in agriculture, associated with continuing mechanization, is particularly marked in the Royston E. E. A.

The overriding importance of Watford and the focal area as an employment area is well brought out by Figure 7, and the shift to the Central Hertfordshire axis in terms of new employment over the decade is clearly seen. Finally, Figure 8, showing the industrial structure by employment exchange areas, emphasizes the manufacturing areas of Letchworth, Welwyn Garden City, Stevenage, Barnet, Hatfield and Watford. Other E. E. A's are dominated by service centres, for example Hitchin, Stortford and Rickmansworth.

Patterns of Commuting

This then is a boom county with the fastest rate of population and industrial growth in the country. In association with this expansion there has been an important increase in commuting. The job ratio is a useful index of the importance of commuting, defined as a journey to work involving movement across local authority boundaries. This ratio can be calculated from the data in the census 'Report on Usual Residence and Work Place' and is defined as the number of the occupied day population per hundred occupied night population in a given Local Authority area. In 1921 Hertfordshire showed a fairly balanced relationship between employment and population. Most of the county had ratios of between 85 and 115. However, by 1951 the county had become markedly more residential in character. Only Elstree and Letchworth had high job ratios, with 147 and 148 respectively, whereas

predominantly residential areas such as Chorleywood (47), Welwyn R.D. (53), Harpenden (65) and Barnet (68) acted as dormitories both for London and the centres within Hertfordshire. The amount of internal commuting is considerable - in 1951 Watford received 14,128 commuters from surrounding local authority areas, St. Albans 5,319, Welwyn Garden City 4,307, Hertford 3,043 and the combined North Hertfordshire complex of Hitchin-Letchworth-Baldock received 9,267 from elsewhere, in addition to the movement between the three centres themselves.

Every local authority area in the county in 1951 contributed to the figure of nearly 35,000 commuters to the London conurbation outside Hertfordshire. Assuming that each commuter has three dependents, then fully one-sixth of the county was thus dependent in work in 'London'. When the total amount of internal movement across local authority boundaries is calculated and added to the number going south into the conurbation then nearly 100,000 made such commuting journeys every morning and evening in the county. It is possible that long journeys within local authority areas will balance physically short journeys which happen to cross such boundaries, but it is a serious weakness of the concept that the extension of the built up "urban" area into so-called "rural" districts adds falsely to the number of commuters.

It is difficult to judge accurately the proportion of commuters who travel by public, as opposed to private, transport. Apart from the routes between Watford, St. Albans and Welwyn Garden City, between Hertford and Ware and between Hitchin and Letchworth, the public transport facilities of the county on cross country routes are

not good. On the other hand, train services to London from such centres as St. Albans and Welwyn Garden City are very good and generally take less than half an hour. The journey from St. Albans to the London School of Economics in Holborn, for example, can be achieved comfortably in forty minutes by train: however, from St. Albans to County Hall in Hertford by bus takes fifty minutes. It is difficult to be scientifically precise with flow diagrams and so on for this would show an idealised picture of the situation. The time taken for a given journey in the county varies considerably between the rush hours and the rest of the day. Queues of new cars carrying only the driver are a feature of the Hertfordshire scene in the morning and evening. The orbital roads are the most inadequate to carry this traffic, and where these roads meet the radial roads of London, carrying their streams of homeward commuters, the congestion is intense, particularly when coupled with ever-present road improvement schemes.

Villages such as Puckeridge or Redbourn, through which heavy traffic thunders night and day, present a dismal picture of diesel-fume begrimed frontages and cracking walls. At council meetings and in local papers throughout the county the demand for by-passes and greater speed restrictions is a perennial theme. The tragedies that such heavy traffic cause will be exemplified in the account of one of the villages which is to follow.

From 1947 to 1959 (the last year for which calculations are available), the total number of vehicles licenced in Hertfordshire increased nearly threefold and for private cars the increase has been even greater; whereas in 1947 there was one car for every

sixteen people, in 1959 there was one car for every eight people. (4) The ratio in 1959 for all vehicles licenced in the county, including motor cycles and goods vehicles was 1:4.6. In the last four years all these ratios will have been reduced still further.

It is most illuminating to see how the general trends of rapid industrial growth and commuting by private vehicles work out in practice. The main emphasis of this work is on the rural areas within reach of rapidly developing towns. Interviews with estate agents and personnel officers of various firms in Stevenage and Hitchin provided some evidence for the impressionistic account which follows.

For a number of reasons, some of which will be analysed in detail in a later chapter, it appears that many people do not want, or perhaps are unable, to live in the town in which they work. Estate agents are frank about the enormous increases in property prices which have taken place in town and village alike. The effect of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act was to sterilize land in the green belt in the south of the county and north of this property values steadily increased, particularly in the west of the county where transport facilities are better. In 1952 values fell by 10 per cent, gradually increasing again until 1958 when a new boom started and values increased by 20 per cent in the following two years, so that by 1960 the value of property had trebled that of 1939. It seems true to say that at that time the differential price between the west and the east of the county was in the order of between £500 and £700. An even greater differential existed between the south and the north of the county.

The office of one firm in Hitchin deals mainly with 'white collar workers' and specialises in 'period residences' in the villages of

North Hertfordshire. This is an area of internal commuting, and at the time of the interview early in 1961, a quarter of all the buyers on the office's books were executives in Stevenage industries who, it was claimed, "use their job (and even a house in the New Town) as a stepping stone to a country property". Accessible villages within a five mile radius of Stevenage were most popular, particularly if such villages had 'character'.

In order to check such generalisations selected firms were asked for information about the houses of their employees. The following table is based on information relating to the De Havilland Aircraft Company at Stevenage.

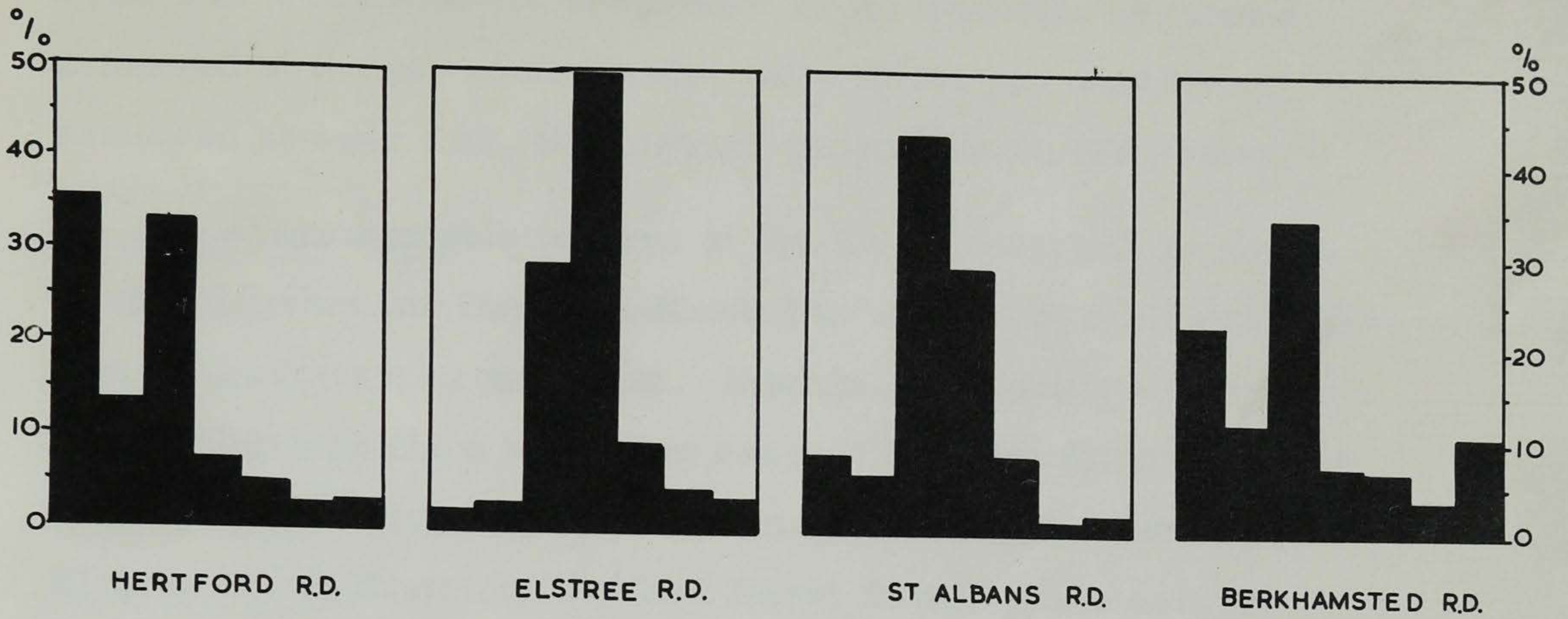
Table 3 - 4

<u>Place of Home</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Senior Staff</u>	<u>Weekly and Hourly Paid</u>
Stevenage	3	24	77
Elsewhere	11	28	23
Sample	14	52	100
of a total of	14	161	1,300 approx.

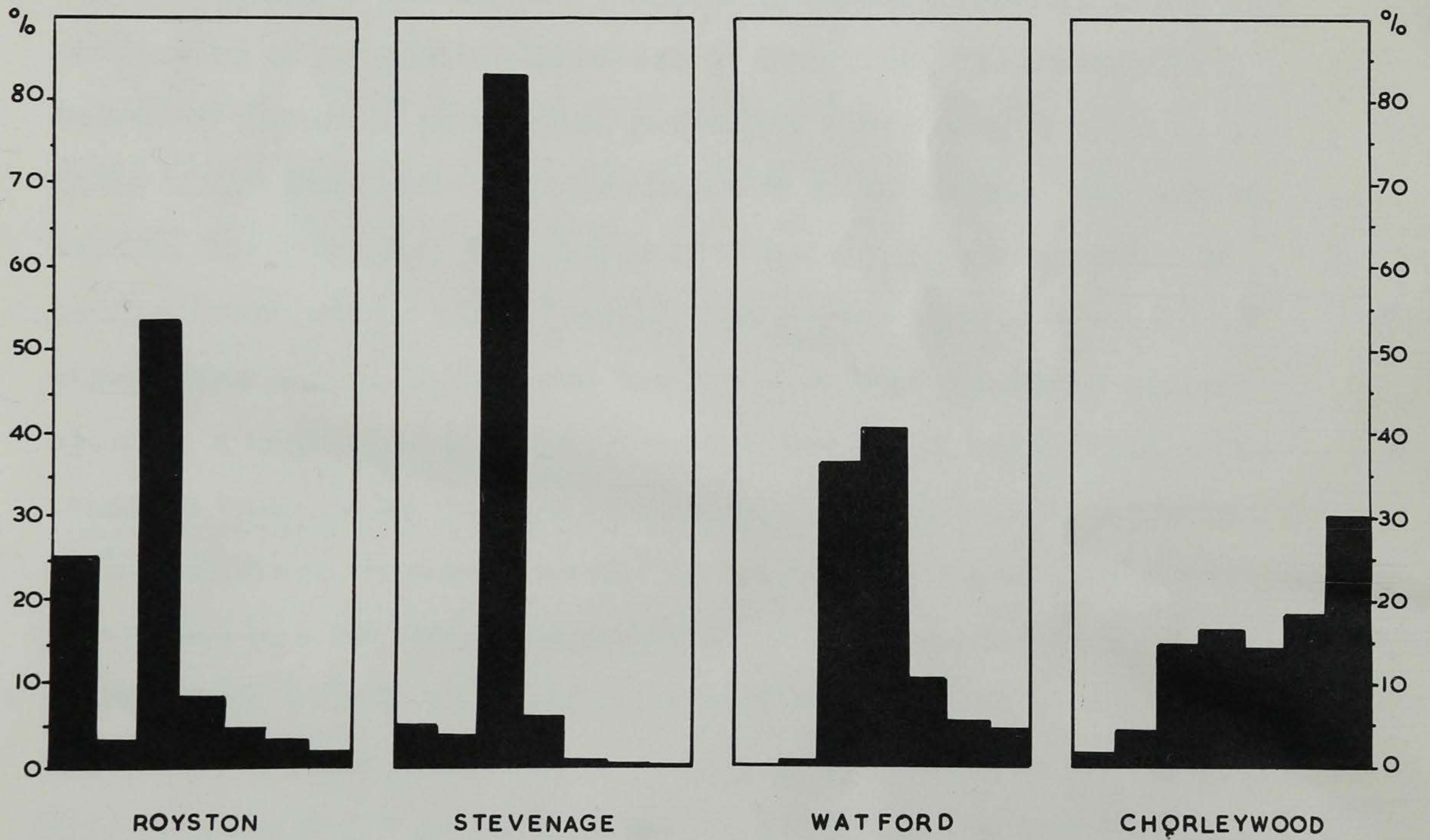
A rough check of the senior staff earning over £1,250 of English Electric at Stevenage showed that a third lived in surrounding towns and villages. This company employed about 4,000 people in 1961 and at that time parking space had to be found for 900 cars each morning. The Personnel Manager claimed that the main reason for the move out from Stevenage was that people objected to paying rents in the order of £3.15.0. a week to the Development Corporation when a similar amount could be devoted to paying off a mortgage for a house away from fellow employees of the company, it being the

policy of the Stevenage Development Corporation to allocate a block of housing for all the workers of a particular factory. It seems fair to accept the impressionistic generalisation that the managerial class (i.e. monthly paid employees) of the flourishing new industries in Hertfordshire towns can afford the capital sum necessary as down payment to a building society for a property some distance from their place of work, and also can afford to run a car to take them there. Such people have inflated the price of property in the surrounding area, since building has been unable to keep up with the demand. Other estate agents also lay stress on the value attached to accessibility. One firm dealing in East Hertfordshire stated in early 1961 that it was difficult to sell property for more than £4,000 more than five miles north of Hertford. Another firm confidently expected that this North East corner would be soon "opened up" and it was considering opening an office in the area.

The diagrammatic presentation of effective rateable values of domestic properties in selected rural and urban areas provides some interesting contrasts. (5) The lower group of charts shown in Figure 9 are taken as typical of urban areas. Royston has a quarter of its properties rated below £13, whereas Watford has hardly any; apart from that, both show a definite dominance of middle assessments from £19-£40. Stevenage, on the other hand, shows a striking dominance within the £19-£30 assessment range, showing the importance of public housing. The estates in Elstree R.D. show a similar dominance, but at a higher assessment, reflecting the higher values to the south of the county. Chorleywood



VALUE OF THE COLUMNS, FROM THE LEFT : UP TO £13, £14-18, £19-30, £31-40, £41-50, £51-60, £61+.



PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF EFFECTIVE RATEABLE VALUES OF DOMESTIC PROPERTIES IN SELECTED L.A. AREAS

FIG. 9.

U.D. has a remarkable proportion of its domestic properties assessed at the top of the scale, fully thirty per cent being assessed at over £60, the highest proportion in the county.

The characteristic pattern of the Rural Districts is shown by the diagram for Hertford Rural District, with a high proportion at the lowest assessment. Hitchin, Braughing and Ware Rural Districts show a similar range. Hatfield Rural District falls between the patterns of Stevenage Urban District and Elstree Rural District; Watford Rural District is closer to Elstree. St. Albans and Berkhamsted Rural Districts are unusual in having a higher proportion of properties assessed at higher rates and Berkhamsted Rural District follows Chorleywood, Rickmansworth, Barnet and Harpenden Urban Districts in its high proportion of properties assessed at over £60. The rateable values of domestic properties provides, therefore, a most useful guide to the different characteristics of L.A. areas. One would expect, for example, Chorleywood to have a high proportion of professional middle class people, but conversely, one would not expect Watford M.B. to have few low standard dwellings simply because a negligible proportion was assessed at below £13. The rateable value is as much a reflection of position as of the size of the building. However useful as an index of areal contrasts, other data are required to elucidate the differences revealed. It seems to be a little used research tool which might be capable of adaptation for wider analyses. For present purposes the diagrams underline the differences between the north and the south of the county, already seen from other sources, and also the differences

between the Rural Districts, of which further analyses will be made in the next chapter.

Reactions to Change.

It is clear that very great changes have taken place in Hertfordshire in the post-war period. This final section will consider briefly the reaction of the 'old Hertfordshire' to the new. In 1947 an editorial entitled 'The Old Order Changeth' in a local paper said, (6)

"we have lived far too long on tradition and custom without questioning even social justice and we have carved our communities into the cliques and coteries which manifest their own particular virtues or their own vices.....(but)the self-centred community today simply will not fit in the larger frame of human endeavour."

However, a few months later when the full impact of what the new towns would be on the rest of the county had been assimilated a more cautious note appeared.

"maybe in the course of another decade one shall see changes in the environment of Hertfordshire which we shall either welcome or deplore."

for by this time "the threat of Hertfordshire becoming urbanized is real in the minds of old residents". (7)

The opposition to the new town at Stevenage was the most extreme expression of resentment by Hertfordshire people, and this has been usefully analysed by Orlans. (8) Some of the points of controversy echo the larger themes discussed above in our first chapter. The land use issue was fogged by Stamp, who in 1944 saw no reason to

discourage the growth of Stevenage, (9) but nevertheless seemed to object to the sites of the new towns in 1949. (10) The rural cult was also in evidence.

"The New Town was regarded by many influential Stevenage citizens as part of the urban onslaught upon rural life which must be resisted. Many had themselves moved from London to escape the city; now it was thrust upon them. 'I came here to be out of the dirt and din', said a business man who continued to commute to work in London. 'Now look what's happening. I'm going to be right in the middle of it'." (11)

Also

"A septuagenarian Justice of the Peace, graduate of Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, member of the Stock Exchange for fifty years, founder of a host of national and empire associations, and an original member of the Garden City and Town Planning Association and Lord of the Manor (of Aston, a neighbouring village).....wrote as follows in March 1946:-

"There are those who seek happiness in life in the peace and beauty of rural surroundings and their recreation in country sports, natural history and rambles, and who derive inspiration from poetry, art and literature of an elevating and instructing character; on the other hand there are those, mainly newcomers,..... who seek their pleasures in cinemas, dance halls, night clubs and public houses, but little weight need be attached to their views.

"It is impossible to reconcile these two outlooks on life.... I can see no good reason why the old residents of Stevenage should have a population of this class thrust upon them, completely re-moulding their mode of life and aspirations, and bringing in its wake the strain and unrest of a dominating industrial city." (12)

A correspondence on the future of Aston developed in The Times and a special correspondent found most of the fears unjustified.

However, the same Lord of the Manor maintained that being so close to 'the centre of infection' was "an influence baneful in the eyes of country folk." (13)

It is perhaps unnecessary to comment on the arrogant snobbery of such a spokesman for rural areas. It is clear that he did not have the farmworkers in mind when he talked about nature rambles and elevating poetry. That there have been profound changes in the rural areas surrounding the new and expanded towns is undeniable. However, it is not for the urban minded squire to forecast or judge in such a high-handed way on behalf of the parish. One of the parishes taken for detailed study adjoins Aston and so it will be possible to give some indication whether indeed E.M. Forster was right when he said, "a little piece of England has died". (14)

With this background it is now possible to analyse in more detail the situation in the rural areas in the post war period.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. Statistics provided by Hertfordshire County Planning Department from calculations made by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government based on the relevant censuses.
2. See General Register Office Leaflet No. 7 Census 1961, Hertfordshire, Table 3.
3. Statistics of industry and employment provided by the Herts. County Planning Department. This is also the source for Figures 5, 6 and 7. The relationship between Employment Exchange Areas (on which statistics have to be based until the 1961 census material becomes available) and Local Authority Areas is shown in Figure 4. The E.E.A's of Berkhamsted, Hoddesdon, Bishops Stortford, Royston and Hitchin all overlap to a greater or less degree into other counties, while the E.E.A's of Harlow, Biggleswade, Luton, Dunstable, Waltham Cross, Edgware, Finchley and Southgate include parts of Herts A.C. However, significant trends can be deduced if the study is limited to the 15 E.E.A's with offices within the A.C., although this involves the omission of some employment areas in the south and south-east of the county.
4. Information from Hertfordshire County Planning Department.
5. The information was abstracted from Local Authority Finance 1961-62 prepared by the Hertfordshire Financial Officers' Association.
6. Hertfordshire Mercury (27.6.47)
7. *ibid.* (2.4.48.)
8. H. Orlans, *Stevenage: A Sociological Study of a New Town* (London 1952).
9. L.D. Stamp in Patrick Abercrombie Greater London Plan 1944 H.M.S.O. 1945 page 93, para 222 "one would not discourage the growth of Bishop's Stortford, Ware and Hertford, Stapleford, Langley and Stevenage".
10. L.D. Stamp in a letter to The Times (3rd May, 1949).

11. Orlans op.cit. page 139.
12. Orlans op.cit. pages 139-40 from a letter in Herts Express
(2.3.46)
13. Orlans op.cit. page 141 from a letter in The Times (7.10.47)
14. E.M. Forster The Listener (11.4.46) page 452.

CHAPTER FOURRural HertfordshireProblems of Definition

It is by no means easy to be precise about what is meant by rural Hertfordshire. From 1931-1951 the population of Rural District Local Authority areas (R.D's) increased by 67.1 per cent, whereas the population of the county as a whole increased by 52.0 per cent. Even during the period 1951-1961 when Town and Country Planning legislation would be expected to have restricted building in 'rural' areas, the population increase of the R.D's was still greater than that of the county as a whole. This can be readily explained by noting that Hatfield New Town has grown within Hatfield R.D., some of Hemel Hempstead New Town and the Oxhey L.C.C. housing estate is in Watford R.D. and Elstree R.D. includes the Borehamwood L.C.C. estate. It seemed to be meaningless to group the eleven R.D's together and so a sub-division was made, based on the data appearing in full in Appendix 2. A summary of the main outlines of the argument will now be given.

The three R.D's of group 1, Elstree, Hatfield and Watford had such very great increases of population during the forty-year period 1921-1961, 723,465 and 476 per cent respectively, that on this factor alone they stand out from the remaining eight R.D's. Since 1911 they have been the first three in order of rates of population increase during inter-censal periods, apart from 1921-1931

when the development of Welwyn R.D., related to that of the Garden City, took first place. Group 2 is taken as the R.D's of Hemel Hempstead, St. Albans and Welwyn and these have consistently taken positions 4, 5 and 6 in order of magnitude of population increase, there being a fairly clear break between their rates and those of group 3. The remaining R.D's, as can be seen in the full table in Appendix 2, have, apart from Berkhamsted, had low rates of increase, of less than 15 per cent, throughout the period from 1921-1961. Only in the last inter-censal period has Hertford R.D. moved up to sixth position. Until 1951 then, the rates of growth of the three groups seem to have reflected their position in relation to London; the R.D's to the south and west have increased consistently since the beginning of the century, to be followed by those in the south-centre in the inter-war period, and now the development is taken up northwards in Berkhamsted R.D. and eastwards in Hertford R.D. The situation during the last inter-censal period for the three groups is summarized below.

Table 4 - 1

Population Increase 1951-1961 for Groups of Rural Districts.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Increase per cent</u>	<u>Increase per cent</u>		<u>Total Population, 1961</u>
		<u>By Natural Increase</u>	<u>By Migration</u>	
1.	60.0	20.7	79.3	127, 137
2.	77.2	28.0	72.0	59, 204
3.	10.8	47.5	52.5	60, 373
All R.D's.	38.9	24.8	75.2	246, 714

Thus, whereas only one half of the very much smaller increase in group 3 is due to migration, about three quarters of the much greater increases in the other two groups is due to substantial immigration.

The 1951 census volume on the Industrial Structure of the Population is a useful source since it is based on local authority, as opposed to employment exchange, areas. The percentage distribution of the occupied population amongst the three main industrial groupings provides further emphasis to the trends already described with regard to population increase.

Table 4 - 2

Industrial Structure 1951

<u>Group</u>	<u>Agriculture & Mining</u>	<u>Manufacturing Industry</u>	<u>Services</u>	<u>Total Occupied Population</u>
1.	3.6	50.2	46.2	35,323
2.	16.0	25.2	58.4	13,559
3.	33.0	14.5	52.5	16,270

The occupied day population of R.D's in group 1 increased from 1921-1951 quite substantially, as it did also in the case of St. Albans and, to a lesser degree, Welwyn, in group 2. However, the remaining six R.D's became markedly more dormitory in nature. In fact only the R.D's of Elstree and Hatfield showed increases in job ratios during the thirty year period.

It may be argued that as the R.D's mask great variations within themselves - for example Ridge and Shenley parishes in Elstree R.D., being in the green belt, gained but seven people between them during

the last intercensal period - grouping R.D's together must mask even greater local variations. This indeed may be so, but it seems clear that the main changes in groups 1 and 2 have already taken place and the effects of the frontier of change in the immediate post-war period is of greater interest for our present purposes. The problem of urban overflow beyond U.D. boundaries into the adjoining R.D. area is not our immediate concern. The anachronistic nature of L.A. boundaries can be exposed by sample land use surveys and some recent work has been done on this. (1) It is assumed that it is only a matter of time before L.A. boundaries are adjusted to reality. For example, the overflow of St. Albans M.B. into the parishes of St. Stephen or Sandridge, the overflow of Berkhamsted U.D. at Northchurch or the urban development of the town of 'Old' Welwyn with its suburban fringe to the north east all appear in the statistics for 'rural' areas. Finally, although Hemel Hempstead R.D. increased its population by a half from 1931-1951, 80 per cent of this was concentrated in the two 'villages' of Kings Langley and Bovington, which developed as dormitories for commuters to Abbots Landley, Watford and London. It is this latter sort of development which has continued in the post-war period in the central and eastern parts of the county.

The 'Rural' R.D's.

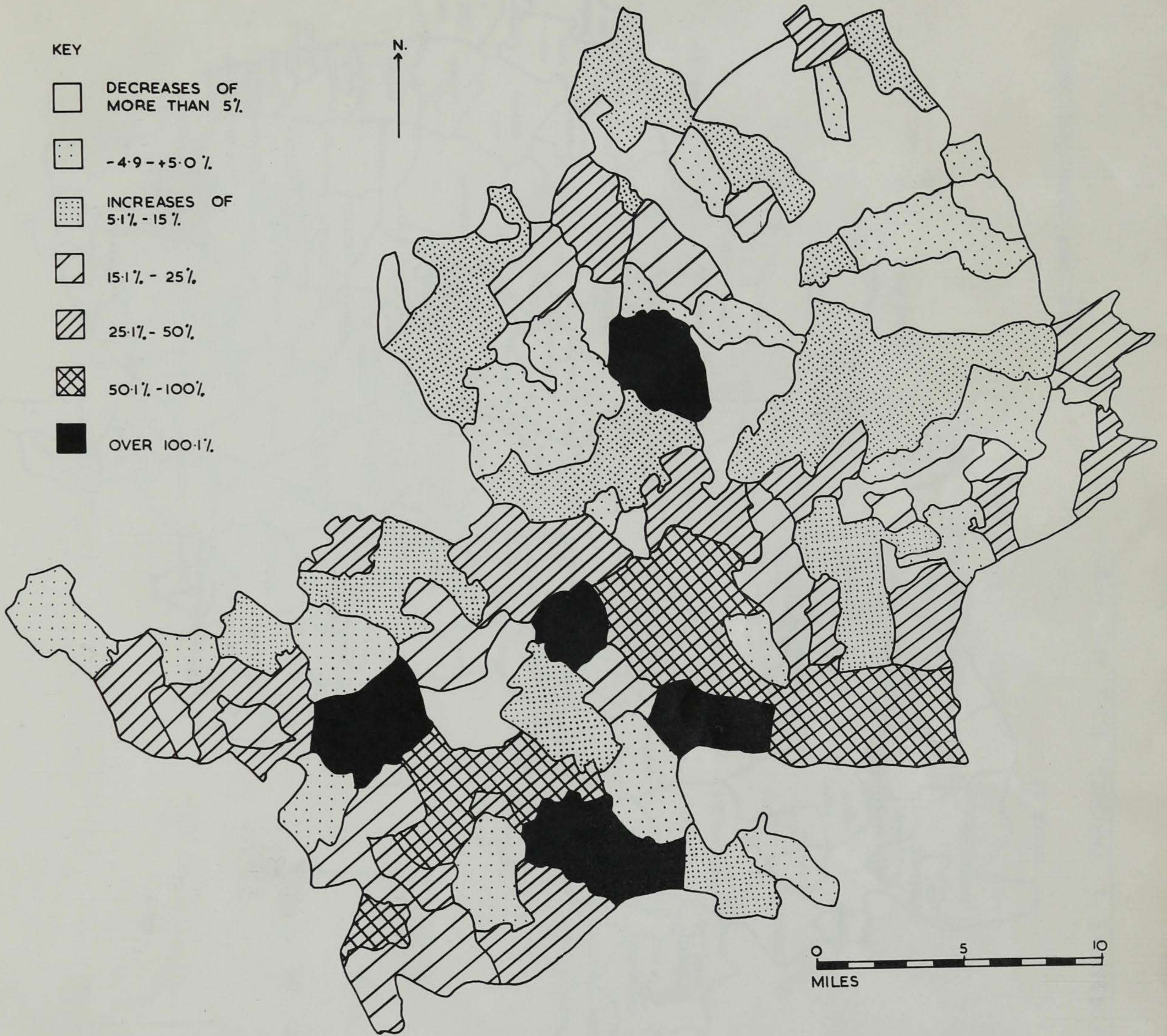
Thus the combination of personal experience with a study of the differential population growth of the R.D's from 1931 to 1951 led to the adoption of the five remaining R.D's for more detailed study in the post-war period. Their rate of growth from 1931 to 1951 of 19.1 per

cent compares with 5.3 per cent for all R.D's in England and Wales, and the increase of individual districts ranges from 14.6 per cent in the case of Braughing to 30.1 per cent in the case of Berkhamsted. However, it is not so easy to point to one particular settlement or housing estate to account for such increases from 1931-1951, even in the case of Berkhamsted R.D. The increase of population is more evenly distributed. The following table shows the pattern for the post-war period.

Table 4 - 3

<u>Rural District</u>	<u>Population</u> <u>1961</u>	<u>Increase per cent</u> <u>1951-61</u>	<u>Increase per cent</u>	
			<u>By Natural</u> <u>Increase</u>	<u>By Migration</u>
Berkhamsted	6,283	15.9	33.6	66.4
Braughing	10,070	-3.3	-	-
Hertford	9,952	17.7	37.3	62.7
Hitchin	22,706	7.7	69.2	30.8
Ware	11,362	8.4	56.7	43.3
All	60,373	10.8	47.5	52.5

It is clear that even within the 'country' Rural Districts there is considerable variation. Figure 10, showing the population changes at parish level, makes the depopulation of the north east of the county appear striking. It is important, however, to keep a sense of proportion in that a decline of 29.6 per cent in the parish of Radwell for example is simply the loss of 36 people. Nevertheless significant depopulation exists over a wide enough area for explanation to be



PERCENTAGE POPULATION CHANGE : 1951-1961

BY PARISHES

FIG. 10

impossible solely in terms of chance factors, such as residents of institutions appearing in one census, but not in another. This depopulation within part of the outer country ring of the London metropolitan region is against the 'normal' trend and must be accounted for in terms of mechanization of agriculture, lack of alternative employment opportunities and inadequate transport and communication facilities, which might attract an adventitious commuting population. It is, of course, also the policy of the Braughing R.D.C. to discourage further development in the area. It is caught, however, on the horns of a dilemma - on the one hand outlying, depopulating hamlets such as the Pelhams and Meesden require such facilities as main sewage, and yet such improvement attracts the very development which it is hoped to discourage. But, although 148 houses were built by the Council at Buntingford from 1945 to 1960 there was only a net increase of two people from 1951-1961. Jobs are scarce, transport is poor and many people have to rely on the private coaches of the industrialists or local garages to take them to work in Letchworth each day. In other parts of these country districts there is some considerable competition among factories to tap labour. One report stated that "Welwyn Garden City factories entice women workers away from Ware and Hertford factories with free transport and other inducements". (2) Figure 10 shows that the important increases of population in these five R.D's has been in an arc from Berkhamsted north of Welwyn Garden City to the area north of Harlow New Town. Berkhamsted and Hertford R.D's have both had increases of population of over 15 per cent, two thirds of which has been due to migration. The distribution of new housing in the area

may be a useful guide to the type of migration that has taken place.

Table 4 - 4

<u>Rural District</u>	<u>Total New Houses constructed 1945-60.</u>	<u>(of which)</u>	
		<u>Built by private enterprise</u>	<u>By Local Authority</u>
Berkhamsted	555	387	168
Braughing	697	259	438
Hertford	1,016	393	623
Hitchin	1,604	688	916
Ware	1,006	319	687
All	4,878	2,046	2,832

(Source, R.D.C. Officers)

As has already been indicated above, those parishes which have had the most building do not necessarily show the greatest population increase. Local authority (L.A.) building has in many cases involved the re-housing of those in over-crowded and condemned dwellings and squatters in old army and airforce camps, as for example at Hunsdon, where Ware R.D. built 121 houses during the period. Often a better guide to immigrant population are the privately (P.E.) built houses. However, there are difficulties here: Hitchin R.D. had the highest total of privately built houses but had much less than average immigrant increase. This is partly due to

the fact that having the largest total population the amount of natural increase is greater and also because Knebworth, a large prosperous village, had been developed by private enterprise at the end of the nineteenth century and provided its own momentum of growth. For the purposes of more detailed analysis it was decided for convenience to exclude Berkhamsted R.D. Much of its increase from 1951-1961 was in Northchurch, in an urbanized area immediately adjacent to the town of Berkhamsted, and the isolated location in relation to the other four districts made it less easily suited geographically. The lines of communication in West Herts make the area north of Watford to Tring very much a unit on its own, and rather than digress on one area, which had been developing rapidly before the main period with which we are here concerned, the block of the four districts of east and central Herts received most attention.


If a comparison is made between the maps of L.A. and P.E. building from 1945-1960 some significant contrasts emerge. The L.A. building has been directed by a specific policy to villages in which, or from which, it is possible to get employment. Thus Hitchin R.D. built 400 houses out of just over 900 in only four of the 33 parishes in the district. Of these four parishes, one lies on the road between Hitchin and Luton and the other three are immediately south of the town of Hitchin, between it and Welwyn Garden City. The concentration in Braughing R.D. has been mentioned and Ware R.D. also built 70 per cent of its housing in three out of its twelve parishes. Finally, the same is true for Hertford R.D., although not to such a marked extent, where over half the houses are built in one third of the total number of parishes.




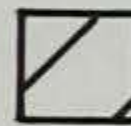
BY
LOCAL
AUTHORITIES


KEY


NUMBER OF HOUSES BUILT IN THE
PARISH FROM 1945-1960


 = NONE

 = 1-10

 = 11-25

 = 26-50

 = 51-100

 = 101+

BY
PRIVATE
ENTERPRISE

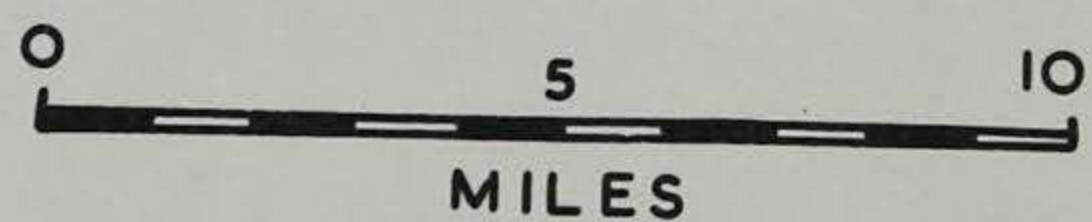
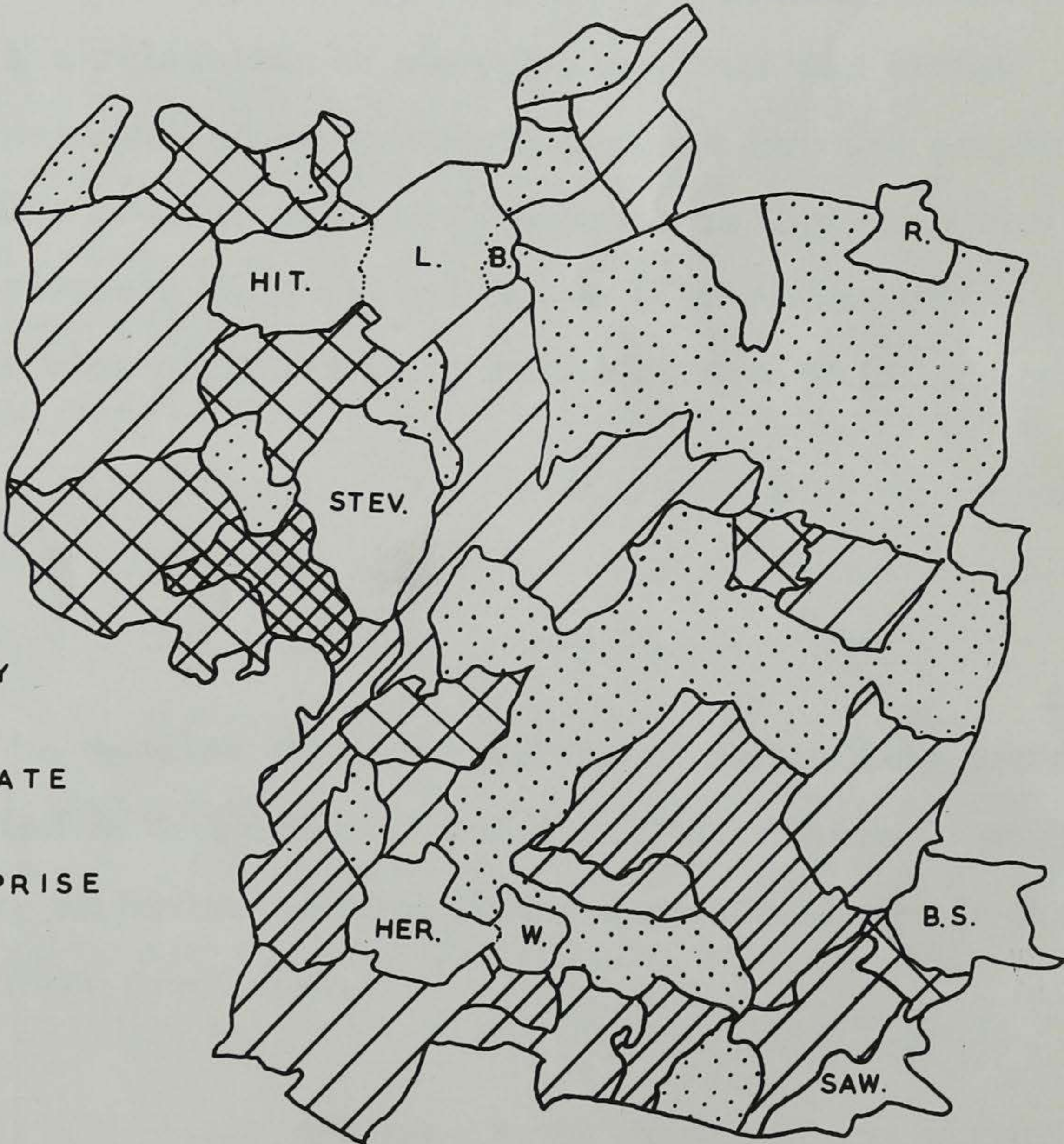
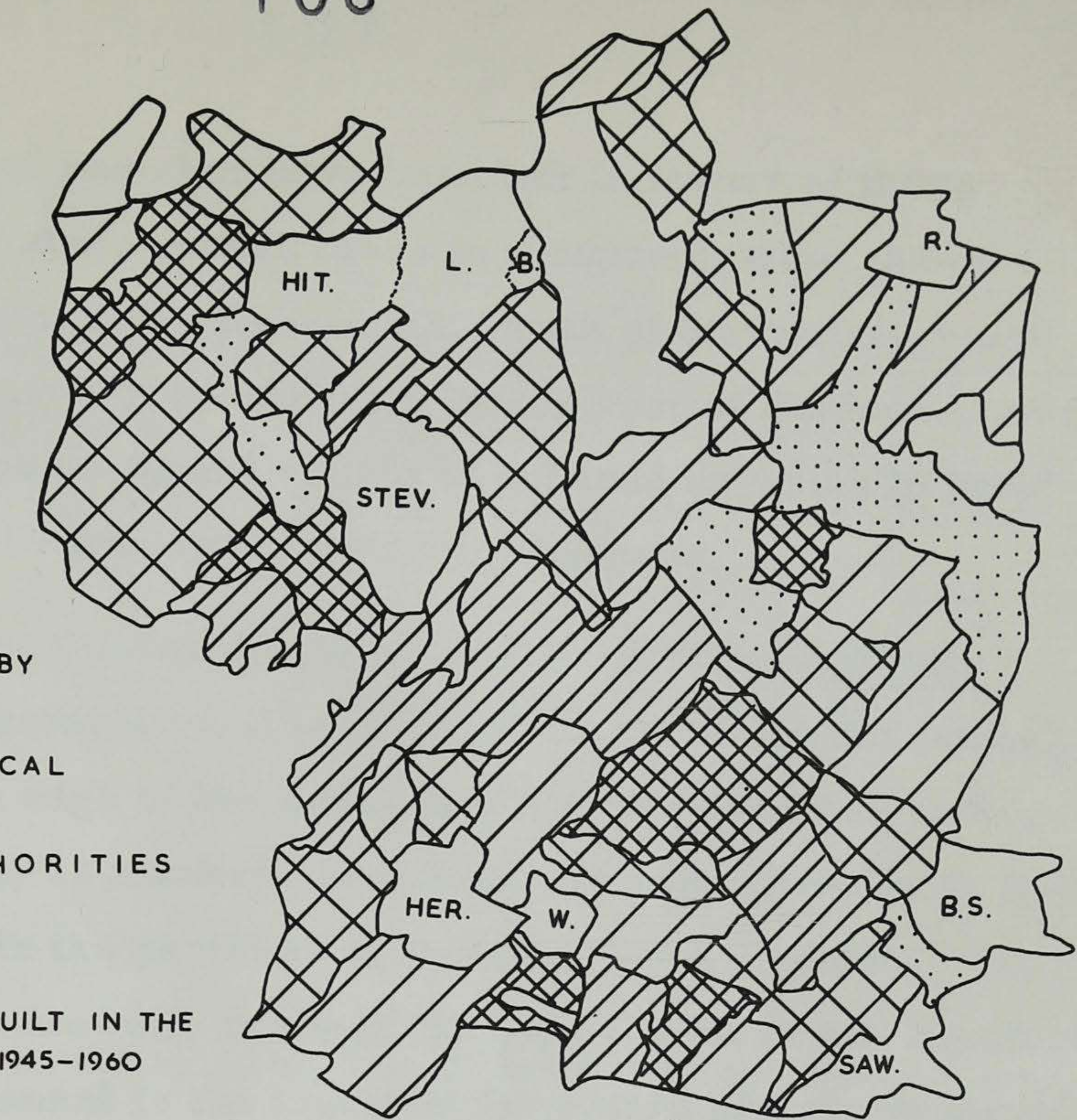


FIG. 12. HOUSING IN EAST HERTS. PARISHES

In all cases isolated parishes have been left in favour of those that are better situated. Hence there is a concentration shown in Figure 12 swinging from Knebworth, south of Stevenage, round the edge of the green belt to Hunsdon, north west of Harlow. Local authorities have had as strong a fight to get land on which to build in the south of the county as any private developer.

Certainly there is some similarity in the pattern of private building. The concentration along the line of rail from the south of Stevenage to the edge of the green belt between Hertford and Welwyn Garden City is marked, as also is the concentration in the east of the county in the parishes of Standon, Much Hadham, Hunsdon and Great Amwell, between Bishops Stortford and Hertford. This latter development is the incipient formation of a commuters' front which awaits the relaxation of planning controls and better transport and communications before moving north into the empty east Herts area. The crucial point to emphasise is that fully one quarter of all the privately built houses in the 78 parishes under review were built in nine parishes lying in the central axis immediately south of Stevenage.

The Journey to Work

It is difficult to be precise about the nature of commuting patterns in the post-war period in these four country R.D's. There is every indication, however, as hinted before, that the trends shown in the following table will have continued.

Table 4 - 5

<u>Rural District</u>	<u>Job Ratios</u>		<u>Percentage Decline in Occupied Day Population 1921-1951</u>	<u>Percentage Change 1921-1951 Occupied Night Pop'n, working in:</u>	
	<u>1921</u>	<u>1951</u>		<u>Own L. A.</u>	<u>Elsewhere Herts</u>
Braughing	90	80	-20.0	-21.6	+144
Hertford	89	65	-7.5	-22.8	+259
Hitchin	87	61	-5.5	-12.9	+267
Ware	97	67	-28.7	-35.4	+163

(Source: Census volumes on Usual Residence and Workplace)

The rural areas have clearly become more residential in character and this has been combined with a decline in the number of jobs available in the areas, coupled with an expansion of employment elsewhere in the county which has drawn out population and attracted new commuters. It would seem that the great advantage which Hertfordshire has over other, more rural, counties is the rapidly expanding industries of the towns which have absorbed much of the unskilled and semi-skilled labour, which in other areas has been forced to migrate elsewhere. The ancient cars and motor-cycles parked outside the council estates of many of the villages of the area are in many cases the necessary links of the wage earners with their places of work. It is difficult to say whether the running of such vehicles offsets any gain that the higher wages of the towns might provide.

The internal commuting characteristics of the county have been mentioned above but information relating to 1951 is little guide to the

patterns which have developed in the following decade. The development of the manufacturing industry along the central Herts north-south axis radically changed the employment pattern, and hence the commuting pattern, of the east and central parts of the county. The rapid increase in the use of private cars has been mentioned and it is this trend which must be emphasized and not the historical situation fossilized in the 1951 census. Some indication of the increase in commuting by train to London from the stations serving East Herts is given in the following table.

Table 4 - 6

Season Tickets to London issued at certain
stations in East Hertfordshire in
1950 and 1960.

<u>Station</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>
Bishops Stortford	509	1,200
Sawbridgeworth	50	150
Hertford East	25	50
Ware	50	100
Broxbourne	450	700
Cheshunt	<u>50</u>	<u>200</u>
	1,134	2,400

(Source: County Planning Department)

This doubling of rail commuter traffic is indicative of the rapid changes which have taken place in parts of the area during the decade - personal experience and observation, obtained from working in the

area organising adult education classes, substantiates the argument that while the indigenous people may be leaving the area, new people are moving in. There are few villages without London commuters and many drive to stations such as Broxbourne in order to take faster trains into London.

The effect of the demand from professional and managerial people to live in the country has been to raise property prices as has already been described. With a 60 per cent increase in prices from 1945-1960 many people have made very great profits. The capital gains that some individuals have made from spending a little on renovating period property, bought cheaply after the war, are known to the writer to be quite exceptional, and all the estate agents interviewed confirmed this. The electrification of the Liverpool Street railway line to Hertford increased the demand and partly explains the rise in commuter traffic, and the price for undeveloped land with planning permission rose in Hertford to between £6,000 and £10,000 an acre. As an editorial in The Hertfordshire Mercury (18.8.61.) put it, "within the last 10 years Hertfordshire has become one of England's 'fashionable' counties. Commuters who previously thought of living only in the country areas south of the Thames have discovered a new county.... and the cost of buying a house has been rapidly growing outside the resources of the ordinary man".

Although one might question the role of 'fashion', as opposed to the economic factors of the time/cost distance of the journey to work, coupled with relatively cheaper housing, in determining the recent

pressure by some people to live in parts of rural Hertfordshire, nevertheless, the attitude expressed reflects the feelings of many people in the county, who resent the way 'newcomers' make it more difficult for the newly married offspring of 'established' families to get a house.

In summarising this section on rural Hertfordshire, certain trends should be emphasized. Firstly, R.D's taken together are not typical of rural areas. From the L.C.C. estates in Watford R.D. to the depopulating hamlets of Braughing R.D. there is a wide range of R.D's with different characteristics, none of which by itself is typical of rural Herts as a whole. Indeed, the typical characteristic may be this frontier of change which affected some R.D's in the inter-war period, others in the immediate post-war period and in the last ten years has reached the mid Herts area between Hertford and Stevenage. There is some indication that restrictive planning has 'safeguarded' some parishes, but this is offset by the principle that large villages should be allowed to get larger. (3) Only the parts of Braughing and Hitchin R.D's in the north east of the county have escaped. Curiously, current trends are likely to enable this area to remain anomalous in the London Region. The east-west road from Luton to Colchester which was projected to go through the area in the County Development Plan of 1951 was of low priority, depending on the growth of population in the area, ^{and} is now less likely. As we have seen, the population has in fact declined and the closure of the Buntingford branch line which serves the area has been scheduled under the reorganisation

scheme of British Railways. The effect of all this will be to increase pressure on the intervening land south of this area nearer the edge of the green belt. The interactions between Town and Country Planning legislation and development will be discussed further in the final chapter. The second main theme, which follows from this last point, is that housing development has been consciously limited to certain parishes, clearly speeding up the rate of change in these areas. It is generally accepted that such villages should serve largely as dormitories for surrounding towns.

The Choice of Parishes for Further Analysis.

It is within the context of rural areas in the process of planned and unplanned change that a more detailed survey was undertaken. Having interviewed local government officers, estate agents and various leaders of the community in towns and villages throughout the county, a broad impressionistic picture was emerging. However, at that time the 1961 census figures for parishes were not available and so housing statistics were relied upon to give a more accurate picture of changing development at a local level. Other informants, such as newsagents in rural areas (who themselves sub-divide the area by agreement) gave evidence on the number of 'new people' and their rate of turnover. (Indeed, I myself appeared in my own statistics, living for a time in a hamlet in the rural north-east of the county.)

It soon became apparent, however, that there was no clear source of information which could provide the sort of data needed to

assess accurately the range of urban influences and the type of change that had occurred in rural areas. One heard almost random pieces of information, for example about village shops forced out of business by the arrival of Stevenage New Town, but bearing in mind the local resistance to the town in the first place such examples had to be treated with caution. It was felt to be important to approach the rural areas from a rural point of view, and there was a strong personal reaction against simply measuring the service areas of the towns. It was clear that as the New Towns were growing, their hinterlands were in a constant state of flux, and that any work on service areas would be very ephemeral and do little to help in the understanding of the processes which were underlying the obviously changing patterns. The same sort of problems exist in analysing the fluctuating service areas of London Boroughs. (4) One way, seemingly, of overcoming such difficulties would be to take a small area of rural Hertfordshire, examine it in detail, and from this try and make some general statements about the forces and patterns present in the 'rural' part of a metropolitan area which relies almost entirely on urban areas for employment.

The crucial point then emerged as to which area to choose for detailed examination, since clearly the value of the work must depend, in part, on the suitability of the sample chosen. A number of considerations were involved. Firstly, it was important to avoid areas which were immediately contiguous to urban areas and were in fact simply extensions of the urban area. Secondly, it was hoped to find an area where the speed of change had recently been rapid enough for the effect of such change to be apparent and significant

and where the processes of current changes could be observed. An area with a large number of newcomers was therefore essential. Thirdly, it was hoped to be able to assess the importance of accessibility to main lines of communication, and, finally, it was hoped to include within the sample sufficient L.A. and P.E. housing so that it would be representative of all types of housing built since the war. In addition, of course, there was the inevitable limitation of the cost of travelling to the area and fitting this in with other commitments. The last factor ruled out Berkhamsted R.D., but this had already been rejected for the reasons described above. Braughing R.D. was also rejected as being too rural an area, where the change was not striking enough. This applied to much of the remaining R.D's, but nevertheless it was clear that the choice was in effect between the parishes in these R.D's which had been selected by the L.A. and P.E. developers for building. Thus it was possible to obtain a short list of those parishes in which more than 60 houses were built by both L.A's and P.E. from 1945-1960. In the event there were only five parishes in the three R.D's which had balanced development of the sort required and these were:-

Knebworth
Datchworth
Tewin
Great Amwell
Hunsdon.

Knebworth was ruled out as being a special type of garden village which had characteristics more urban than rural, so that it clearly would not have much validity as a guide to change in rural areas. Great Amwell was exceptional in that a hundred houses were built between 1949 and 1950, partly for workers who had moved down from

Liverpool to work in a paint and pre-cast concrete factory in the parish; in addition, all the houses for Stanstead were built there; this L.A. estate was not at all typical. At Hunsdon the extra houses were built for house squatters who had been living in the huts left from a war-time aerodrome and a small research factory in the area created a demand for P.E. housing. In addition, the area was too far from the rapidly expanding towns of Central Hertfordshire and it was more convenient to carry out field work at the centre than at the margin. This left the final choice of parish to either Datchworth or Tewin. Both were well placed, being accessible to Welwyn North Station from which there was a fast rail service to London, and also being within good commuting range of both Welwyn Garden City and Stevenage. Datchworth had 62 houses built by L.A. and 68 by P.E., whereas the respective figures for Tewin were 66 and 100. Both parishes had had some P.E. building in the inter-war period. In the event Tewin was chosen, as field visits aroused personal interest in the local social geography in ways which will be described later. Further, it was decided that by use of sampling methods a second parish could be added to Tewin (population 1,172 in 1961) and for purposes of comparison a more traditional village, almost entirely dominated by L.A. building was required. The neighbouring parish of Watton-at-Stone seemed admirably suited. It was conveniently close and had not had a high proportion of P.E. houses built at any period. The L.A. had constructed an estate of 75 houses and the village was scheduled for very rapid expansion during the next twenty years. Lying on the main road midway between

Stevenage and Hertford, it had an interestingly different pattern of spatial relationships from Tewin. Further, it adjoined the parish of Little Munden which had been studied in depth by Pons some years earlier. (5)

However, it was realised that as these two parishes fell in an area under great pressure to change, lying in the triangle between Stevenage, Welwyn Garden City and Hertford, it might be necessary to investigate a third village as a sort of control. It is realised that it is almost impossible to be free from the criticism that the choice of village determines the type of data one finds. This is true, but this particular area of rapid change may be a useful guide to what is likely to happen in other areas not yet under such fierce pressure. This is felt to be a strong argument in favour of subjectively choosing parishes for detailed analysis. The only valid way of getting an accurate sample would be randomly. This would involve either pulling the names of the parishes to be investigated out of a hat, or dividing the county with squares, numbering them, and selecting the number of squares randomly to an appropriate sample fraction. Certainly it would not be worth investigating every parish in the county. However, be all that as it may, on the advice of members of the County Planning Department, Hexton, in the far north-west of the county, with a population of 157 in 1961, was taken as the third village. It should be admitted that at the time of selection the purpose of this third village was not clearly defined, apart from the hope that it would give some indication of the older, more traditional type of Hertfordshire society.

Before moving on to an account of the methods and findings of the fieldwork it remains to describe in slightly more detail some of

the main hypotheses on which I was working at this stage, since this very much coloured the way the fieldwork was to develop.

Urban Influences: Some Early Hypotheses.

The change in land use caused by the extension of the built up area of towns beyond their statutory area can be seen as an effect of the urbanization process, but the best approach to this problem is by a land use survey. This is a very limited tool of analysis and does little to portray the social reality of what I felt to be a new type of social environment. The very striking increase in population in Hertfordshire during the post-war years had brought many new people in the county, some of which had selectively moved into the rural areas; these new rural people were to be the core of the investigation. I did not expect that there would be differences, for example in demographic structure, between 'urban' and 'rural' people as much as between the 'newcomers' and the 'established' groups.

I further hypothesized that newcomers into rural areas would have different patterns of mobility from those already established. I assumed that somehow two patterns would co-exist: the newcomers related to the new towns and the established people maintaining the classical Dickensonian relationship with the nearest market town. By analysing a local population in detail I hoped to extend the simple service factor approach to hinterland studies by including all movements made outside the parish for whatever social or economic purpose. Underlying all this was the idea that the new people were basically different and that this would most clearly

emerge in an analysis of their social and geographical origins. It later appeared that the main strength of the data lay in its comprehensiveness with regard to the origins of the population and the present patterns of mobility.

The main change, then, was assumed to be generated by new people moving into rural areas since 1945 and the effect of this would be to make the villages, statistically, dormitory suburbs. The rapid growth of manufacturing industry in the area has already been described and I assumed that this had provided the employment for a large proportion of the newcomers. This, of course, meant a change in the whole conception of the village as a functional unit, which, although it may exist geographically in space, sociologically has become a unit of suburbia, or perhaps exurbia, separated by some minutes' bus or car ride from the centres of manufacturing industry. It was natural that this idea should emerge, since interest in the New Towns had stimulated similar questions with regard to the neighbourhood units, which in some cases were similarly isolated for those without private transport and dependent on an infrequent bus service to get to work or the centre of the town. One way of comparing the 'rural' nature of a village, as opposed to a suburb in the country, would be by comparing the patterns of mobility and life styles of the more mobile, and presumably cosmopolitan, newcomers with what I assumed to be the more enclosed, traditionalist and hierarchical, rural agricultural society. Urbanization was seen loosely as a sort of take-over bid, by new people, of an older way of life. I suspected that the use of private cars by the new people avoided dependence on local bus services and, as the demand for these declined, those still without cars would be more isolated

than ever. Thus at a time when the 'outside world' was pulling rural areas into a wider urban society, minority groups were becoming more isolated.

If then, the effect of urban influences on rural areas is seen primarily as a change in a state of mind - remembering that "where men define situations as real they are real in their consequences" (6) - then one would expect there to be profound changes reflected in the social geography of the area. If the interlocking spheres of influence, assumed under the traditional Christaller view, were not going to readjust themselves to a new state of equilibrium after the introduction of an entirely new service centre (in the form of a new town) into old established patterns, then an analysis should be made of the forces making for the development of a new pattern, if such a pattern is emerging. The introduction of new and rapidly expanding towns as new service centres is characteristic of the inner county ring of the London metropolitan region, and perhaps the resulting spatial patterns are not typical either of old town-country models or indeed of old models of urban growth. A new model was needed, and I saw this work as providing a microscopic study of the nature of the processes involved.

Finally, I thought that by working from a viewpoint within the villages, and looking outwards, a more accurate picture of urban influences would be obtained, while by choosing three villages differently sited in relation to the surrounding towns, some useful comparisons could be made.

Notes on Chapter Four

1. See for example the work by Best and Coppock, op.cit.
2. Hertfordshire Mercury - 3rd February, 1961.
3. See the pamphlet issued by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government New Houses in the Country or that issued by the Hertfordshire County Council entitled Building in the Green Belt.
4. See, for example, the paper by W.I. Carruthers on Service Centres in Greater London, Town Planning Review 33 (1962)
5. Of great interest is the unpublished work of M.P. Collins at the London School of Economics.
5. V.G. Pons The Social Structure of a Hertfordshire Parish op.cit.
6. Cited in R.K. Merton op.cit.

CHAPTER FIVEThe Villages Compared: Differentiation in
Terms of PlaceThe Methods of the Survey

As there was a substantial body of factual information required on the origins, composition and movements of the populations it seemed sensible to construct a questionnaire as the foundation of the survey, upon which more unstructured interviewing could be based. The first draft was prepared early in 1961, and in April of that year I interviewed nineteen households in the parish of Weston, near Baldock. I picked the group subjectively, trying to get a fair balance of different types of housing. The response was very favourable; few people refused to co-operate and the results themselves were most interesting. All chief earners in the households worked outside the parish - 10 in Letchworth, 3 in Baldock, 2 in London and one each in Stevenage and Welwyn Garden City. The two remaining heads of households were retired. I received hints of differences between the newcomers, who generally lived in heavily renovated cottages, and had one or two new cars, and the more established villagers living in the Council houses, who complained bitterly about the inadequacies of the local bus services.

I doubt whether I could have had a better training as an interviewer: ways to encourage different types of people to discuss the village were quickly acquired and several inadequacies of the pilot questionnaire were exposed. It seemed reasonable, from this experience, that the project of surveying three villages would not be too

ambitious, provided that further interviewers could be found.

At Watton and Tewin, with 278 and 340 households respectively, a 50% sample seemed to be more than adequate statistically, the totals being sufficiently large for sub-groups of the population to be represented. In the analyses which follow it will be assumed, therefore, that the characteristics of a proportion of the sample represent the characteristics of a similar proportion of the whole population of the parish. In the case of Hexton, with only 53 households, it seemed possible to survey the complete parish. The samples for Tewin and Watton were selected by abstracting alternate pairs of addresses from the rating lists held in the offices of the R.D.C. and complete coverage of Hexton was aided by working from the electoral roll. This provided a total of 362 addresses to be visited. Since the interviewing took place during school term time, in May and June, and since in many households both husband and wife left the village for work each day, the early assessments of the number of households to be interviewed each day proved to be over optimistic. A particular handicap, which was not fully foreseen, was the time which had to be spent travelling between and within the three parishes. It is certain that the survey could not have been carried out successfully without the help of the five interviewers, whose task turned out to be greater than I expected. Work continued in the evenings and week-ends, and since it was decided that when there was no answer there should be further visits up to a total of five, before writing off any address, the time spent travelling was considerable. I did a third of all the interviews myself and checked the schedules of assistant interviewers every day,

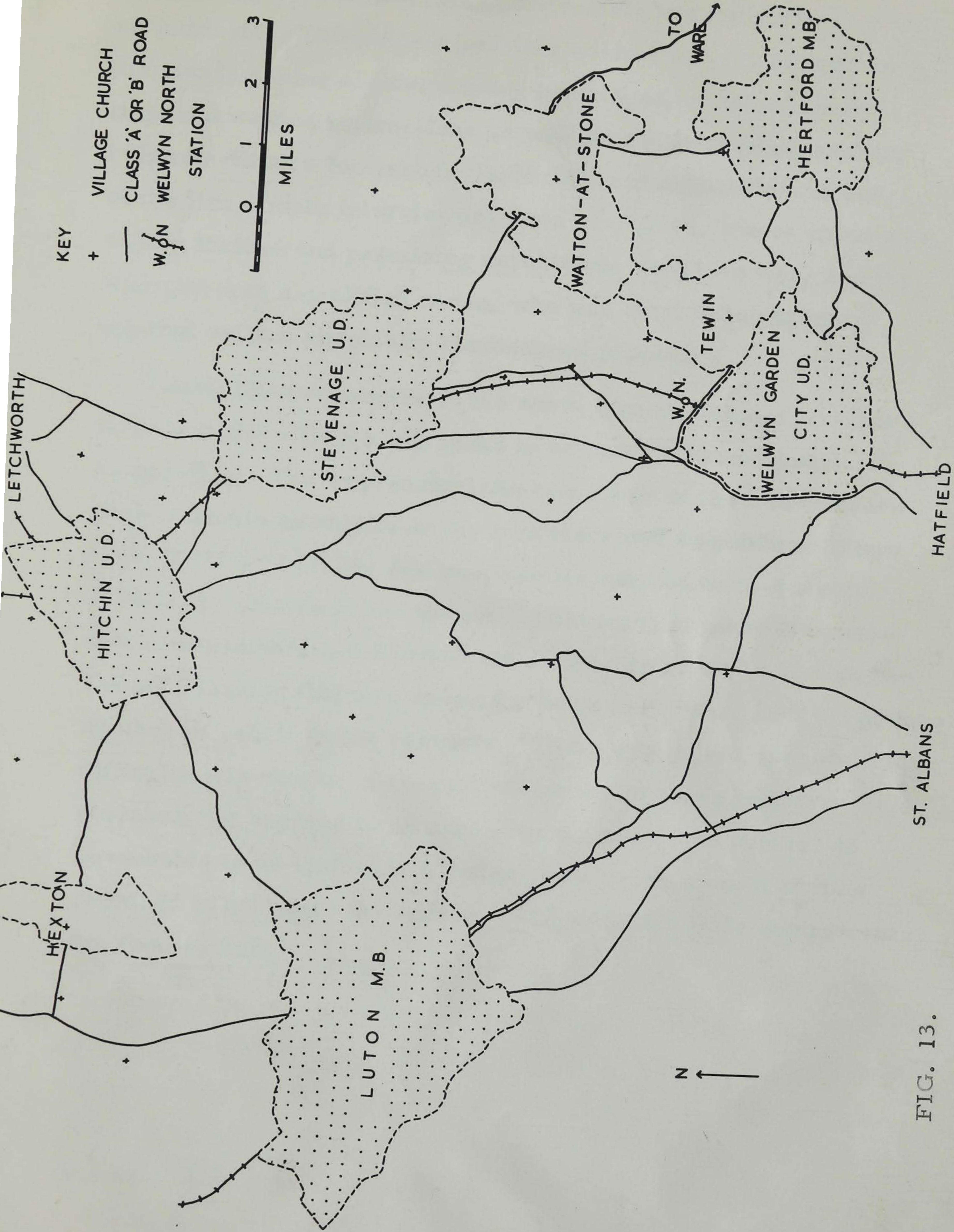


FIG. 13.
 THE SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE THREE PARISHES SURVEYED

together with re-interviewing particularly knowledgeable respondents. The tightest possible control was maintained on the standardising of interviewing techniques, which of course required written instructions as well as considerable travelling between villages for verbal clarification of difficulties. Four of the five female interviewers were graduates, one of whom was a fully trained and practising psychiatric social worker, and the fifth girl was a qualified nurse, who was outstanding at interviewing old and physically handicapped people.

During the two months of the survey we all became familiar figures in the villages and spoke to as many different people as possible. The impressionistic comments of the interviewers were valuable as checks on my own ideas and as pointers to new lines of thought. Very few respondents refused to co-operate. A feature in the local newspaper (1) did much to make the survey more respectable and a broadcast discussion which I had with two County Planning Officers seemed to have been heard by a surprising number of people in the parishes. There are indeed many practical difficulties in running a concurrent survey of three scattered rural parishes, as opposed to an urban survey where the number of households to be visited is a better guide to the amount of time required to complete the survey. The following table summarizes the final results.

Table 5 - 1Village Survey Analysis

Village	Total Addrs.	Sample	Empty or de- molished	Total Addrs. Attemp- ted.	Inter- views com- pleted.	Refusals	Other no Contact
Watton	278	139	7	132	120-91%	7	5
Tewin	340	170	7	163	144-89%	9	10
Hexton	53	53	-	53	49-93%	2	2

The response rates ranging from 89% to 93% are extremely good. Some of the refusals were made solely on account of distressing personal circumstances at the time, so that only a very small proportion was basically unco-operative.

General discussion with people in the villages continued at intervals through the summer, but the next major task was coding the information on the schedules, in accordance with the code sheet which, together with the questionnaire, is enclosed in the end pocket. A more detailed account of the problems and difficulties in both interviewing and coding will be found in Appendix 3. Most of the information which follows is based on machine tabulations using punched cards. Although precise statistics will be given it should be noted now that at all stages of the analysis from interviewing, coding, punching and tabulating it is impossible to exclude all error - whether human or machine. The validity of the data clearly depends directly on the methods obtained in

producing it and many social surveys are as much projects of research into methods of analysis as into social problems.

With all this in mind it is now necessary to provide a general account of the three parishes.

HEXTON

The parish of Hexton lies in the north west extremity of Hertfordshire, jutting from the scarp of the Chilterns into the neighbouring county of Bedfordshire, so that its boundaries to the east, north and west are also those of the county; it makes a neat geographical entity and its boundaries have remained much the same since its formation. The southern limit is the prehistoric routeway known as the Icknield Way, and the northern part of the parish is delimited by the Meg and Burwell brooks issuing from the Springs in the Totterhoe stone which follows the 300' contour. Hexton, then, is a classic scarp parish, extending through the middle and lower chalk to the gault clay vale at Hexton Common to the North. This geological cross section provides a useful variety in soil types and hence land use patterns.

The estate of the present landowner includes the full 1453 acres in the parish, but some of the land is managed by one tenant farmer.

The population of the parish has been declining since its peak of 338 in 1821. Falling steadily to 155 in 1901 it grew to 219 in 1931, but in 1961 had fallen again to 170. The parish survey compiled by the schoolmaster and published with the financial help of the Squire in 1936⁽²⁾ attributes the increase of population in the first three decades of this century to "generous squires who found much employment". Certainly the latter half of the 19th Century was a difficult time for the parish. The family owning the manor was unable to prevent the cottages and manor house from falling into disrepair. The kindly paternalism of the early part of the 19th century - as exemplified by the pump standing where the village street meets the main road "erected in 1846 by Caroline de Lantour for the use of Hexton villagers" - was continued from 1900 when G.H. Hodgson, a Bradford manufacturer, bought the estate and apparently spent £160,000 in 17 years in rebuilding most of the houses and building the present pub. In 1918 the estate passed to another Bradford man - Sir James Hill, a woollen merchant - who continued "modernising" the houses, built the vicarage and gave the village hall. The changes in the fortunes of the village consequent upon the character and financial resources of the squire of the time is perhaps the main theme in the recent social history of the parish and is deeply imbedded in the minds of the villagers, many of whom remember three squires and are happy to compare and contrast the effect of each on the village.

Hexton has been slow to come into the modern world. Although only seven miles from Luton and six miles from Hitchin, there has been little residential development apart from houses built or modernised for estate employees. Not until the 1920s was Hexton

linked by anything more than a carrier's cart with the outside world. Electricity came in 1933, "although many of the villagers use oil lamps owing to the cost of installation" Whiteman noted in 1936. A survey of the school children in the mid thirties showed that only 40% had ever been in a train, 55% to London and 85% to the sea-side, the last largely due to Church outings.

Although Luton was but three-quarters of an hour from London by train, and although Whiteman suggested "that Hexton is ideally suited for the wealthy type of businessman who can afford a car and chauffeur to reach the train", there were too many other more easily accessible sites in Surrey and Buckinghamshire for Hexton to be changed in that way.

Today the first sign of the village when turning off the main road running along the base of the Chilterns' scarp from Hitchin to Barton le Clay, is the high wall surrounding Hexton Manor. The wall is 15 or 20' high and gives to whatever is behind it a "secret garden" feeling. The drive, curving darkly away from the wrought iron gates and the little lodge through box hedges, heightens the feeling of mystery. So, though the hall is never visible, one is very aware of its existence as soon as one arrives at Hexton.

Beyond the lodge the road widens into the village street of Hexton, but somehow it is very much a country road. There are grassy verges, fields and farm buildings interspersed with cottages, and water pumps at regular intervals, used until 2 or 3 years ago. There is little traffic; what little there is comes and goes from the farms, for Hexton is virtually a cul-de-sac, the traffic to Higham Gobion being of little importance. The cottages, strung in twos

and fours along the road are well kept; they are not picturesque, but, covered in grey pebble-dash and half-timbering, look solid enough. The gardens are large and rich with vegetables. One of the houses is converted into the village shop and post office. The pub fits rather oddly into this scene with its gay, striped umbrellas and expensive cars parked outside. This is the result of an 'enterprising' landlord making the most of the fashion of finding 'a nice quiet pub in the country' filled with all the other people who have discovered it.

The field survey provided information about 161 of the 170 inhabitants; the first fact of great interest is that nearly one half of the households had moved into the parish since 1945, and fully one quarter had arrived in the previous five years. This is partly explained by the fact that Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, who took over the estate in 1936, put much of the responsibility of running it in the hands of his son in 1955. The latter had been farming in South Hertfordshire and brought some of his previous workers with him. Also, as people with particular skills, such as gamekeepers or shepherds, died or retired, new people were recruited, often from such counties as Norfolk or Yorkshire. These newcomers were not essentially different in social origins from those already in the parish.

The dominance of the estate for employment is shown by the following statistics.

At present employed on the land in the parish	50%
<u>Once</u> employed on the estate but now retired etc.	16%
Moved to other job	6%
Place of employment outside Hexton	<u>28%</u>
	100%

Not only does the squire provide most of the employment - 44 out of the 49 dwellings visited were owned by the squire, and 30 of these were rent free. Hence it is not surprising that most of the chief earners are engaged in the agricultural industry in one way or another. Less than 30% of the population could be called middle class by their present occupation and, to put it another way, only 25% of the chief earners received more than the traditional pre-war 'elementary' education. Certainly some of the chief earners work outside the parish, as the following table shows, but their importance as a sub-group is not great.

Table 5 - 2Workplace of chief earner

In Parish	74%	
Luton	19%	
Hitchin	2%	
Elsewhere	5%	
		Total chief earners = 42

Of greater interest is the number of the chief earner's offspring, especially daughters, who commute to Luton. The following is a complete list:

Table 5 - 3

<u>Chief earner's job in parish</u>	<u>Son's job in Luton</u>	<u>Daughter's job in Luton</u>
Shepherd	-	Draper's assistant
Butler	-	In Tax office
Farm worker	Labourer on market garden at Sharpenhoe	In Waterworks office
Farm worker	-	In Tax office
Woodman	-	Garment machinist
Farm foreman	-	Clerk in Town Hall

Table 5 - 3 cont'd.

<u>Chief earner's job in parish</u>	<u>Son's job in Luton</u>	<u>Daughter's job in Luton</u>
Farm foreman	-	Shoe shop assistant
Head gardener	1) Accountant's office 2) Carpet/Lino fitter	-
Policeman	-	Trainee telephonist
Farm worker	-	Factory worker
Domestic worker	-	Machinist
Estate carpenter	Insurance Clerk, Vauxhall Motors.	

This means that about 40% of the chief earners who work in the parish have offspring working in Luton. Many of the sons will, of course, have left home, thus explaining the higher proportion of daughters.

An analysis of all the chief earners who had offspring working in Luton showed that there was no numerical difference between chief earners who could be classified as 'newcomers' and those who were already established in the parish. The 'newcomers', who comprise 65% of the total chief earners, arrived during the following periods:-

Table 5 - 4

<u>Pre 1945</u>	<u>1946-1951</u>	<u>1952-1956</u>	<u>1957-1961</u>	<u>Total</u>
18%	4%	18%	25%	65%

The birth places of the chief earners are as follows:-

Table 5 - 5

<u>Born in Parish</u>	<u>Rural Herts & Beds</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Elsewhere S.E. England (3)</u>	<u>Elsewhere U.K.</u>	<u>No in-formation</u>
35%	12%	10%	18%	23%	2%

The new agricultural workers have evened up the age pyramid and the proportions under 15 (20.6%) and over 65 (13%) are about average for the country as a whole. Thus, although 55% of the chief earners are between 41 and 65 years of age and 57% of the households have no dependent children at all, nevertheless 16% of the households have a young child under five years of age.

Although Hexton is in Hertfordshire, there are no public transport services linking it with the rest of the county and this is one reason for the concentration on Luton, although the employment opportunities are also probably better there. There has, however, been an increase in private transport, so that the half dozen buses to Luton each day are not the only links with the outside world. In 1936, according to Whiteman, there were 13 cars (three of which belonged to the manor and three to the Dower House) whereas in 1961, with a smaller population, the number had doubled and only 40% of the households were without at least a car or motor cycle. Despite this the contacts with the outside world remain few and the lack of a bus to Hitchin can be a hardship. One woman cycles the 12 mile trip into Hitchin and back twice a week to visit her father in hospital. Others complain of the difficulty in seeing about pensions or national assistance, which are administered in Hitchin. Similarly, the doctor is at Barton le Clay and it can be difficult for people to see him, or to get medicine if this is prescribed when he comes. Hitchin is said to be cheaper and better as a shopping centre, and some people even go so far as to take the bus to Luton and there catch the bus that goes to Hitchin by Lilley and Offley

(see Figure 13).

Most of the essential shopping is provided by the tradesmen of the surrounding villages who deliver meat, bread, groceries and so on. At least half of the village households never go to any other centre than Luton for their shopping. In fact one woman said she never left the village: a trader from Ampthill brought clothes; she never bought furniture and she even had no teeth! In addition this retired village couple never had visitors and never went out.

This pleasure in isolation did not seem to be related to age and was one of the most interesting things to emerge from the survey. When respondents were asked if they ever went out for any entertainments to surrounding towns or even London, three quarters said they do this very rarely, if ever. This was despite being prompted by the interviewer with a list of a wide variety of functions. One young married woman of 22 only goes to Luton three times a year and walks to Barton once a month. Her only other contact with the outside world is the visit of her parents once a fortnight. She claimed that the village had even more social life than she wanted. Another woman said she never got bored; she had her family, the house and the garden, and although she wants to move because the house has no drainage, sanitation or even a sink, she did not want to move out of the parish. A 68 year old widow said

"It hasn't changed in 37 years but it's alright for anyone who wants a quiet life. I think they do have whist drives every so often but I never go. I've never had a holiday and I never look for one..... I've had seven children...."

She, like half the women in Hexton, belongs to no clubs or organisations at all. Similarly, a half of the total households did not have a holiday in either 1960 or 1961 and this seems to be the normal pattern. Some women who used to belong to the Women's Institute, beyond which there is little else in the village, now no longer do so because of apathy or old age. Only five women and seven men are in any organisations outside the village and these people are from the non-working class element. Even for the sociable "a whist drive once a fortnight is sufficient excitement". Of course there are exceptions - the squire's wife would think nothing of going up to London, and would go from either Hitchin or Luton according to convenience. The policeman's wife said, "we always go somewhere on my husband's day off - Clacton or Portsmouth". One is tempted to see in Hexton one of the last outposts of the traditional semi-feudal communities once so typical of rural England. Indeed, it is easy to follow the estate secretary's wife who, although loving it, said "its out of this world, embedded in cotton wool and greenery", (sic!) but would not stay if she did not have a car, however "quaint" she found the local people. She had been there 12 years. The schoolmaster also found it "too good" and said he would find it difficult to make a move. The village cricket club is his great joy in the summer, where, on the very good field, given by Squire Hodgson, the village still supports quite an effective team.

Are we then to agree with the comment that it is a 'typical village'? Certainly the first word that the people use to describe it is 'friendly'. The 59 year old daughter of a tenant farmer described it as 'perfect' and traces her ancestry back to the 18th century,

remembering with pride the activities of some previous squires. The postmistress gave a good indication of the affection and respect the village had for Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper when she said "We lost the squire last March". The Archdeacon of Bedford, who lives in the village, said at the memorial service:

"Hexton is only a small community and can't afford to lose anyone, but the gap is particularly large when it is the head of the family."

This paternalist relationship is cherished by some members of the village and they even lament that the ties are weakening.

"We used to be one large family, but now we're no longer a real community" commented a 54 year spinster. She had been a parlour maid at the manor and looked back with pleasure to the old days when everyone was born in the village and she was 'somebody' as a servant at the manor.

"People are always willing to help each other if needed" said one respondent, but as another said "people mind their own business although very friendly". A recurring theme is that people like it because it is quiet -

"I like a quiet village" (gamekeeper's daughter)

"I like the quietness and slowness of country life"
(22 year old farmworker's wife)

"I like it because it's quiet (21 year old wife of tractor driver)

The new gamekeeper's wife even went so far as to say "it would seem funny to have a neighbour".

However, all this is found to be irritating by some of the newcomers; a new farmworker from Thetford complained that the villagers are too quiet, and another farmworker's wife from Norfolk

grumbled "it's too far out of town, the transport is difficult and it's too quiet". Hence, even if the newcomers have previously been living in a rural area, they will still complain that, as one woman said "Hexton's too small to start things", and wish that towns were more accessible, or even wish they could live in a town, although this was exceptional. One woman, born in the East End of London, confessed she was 'a devil for shopping'. She had lived in the village for five years, but she seemed one of the few people who really would end up living in a town.

For those living outside the main village the 'family' feeling was looked on as insularity and it was thought that the villagers were too connected with the estate. The shepherd's wife from Yorkshire complained "the old village is all intermarried and don't put themselves out to speak to people". She found them off hand in comparison with those in the north. One could see, that for a northerner, this would be true.

Despite all this, the people who criticized were in a minority, and the more typical remarks were "I can do without a bathroom as I always have done", or "It's a very friendly village and I never really want to leave".

Attempts to characterise sub-groups on the bases of the contented and the discontented, the older people and the newly marrieds or the newcomers and the established met with no satisfactory results. No doubt the small numerical total helped to ensure that what differences that did emerge were largely the result of differences in personality. Perhaps the only truly

unifying social theme is that Hexton is a family centred society, and the following comments are typical:

"My married daughter comes once a week" (Butler's wife)

"I go to my mother-in-law's every week" (wife of toolmaker whose parents are in next village)

"Married children come frequently - once a week on average for a proper meal, usually tea". (Postmistress)

"Children come once a week - the family provides all our interest". (Retired pensioners)

Generally it is a case of relatives coming to Hexton. About three quarters of all the households received a visitor for a meal in the previous two weeks, but only 40% of them went away for a meal in the same period. However, it is difficult to make further generalisations, apart from the fact that most visiting is local, to neighbouring villages and towns. It is at the weekends that the little cars are used going into Shillington, Silsoe and Luton or collecting relatives to bring them back to Hexton. One young girl (aged 22) from Shillington, who moved to Hexton on marriage, visits her parents, or they visit her, two or three times a week and she has closer links with her old village than with her new one. A routine pattern seems to be typical and one often hears the comment "My daughter's young man comes every week" or "My sister comes every Wednesday from Luton". Those with prosperous sons and daughters in Luton and Bedford with cars may have someone coming nearly every day.

This then is the idyll of Hexton; a peaceful, comfortable, well cared for community, surviving remarkably intact only seven miles from one of the boom towns in Britain. Despite more people

getting their own cars, they are not used for much more than making kinship ties stronger, and evidence of rural urbanization is slight. This makes the changes taking place in rural areas of the south and centre of the town even more striking.

One leaves the village on the road to Luton, passing the Church, the last building in the parish. It is symbolic of the whole community. The chancel walls are covered with the memorials of generations of paternalistic squires and a private pew is set aside for their use with a tiny private fireplace! Today, however, more ordinary people are also expected to feel cold - for the church is richly provided with electric heaters. Clearly the local authorities and the public transport authorities cannot provide all the services the village needs. The present squire is pursuing a vigorous policy of house improvement and a walk round the village is enough to see the results of much public spirited action. Whether this is enough to keep people living in what, after all, is little more than a hamlet is difficult to say. It is more likely that the opposite will occur - that is if planning control were relaxed there would be fierce pressure to build speculative housing for Luton and Hitchin's professional and managerial classes. The effect of this can be judged from what is happening in the other areas surveyed where such planning restrictions were relaxed.

Perhaps two main themes should be noted now in relation to the general discussion of the outside world impinging on rural areas. Firstly, the influence of the outside world can be seen powerfully at work in the efforts of the squire. It is he who has

assimilated a wider outlook, both by maintaining his estate profitably as a business enterprise and by initiating changes by his policy of installing better facilities, in the form of main services and housing, and also by 'pushing' people off the land, in the sense that with increasing mechanization he need not take on extra labour. The owner of the parish is able to determine its rate of development, depending on his own skill and efficiency. He is able to withstand "the forces" emanating from Luton which would soon turn Hexton into a commuter village, given the opportunity. Secondly, the employment opportunities at Luton provide jobs for offspring who are not of necessity obliged to leave home but who, on the other hand, bring into the enclosed world of Hexton strong currents of the outside world, the influence of which cannot yet be assessed. The two forces of change at the top and, loosely, at the bottom of the community's structure are likely to break down the contentment people have in the old way of life. One point is, however, clear and that is that position, by itself, is not a major factor in rural transformation.

TEWIN

The parish of Tewin stretches in a wedge from the river Mimram, lying at about 170', to the watershed with the river Beane at just over 400'. The subsoil of the parish is chiefly chalk with a little London clay and Woolwich and Reading beds in the north:

PHYSICAL FEATURES

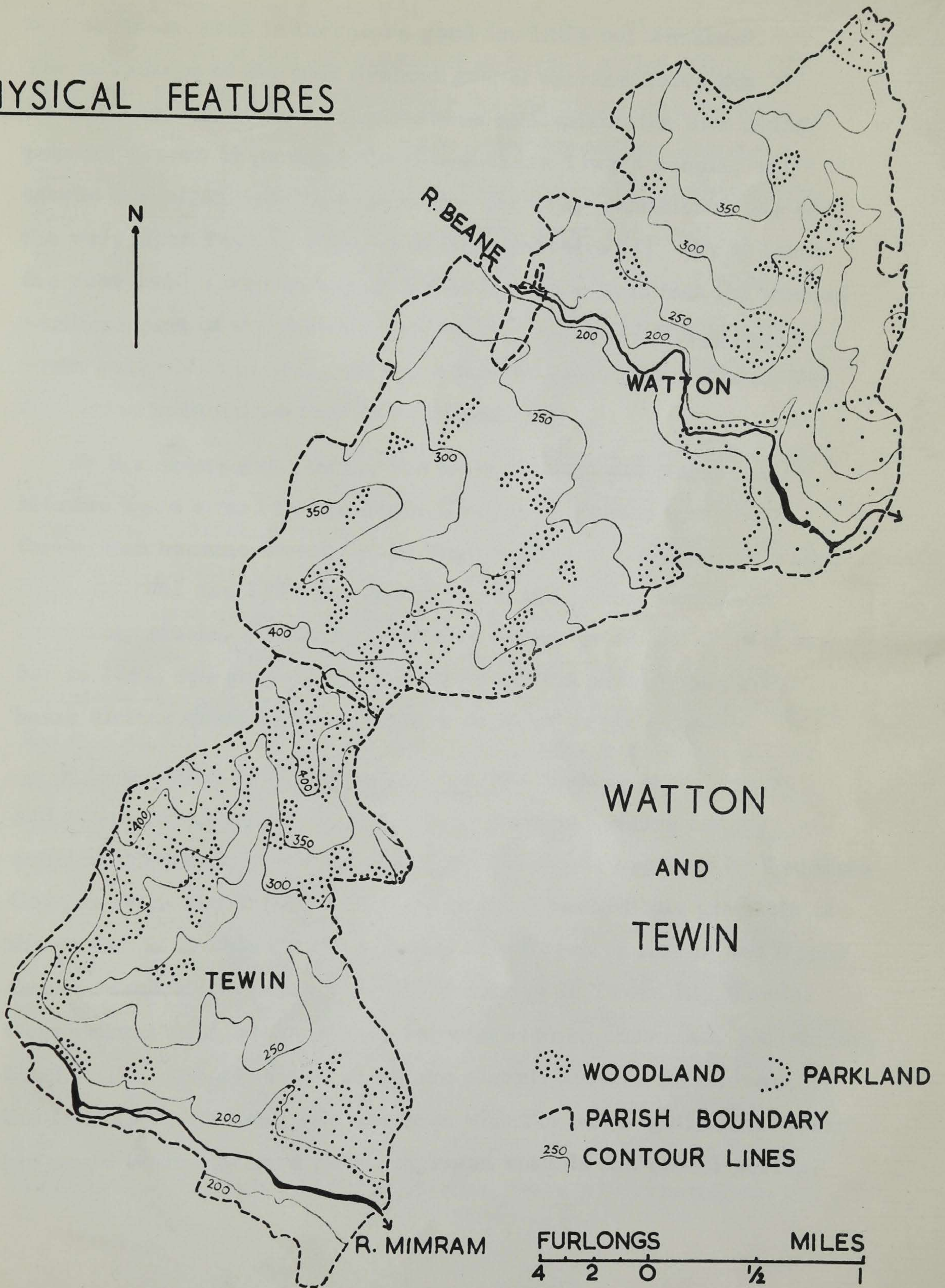


FIG. 14.

this northern area is therefore good for little but woodland. The advantage of the well drained gravel terrace above the Mimram attracted early anglo-saxon settlement; the site of the present church is perhaps the place where Tiwa's people, or maybe the pagan worshippers of the god Tiw, established one of the very first English villages of Hertfordshire.(4) By at least the year 1060 a woman named Cwenhild had moved into the wooded northern part of the parish, establishing a small holding in the north east which is still, today, a farmed area east of Queen Hoo Hall lying between patches of woodland. (5)

By the nineteenth century the manors of Tewin Water and Marden were owned by the Earls Cowper of Panshanger, but Queen Hoo became owned by the Abel Smiths of Woodhall in Watton. Between 1801 and 1901 the population of the parish remained relatively stable, fluctuating between extremes of 438 in 1811 and 550 in 1891, the population at the turn of this century however, being almost exactly the same as a hundred years earlier.

It is possible to obtain a very detailed picture of the social and economic structure of the parish from an undated ledger entitled 'Panshanger Estate Cottages' (6) which was kept by Countess Cowper from about 1898. One gains great insight into the state of the parish at the time, with a group of cottages at Lower and Upper Green respectively, and a keeper's cottage in Tewin Big Woods. Occupations such as woodman, watercressman, cowman, ploughman, blacksmith, shepherd and so on are clearly related functionally to the land of the parish; only one man with the word 'golf-links' after his name seems to have been employed outside the actual parish.

It is clear that Lady Cowper showed considerable concern about the state of the cottages, the adequacy of the estate pensions and so on. Control over the cottagers was absolute; for example, a note written in 1911 to the woodman (whose descendants still live in the parish) instructed him to board the two illegitimate children of his nineteen year old daughter 'elsewhere and not in this cottage'. Since the woodman had, in addition to his grandchildren, seven offspring of his own, the cottage must have been very crowded, but one wonders where else his grandchildren could go.

However, the social history of the parish is only our concern here in so far as it is necessary as an illumination of today's situation. Certainly there are still people in the parish today who remember life on the estate in the first decades of this century. The population remained stable at just under 500 from 1901 to 1921, but the seeds of change were sown during this period. Countess Cowper died in 1913 and the outlying parts of Panshanger Estate, including most of Tewin parish, were put up for sale in 1919 by Lord Desborough, acting for his wife, the niece of Earl Cowper, who had inherited the estate, in order to pay off very heavy death duties.

Thus 1919 can be taken as the date when the outside world shattered the enclosed world of the estate. Twelve farms, comprising 3,300 acres including "various small holdings, cottages and accommodation, heavily timbered woodlands and numerous good building sites" (7) were put up for sale. It is ironic how little the land was in demand at the time. Eight acres of valuable building land, almost adjoining Welwyn Station, were withdrawn from the

sale at £650. In Tewin Big Wood 143 acres were sold for £9000 to a firm of timber merchants in Essex, though at the time of the sale the timber alone was worth £13,579. Perhaps more than anything else this sale was to have profound importance in changing the nature of the parish, as will be made clear below.

A mass of information is available which throws light on the problems and difficulties experienced in the parish at this time of change, since all the contents of the estate agent's desk remain unsorted in boxes deposited in the County record office. Again it is only possible to illustrate with an example the sort of impact created by the sale on the lives of the people of Tewin. A letter from Lord Desborough to his agent, dated September 12th, 1918, says,

"As regards the notices to quit, I should like to avoid them if possible on account of the outcry they will make at the General Election, but if they cannot be avoided they must be served".

A few weeks later the following typical letter was received by the agent from one of the tenants who was asking for permission to buy the cottages in which he lived, since -

"We have been a very long time in them and my people before us as long back as 120 years and we have always tried and kept it done up as well so iff I could bouy the two as I am getting older and I did not want to go away I would not have asked if there was any property belonging to you that side of the road only the two cottages".

It was not until after Lord Desborough died in 1947 that his wife offered all the tenants their cottages.

The 1919 sale was not quite so fierce in its impact on the parish because the new squire at Tewin Water, the South African

diamond magnate, Sir Otto Beit, continued the paternalistic tradition. He died in 1930, but his wife lived until 1946, just before which she had given a new rectory to the village. In addition the Beits gave the Memorial Hall in 1922, in memory of their son and others who died in the 1914-18 war, and this still plays an important part in parish life. Also, electric lighting was installed at Tewin School and electric lighting, heating and organ blowing were provided in the church. Further, at the time when the old order of things was changing, so that employment on the estate declined rapidly, the adjacent development of Welwyn Garden City in the 1920's and 1930's provided opportunities for employment so that economic hardship was not added to social stress. The importance of the growth of the Garden City or the surrounding villages, as described by Tyrwhitt, has already been noted. (7)

Few new houses were built in the 1920's, but in the 1930's, just before the outbreak of the second German War, the woodland in the north of the parish started to be developed, with new, substantial, privately built housing erected as much as possible in the wood, many owners buying the cheap adjoining plots for additional privacy. This created a precedent, which continued after the war with increasing impetus, so that now two-fifths of all the houses in the parish are hidden in this wood. The immigrants of the 1930's seem to have made very little impact on the village. Being rather few in number and many of them having moved out from Welwyn Garden City they seem to have been orientated outwards, using the Burnham Green road to Welwyn North Station and the Garden City, living thus apart from the main life of the parish.

After the war Marden Hill Manor house was converted into flats and Tewin Water finally became a school for deaf children, run by Hertfordshire County Council. It would seem that in 1947 the village was remarkably unchanged. Although the men worked more in the factories of Welwyn Garden City the women looked to Hertford as the country market town to which the local bus ran. A piece of doggerel verse in the local newspaper sums up the sort of rustic vision which still seemed to be largely true at the time. (8)

"Tickets please" says the conductor. He knows
 Most of them there, and where each of them goes
 Carefully handing the old ladies down
 When they get to Tewin.....
 The old bus is packed out with people and shoes
 And laughter and gossip and yesterday's news.

From a population of 569 in 1931, Tewin increased to 893 in 1951 and 1172 in 1961. The main changes have taken place in the last fifteen years and these must now be described. Before doing so an attempt will be made to portray the parish as it would appear to a visitor.

The middle of Tewin seems a typical English village. There is a triangular village green, crossed by concrete paths which meet in the middle by a group of seats. There is the village shop and

SETTLEMENT

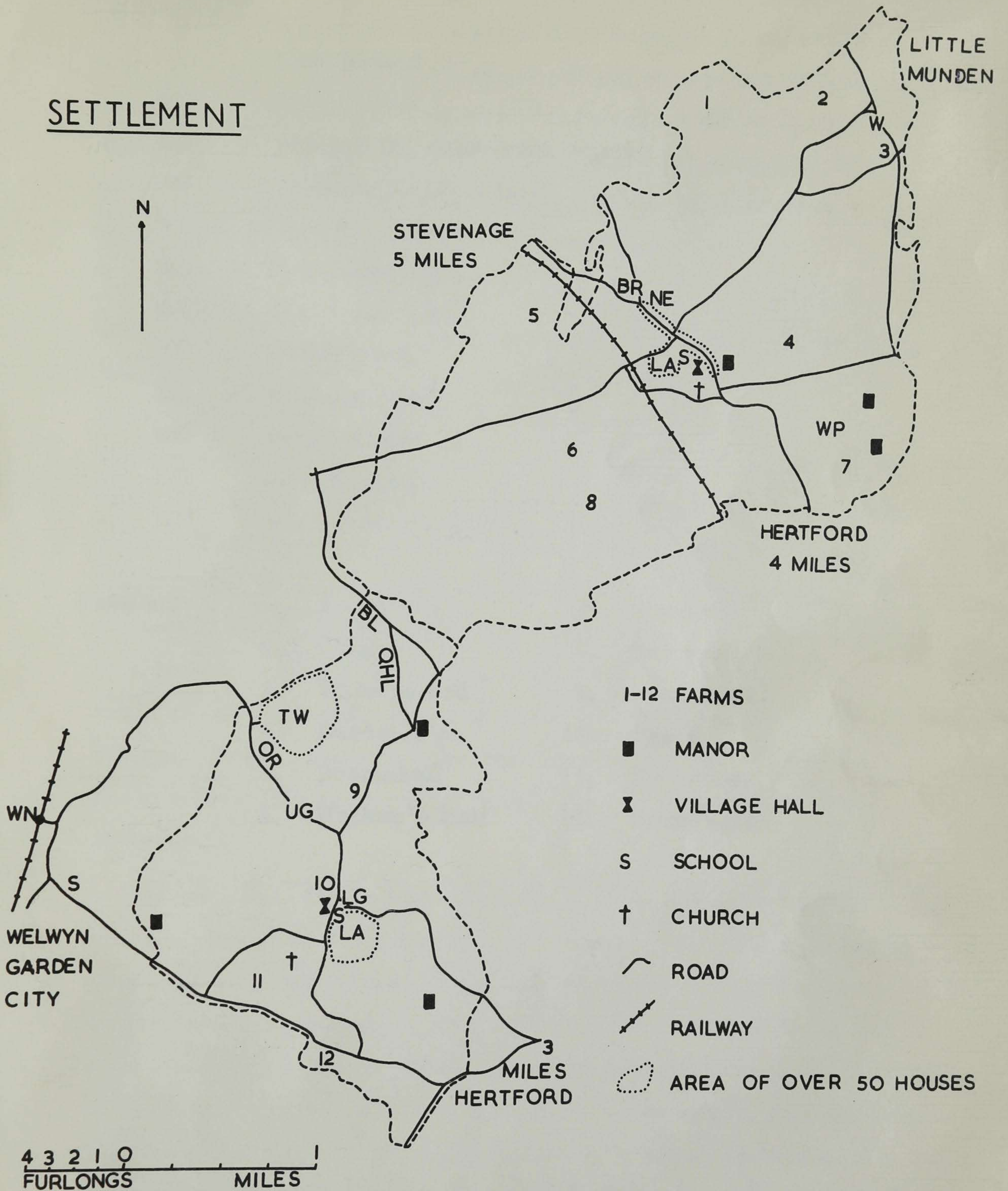


FIG. 15.

Abbreviations

W	Whempstead
BR	Beane Road
NE	New private enterprise estate
LA	Local Authority estate
WP	Woodhall Park
BL	Bramfield Lane
QHL	Queen Hoo Lane
TW	Tewin Wood
OR	Orchard Road
UG	Upper Green
LG	Lower Green
WN	Welwyn North Station

Farms :	1.	Gregory's	7.	Woodhall
	2.	Chapel	8.	Perrywood
	3.	Whempstead	9.	Tewin Hill
	4.	Bardolph's	10.	Crown
	5.	Broomhall	11.	Tewinbury
	6.	Watkin's Hall	12.	Warrengate

adjoining it the playground of the village school. Along another side of the triangle is the village hall; next door a row of trim cottages, built in 1903, diminutive and gothic-windowed, give the impression of being almshouses. There are various other houses dotted round the green, mainly dating from the 19th century; there is another little shop, and the pub.

From one side of the triangle paths and a road lead to the council housing estate. The plain brick houses, the trim gardens, the discreet net curtains, the old peoples' bungalows, all echo a pattern found in a hundred other villages. In the fields beyond the housing estate is the isolated village church. It is old, squat and solid; inside, however, it gives an air of prosperity and well being. The woodwork gleams, and the well stocked tract case leads one to picture a large and fairly affluent congregation, conscious of its international responsibilities, perhaps not typical of a country village. Round the church are ancient trees and a maze of hummocks and hollows: the site of the original Tewin village. Today, however, the only houses near the church are the gracious 18th century vicarage and a few 19th century farm cottages.

So far Tewin may seem an unexceptional, ordinary English village. But from the other side of the village green a road leads, past another group of council houses and a row of unpretentious, owner-occupied, houses to Tewin Wood. * * * Tewin Wood lies over a mile from Tewin village; it seems a different world. Instead of the lush fields separated by neat hedges are woods, and unkempt patches of thicket and the yellow gleam of broom. Instead of the cottages and council houses are large, modern houses, each in its

own garden, each shielded from its neighbour by an uncleared area of woodland. Instead of children's shouts and all the muffled but continuous village noises, are the rustle of trees and the sound of birdsong and the occasional hum of a car. In Tewin Wood one is conscious all the time of the dappled light through the beech and silver birch, the clean, mossy smell of the air, the deep quiet, the feeling of prosperity; and one is conscious too that these are the qualities which are particularly valued by the people who live there. The names of the houses are a guide to the aspirations of the inhabitants in choosing Tewin Wood as a place in which to site their individually designed homes. Indeed, often the name, on a white sign hanging beside the road, is all that can be seen of a house as one drives along the winding, tree-shaded lanes; there are Bracken Hill and Wychwood, The Spinney, and Woodcote, Keeper's Cottage, Hunter's Cottage; even Mellors is evidence of equally bosky but more ambitious aspirations. A six bedroomed house designated The Cottage brings one with a jolt up against the unreality, the other-world-ness of Tewin Wood; while Mudhollows is a reminder of what it must have been like when the first settlers came.

Indeed, the idea of the settler, the pioneer, the little log cabin in the woods, comes often to mind here. Perhaps it is because the woods are so ubiquitous, because the gardens seem more like clearings, containing more bluebells and ferns than garden flowers, because there are no rigid divisions between house and house, or house and wood, but rather an imperceptible transition from shady mossy lawn into sun dappled wood. Many of the houses echo the lightness and gracefulness of the woods. They are clean and modern,

painted white or faced in natural timbers. Others are of a more traditional suburban type. Many have big picture windows through which can be seen glowing parquet floors, basket furniture, modern paintings, and often a scatter of bright modern toys. Compared with a normal village or suburb there are few prams - if the baby goes out it does so in a carry cot in the back of the car, and when the children go to school they too go by car. But there is everything a child could want in the wood itself. There are swings and sandpits; bicycles and tricycles lie carelessly flung aside outside the houses; there are all the opportunities offered by the woods themselves; and there are the efforts so obviously made by the parents to make their children happy - at one house mothers unload their children from cars for a children's tea party, while next door a sailing boat shelters beneath the trees.

As ubiquitous as the woods and the children are the cars. The great doors of the double garage are the largest single feature in the face of most houses. Cars seem to litter the gravel drives which connect each house with the road. Early in the morning the husbands drive to work. An hour or so later, and the cars are taking children to the primary school, going shopping, or out to coffee. Only the daily helps coming up from the village by bicycle break the pattern. In the afternoon the same pattern is reversed - first the shoppers, then the children back from school, always by car. Finally, and late, the husbands return home, some from London, some from the neighbouring New Towns, and the cars will be on the move again - out to dinner, to meetings or just visiting. There are no shops in Tewin Wood, no church, no pub, in fact no community

centre of any sort. Yet the notices on the gate posts advertising fetes, plays or the parish council meeting show how strong is the community feeling both within Tewin Wood and with Tewin village.

Yet for all its tranquility Tewin Wood is changing. At one end the virgin wood has been ruthlessly cleared. Scarred earth and piles of tree trunks testify to the destructive bulldozer. The wood rings with shouts and the roar of machinery. The houses going up resemble the earlier Tewin Wood houses in their suburban, 1930-ish respectability. One is reminded less of the American backwoods, than of the London suburbs. In one part Tudor beaming is being hammered into place, in another an 18th century brick town house is nearing completion. Here a North London firm is building "a choice of standard, split level and continental designs, in woodland setting. 3, 4 and 5 bedrooms; $\frac{1}{2}$ acre plots; central heating optional; £6500-£9000".

The large amount of new building in the parish, whether in the council estate or in Tewin Wood has meant that newcomers numerically dominate in the parish. In the ten year period from 1952-1961 over one half of all the households arrived in the parish and three quarters of all the households came into their present house as their first address in the parish. Map 15 shows the main groups of housing in this scattered parish; one fifth of all dwellings are council houses, a quarter are houses scattered between Upper Green and the church and the largest proportion of all is concentrated in Tewin Wood and Orchard Road. All these latter houses are privately owned, as indeed are just under two-thirds of all the houses in the parish. This is a very high proportion for a

'rural' parish. The size of house is also, on average, high, 48 per cent having five main rooms and a further 29 per cent having six or more.

Only just over one fifth of all households are 'established' in the sense of having been in the parish since formation and/or having the husband or wife born in the parish. Of the rest who have moved in from elsewhere the detailed figures are as follows.

Table 5 - 6

<u>Rural Herts</u>	<u>Urban Herts</u>	<u>London A C + London Conurb.</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>Established</u>
12%	19%	28%	17%	23%

Thus over one quarter of all households have moved into the parish from London, providing the largest sub-group in terms of the previous address of all households. When respondents were asked about their reasons for moving out to this particular parish two fifths of them specifically mentioned that building land or a dwelling happened to be available in Tewin when they were looking for a house in the country. This reason was distinct from answers referring to the chief earner's place of employment of his ease in reaching his workplace. If to the two fifths is added those who came simply because they liked the 'atmosphere' of Tewin, then as many as 55% of all immigrants chose Tewin, not for accessibility to workplace, but rather as the most suitable place they found when searching in a wide area.

From what has just been described it is clear that newcomers to Tewin seem to be sufficiently mobile not to be over concerned

about accessibility to their place of work, although of course they may well be limited within a wider area of country. A high proportion of households, seven out of ten, has at least one private car; indeed as many as 18% of the households in the parish have two cars. The typical household would appear to be composed simply of one married couple, who may or may not have offspring, some four fifths of all households falling into this category. Households with two children are the most common, the proportion being double either those with one child or those with 3 or more. This of course is reflected in the size of households where, although 32% comprise only two persons, the four person household follows with 27%, followed some distance behind by the three person household (17%) and five person household (12%). Of the 44% of households which had children under 15, over one half (or a quarter of the total sample) had the youngest child under five years old. Despite this concentration of households in the family bearing period the age of the chief earner or other head of household shows an even spread through the age range.

Table 5 - 7

Age	<u>22-30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-65</u>	<u>66+</u>	<u>No information</u>	<u>Total</u>
%	8	25	24	25	14	4	100%

This might be seen as an indication that young children are a characteristic of immigrant families, but not necessarily of any particular age group of chief earner. At this stage of the analysis it is not intended to probe more deeply than this.

The most important place of employment for the chief earners of the parish is Welwyn Garden City/Hatfield where 35% of them work. As many as 22% travel into London A.C. every day and a further seven per cent work in the Greater London Conurbation. Thus about two-thirds of all chief earners are accounted for in this way. Finally, sixteen per cent work in the parish and the remaining 20% work in other towns in Herts or have no fixed place of work, being, for example, travelling salesmen or casual building labourers. Two-thirds of all the chief earners work in manufacturing industries or are engaged in professional and public services, which is of course to be expected, considering the places of employment. Perhaps of greater interest than the industrial structure is the social structure of the parish. This was obtained by adopting an amended version of the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations 1960; it was possible to construct socio-economic groupings into which were placed chief earners, by their present occupations, or other heads of households by their last occupations, if retired. This is a most important classification which will be discussed at greater length below. (9) For present purposes it is sufficient to note that 53% of the heads of households in Tewin were classified in the professional and managerial groups, only 16% were semi and unskilled manual workers, although a further 5 per cent were agricultural workers.

It is important not to stress the self evident. Given that two fifths of the houses in the parish are substantial, privately built dwellings in Tewin Wood and indeed that fully two-thirds of the houses are owner occupied then the social and economic structure

will reflect this. Similarly, given the place of work of most chief earners, then it is not surprising that the journey to work reflects this in terms of time and distance, so that, for example, a quarter of all chief earners travel over twenty miles on the single journey from their homes to their places of work. Welwyn Garden City is only about three miles away, and although some go by cycle or motor bicycle, 43% of all earners travel to work entirely by car. Considering the proximity of Welwyn North Station, perhaps five minutes from Tewin Wood by car, with a choice between the 8.5 a.m. arriving at Kings Cross at 8.44 a.m. or the 8.23 a.m. arriving at 9.3 a.m., it is surprising that about two-fifths of those commuting to London do so by car. The fact that a negligible number of chief earners travel by bus (only three did so regularly!) is a reflection of the ludicrous inadequacy of the service. Certainly it is possible to get one of the three buses which take 18 minutes to go the four miles into Hertford, arriving at 8.5, 8.34 or 9.8. Unfortunately the buses in the opposite direction go to Welwyn North Station, which may be useful for the London commuters, but is simply exasperating for those who want to go into Welwyn Garden City. The local geography can be seen in Figures 13 and 15.

Tewin is in fact torn between the conflicting spheres of influence of Hertford and Welwyn Garden City. In order to get some indication of the relative importance of the surrounding towns and London as shopping centres, respondents were asked where they usually went to buy various goods. The results are tabulated thus.

Table 5 - 8Shopping Place for various items : The parish of TewinIn percentages

	<u>Woman's Dress</u>	<u>Woman's Shoes</u>	<u>Man's Shoes</u>	<u>Coat/Suit for Dep. child</u>	<u>A piece of living room furniture</u>
London (West End)	37.4	25.0	25.7	12.5	33.3
Other 'London'	0.7	-	2.1	-	0.7
	38.1	25.0	27.8	12.5	34.0
Welwyn Garden City	4.9	13.9	5.5	3.5	7.5
Hertford	11.2	25.7	30.6	8.3	16.7
St. Albans	1.4	2.1	1.4	5.5	0.7
Other (including various local)	10.4	13.9	11.1	10.4	18.0
Various, including London	21.6	13.2	11.1	7.0	7.5
Does not apply	10.4	4.2	11.1	52.8	13.2
No information	2.1	2.1	1.4	-	2.1

From this it seems clear that London and Hertford are the main settled shopping places, but a significant proportion of respondents refused to be tied to one particular place but named several. In passing it should be noted that there are great hazards in attempting to deduce too much from what replies people make. It would seem likely that many women would say they bought their dresses in London, for the prestige attached to this, and not in Welwyn Garden City, where there is in fact a relatively high quality dress manufacturing

concern which also sells retail. Similarly I would judge that the proportion who buy children's clothes in St. Albans should be greater since the nearest Marks & Spencer Stores, which is much in favour for children's clothes, is there. Despite all this, it does seem to be a fact that Tewin taps a very wide range of places to get various goods. This also applies in the case of grocery supplies: only 14% normally get them from within the parish and a further 12% from Hertford. However, 32% had all their groceries delivered and as many as 19% refused to be tied to any one place but mentioned several. This last point would certainly seem to be exceptional. Finally, 15% went to Welwyn Garden City, despite there being no bus service. It follows from this that a very high proportion of housewives go shopping for groceries by car, two-fifths of all respondents specifically mentioning this. If one adds to this last figure the third who have their groceries delivered and those who get them in the parish, then only a small proportion is left, and this is about the same as the proportion who shop in Hertford. It should be heavily stressed here that although Welwyn Garden City is of fundamental importance as an employment centre, it does not seem to be so for shopping, despite the high proportion of households which use the car for all shopping.

Taken as a whole the people of Tewin seemed to be particularly mobile and to have a wide range of contacts with the outside world, the proportion who virtually never make journeys outside the parish to visit theatres, cinemas, exhibitions and so on, being as low as one third. Only 17% did not go on a holiday in either 1960 or 1961 and 58% went in both years. Of those who went away in 1960 nearly a third went for 16 days or longer. Similarly there seems to be

considerable social entertaining, three-quarters of all households having entertained at least one visitor to a meal in the previous two weeks, the most frequently mentioned visitors being either friends or siblings of the husband or his wife. It is significant that one-quarter of all the last visitors to households in Tewin came from London and 28 per cent of the last households visited by those in Tewin were also in London. On the other hand social relationships were strong within the parish, where the proportion of last visitors and people visited was about a fifth of the totals.

Village activities are varied and relatively well supported, a third of all women interviewed (or the wives of the men who were interviewed) were members of more than one organisation and attended them more than twice a year (the church was excluded from these calculations). Formal social organisations will be analysed in more detail later.

It is now time to summarise the general character of the parish of Tewin, although I realise there are many points which have been raised which merit further discussion and these will be considered in chapter 8.

It seems that the manorial community of Tewin was breaking up in the inter-war years with the break up of the estate, the sale of Tewin Wood for private development in the 1930's and the growth of employment in Welwyn Garden City. After the war the development of the council estate and the rapid increase in privately built housing in the north of the parish seems clearly to be linked to the availability of land and the ease in getting to places of work by all sections

of the community. The dominant themes are therefore commuting and the arrival of newcomers. The parish could be seen as an isolated suburb of professional people and industrial workers, but nevertheless there are still four farms in the parish, one of which has concentrated heavily on milk production for Welwyn Garden City. This latter effect of urban influences on rural areas is interesting in that the manager and most of the roundsmen come from North London; this is typical of the many close links the parish has with London. Throughout I have tried to emphasise the ways in which change may have been introduced and some of the distinctive social and economic characteristics of the area in its geographical setting; however, in order to be comparative with the two other villages, this has been a selective account which will be expanded and clarified in a later chapter.

WATTON-AT-STONE

In 1931 the parish of Watton had much the same population as it had in 1801, namely 605 as against 602. It had fluctuated in size during the nineteenth century in relation to the degree of agricultural prosperity and had reached a peak of 976 in 1851. One hundred years later the population was only 772 and in 1961 it was still only 869. As can be seen from Figure 14, Watton is a larger parish than Tewin, lying astride the River Beane and stretching up

to the watersheds to the south west and north east. Still almost entirely owned by the squire at Woodhall Park it is part of a larger area of land lying north of Hertford.

There are really two parts to Watton village. The first, and by far the oldest part, is the High Street. This straggles for nearly a mile along the road between Stevenage and Hertford, along the valley of the River Beane. The houses crowd together in places, in places thin out, leaving a gap here for a builder's yard, there for a garage, in one place for the Watton Cold Store, in another for the poultry packing factory. Houses of all ages are represented. Some are traditionally built of wood and plaster, often ornamented with pargettry. There are one or two gracious 18th century houses. But perhaps the most common type is the 19th century cottage, with gothic windows and steep tiled roofs. Many of these are little better than slums, with outside lavatories and small dark rooms. Finally, there are the 20th century houses; tidy bungalows and modern desirable residences fill in the gaps between the older buildings, their glossy newness seeming to put to shame their 19th century neighbours.

Through this jumble of houses, down the High Street, thunders the main road, an ever-present accompaniment to the life of the village. Signs warning drivers to "take extra care" are a silent testimony to the dangers of the road. Unfortunately, they were put up too late to save three housewives who were killed when a gravel lorry mounted the pavement during a quiet summer's afternoon during the period of the survey. For the pavements are narrow, and the road, though winding, is yet straight enough to tempt motorists to exceed the speed limit. There are half a dozen small shops, their

windows thinly stocked and their prices high by the standards of the glossy supermarkets in the New Town five miles away up the road. But the friendliness inside has kept the loyalty of many of the villages^r. There is a little post office, its walls white plastered, its deep undulating roof red tiled. Opposite is the Memorial Hall, red brick and deep in cow parsley, with notices about the Church fete, the parish council meeting, a barbeque in the next village, and the Women's Institute monthly meeting on the board outside. Testifying to the importance of the main road is the evident prosperity of the pubs and garages. The largest pub is proud of its age - outside it is pink washed and tidy with gay striped awnings; inside are small cosy rooms and mellow beams. Most of the meals served, at London prices, in its dining room are paid for out of expense accounts and the Saloon Bar has an atmosphere which makes the uncertain visitor feel like a gate crasher at a private cocktail party. But the Public Bar has miraculously remained a meeting place for the men of the village, with darts and dominoes and back chat.

At one end of the High Street is the church, strategically placed half way between the village and the squire's park and family seat. It is a large, flint built church. Inside a private chapel and a multitude of monuments show the zeal of the local great families in commemorating their dead. At the opposite end of the village, nearly a mile away, is a group of suburban style privately built houses, each in its own immaculate garden, each partnered by its garage. Nearby piles of bricks, and a sign "New Houses for Sale, £3500 to £4400" remind us that this is where the village is expanding most rapidly.

From the High Street it is difficult to see the second part of Watton. This is the new council housing estate, which overlooks the narrow valley in which the old village lies. From the housing estate the High Street appears as a jumble of old red roofs, and the traffic's roar seems far away and far below. Far away, too, for many of the tenants of the new council houses seems the old life in the cramped cottages of the High Street and of the various farms dotted about the parish. They are clean, new, brick houses, some are perched on banks, some grouped round cul-de-sacs; in places the old trees have been left, in others a considerate council has planted flowering cherry trees and laburnum. Here it is safe for the children to play in the road, and here the sound of their shouts is as much an accepted background as the sound of traffic is in the street below. Almost without exception the houses are a testimonial to their houseproud inhabitants. The windows sparkle, the net curtains are immaculate, the heavier inside curtains are drawn to exactly the correct distance across the windows and the ornaments in the windows face out on to the road. This then is the new heart of the village of Watton, in appearance at least no different from the new town 5 miles down the road. Perhaps a symbol of their common prosperity are the garages which have had to be built after the rest of the houses have been completed.

The rest of the parish is green and undulating and very rural. Farms and tiny hamlets lie scattered among great arable fields, separated by woods, reached down narrow, winding, sometimes unsurfaced lanes. From them one catches an occasional glimpse of the village, the old red roofs of the High Street and the new red sprawl of the housing estate. There are old, long established farm

houses; there are the "model cottages" of the 19th century, now far from model; there are the glossy new homes of the local tradesmen who prospered, and managed to get planning permission for a house with seclusion and a view.

Above all we must not forget the squire. The family's original Seat, a pillared and porticoed 18th century mansion, gracefully but perhaps unrealistically poised in the green landscape, is now a prep school. The squire himself lives in the converted stables. However, "stables" is a misnomer. Like the great house, they too were built in the 18th century. They too are graceful with white pillars and an elegant air of repose and balance. Below the stables lie the Home Farm and the two substantial 18th century homes of tenant farmers, now let to wealthy professional people. Below this again is the river, the original reason for settlement in Watton; it meanders southwards past farm and hamlet, along behind the houses lining the High Street and along below the new housing estate, through the open graciousness of the park below the great house, to the market town five miles away down the valley.

Although Watton is in a sense more stable than the previous two villages - in about a third of all households either the head and/or his wife were born in the parish; nevertheless change has been marked. One woman who had some nursing experience and who had been in every house in the village at one time or another put it like this.

"It was a 'relation village' when I first came in 1913. Whenever there was a funeral the whole village was brought out. Once there were twenty 'Mrs. Monks' in the village. The old people had to curtsey to the squire's wife and on Sunday the Church used to be packed.

"There'd be twenty two servants from the Big House alone and if the servants were not in their places the squire wanted to know why. But things have changed - the younger generation has married out and it's more mixed now."

A number of older people resented the changes; a 79 year old gardener claimed "its more townified" and a 66 year old widow blamed "this new influx of people", so that "much of the community life has gone". Even a 26 year old carpenter, who had been born in the village, concluded "it's lost its village life, it's finished. I don't know people any more".

A further problem, according to the middle aged wife of a lorry driver, was that there were "not enough gentry to take an interest in the youngsters". A 56 year old Watton born widow, who worked as a machinist, stated bluntly "this is mainly a working class village and we need more work".

It is now perhaps time to quantify social and economic reality in Watton. About a half of the parish live along the main street of the village, a third live in the council estate, and the rest are scattered in the farms and at Whempstead. Although 43% of the households have moved into the parish since 1945, over half of them coming during the five years previous to the survey, Watton has a higher proportion of indigenous people than the previous two villages. Within the parish there has been a relatively high degree of mobility - 44% having changed their house within the parish. This contrasts with 29 per cent at Hexton and 22% at Tewin; it is presumably due to a movement into the village from outlying cottages and the rehousing associated with the council estate. There has also been a movement into Watton from surrounding country districts, nearly two-fifths of all newcomers coming from such

areas, while, unlike at Tewin, only 15% of its newcomers came from previous addresses in London. Most of the remaining newcomers came from a scatter of places in south east England. Some 65% of the newcomers came to Watton on changing their job or to be closer to their place of employment. The proportion who came after searching in a wide area and who thus were more mobile is much smaller than at Tewin, being only 30 per cent as opposed to 55 per cent. At the time of the survey only 18 per cent owned their houses, whereas a third rented from the Local Authority, 37 per cent rented from a private individual - overwhelmingly the squire - and the remaining 12 per cent paid no rent, being in tied cottages.

Demographically Watton does not provide any striking contrasts. Certainly 14 per cent of all households are single people, and in the 46 cottages down the High Street, 13 women and 20 men are over 65, but it is probably more true to say that the council estate does not stand out as having a higher proportion of children or of adults in certain age groups. The detailed demographic statistics are given in Appendix 4. Other tabulations based on the ages of children and of chief earners failed to show any significant groupings, unlike Hexton, with its concentration of chief earners over 50, and Tewin, with its high proportion of families with two children, the younger being under five.

Not only is the population well balanced demographically, it is also widely spread industrially, with about two-fifths of the chief earners shared equally between the building industry and agriculture and gravel working. Only about 16% of the chief earners work in

manufacturing industries and smaller proportions are divided fairly equally amongst the other main orders of the Standard Industrial Classification.

When heads of households are analysed according to socio-economic groupings there seems again to be a reasonable balance. Three-fifths of the population fall within my groups 6 and 7, (10) comprising foremen and manual workers, and only just under one-fifth are in groups 1 and 2, the professional and managerial people. This is, of course, a complete reversal of the situation at Tewin. Also in complete contrast, 55% of the 104 occupied chief earners work in the parish or in the adjacent parish, just over a fifth work in Stevenage and Hertford, the proportion being about the same in each case, and 15% work elsewhere, mainly Welwyn Garden City and Hatfield. Only one person commutes to London; the total sample is made up by a small minority of salesmen and labourers with no fixed place of work. Since Stevenage and Hertford are both relatively easily reached, only 10% of chief earners have more than a half hour's journey to work. Their method of transport to get to work is as follows:-

Table 5 - 9

Method of Transport to Work of all Chief Earners at Watton

	%
Works on premises	12.5
Walks or push bike	30.0
Always push bike	5.8
Motor-bike	4.8
Car/Van	31.0
Lift	8.7
Bus	5.8
	98.6

Again it is quite clear that private transport is used to get to work where chief earners commute; indeed, quite often this is forced on them by the vagaries of shift work.

Watton, then, relies much less on outside employment and it is interesting to see to what extent shopping habits reflect this. It is difficult to compare Watton with Tewin here since the former has four times the latter's number of shops. However, this only really affects shopping for groceries, where indeed Watton supplies 55% of the households: it will be recalled that the similar proportions for Hexton and Tewin were 10 and 14 per cent respectively. Of greater interest is the table showing the usual shopping place for certain other items:

Table 5 - 10

<u>Shopping Place</u>	<u>Woman's Dress</u>	<u>Woman's Shoes</u>	<u>Man's Shoes</u>	<u>Coat/Suit dress for child</u>	<u>Price of Living Room Furniture</u>
London	24.1	14.2	10.8	5.0	16.6
Stevenage	9.2	8.3	4.2	8.4	7.5
Hertford	19.2	40.0	47.5	13.3	38.3
Other (including (various) (local)	24.9	22.4	16.6	16.4	19.1
Various including London	10.0	4.2	4.2	3.3	9.2
Does not apply	11.7	10.0	15.8	53.4	7.5
No information	0.8	0.8	0.8	-	1.7

It is clear that Hertford still dominates shopping habits, despite the competition from Stevenage. The comment made by the wife of the garage proprietor who said "I like to shop where I'm used to the assistants", was typical of others who found the habit of shopping in Hertford too hard to break. Also of course the buses do not serve both places equally. Between noon and 6 p.m. on a weekday there are three buses to Stevenage, but five to Hertford, and on a Saturday the number to Stevenage remains the same, whereas there are nine to Hertford. Some of the older people never leave the village at all. As a 63 year old spinster put it, "There's no point in going out of the village. When the buses started it was 8d. return, now it's 2/4d". The argument behind this sort of budgeting was endorsed by others. However, some had a big family shopping expedition at weekends and claimed to be able to cut their weekly grocery bill by 15/- or £1. by going to Stevenage; others mentioned the advantages there of easy parking. Over a fifth of all households go by car to get their groceries; as this proportion increases it seems likely that Stevenage will become more favoured as a shopping place, though only 10 per cent said that they bought most of their groceries there at present. With regard to other contacts with the outside world Watton resembled Hexton rather than Tewin. Indeed it had the highest proportion of households with no form of private mechanical transport (43 per cent) between the three villages. Over a third of the households did not go on holiday in either 1960 or 1961. Of those who did have a holiday in 1960, 43 per cent took seven days or less and a further 40 per cent took between 8 and 15 days. This should be compared with Tewin, where, it will be recalled, about a third of the larger proportion who had holidays went

for longer than 15 days.

Watton seems to fall between Hexton and Tewin in the intensity of its social network. A 66 year old Watton born gardener said "My sons' families come to visit me every weekend: I prefer not to entertain village friends," and this is a typical position. Many old people who may have given the impression of being lonely and isolated when interviewed get regular visits in this way; a 75 year old widow described how "my sons and daughters visit me regularly to keep an eye on me". However, there was also a different pattern, typified by this remark made by the 37 year old wife of an immigrant sales manager, "People visit us three or four times a week, always from outside the village". Again a bank clerk described the more extended social net, "We see our parents and family every now and again, occasionally friends come from round about or friends from the village come to tea". Remembering that most immigrants came from the surrounding area it is not surprising that generally both the last visitor and the last person visited lived elsewhere in the same county.

Only a quarter of the women and a fifth of the men who were asked about membership of clubs and organizations in the village qualified as a member of any by attending more than two meetings in the previous year. I heard the complaint made repeatedly that the place was 'dead' - "nothing goes on here", and so on. It will be necessary to return to discuss this point later.

The Three Villages : Some General Conclusions

I have not attempted to portray the differences between the villages precisely and quantitatively. It is not necessary to use a steam roller to crack a nut; once enough data has been provided to

show that the villages are quite different from each other then it is not necessary to labour the point. Nor is it necessary to attempt to measure exactly by how much they differ from each other: this would be an arid exercise. Comparative studies of three communities surveyed concurrently are not common, and it is easy to see why. The amount of material which must be handled if one is going to probe beyond a superficial level presents considerable problems of organization. It is now necessary to survey the information presented in this chapter, draw some preliminary conclusions and hypothesize some further themes which may be developed.

It appears that the further one analyses rural areas the more difficult it becomes to generalise. On the one hand Hexton appears to be the most rural, where the estate is the parish and where the little community has a clear functional relationship with the environment. And yet at Watton there is a greater proportion of people born in the parish and the sense of continuity may well be stronger than at Hexton. The comparative figures are as follows:

<u>Table 5 - 11</u>	<u>% of Total Households</u>		
	<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Tewin</u>	<u>Watton</u>
Husband born, or established in Parish before marriage	18.3	11.8	25.0
Wife " " " " "	6.1	4.2	7.5
Both husband and wife born in parish (or other head of household)	6.1	5.5	6.6
Household has moved into parish from elsewhere	69.5	78.5	60.9

The importance of 'newcomers' as a major force promoting change was assumed from the start, and at Watton, and even more at Tewin, there is no doubt that this is true. At Hexton on the other hand, where newcomers moved from similar rural backgrounds and continued working in similar jobs they seemed to be less significant. The unmarried offspring were perhaps more powerful agents of change there. A further important theme which I had not fully foreseen was the importance of the large landowner on the social reality of the village. Maybe the predominance of studies of small farmers on the celtic fringe prejudiced my approach to the villages in lowland England. Certainly all three parishes are to varying degrees products of the squire's influence. Hexton and Tewin have been discussed in greater detail on that point than Watton, and it will be necessary to return to this. It seems clear that if one is looking for reasons why one parish has developed and not another then it seems to be more a matter of cherchez le châtelain rather than simple geographical factors of accessibility to employment centres.

If I had to choose one table to illustrate the basic differences between the parishes I would think the following to be the most significant.

Table 5 - 12

<u>Ownership of House</u>	<u>Per centages</u>		
	<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Tewin</u>	<u>Watton</u>
Rented from a private individual	29	10	36.5
Rented from Local Authority	2	20	32
Rent Free	61	5	12.5
Owned (Freehold or long leasehold)	8	64	18
No information	-	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

At Tewin nearly two-thirds of all houses are owner occupied; at Watton over two-thirds are rented and at Hexton 61% are rent free. These sort of differences seem to be more illuminating than primary geographical variables. The analysis is most useful when surveying the overall scene on a county basis as was attempted in chapters three and four. As has already been described and as shown in Figure 15, there are clear signs of ecological segregation within the parishes of Tewin and Watton. The differences between parishes should not be forgotten, but nor also should the seemingly basic difference between the newcomers and the established people within the parish. If it is broadly assumed that newcomers are generally commuters, then an analysis of the way this group interacts with rural society may provide a fruitful line of approach to the problem of the processes promoting change in rural areas. Perhaps it should be noted in passing that an assumption is being made that those who have been in rural areas for the longest time are more 'rural' than those more newly arrived, and also that those who commute to surrounding towns, having stronger physical links with the outside world, will be socially so orientated and, hence, less 'rural'. In the next chapter, a more rigorous quantitative analysis is required; the populations of Watton and Tewin will be combined to get a more satisfactory sample of 264 households. This will enable sub-groups of the populations to be more adequately represented. As the parishes adjoin it is doing no more than taking a segment of Hertford Rural District lying between the county town, a New Town and a Garden City (see Figure 13). The spatial factor will then be distorted; however, it will make possible a more detailed analysis of the total population, which, in turn, may well re-emphasise the spatial factor.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. Hertfordshire Mercury 2nd June 1961.
2. R.J. Whiteman (ed) Hexton - a Parish Survey (1936).
3. S.E. England is defined as the Registrar Generals' Standard South, South-East and Eastern Regions.
4. J.E.B. Gover et al. The Place Names of Hertfordshire, Cambridge (1938) p.232.
5. W.G. Hoskins. The Making of the English Landscape London (1957) p.46. See also the maps of settlement and physical features, Figures 14 and 15.
6. Panshanger Estate Cottages in Hertfordshire County Record Office.
7. See above page
8. Hertfordshire Mercury 12 December 1947.
9. Classification of Occupations - see Appendix 3, and below Chapter Six.
10. See Appendix 3 and the discussion in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIXThe Delimitation of Meaningful Sub-groups : A Quantitative Analysis

An attempt will now be made to present a quantitative analysis of the 264 households of the contiguous parishes of Watton and Tewin in terms of selected variables. It is necessary to present negative as well as positive results because these may be equally important in the overall analysis. As will emerge, the argument which follows is a crucial part of the development of the thesis.

The problem basically was this: urban influences cannot be seen solely in terms of new houses being built in rural areas for people who work in surrounding towns. Rather the urban influences are more likely to be extended by particular groups of the population, more 'urban' in their way of life - for example in the nature and extent of their contacts with 'the outside world'. At any rate that was my working hypothesis. I did not expect urban influences to be transmitted into rural areas by a random group of the population or by people with certain psychological or biological characteristics. Definable social groups were sought, which could be compared in regard to certain economic and social links with the outside world, thus enabling measurement of the differences between the urbanized and non urbanized groups to be made.

It is important that this stage of the argument should be understood, and yet the presentation of all the data on which the argument is based would make it unnecessarily long and complex. Specific questions with regard to the total population will be posed, and by supplying answers to these, meaningful sub-groups will emerge.

It will be left to the following chapter to determine whether such sub-groups do differ in their relations with the outside world. The previous address of the household before moving to the parish was taken as a primary variable in order to see if such immigrant groups had any characteristics in common beyond that of a common origin. On similar reasoning it was thought that the date of arrival of the household into the parish would be significant. Maybe a defined group of 'newcomers' would also have further characteristics in common, and indeed there may be a correlation between the geographical origins of the immigrants and the time of their arrival - for example people from London may have moved out into the parishes during a particular period. Clearly some correlations would not be remarkable - for example between age of the head of household and type of family structure, but it would be significant if people in certain occupations had a distinctive size and type of household. Again, as will be seen from the questionnaire and code sheet in the back folder, there was a considerable body of information which could be correlated. In the event I felt that the following primary characteristics of the population should be analysed in order to abstract meaningful sub-groups.

1. The previous address of the household.
2. The date of arrival of the household into the parishes.
3. The workplace of the chief earner.
4. The occupation of the chief earner.

Further, secondary characteristics were chosen against which to test the validity of whatever sub-groups might emerge; these were the age, sex, birthplace and industry of the chief earner and characteristics with regard to the household - its size, type and the number of earners it contained. This selection may appear rather

arbitrary but it seemed to cover the main social characteristics of the population, particularly with regard to their physical contacts with urban areas. The number of possible combinations of the variables was clearly too great to handle and a rational limit to the number of cross tabulations had to be made.

Considering firstly the previous address of the households as an index of the origins of the population we may examine this in relation to three other characteristics - the age of the head of household; the age of children in the household and the place of work of the chief earner. These are set out in summary form in tables 6, 1 - 3. From 6 - 1 it can be seen that immigrants from London and elsewhere in the country, apart from Herts, are older in the wage earning age groups - three-fifths being aged between 41 and 65 as opposed to two-fifths of the remainder in that age range - but have a smaller proportion aged over 65. There seems a tendency for those who have moved from elsewhere in the county to fall ^{beneath} ~~below~~ the local households and those from further away, the proportion aged 40 and under - 47 per cent - being the highest of the four groups. Examining a further secondary characteristic - the age of children in the household - table 6-2, makes it less likely that the previous address of the household is related to significant demographic sub-groups. Here, curiously groups 1 and 4, those of nearest and furthest origins, have similar characteristics. This casts doubt on the previous address as a key variable. Finally inspection of table 6 - 3 shows that the highest proportion of those moving from elsewhere in Herts commute back to other places in the county, those from London show a similar

tendency to return to London, whereas those from further away have the highest proportion working in the parish or adjacent parish. This information is not very meaningful by itself since it seems apparent that a further variable is needed to make the situation more clear.

Table 6 - 1

Age of Head of Household in Relation to Previous Address

In Percentages

<u>Previous Address</u>	<u>Age of Head</u>					<u>100% =</u>
	<u>Under 30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-65</u>	<u>65+</u>	
1. Formed in the Parish or from adjacent Parish	16	19	18	20	26	93
2. Elsewhere Herts	19	28	28	13	13	47
3. 'London'	2	27	31	31	8	48
4. Elsewhere	6	21	29	29	15	48
						<u>236</u>

Table 6 - 2

Age of Children in Relation to Previous Address of Household

In Percentages

<u>Previous Address</u>	<u>Age of youngest child in family</u>			<u>No children under 15</u>	<u>100% =</u>
	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>		
	1. Formed in Parish or from adjacent Parish	21	9	8	62	94
2. Elsewhere Herts	30	19	11	40	63
3. 'London'	27	11	8	54	52
4. Elsewhere	19	5	13	63	54
					<u>263</u>

Table 6 - 3

<u>Previous Address</u>	<u>Place of Work of Chief Earner in Relation to</u> <u>Previous Address of Household</u> <u>Workplace</u>				<u>100% =</u>
	<u>In Parish or</u> <u>Adjacent</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u> <u>Herts</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	
1. In Parish or from adjacent Parish	38	50	3	9	74
2. Elsewhere Herts	29	41	21	9	58
3. London	21	33	41	5	42
4. Elsewhere	54	29	12	5	41
					<u>215</u>

Note The totals for each table differ because where no information is available the totals have been adjusted.

It may be that it is not so much the geographical origins of the population but the period during which groups arrived that is most significant. Of the 264 households, 147 arrived in the period 1946-1961 and 45 per cent of these newcomers (so defined) came during the five year period 1957-1961. Of this recent batch of immigrants a quarter came from London, 45 per cent from 'elsewhere in Herts' and the remainder from "elsewhere" - that is predominately elsewhere in South East England. (2) These proportions apply also, approximately, to the total of post 1945 immigrants. However, the previous address of the household is not the only guide to the origins of the population. The birthplace of the head of the household may

provide a better guide and indeed table 6 - 4 shows this to be so. It is clear that 87 per cent of the heads of immigrant households to these two parishes were born outside the county, and even of those 'established' in the parishes only just over a half were born locally. Nevertheless the contrast is strong enough for the generalisation to be made that over half the population is composed of newcomers born outside the county, the remainder being largely (70 per cent) born within the county. The outlines of a meaningful group seems to be emerging. Further analysis will now be based on two secondary demographic variables. Table 6 - 5 shows that by dividing up the post-1945 immigrants into three cohorts, a higher proportion of heads of households appear in younger age brackets moving towards the most recent immigration period. Earlier immigrants are, as expected, older with 70 per cent of the heads of households aged 51 or more. The non-immigrant population is more evenly spread through the age brackets. It seems clear that the majority of immigrants arrive before the head of household - i.e. chief earner - is 40 years old, and, since a large proportion of immigrants have recently arrived, then the proportion of young people among newcomers will be high. This can be further seen in table 6 - 6 where the family types of the immigrant cohorts are compared with the older immigrant families (before 1946) and with those where the head or his wife was born in the parish or where the household was first formed in the parish. For convenience all households apart from post-1945 immigrants will be termed 'established'. It will be noted from table 6 - 6 that the most recent immigrants have the highest proportion of households where there is at least one child under five, the

Table 6 - 6

Age of Children in Relation to Date of
Arrival of the Household

In Percentages

<u>Date of Arrival</u>	<u>Age of youngest child in family</u>			<u>No children under 14</u>	<u>Total = 100%</u>
	<u>Under 5</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>		
1957-1961	44	10	3	44	67
1952-1956	31	17	13	38	52
1946-1951	11	11	18	61	28
Before 1946	5	-	14	81	37
Born in Parish)					
H'hold formed in)	14	14	9	62	77
Parish)					
					261

When the previous table is also tabulated against the size of the household it becomes plain that newcomers of the previous five year period generally have more than one child, much the most common pattern being the two child household with the youngest under five years old.

Although 'newcomers' may not be an entirely homogenous group demographically, nevertheless their social impact on the parish may be such that they can be treated as a sub-group in further analyses. The importance of workplace as a variable will be accepted without further cross analysis because commuting is, prima facie, of importance to the social geographer analysing change in rural areas. A further guide to the nature of the immigrant group is the present occupation of the head of household (or the last one if he is retired) and these are shown in table 6 - 7.

Table 6 - 7

Occupations of Newcomers and Established People
(in Percentages)

<u>Occupation (3)</u>	<u>Newcomers</u> (Post-1945)	<u>Established</u>	<u>Total =</u> 100%
1. Professional	89	11	45
2. Intermediate Non Manual	87	13	54
3. Local Tradesmen	44	66	16
4. Junior Non Manual	66	44	12
5. Personal Service Worker			3
6. Foremen and Skilled Manual	16	84	43
7. Semi and Unskilled Manual	29	71	51
8. Farmers etc. as employers)	()	(
9. Skilled Farm Workers)	46	)	54
10. Unskilled Farm Workers)	()	(
11. No paid employment in past or present			6
12. No Information			6
			<hr/> 264
			Total Sample

This illustrates some fundamental information: out of a total sample of 264, 193 or 72 per cent of all heads of households are in the four occupational groups 1, 2, 6 and 7. What is more this proportion is divided fairly evenly between the professional supervisory group and the manual workers, the former being predominately newcomers and the latter predominately established. Other occupational groups have smaller totals and are divided more equally between the

newcomers and the established households. This factor of occupation will now be compared with various other variables, and in order to make presentation simpler the occupations will be limited to groups 1, 2, 6 and 7. These summary tables 6 - 8, 9 and 10 show with great vividness that we have in this factor of occupation a key variable to define meaningful sub-groups. Not only are groups 1 and 2 mainly newcomers but they are also very much 'outsiders' in terms of geographical origins and place of work. The tables are clearly balanced between, as it were, bottom left and top right. Only 2 per cent of group 1 and 15 per cent of group 2 were born in the county, the figures for the other two groups being 61 per cent and 57 per cent respectively. Similarly over a half of the chief earners in groups 1 and 2 work outside the county, the figures for groups 6 and 7 being only 12 and 8 per cent respectively. It is quite clear we have here a major variable in assessing differences within the population with regard to the outside world.

However, when groups 1 and 2 were compared with 6 and 7 with regard to the demographic factors, few differences emerged. The ages of the chief earners were much the same between the two, as were the types of household based on the age of the youngest child. However, there is some indication that groups 1 and 2 have a preference for two children (or, more realistically, limit their families to two) since out of the 99 families 36 had four as the total family, the comparable figure for the 94 households of groups 6 and 7 being 19. This is of course a small difference in comparison with those shown in tables 6 - 8, 9 and 10.

Returning now to table 6 - 10 it will be noticed that more manual workers find employment elsewhere in Herts than in the parish or

the adjacent parish. This example emphasises that it is important that significant sub-groups should not be ignored by being hidden in the major comparisons just described. For this reason it is

Table 6 - 8

The Previous Address of Heads of Households
in Selected Occupational Groupings

In Percentages

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>In Parish or adjacent</u>	<u>Elsewhere Herts</u>	<u>'London'</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>100% Total</u>
1. Professional	-	38	33	29	45
2. Intermediate Non Manual	17	32	30	22	54
6. Foremen and Skilled Manual	65	12	9	14	43
7. Non Manual	65	8	14	14	51
					<u>193</u>

Table 6 - 9

Birthplace of Heads of Households in Selected Occupational

Groupings

In Percentages

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>In Parish or adjacent</u>	<u>Elsewhere Herts</u>	<u>'London'</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total = 100%</u>
1. Professional	-	2	53	45	45
2. Intermediate Non Manual	9	6	43	41	54
6. Foremen and Skilled Manual	56	5	12	28	43
7. Non Manual	41	16	14	29	51
					<u>193</u>

Table 6 - 10

Place of Work of Heads of Households in Selected
Occupational Groupings

In Percentages.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>In Parish or adjacent</u>	<u>Elsewhere Herts</u>	<u>'London'</u>	<u>Else- where</u>	<u>Not at Work</u>	<u>Total = 100%</u>
1. Professional	4	40	44	9	3	45
2. Intermediate Non Manual	13	28	30	20	7	54
6. Foremen and Skilled Manual	39	42	-	12	7	43
7. Non Manual	31	55	-	8	6	51
						193

necessary to extend the analysis one stage further. Accepting that the occupation of the chief earner is a key variable it is necessary to correlate this with both the geographical origins of the population (i.e. the previous address before moving to the parish) and also the place of employment which causes such a large proportion of the population to leave the parish each day. Also it is necessary to examine the other factors mentioned earlier in the chapter in order to see whether the correlations already made will still stand as the most significant.

The full table showing occupation by previous address of household by present workplace is nearly three feet long, which does not enable it to be fully reproduced. However, it was analysed in

great detail and the following clusters emerged:

Table 6 - 11

Chief Earner's Characteristics

			<u>Total</u>	
Occupation Groups 1-4	Working in London	Previous Address in Herts (i.e. 'local')	12	
		- Previous address not in Herts (non-local)	24	
	- Working in Herts Towns or other local towns	Local origin	32	
		- Non local origin	27	
	- Working in parish or the adjacent parish	Local origin	10	
		- Non local origin	10	
	Occupation Groups 5, 6 and 7.	Working in Herts Towns	Local origin	46
			- Non local origin	11
- Working in parish or the adjacent parish		Local origin	22	
		- Non local origin	12	
Agricultural Workers 8, 9 and 10.			28	
Retired People, etc. (information insufficient to categorise as above)			<u>30</u>	
		<u>Total Sample</u>	264	

This is an extremely useful breakdown, since it takes into account geographical origins, present mobility (in commuting) and a key

social characteristic - occupation. Unfortunately the size of the sample makes the size of some of the sub-groups too small on which to base further analysis and so it will be necessary to discard or combine some of them. Before discussing this, occupation will be analysed in relation to some other variables. It has already been shown that newcomers tend to be born outside the county of Hertfordshire (Table ~~6~~⁶-4) and also in table ~~6~~⁶-7 it was tacitly shown that newcomers are more likely to be occupation groups 1 and 2. Taking now the three variables together and, for ease of presentation, concerning ourselves only with groups 1, 2, 6 and 7, the following clusters emerge:

Table 6 - 12

Occupation Groups 1 and 2.	- Previously living outside Herts	- arrived 1957-61	22	
		- arrived 1952-56	18	
		- arrived 1946-51	11	
		- arrived before 1946/	5	
	- Previously living within Herts	- arrived 1957-61	13	
		- arrived 1952-56	12	
		- arrived 1946-51	4	
		- arrived before 1946/ Established in Parish	11	
Occupation Groups 6 and 7.	- Previously living outside Herts	- arrived 1957-61	5	
		- arrived 1952-56	5	
		- arrived 1946-51	5	
		- arrived before 1946/	7	
	- Previously living within Herts	- arrived 1957-61	4	
		- arrived 1952-56	4	
		- arrived 1946-51	3	
		- arrived before 1946/ Established in Parish	60	

It is possible to derive some important conclusions from this table. Firstly, although there is a tendency for occupational groups 1 and 2 to have been previously living outside Herts, nevertheless this is a small factor in comparison with the overwhelming number of newcomers - 80 -, in comparison with the 16 households which have been in the parishes since before 1946. The reverse is the case in regard to occupation groups 6 and 7, although, perhaps to a lesser degree, where there are 26 newcomers to 67 established. Hence, from this data, it seems fair to conclude that the distinctions between the occupational groups and the newcomers/established are valid, but that the previous address of the household does not provide a meaningful basis for sub-groups. For the next stage of the analysis the table can be further simplified by considering simply 'newcomer' and 'established', again in relation to occupation but also in relation to the birthplace of the chief earner.

Table 6 - 13

Occupation Groups 1 and 2.	Established	Born in Herts	3
		Born elsewhere	6
	Newcomer	Born in Herts	5
		Born elsewhere	82
Occupation Groups 6 and 7.	Established	Born in Herts	50
		Born Elsewhere	18
	Newcomer	Born in Herts	5
		Born Elsewhere	21
			190

From this it is clear there are two broad groups: firstly newcomers, born outside Herts totalling over a hundred but predominately of occupational groups 1 and 2 in a ratio of 4 to 1, and secondly an established group overwhelmingly of occupational groups 6 and 7 born in the county. This last sentence is crucially important,

containing the key to the whole argument of this thesis. Before a final summing up of this section, the age structure of the chief earners in the two occupational groups must be analysed.

Table 6 - 14

<u>In Percentages</u>	<u>Age of Chief Earner</u>					<u>Over 65</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Total = 100%</u>
	<u>Under 30</u>	<u>31-40</u>	<u>41-50</u>	<u>51-65</u>				
Occupation Groups 1 and 2.	10	22	32	21	7	6	99	
Occupation Groups 6 and 7.	16	25	22	23	9	5	94	
							<u>193</u>	

The information obtained from this table, although mainly negative, is important. The age structure of the two groups is not fundamentally different, making them thus more comparable. Admittedly there is a tendency for more chief earners in occupational groups 1 and 2 to be in their forties but this is not a serious difference. (The further tendency for groups 1 and 2 to have two children, the youngest being under five, has already been noted.)

We have now reached a fundamental point in the analysis. Considering the 264 households as a single population it has been demonstrated that occupation, by itself, can be taken as a fundamental criterion in determining meaningful sub-groups. Up to now the occupational groupings have been clumsily designated 1 and 2, and 6 and 7. However, although these four groups do include nearly three-quarters of the sample it will clearly be more satisfactory to devise some short-hand to describe bunched socio-economic groupings. In common with other sociological writers (4) I decided to use the

term 'class', and, as will appear in the following chapters, this was the most realistic term to use. By inspection of the full tables it appeared that personal service workers (order 5) fitted more closely with the characteristics of the manual workers (orders 6 and 7), and the three groups were defined economically as the 'working class'. It is not pretended that this is in any way a sophisticated classification. Quite clearly foremen and roadmen are not very satisfactory extremes to include in the same classification. The anomalies are worse in the other class, obtained by adding orders 3 and 4 to 1 and 2. This means that, for example, lawyers and bankers are in the same group as local tradesmen and shop assistants. However, in a rural area this is in fact reasonable, remembering that we are concerned with the heads of households, and the local shop-keeper would consider himself to have higher status than perhaps would be the case in cities. This other class was defined in terms of a status-hierarchy and called 'middle' even though there was no class above it and its members work for their living to no less an extent than those in the 'working' class. Other definitions such as 'blue collar' and 'white collar' or 'wage earner' and 'salary earner' may be theoretically more suitable but they are less reflective of the class reality than those chosen, as will later become apparent. Agricultural occupations were excluded from this scheme, mainly because the totals of the sub-groups were so small, and also partly because I felt that the status characteristics of the population were less easy to define.

The two main social groups of the population are therefore to be defined as middle and working class with a third group of agricultural workers. The total sample will be analysed, sub-divided

into groups, to test relationships between them within the parish and also in relation to the outside world. Households moving into the parish since 1945, classified as 'newcomers' will also be compared with established families, but this is less satisfactory since, as has been described, newcomers are largely middle class people born outside Hertfordshire; the class factor is more significant than length of residence in the parishes per se. Finally the complete analysis will be based on commuting characteristics of both the middle and working class groups. We are concerned here with emphasizing the spatial aspects of social change, and it must therefore be assumed that those who are physically orientated to the outside world - and the distance between home and workplace was taken as a useful criterion of this - would be socially so orientated. Geographical mobility and social change were thus assumed to be linked. I thought if I could demonstrate different patterns as between commuters and non-commuters, irrespective of class or occupational differences, then by returning to the villages themselves and considering the proportion of commuters, it would be possible to demonstrate the degree of 'urbanization' which had taken place. Urban influences on rural areas were taken to be dependent on the physical contact those living in rural areas had with surrounding towns, and, of course, London. This present analysis, demonstrating the importance of class, as a factor giving rise to meaningful sub-groups of the population, was held at this stage to be likely to complicate the picture but not fundamentally to destroy it. The next chapter will present an analysis of the combined populations of the two parishes in terms of the variables here discussed, with, in addition, an analysis of the importance of commuting as it may be associated with other links with the outside world.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Established in the Parish. Those households where the chief earner or other head of household and/or his/her wife/husband was born in the parish, or the household was established in the parish before 1946.
2. South-East England. Taken as the Registrar Generals East, South-East and South standard regions but excluding Hertfordshire and the conurbation of Greater London and London A.C.
3. Occupation. The orders 1-10 in this classification are a shortened version of the scheme devised by the Registrar General in his Classification of Occupations 1960 (HMSO) a full account appears in Appendix 3.
4. There is a considerable literature on this subject but I was particularly influenced by W. Lloyd Warner (see for example the abridged edition of Yankee City New Haven and London 1963) and also by Margaret Stacey in her study of Banbury Tradition and Change (Oxford University Press) 1960. Of great interest is the article by D.E.G. Plowman, W.E. Minchinton and Margaret Stacey on Local Social Status in England and Wales in the Sociological Review 10 (1962) 161-202.

CHAPTER SEVENSocial Class and Geographical Mobility: Differentiation in
Terms of Work and Family

The purpose of this chapter is to present a quantitative analysis of the two adjoining parishes of Tewin and Watton-at-Stone in terms of the variables discussed in the previous chapter. The population was divided up into the following sub-groups.

Table 7 - 1

		<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Sample</u>	
Middle Class	- London Commuter	38	14)	
	- Local Commuter	59	22)	44
	- Non Commuter	20	8)	
Working Class	- Commuter	56	21)	
	- Non Commuter	34	13)	34
Agricultural Workers		28	11	
No information, retired etc.		29	11	
		<u>264</u>	<u>100</u>	

Note. The important definitions of these categories are given in footnote 1 to this chapter.

The main groups of middle and working class include 117 and 90 households respectively. These totals are neither too small nor too far apart to prevent useful comparative material to be presented.

It is clearly of fundamental importance that so many newcomers have come into the two parishes during recent years. In simple terms this has already been shown to be a middle class movement and the summary table below makes this very clear.

Table 7 - 2Length of Residence of the Classes (2)In Percentages

	<u>Established</u>	<u>Newcomers</u>	<u>100% =</u>
Middle Class	19	81	117
Working Class	71	29	90
Agricultural Workers	54	46	28

Not only are middle class people the most important group of newcomers but they are also commuters. Hence, of the 97 households where the chief earner commutes, about 90 per cent are newcomers, whereas of the 20 middle class households where the chief earner is not a commuter, only 45 per cent are newcomers. In this respect the working class group has similar characteristics to the established middle class non-commuter, since in the working class chief earners are more likely to be 'established' whether they commute or not.

Table 7 - 3Commuting Characteristics of the Working ClassNewcomer and Established HouseholdsIn Percentages

	<u>Established</u>	<u>Newcomer</u>	<u>Total = 100%</u>
Working Class Commuter	75	25	56
Non Commuter	65	35	34

It is also significant that nearly a half of the agricultural workers are also newcomers. It seems that the traditional world of a small, established middle class with a large working class population has been invaded by a new middle class commuting element so that now the middle class group is numerically the greater. Looked at in a different way the 147 newcomer households arriving since 1946 are made up as follows.

Table 7 - 4

<u>In Percentages</u>	(100%=)	<u>Middle Class</u>		<u>Working Class</u>		<u>* Other</u>
		<u>Commu- ter</u>	<u>Non Commu- ter</u>	<u>Commu- ter</u>	<u>Non Commu- ter</u>	
Arriving 1946-1956 (80)		55	6	11	9	19
Arriving 1957-1961 (67)		62	6	7	7	18
	(Total 147)					

* Including Agricultural Workers, no information etc.

In the previous five years, then, at least two-thirds of the 67 incoming families have been middle class, and most of the chief earners have been commuters.

Economic Links with the Outside World

In this section further evidence will be presented to show, firstly, the differences between the classes and, secondly, differences within classes in relation to places of employment and main shopping centres. Whereas within the middle class group a third work in surrounding towns and a further 30 per cent work in London, nearly a half of the 96 working class chief earners work in surrounding

Herts towns. 11 per cent have no fixed place of work or work elsewhere and only 35 per cent actually work in the parish or the adjacent parish. Of the full sample of 222 chief earners in the two parishes, about which information is available, just on a quarter work locally without going to surrounding towns or London. The full table is below.

Table 7 - 5

<u>In Percentages</u>	<u>Chief Earner's Workplace</u>					<u>100% =</u>
	<u>Works in Parish or Adjacent.</u>	<u>Local Herts Towns</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Else-where</u>	<u>No Inf.</u>	
<u>Earner lives in</u>						
<u>Watton and Tewin</u>	24%	40%	17%	11%	8%	222

The industrial structure of the two populations reflects the differences that one would expect. (3)

Table 7 - 6

Industrial Structure according to Chief Earner's Class

<u>In Percentages</u>	<u>Industry</u>				<u>Total = 100%</u>
<u>Class</u>	<u>Professional and Public Services</u>	<u>Manufacturing Industries</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>Other</u>	
Middle	40	30	5	29	117
Working	8	38	23	31	90

Since professional people are middle class by definition, it is hardly surprising that proportionately there are five times as many chief earners engaged in professional and public services in this class than in the working class. The predominance of working class

earners in the building industry is again not surprising in view of the fact that the parishes are surrounded by new and expanding towns. There are no other striking differences between classes, but within classes, there are some differences. Among the middle class the newcomers predominate in the professions or manufacturing industries, whereas the established group has a predominance in the building industry and in distribution and miscellaneous services. Again, this is hardly surprising since, again by definition, small local tradesmen are classified as middle class. The breakdown within the class as between commuters and non-commuters is as follows.

Table 7 - 7

Industrial Structure and Commuting in the Middle Class

In Percentages

<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Professional and Public Services.</u>	<u>Manu-facturing.</u>	<u>Distribution & Misc. Services</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>100 %</u>
London Commuters	45	29	18	9	38
Local Commuters	39	41	12	8	59
Non Commuters	35	-	40	25	<u>20</u>
					117

Hence, within the middle class, we have, firstly, professional people, largely newcomers, who commute to London; secondly, there are the local commuters, also newcomers, who work in surrounding towns, mainly in industry, but also in services such as banking and local government; finally there is a small group of established non-commuters who run local businesses. The working class breakdown is much as one would expect - some sixty per cent of commuters work in

surrounding factories, and a similar proportion of non-commuters are engaged in non-professional service industries.

Of crucial importance when considering the links with the outside world is the degree to which households have their own forms of private transport. Broadly speaking one half of the working class families has neither a car nor a motor cycle and there was little difference between households where the chief earner commuted and those where he did not. In the middle class, however, most families had at least one car and over a quarter had two. Indeed, when considering London commuters alone, a third of these had two cars in the household, some having motor-cycles as well. The proportion of working class families with one car was about the same as the proportion of middle class people with two cars. Over ninety per cent of the middle class commuters leave for work each morning by car. Most of those travelling to nearby towns go all the way by car, but a half of the London commuters simply use the car to get to the station. What does seem remarkable is that fully two-fifths of those commuting to London travel all the way by car. Some working class commuters travel to work in their own cars - about a third - but a quarter go on their ordinary pedal cycles and a further quarter go by bus.

The second main 'economic' link with the outside world, that is shopping place for various items of food and clothing, will now be considered. In a way this is a more important contact with 'urban influences' than employment. It is quite possible for factory workers from Tewin, for example, to cycle in and out to work and have contact with few others apart from other factory workers, also, possibly, living in villages. On the other hand the housewife who

lives in a rural area, but who does all her shopping in a neighbouring town, may be participating in urban life as much as another housewife living in an estate on the edge of that town. It will be interesting now to see whether those families where the chief earner commutes have a wider radius of action than those where the chief earner works locally. Questions were asked about where 'the housewife' (where appropriate) usually bought groceries, meat, a dress and shoes for herself, clothing and shoes for offspring (where appropriate) and a main item of living room furniture. Men were also asked where they bought shoes. Single men and widowers living alone were classified as 'the housewife' with regard to the food items. Some people firmly mentioned a particular local town for specific items; others listed a number of towns for single items. This appeared to be an important distinction, and when such a list was given no attempt was made to insist that a particular town be selected by the respondent as the most important. It was clear that some households had fixed shopping habits whereas others had a much more fluid pattern.

It might be expected that there would be some parallel between commuting, say to surrounding towns, and shopping habits in relation to these towns, irrespective of class. This was not found to be so. Taking first the basic household groceries, it was clear that the middle class commuters to London ranged the farthest for such items.

Table 7 - 8

Shopping Place for Groceries by Class and
Commuting Characteristics

In Percentages

<u>Chief Earner</u>	<u>Shopping Place for Groceries</u>			<u>100% =</u>
	<u>Delivered or Bought in Parish</u>	<u>A particular Local Town</u>	<u>Several Herts Towns</u>	
<u>Middle Class</u>				
London Commuter	34	32	34	38
Local Commuter	42	37	19	59
Non Commuter	50	25	25	20
<u>Working Class</u>				
Commuter	57	29	14	56
Non Commuter	56	20	20	34
Agricultural Workers	75	14	11	28

It is striking that in fully a third of all households where the chief earner commutes to London the groceries are bought in several local towns - seemingly a reflection of the fact that a third of such households have two cars. However, local commuters from the middle class seem to use a particular local town for groceries, but this is not so closely paralleled by working class commuters. The differences between working class commuters and non commuters appear slight, while agricultural workers seem the least mobile.

Greater contrasts can be seen with items of clothing: London commuters buy their shoes in London and their wives go there for dresses. The difference between classes is also marked.

Table 7 - 9

The Importance of London for Shopping
By Class and Commuting Characteristics

<u>Chief Earner</u>	<u>Woman's Dress</u>	<u>Man's Shoes</u>
Middle Class	(Proportion who normally buy in London)	
London Commuter	86%	89%
Local Commuter	78%	40%
Non Commuter	66%	37%
Working Class		
Commuter	28%	4%
Non Commuter	40%	10%
Agricultural Workers	19%	15%

Although women might be expected to make a special journey to London when buying clothes in order to get a wider choice, men would be less likely to do so. The fact that such a large proportion of men who commute to London buy their shoes there is probably a reflection of the fact that they have more time and leisure to shop during the day near their place of work, rather than add such a task to the many others to be done at weekends. Such people would seem to be fully part of the urban world. The fall off in the proportion of women who go to London between the middle class and working class commuters' wives is now to be expected, but perhaps less expected is the relatively large proportion of non-commuters' wives who shop in London for their dresses. Proportionately more working class non-commuters' than commuters' wives bought their children's

When respondents were asked how they travelled when going to buy selected commodities the contrasts between classes were again striking. While over half the middle class households normally used the car when going to get groceries (most of the rest having their groceries delivered), the proportion for the working class was only 10 per cent. It was significant that few people varied in their habits: they either always went by car or by bus, or simply walked to the village shop, or had goods delivered. This last situation applies to 60 per cent of the working class and 37 per cent of the middle class. The contrast can best be seen with regard to clothing, where travelling outside the parish would be more likely. Taking only those who go either usually by car or usually by bus the figures are revealing.

Table 7 - 11

Transport used when going to buy two selected goods by class of chief earner in household

In Percentages

<u>Class of Chief Earner</u>	<u>Generally by Car</u>		<u>Generally by Bus</u>	
	<u>Woman's Dress</u>	<u>Coat, Suit Dress for Child</u>	<u>Woman's Dress</u>	<u>Coat, Suit Dress for Child</u>
Middle	50	66	8	10
Working	16	8	50	66

Those not described in the above table do not have a regular pattern of shopping habits, but the proportions were much the same in both classes. The crucial point is that the split should be so sharp

between those who shop by car and those who use the bus.

The actual number of shopping trips made outside the parish did not vary greatly between classes. About two-fifths of all housewives made at least two journeys outside the parish during the previous calendar week.

It has been demonstrated in this section that differences between commuters and non-commuters do exist in all groups, with London commuters having the widest range of physical links with the outside world. However, the differences between classes are so great that they overshadow the minor differences which may occur within them.

Social Links with the Outside World

We have seen the outlines of a picture of a mobile middle class group travelling long distances to work and sharing their shopping purchases between the surrounding towns in Hertfordshire and London. The next question is to what extent other journeys outside the parishes for pleasure or social contact also differed significantly between groups, either in their length or their frequency.

Firstly, respondents were asked about all the journeys they made outside the parish for various entertainments, and interviewers prompted for such things as special exhibitions, sporting occasions and so on, as well as the more normal cinemas and theatres. Among the middle class it seemed that the newcomers were more active in enjoying themselves, since a fifth claimed to go to such functions once a month or more often, as against 8 per cent for the established middle class. Within the working class this difference did not show

up; very small proportions went out frequently and over a half never, or almost never, made such journeys. Three-quarters of the agricultural workers similarly made very few journeys, and, since the rest of the sample group would be made up of farmers as employers, it gives a clear indication of the isolation of the farm worker.

A slightly different picture with regard to such journeys emerges when the commuting characteristics of the chief earner are taken into account. In the middle class, although the proportion of local commuters and non commuters, who make more than six trips a year to various entertainments is the same, about a third, the proportion of London commuters is as high as 60 per cent. This is a puzzling conclusion, particularly since it is not explainable by age differences, as will emerge below. A further confusion is that within the working class it is the non-commuters who make more pleasure journeys - a quarter making 6 or more trips a year against 9 per cent for the commuters. This may be a further indication of the financial strain that commuting involves.

Questions with regard to patterns of visiting between kin, the relationships between generations, links with the extended family and the density of the social network could give rise to great complications which I wished to avoid. Judging from other studies, for example by Elizabeth Bott or Peter Townsend (4) some individuals' knowledge of their family was dauntingly large. I felt that in the time available it would be well not to attempt a task that was likely to become too large to deal with adequately, and so I made do by asking simply who was the last visitor, (their relationship to the respondent), how long

ago the visit had taken place, and from whence the visitor had come. Similar information was asked with regard to the last person visited.

Considering first the question when the last visitor came to the household "to have a meal". The answers to this probably taught me more about class differences than any other. Part of the difficulty was that I wanted to be sure that brief calls from neighbours did not mask someone who may have travelled some distance to visit the household. Hence the emphasis that was put on 'having a meal'. However, the two classes had different ideas about 'a meal'. To the working class 'tea' is certainly a meal, but the middle class do not bother to consider it as such but think more in terms of dinner parties. Also, having frequent visitors for dinner parties and making reciprocal visits seems to be seen by the middle class as a reflection of their status and popularity. The working class may have just as much social contact without actually eating a meal - for example one working class woman visited her sister every weekend, to watch television, but had not eaten a meal away from home for eleven years. For such considerations it would be unwise to make much of the differences between classes as an index of sociability; we have seen that the working class households are more likely to be 'established' in the parishes and thus are more likely to have friends and relations within walking distance. There is thus less necessity for them to provide such visitors with meals. A further point, before concluding this discussion, is that it was considered to be an unwarranted intrusion of a family's privacy for casual friends to enter working class families' homes, whereas for the middle class

such visits enabled them to display the items characteristic of gracious living of which they were most proud.

All this being so, it is surprising that the differences between the classes were so small! Admittedly, those households who had not received a visitor for over a month comprised 18 per cent of the middle class, but 35 per cent of the working class. Again, this is a reflection of the fact that, as was described above in relation to Watton High St., a significant minority of working class households are composed of very old people, unlikely ever to entertain visitors to a meal. Within the middle class the households where the chief earner commuted to London appeared the most sociable, with only 11 per cent not having a visitor for over a month, and nearly two-thirds receiving one within the previous seven days. The situation was much the same when analysed in relation to the last person visited.

The relationship of the last person to visit the household for a meal showed some differences between classes, but within classes there were no significant differences. One-third of all the last visitors to middle class households were simply friends, and the proportion of friends last visited for a meal by middle class households was as high as 44 per cent. The comparative figures for the working class were 16 and 20 per cent respectively. The frequency with which parents were seen was almost exactly the same between the classes. However, where the middle class would entertain or be entertained by friends, the working class had closer links with brothers and sisters. One-third of the last visitors and 27 per cent of the last people visited were siblings of the head of household or his wife: the comparative figures for the middle class were 19

and 14 per cent respectively.

Perhaps of greater interest, when considering the links with the outside world, are the geographical origins of the last visitor and last person visited. Here a different question was posed: would those who had moved recently into the parishes from addresses outside the county still look outside the county for their social contacts? It is hardly surprising that this in fact was shown to be so, but nevertheless there were still differences between the classes. This is, of course, due to the fundamental fact that the middle class is primarily composed of newcomers. The following table describes the differences within the middle class.

Table 7 - 12

Place from which the last visitor to
Middle class households came.

In Percentages

<u>Middle Class Chief</u> <u>Earner</u>	<u>Origin of last Visitor</u>			<u>Total =</u> <u>100%</u>
	<u>Herts</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	
Commuter, having previous address outside the County.	24	38	38	50
Commuter, with previous address within Herts.	41	17	41	46
Non Commuter	45	20	35	20
ALL	34	27	39	116

Thus three-quarters of those commuters who have recently moved into the county last received visitors who came from outside the county, half of them coming from London. Only a third of all last

visitors to middle class households came from within the county. Contrasts within the working class were not between those who had moved from previous addresses outside the county and those coming from within the county, the total number of the former anyway being too small for meaningful comparisons to be made. The contrast was rather between the working class commuter and non-commuter, the former having almost twice the proportion of visitors from 'elsewhere' as the latter. Of perhaps greater importance is that, unlike the middle class, over half of the last visitors to the working class households came from within the county.

When considering the geographical location of the last person visited it appears that the contrast within the middle class is between those commuters who have moved in from outside the county, a half of whom went to London to make their last visit, and the rest of the middle class group, who were more likely to visit within the county. Indeed, this latter group had much the same pattern as the commuting working class, where just over a half of all last visits were made within the county. The non-commuting working class appeared the most stable with three-quarters of its last visits made within the county. The following table summarises the situation.

The final question which is to be discussed in this section is that of holidays. Here the commuting characteristics of the chief earner did not appear to be an important factor. There was some indication that newcomers were less likely to take holidays than established families, but this is more likely to be a reflection of age -

Table 7 - 13

Place at which the last person visited for a
meal lived, according to Chief Earner's
characteristics.

In Percentages

<u>Chief Earner</u>	<u>Herts</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total (100%)</u>
Middle Class Commuter previously living outside Herts.	32	50	18	50
Other Middle Class	56	13	31	64
Working Class Commuter	53	18	29	45
Working Class Non- Commuter	75	9	16	<u>32</u>
				<u>191</u>

(Households with no information omitted)

newcomers with young families preferring to holiday at home. The main contrasts may again be attributed to class. In 1960 17 per cent of middle class families took no holiday, while 48 per cent of the working class did not go away from home. This question again presented difficulties with regard to the way it was considered by respondents of different classes. Some middle class people who went away twice, the first time with children, claimed that only the second was a 'holiday'. Similarly, to the working class visiting parents was considered to be a holiday whereas this was not so with the middle class.

An analysis of holiday destinations in both 1960 and 1961 showed clear contrasts.

Table 7 - 14

Destinations of Families who went on holiday
1960 and 1961

	<u>South & East Coast</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>Abroad</u>	<u>Total holiday families (100%)</u>
Middle Class				
1960	30	50	19	104
1961	23	48	29	90
Working Class				
1960	58	38	4	50
1961	58	37	5	45

It is clear that about three-fifths of that proportion of working class households who go on holiday go to that section of the coast which is within easy reach. Of those who go elsewhere many in fact are visiting relatives. A very small proportion goes abroad. The middle class not only range further afield; they are enabled to do this by having longer holiday periods. Whereas 37 per cent of the middle class families, who took holidays in 1960, had 16 days or more away, the similar proportion for the working class was 6 per cent. Indeed, over a half of all working class holiday families were away for less than seven days.

In this last section I have attempted to assess in some measure all contacts with the outside world, as physically determined by movement outside the parish and outside the county. Although there are some difficulties with regard to specific questions, it seems very clear that there are two different worlds within the sample. Within

the middle class.

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(Households with no information omitted)

	1959	1960	1961	1962
Communist Working Class Non-Communist Working Class	12	19	35	35
Other Middle Class	23	18	52	42
Outside Home	29	13	31	29
Domestic Help	35	20	18	20
Middle Class Communist				

Spice Estate Herts London Epsom Total (100%)

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Table 7 - 14

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the middle class world it is customary to entertain and be entertained regularly by friends and relatives living outside the county. Most go on a holiday every year and are then likely to leave south-eastern England for Scotland or the West Country, with a substantial minority travelling abroad. The London commuters appear to have the most mobile pattern. Nearly a third go at least once a month to neighbouring towns or London for various entertainments and tend to head the list for other middle class patterns just described. Within the working class there was sometimes an indication that the pattern of the commuter was similar to that of the middle class non-commuter, but this was of far less significance than the differences which again and again separated the classes.

The Social and Geographical Origins of the Population

Having established that there are two main life-styles, one of which is, broadly, mobile and middle class and the other, more closely linked with a limited physical area, being predominately working class, it is now necessary, in this final section to analyse more closely the incoming population which is associated with change in rural areas.

Firstly, let us consider the birthplace of the chief earners. Three-fifths of all working class chief earners were born in the county, a quarter were born elsewhere than London, where the remaining 15 per cent were born. The differences within the working class were not important, although there was a tendency for the non-commuters to be born locally. The situation with regard to the middle class is strikingly different, as the following

table shows.

Table 7 - 15

Birthplace of Middle Class Chief Earners

Middle Class Chief Earners.	<u>Herts</u>	<u>Born in London</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	100% =
London Commuters	3	76	21	35
Local Commuters	17	34	49	55
Non Commuters	35	35	30	20
ALL	16	51	33	110

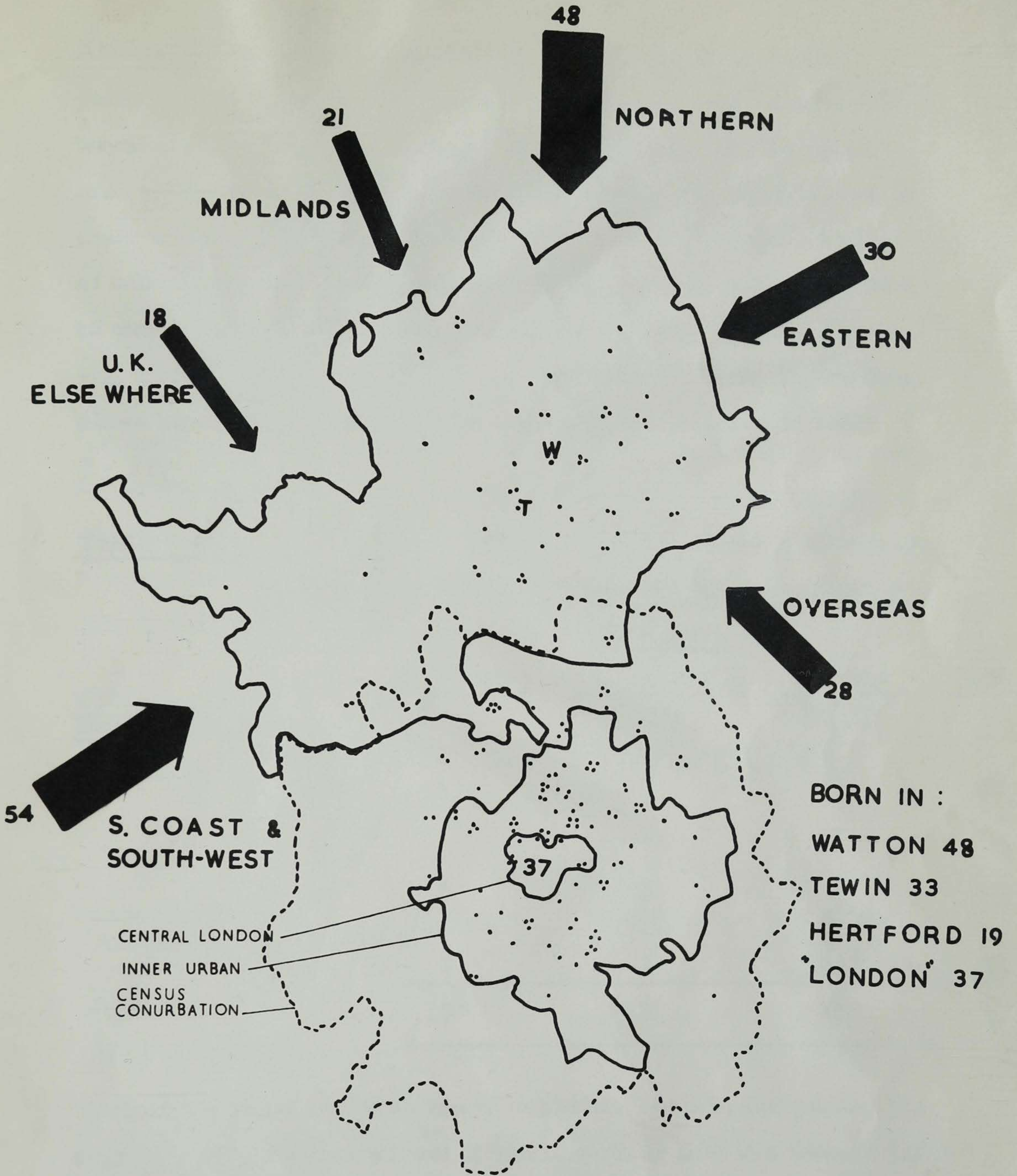
Thus a half of all the middle class group were born in London and three-quarters of the London commuters were born there. Only 16 per cent of the middle class people were born in the county, the proportion of London commuters in this group being negligible, whereas the proportion of non-commuters locally born was rather higher - just over a third.

A very detailed series of cross-analyses of the complete population aged 15 and over were made (5) with particular attention directed to the relationship between the birthplaces of husbands and their wives. The crude information for the whole population is shown in table 7 - 16.

Table 7 - 16

Birthplaces of Husbands and Wives

<u>Born</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
In Parish (or adjacent)	45	23
Elsewhere Herts	26	25
Outside Herts	145	168
Total Couples	216	216



BIRTHPLACES OF ADULTS IN BOTH
WATTON & TEWIN

FIG. 16.

Among the middle class there were eight men born in the parish or the adjacent parish but six of these were married to wives born outside the county. A further nine middle class men were born elsewhere in Hertfordshire, but again seven of their wives were born elsewhere. By far the largest number of middle class men were born outside the county and married to women also born outside the county - 83 couples out of 104 - and further analysis would appear profitless. With the working class however the situation is different, as appears in table 7 - 17.

Table 7 - 17

Birthplace of Working Class Married Couples

		<u>Wife Born</u>			<u>Total</u>
		<u>In Parish</u>	<u>Elsewhere in Herts</u>	<u>Outside Herts</u>	
<u>Husband</u> -	Born in Parish or adjacent	6	9	18	33
-	Born else- where in Herts	6	2	3	11
-	Born outside Herts	5	2	26	33
		17	13	47	77

Thus there were twice as many husbands born in the parish (or adjacent parish) than wives: it would appear that the women leave the parish to find employment and husbands. It might be thought that the proportion of husbands marrying women born outside Herts would be related to age: that older men would be more likely

to have locally born wives. Careful analysis showed that there was some tendency for this to be so but less than might be expected. The proportion of working class husbands born in Herts in Tewin and Watton who were under 50 and were married to women born outside the county, was much the same as for those born in the county and with wives also born in Herts. On the other hand, for locally born husbands, 50 and over, there was a tendency for them to have locally born wives. When a closer analysis of working class husbands in Watton was made there was a clearer indication that older men had locally born wives. The following table gives the full totals but the numbers are too small to give more than an indication that younger men are finding their wives outside the county.

Table 7 - 18

Birthplace of Working Class Couples in Watton

By age of Husband

Husbands Born in Hertfordshire	<u>Wives Born</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>In Herts</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	
Aged less than 50	10	15	25
Aged 50 and over	6	1	7

When middle class commuters were analysed with regard to their previous address it was most significant that nearly one half of the London commuters had come from London, and a similar proportion of local commuters had moved from elsewhere in Herts. In all one-third of all middle class newcomers came from London,

38 per cent from elsewhere in Herts, 14 per cent from elsewhere in the south-east and only 11 per cent from elsewhere in the country (no information was available for 5 per cent of the sample). The proportions were much the same for the working class except, of course, that this group is heavily outnumbered by the middle class. It is not the source so much as the amount of immigration that differs between classes. The following table shows the origin of all newcomers irrespective of class.

Table 7 - 19

Origin of Newcomers Based on the
previous address of Households

<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Hertfordshire	39
London	30
S. E. England	15
Elsewhere	<u>16</u>
	100% = 142

There is little evidence here that newcomers are part of the so-called 'drift to the south-east'.

When newcomers were questioned on their reasons for moving to the parishes of Watton and Tewin a very striking contrast appeared between the two classes. For 70 per cent of the middle class households the chief reason appeared to be that they liked the particular house or locality and decided to move after they had searched in a wide area, presumably being prepared to travel some distance to work. On the other hand very few immigrant working

class households claimed to be influenced by such reasons, but were simply moving nearer to their place of work or to a new job in the area. Since the numerical total of immigrant working class households is so small the importance of the middle class motives is heightened. A number of families had had their houses built after purchasing the plot of land, but such land is very hard to obtain in view of the policies pursued by the County Planning Department. The effect of this has been, of course, to channel middle class newcomers to areas where private development is possible. Hence the element of choice for middle class families who want to live in the country has been restricted ~~for what has been~~ⁱⁿ 'the interests of the community'. The interplay of planning restrictions and middle class aspirations will be discussed further in the concluding chapter.

Considering now the age of the chief earner in terms of his class, commuting characteristics and length of residence, it appears that in the middle class commuters tend to be under 50 and non-commuters over 50. However, this is really a reflection of the fact that middle class commuters are also newcomers who are younger. It is the same theme which constantly recurs in this chapter. Newcomers are mainly middle class commuters, who are also younger than established heads of households. This factor of age appears to be independent of class differences, most newcomers being under 50.

Table 7 - 20

	<u>Age of Chief Earner</u>			<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Under 50</u>	<u>50 and over</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>		
<u>Newcomers</u>	69	25	5	129	of which 102 middle class.
<u>Established</u>	52	47	1	93	of which 24 middle class.

The younger newcomers also have a higher proportion of households amongst them with young children. Analysis showed that only one of the small group of established middle class households had a child under 10, whereas 49 of the 102 newcomer households of the middle class had at least one child under 10 years old. However, apart from this newcomer group, the age structure of other populations is unexceptional.

It is now necessary to look more closely at the social origins of the population in relation to the sub-groups which we have discussed. Firstly, taking the education which the chief earner in the household received, it is at once clear that the middle class have long been a distinctive group. Whereas 80 per cent of middle class chief earners left school at 15 or older, fully 78 per cent of the working class left at the age of 14 or younger. The contrast could hardly be greater. Analysis at a further level showed that a quarter of the non-commuting middle class also left school at 14 or earlier and that the commuters to London had the highest proportion with the best level of education of all. Fully one half of this last group left full-time education at 18 or older, as against proportions of 42 per cent for the local commuters and 30 per cent for the non-commuters. There were no working class chief earners in this category.

Turning now to the type of education received by the chief earners, the differences between the newcomers and the established middle class become plain.

Thus 35 per cent of the newcomers were at Grammar Schools and 26 per cent at public school, the proportions for the established group being 12.5 per cent in each case. In a sense the established

Table 7 - 21

Middle Class Chief Earners'
Type of Education

In Percentages

<u>Type of Education</u>	<u>Newcomers</u>	<u>Established</u>
'Ordinary' Primary only	15	33
Grammar School only	20	12.5
Grammar and University	15	-
Public School only	19	-
Public and University	7	12.5
Other advanced F/T ed.	21	37
	100% = 102	100% = 24

group has been the most socially mobile, where only two-thirds had post primary education, a high proportion of these having non-university further education, more overtly geared to 'training' than to 'education'. There is also an important indication, when considering type of education, that a higher proportion of working class chief earners who commute had secondary or further education than those who did not commute. That is 18 per cent (10 cases) of the commuters as against 9 per cent (3 cases) of the non-commuters went to grammar school or another form of advanced full-time further education.

Since it has been demonstrated again and again that the middle class group has a different life style - patterns of mobility, social and leisure activities and so on - it is highly pertinent to probe more deeply into its social origins. Information was obtained on the schedule about the last occupation of the chief earner's father and this was classified into classes in the manner

already described. One often heard the statement that these newcomers into rural areas were the "new middle class" who had risen from humble origins through their own merit and were now fully justified in pursuing their affluent life style. The first part of this assumption can only be partly true according to the information obtained from this present survey. Of the 113 middle class chief earners 71 per cent came from middle class parents. Clearly of key interest are the 33 middle class chief earners from working class parents and the 13 working class sons of middle class parents. These will be examined in more detail.

Table 7 - 22

Middle Class Chief Earners with Working
Class Fathers

<u>Son's Occupation</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>	
	<u>Foreman and Skilled Manual</u>	<u>Semi and Unskilled Manual</u>
1. Professional etc.	7	-
2. Intermediate Non- Manual	16	1
3. Small local Tradesmen	2	3
4. Junior Non-Manual	1	3

Thus a half of the socially mobile minority have come from foremen/skilled manual workers, in which group many might claim to be 'lower middle class'. The semi and unskilled manual workers contributed few recruits to the middle 'caste'. Considering now the working class sons of middle class parents, analysis showed that 8 of the 13 were sons of local tradesmen who became manual workers and 4 were sons of junior non-manual workers. The solid middle class of groups 1 and 2 lost but one member.

This theme, although of great sociological interest and importance,

does not have to be developed further for present purposes.

The important point is to note that there is no easy correlation between social mobility and geographical mobility. That there may be some such correlation for a minority may be true: however, it is certainly a minority which has been socially mobile. (6)

On the question of geographical mobility, information was obtained not only about the previous address of the household (already described) but also about the geographical location of the chief earner's first job, whether or not he was married at the time. Table 7 - 23 shows the proportion of chief earner's who started work within Hertfordshire.

Table 7 - 23

Chief Earner's Place of First Job

	<u>Herts</u>	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>No Information</u>	<u>100% =</u>
Middle Class				
- London Commuter	8	92	-	38
- Local Commuter	22	72	6	59
- Non Commuter	35	65	-	20
Working Class				
- Commuter	57	23	10	56
- Non Commuter	70	27	3	34
Agricultural Workers	39	61	-	28
ALL	37	58	5	235

Yet again the class differences stand out - the high proportion of middle class local commuters who started work outside contrasts with the much smaller proportion of working class (local) commuters.

The London commuters in the middle class again stand out as the most non-native group: three-quarters of them in fact had their first job in London. The high proportion of agricultural workers who have moved in from elsewhere is also worthy of mention. It is clearly quite wrong

to imagine that the agricultural worker is the most stable element of the local population. It seems a true enough generalisation to say of this rural area that whereas the working class have been moving out to get jobs elsewhere, the middle class have been moving in, but still work elsewhere.

Conclusions

Some attempt must now be made to draw together a rather long and unwieldy chapter. A great mass of data was available on which to base the analysis and in the event the conclusions emerge quite clearly, substantiated by a wide range of material illustrating different aspects of the social and economic reality of the area and the different patterns of mobility of different sub-groups of the population.

We have seen that the population of the two parishes is broadly divided between the middle class and the working class. The former group is composed mainly of newcomers who commute; some go to London, but most go to neighbouring towns. The London commuters group appeared the most mobile and had a higher proportion of families with two cars, shopped in a wider radius, travelled and entertained more and generally had fewer links within the county than the local commuter and, even more so, the non-commuter. This middle class group, although geographically mobile, did not appear to be remarkably mobile socially. Taking the working class group there were few newcomers, and the main contrast within the population was between commuters and non-commuters. The working class world differed basically from the middle class world; people were far more restricted, travelling less, having fewer outside social

journeys and shopping within a more limited area. The group had a much more restricted mobility, reflected by the smaller proportion with private cars. Commuters, curiously were not necessarily a more mobile sub-group within the working class population, maybe reflecting the financial strain of the journey to work. There was some indication, however, that commuters had higher educational qualifications.

Without doubt the evidence overwhelmingly supports the idea that the outstanding change that has taken place in the rural parishes under review has been the arrival of new middle class commuters, living in a completely different world from the more established working class community. In the next chapter we will examine the interaction of the two worlds within the local communities.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. In table 7 - 1 the definitions are as follows:
 - a) Class. This was discussed in Chapter 6. See also Appendix
 - b) London Commuters. Those who regularly travel to their place of work in the greater London conurbation. A total of 38 chief earners in the two parishes commute in this way and of these, 29 work in the County of London, the remaining nine working elsewhere in the conurbation. There are no working class commuters to London.
 - c) Commuters/Local Commuters. Those who regularly travel to their place of work beyond the parish or the adjacent parish. With negligible exceptions (and of course excluding (b) above) this is in Hertfordshire.
 - d) Agricultural Workers include farmers but not large landowners who are classified as middle class.
2. Definitions of Established and Newcomers are given in Chapter 6. See especially footnote 1.
3. The industrial structure is based on the Standard Industrial Classification of the Central Statistical Office (revised 1958).
4. Elizabeth Bott. Family and Social Network (London 1957).
Peter Townsend. The Family Life of Old People (London 1957).
5. The full tables are included in Appendix 4.
6. For a penetrating account of Affluence and the British Class Structure, see the paper of that title by J.H. Goldthorpe and David Lockwood, Sociological Review 11 (1963) 133-163.

CHAPTER EIGHTChange in the Community.

We have seen that the new commuting middle class group has a wide range of contacts with the outside world. In this chapter an attempt will be made to analyse the way that the trends and changes in the villages, described in Chapter Five, are associated with the sub-groups analysed in Chapter Seven.

The geographical location of sub-groups of the population is shown in full in tables 8 - 1 and 8 - 2, which should be read in conjunction with Figure 15, showing the distribution of clusters of population within the parishes. (1) The area of Tewin Wood has been impressionistically described above; it is clear that it is ~~mainly~~ middle class, over a half of the middle class newcomers living there as do three-quarters of those who commute to London. This is a very striking ecological segregation. When comparing Tewin with Watton it is important to notice that, although three-quarters of the immigrant middle class of the two parishes is in Tewin, 42 per cent of the established middle class live in Watton. This is even more clearly seen in table 8 - 2 which shows that 70 per cent of the middle class non-commuters - mainly small local tradesmen, builders and so on - live in Watton. As many as 97 per cent of the London commuters and 70 per cent of local commuters in the middle class live in Tewin.

The working class commuters are exactly divided between Watton and Tewin villages, but three-quarters of the non-commuters live in Watton - a larger working class village with more local employment.

Table 8 - 1 Geographical location of sub-groups of the population

In Percentages

<u>Chief earner/ Head of house- hold</u>	<u>Tewin Wood Orchard Rd and Qu. Hoo Lane</u>	<u>Elsewhere Tewin</u>	<u>Watton Village</u>	<u>Watton Hamlets</u>	<u>100% =</u>	<u>% of sample</u>
Middle Class -						
- Newcomer	54	20	22	4	102	39
- Established	21	37	25	17	24	9
Working Class						
- Newcomer	4	30	59	7	27	10
- Established	-	40	60	-	69	26
Agricultural Workers	7	37	23	33	27	9
Retired and DNK	13	20	53	13	15	6
ALL	24	31	37	8	<u>264</u> ====	100%

Table 8 - 2In Percentages

Middle Class						
- London						
Commuter	76	21	3	-	38	14
- Local Commuter	46	24	24	6	59	22
- Non-Commuter	5	25	45	25	20	8
Working Class						
- Commuter	2	48	50	-	56	21
- Non-Commuter	-	18	76	6	34	13
Agricultural Workers	7	36	21	36	28	11
DNK etc.	20	28	52	-	29	11
ALL	24	31	37	8	<u>264</u> ====	100%

The following summary table shows the broad distribution of the population according to class.

Table 8 - 3

Geographical Location of the Population According to Class

In Percentages

<u>Place</u>	<u>100%</u> =	<u>Middle Class</u>	<u>Working Class</u>	<u>Agricultural Workers</u>	<u>No Information</u>
Tewin Wood) Orchard Rd.) Queen Hoo) Lane)	65	92	1	1	5
Elsewhere					
Tewin	77	39	45	13	4
Watton Village	99	28	58	6	8
Watton					
Elsewhere	<u>21</u>	38	10	43	10
	<u>262</u>				

The most segregated area is middle class Tewin Wood, followed by the working class area of Watton village. In fact Watton is more segregated than appears, for most middle class housing is concentrated to the north of Watton village in the Beane Rd. area. It is hardly necessary to repeat the arguments of the last chapter here, to the effect that these class differences are a reflection of many other differences. However, just to underline the point about ecological segregation, the following table describes the birthplaces of the total population aged between 25 and 64 living in the two most segregated areas, just mentioned.

Table 8 - 4 Birthplace of the Population Aged 25-64 in Two Areas

<u>In Percentages</u>	<u>Hertfordshire</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>South East England</u>	<u>"Elsewhere"</u>	<u>100% =</u>
Tewin Wood	5	49	20	26	137
Watton Village	44	21	15	20	149

Full tables on the age structure and birthplaces of the population according to geographical location within the parish are in Appendix 4. In the light of the discussion in Chapter Seven, it is not necessary to note here more than the broad outlines of segregation as shown by class and commuting characteristics. The main problem now is to analyse the way groups that are more open to 'urban influences' by their origins and present place of employment, interact on other groups within the community.

The Interaction between 'the Wood' and 'the Village' at Tewin.

The emphasis in this section, and indeed in most of this chapter, will be on the information obtained verbatim both from those formally interviewed and also from other leaders of the community who were interviewed more generally, without using a questionnaire. These comments are of great importance since they are a necessary and valuable addition to the statistical material already presented, and also forestall the, perhaps, natural criticism that the class differences may be more apparent than real. Quite clearly, the class that people think they are in is just as important as the class assigned to them on the basis of the head of household's socio-economic grouping. Indeed, it could be said that what people think is of greater importance, since it is upon this that they base their actions with regard to where they live and their relationships with other people. This must be constantly borne in mind during the ensuing discussion.

I was very surprised to find that I was not obliged to approach the question of class differences in any delicate or circuitous manner. The Tewin village schoolmaster said bluntly "We're a split society," and it

was this situation into which I tried to probe more deeply. "I expect you've heard of the difficulties between here and the village", said the 40 year old wife of a computer programmer. "The wood people are energetic and run things and the village people complain: but they do nothing by themselves so what is one to do?" Even the Women's Institute has two groups, one was described to me as "in the daytime for commuter's widows - lots of cars and posh hats" and the other in the evening for the village, although I had some indication that this, too, was taken over by what were termed the "£1000-£2000 people". (Those whose husbands earned more than £2000 went to the daytime session). It was easy to understand how the take-over took place. As one village woman said, "Nobody spoke to the villagers if they went and when Cresta Silk gave a lecture on dressmaking, only people from the wood were invited". Because the Women's Institute has been taken over by the middle class the Young Wives' Club of the Church is almost entirely composed of council house tenants, thus confirming the division between the two worlds.

Not all middle class respondents used the euphemisms of "the wood" and "the village". As a 57 year old insurance official admitted, "Its a split between classes: the working class are more class conscious because of an inferiority complex... but anyway the old community has been killed by commuting". I would not accept this reasoning for a heightened class consciousness, but would rather take the second point that commuting has introduced a wider national class consciousness, to be found in the factories of Welwyn Garden City, into the closed and hitherto hierarchical world of the village. The working class people often make light of the two worlds referring to the "rich man and Lazarus"

or, less clearly, "Sodom and Gomorrah", in a detached sort of way. Part of the problem, of course, is that it is not a traditional working class pattern to "join things", as has already been found at Hexton and will be borne out when discussing Watton. On the one hand some wood people felt a responsibility towards the village (to borrow the euphemisms) and deplored the fact - as one woman put it - that "there isn't quite as much linkage between the two sections as many of us would wish....it is difficult to get real cooperation from the village in many of the things that are done in this district". However, others, perhaps too readily, accepted the divisions in society. One man was warned before he moved in that "you have to decide on which side you are batting - the wood or the village".

A 44 year old village woman, who is a domestic help in the wood, saw things differently.

"When I first came here I was the only stranger and it took fifteen years before I was considered to belong. Now so many strangers move in and out every week there's no real feeling of belonging left. It's not just the wood who change, but also the farm workers stay for only a few weeks or months. Perhaps that's why there's so much less independent life. We used to do our own entertainment until the wood took over the village hall ten years ago. There used to be dances every week and now they're only occasional. The badminton is only for the wood people. They tend to be snobbish when they've no reason to be - you know people when you work in their houses. (sic) There used to be fewer people here but you saw more of them. Now even in the pubs you must leave before the evening customers."

All this is rather enigmatic and sometimes overstated, but it does reflect views which I often encountered. The village hall controversy is

a good example of the way certain issues are seen in separate lights by the two groups. The Memorial Hall was given to 'the village' as described in Chapter Five and was run as a club with a bar and extended licensing hours. The trustees - a solicitor, a company director and the Rector - felt that the hall was not being properly used: it was running heavily into debt and the main group who used it was a minority of village men who took full advantage of the licensing hours. Hence in the mid 1950's a new Hall management committee was established, representative of the parish, to "save it" or "take-it-over", depending on class attitudes. Naturally most of the drive came from the wood, "most of the spirit that moves new ideas - committees and so on, comes from this end. We are blessed in having a very great variety of talent and ability here - all sorts of people - solicitors, people of that type - who really know what they're talking about and can help in these things".

An amateur dramatic club produces plays in the hall, the villagers come to the productions but few take part in them. Some say they are too busy; others cite the group as part of the take-over by the wood. The name of the group was changed from the Tewin Players to the Tewin Wood Players and indeed the "honorary social members" are recruited entirely from the wood as are most of the active members. Meetings and rehearsals take place during the day when it is difficult for working class wives to attend. "I suppose in a sense it's a squirearchy" conceded one woman, but the trouble is, as a professional man put it, "the wood runs the village and the village moans. The wood look down their noses on the village and haven't had money long enough to know how to behave".

It is important to understand more clearly how the people of the wood see themselves and an attempt will now be made to view their world through their own eyes. A 30 year old mechanical engineer who had just moved into Tewin Wood summed up his first impressions as follows:

"It's a self contained community; the wives form their own coffee groups, wine making groups and so on. It's only thirty-five minutes by train from town yet it's quite secluded. We have the best of all worlds."

The 35 year old wife of a technical manager said

"We wanted to get out into the country and we were obliged to go to the other side of the green belt. We much prefer it here to Southgate - there's more space for the children and it's much easier to get to know people. There's more individuality here: it's easier to be what you are and you don't have to pretend to be anything else. It's easy to be left in peace if you want to."

Another woman who had been in the wood for about ten years had found,

"That this little community to me is a shining example of how people can live together amicably, in friendship, no interference with neighbours but the greatest kindness - I've never known a quarrel between any of these people (if one wishes to be primitive)... Some people here have a lot of money. Some have very little - they're living on small pensions, but I have never felt myself any pressure whatsoever to live up to anybody. I've been entertained lavishly here - I've been entertained with bread and cheese and cocoa in the kitchen and I've been just as happy everywhere I go, and I believe that if you can really take that attitude, everybody here is ready to meet you on that basis."

The wife of a research worker who had moved into Tewin Wood from Welwyn Garden City in 1958 said

"Sensible people rarely come in unannounced but there's a lot of social mixing. The wives all go out for coffee in the mornings. It's marvellous here - in Welwyn Garden City the people are lonely. When we went on holiday the neighbours came in and dusted and made us a pie when we came back".

The 59 year old wife of a sales representative had been in the wood since 1946 but had not wearied of the social round - "there's lots of cocktail parties and dinner parties. We're always giving little dinner parties". Another woman who arrived about the same time felt much the same.

"It's one of the most delightful places in the world. People of the same sort are all around, all very friendly: it's quite exceptional - people of the same education and income, who come out here for the same reason. It's near to London but a lot goes on here and it's well supported."

The idyll painted by these people appeared to be largely true, although many needed the second car in the household in order not to feel too isolated.

- "I'll like it even better when I get my own car in two months' time."
- "I wouldn't be happy here without my own car."
- "We always travel by car - even to next door."
- "You simply must have a second car in the household if you really intend to take advantage of living here the way you'd wish to."

Probing on the isolation of commuter's wives was more difficult than on the issue of the split between the village and the wood. Only one rather naive and very newly arrived woman openly expressed unease for the time, which she had not yet experienced, "when the mists stop the men from getting home" ! Generally such thoughts were not

expressed and it was difficult to get beyond the flood of gemütlichkeit.^{??}

"There is something in common here and it isn't really money. It's the same outlook on life - that's all I can say. The people may be entirely different in their upbringing, their job, their age, even, but there is a sort of community of outlook - there's a feeling that your neighbours are there to be done good to - that you're there to be a neighbour if you're wanted. If you have a car, you fill it up, so that you go and pick all the children up or you could take everybody to the W.I. meeting or whatever it is."

Sociologists in this country are often concerned to speak of the sense of community of the traditional working class (2) whereas the gregarious middle class appears mainly in the American literature and less commonly here. (3) As an example of joint action on behalf of the group, the Tewin Primary School headmaster was asked, soon after his arrival, if he would take thirty new pupils the following term! These had previously been taken to Digswell School, but a joint decision to move them was made after hearing favourable reports of the new headmaster at Tewin. However, Tewin School was already full.

There were some exceptions to this typical middle class pattern, but these were hard to find. A 37 year old wife of an assistant accountant frankly admitted "We don't mix very much, we're living here by the skin of our teeth and could not keep up with the entertaining that mixing would involve". Another woman had made "no particular friends since coming here: it's rather cliquy but the people are quite pleasant, mostly Conservative - of course we're socialist here". At the time of the survey the wood was united in indignation against the way part of the wood was being "developed" as described in Chapter Five. Many people felt that the higher density building, which was involved, was cheating them of that which they came to Tewin to find.

"It's making the area suburban and now we want to move into the country."

"I want to live in a village and this is ceasing to be one."

"If the development impinged on our view or amenities we'd move to North Sussex."

"We came for the quietness of the countryside and now it's suburban. We can see other houses."

Even if a longer journey to work was involved many people would prefer to move further out, in sympathy with the man who said "I would rather come back to the sound of owls than the roar of traffic".

There is a further group of middle class people in the parish and this is in the far north east of the parish in Queen Hoo Lane and Bramfield Rd. The main link with the village is a very narrow, winding and rutted road running past Tewin Hill Farm. These people live in large, architect designed houses, probably of a greater quality than most in the wood. Whether it was because they were more intelligent people or whether distance adds objectivity, they were able to offer penetrating comment on both the wood and the village. Many would echo the woman who said 'the wood is suburbia and the village is not a true village at all'. One woman who had lived in the parish since 1937 unconsciously echoed the theme of this thesis.

The village has grown more sophisticated since the war - the people look more urban, all the places round Welwyn Garden City have higher material standards - the village catches the spirit of the bright and glossy houses.

Those who lived in Orchard Road, running between the wood and the village, also claimed to be able to comment objectively on both. Here middle class houses are interspersed with farm workers' cottages. Some people felt that not only were they geographically poised between

the two worlds, but also, socially, they could "get on with both kinds". The true situation is perhaps reflected in the following comments made by people in neighbouring houses. One said "it's ideal - a truly rural area near to shops", while next door a tractor driver's wife who had just moved down from Durham, "so that the children should have a better chance for jobs and so on", said "we like the country but the shops seem so far away, which makes shopping so expensive". Here was someone who knew from experience the difference between rural areas, where the urban influences are weak, but there are regular buses, and an area strongly under urban influences where private transport is essential.

Generally "the villagers" were not effusive about Tewin. "It's quite nice in summer but a bit dreary in the winter" summed up many people's feelings". One of the advantages of the place frequently mentioned was that it was not 'nosey'.

"I see my mother and friends regularly but not many other people."

"I never go inside other people's houses - except my children's."

"I keep myself to myself; there's no one else I really bother with."

Perhaps the most frequent complaint made by working class villager was the inadequacy of the bus service. It is possible to spend an hour shopping in Welwyn Garden City by catching the one and only bus which arrives at 9.57 a.m. The return bus leaves at 11.07 a.m. Hence most working class people who are employed in Welwyn Garden City go in by bicycle - a distance of three or four miles each way. The 10d. bus ride to Hertford or Welwyn is a tax on the poor and aged

who have to go to these places for doctor's prescriptions and so on. At one stage the vicar was obliged to rebuke some people in the village who had offered to collect prescriptions for old people, providing their bus fares were paid. A suggestion was made to London Transport that the bus should be re-routed to take the people where they wanted to go - Welwyn Garden City - but London Transport claimed that the 'detour' would add seven and a half minutes to the journey, since the bus would continue going to Welwyn North (though few people seem to want to go there). The parish council thought that for seven and a half minutes added to the route the bus would collect a lot more passengers, for it would serve the 20 newly-built houses at Grass Warren. (4) The last bus from Hertford is 8.30 p.m. and this made it difficult for teenagers to get back from the cinema or dances. Middle class people claimed this was no hardship since all the young people have motorcycles. This misses the point that the young girls dressed up in their finery refuse to go to dances on the backs of motorcycles. If the teenagers want to go to Stevenage or Hertford they have to arrange to hire a coach. Perhaps a typical working class comment summing up the village, as seen by them, was this. "I quite like it here but the shopping's poor and the buses expensive."

The contrast could hardly be greater than with the world of the wood. People who value the quiet seclusion and the fast train service to London from Welwyn North Station seem to be very happy in Tewin. Despite its paternalism and class-consciousness most people seemed to be trying to be friendly to others. As the 58 year old wife of a bank manager, both of whom were born in Walthamstow and who

arrived in 1945 put it, "I'd never dream of going back to London - this is a real community, everybody knows everybody else".

Change within the working class world will be analysed with regard to Watton, where the sample is larger. Our concern here is to evaluate the situation at Tewin where an immigrant middle class group is taken as the main 'urban influence' impinging on this particular rural area. Table 8 - 5 shows that the wives of middle class commuters join more organisations than non-commuters' wives and than all working class wives, whether their husbands commute or not. Of great interest is the fact that working class commuters and their wives participate in clubs and organisations more than non-commuters. Among the middle class men the difference between commuters and non-commuters is not great, but of interest is the fact that a high proportion of men joined activities outside the village. Sometimes these were recreational clubs associated with their work, or Golf Clubs where they met friends and colleagues; some were professional organisations holding their meetings in London. When considering in table 8 - 6 those who were office holders - accepting committee members as office holders - the contrast between the classes is striking, as is the fact that middle class men are more likely to hold office in organisations meeting outside the village. This is further evidence of the

urban, mobile and outward looking middle class living in a wider, regional sphere of action. No doubt men would not be so likely to maintain links with these other organisations unless they had office holding responsibilities in them.

Table 8 - 5

Participation in any club or organisation
(excluding Church)

(Normally attending more than twice a year)

Meetings of the Organisation held:

<u>Chief Earner</u>	<u>In Village</u>		<u>Outside Village</u>		<u>100% =</u>
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	
<u>Middle class</u>	(% Joiners)		(% Joiners)		
- London commuter	50	37	16	42	38
- Local commuter	49	27	25	37	59
- Non commuter	25	40	10	50	20
ALL	45	32	20	41	117
<u>Working class</u>					
- Commuter	32	16	4	18	56
- Non commuter	12	9	6	12	34
ALL	25	13	4	16	90
Agricultural workers	28	17	7	7	29
DNK, retired, etc.					29
Total sample					264

=====

Table 8 - 6 Percentage of office holders in any club or organisation (including Church)

(Committee members considered as an office holder)

<u>Chief Earner</u>	Meetings of the committee etc. held				
	<u>In Village</u>		<u>Outside Village</u>		<u>100% =</u>
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	
Middle class					
- London commuter	24	21	5	16	38
- Local commuter	20	20	7	22	59
- Non commuter	10	25	10	35	20
ALL	20	21	7	22	117
Working class					
- Commuter	12	7	-	4	56
- Non commuter	6	3	3	-	34
ALL	10	5	1	2	90
Agricultural workers	14	14	3	7	29
DNK, Retired, etc.					29
Total sample					264
					=====

Although tables 8 - 5 and 8 - 6 suggest that middle class people are well integrated into village social organisations and indeed appear to run most of them, this is in fact a rather false picture of middle class dominance, although one the working class seem happy to hold. Certainly this is the case in the Women's Institute, which has, as already described, been taken over by the middle class. The Badminton

Club is also entirely run for and by young middle class men and women. However, this is no great loss to the working class villagers: the younger ones monopolize the Youth Club, the Football Club and have good representation in the Cricket Club; the old age pensioners go to the Green Leaves Club (that is the women do - the men go to the Pub) and a few older middle class people in fact enjoy to go and 'serve tea' or be treasurer without the indignity of becoming a member! Perhaps the only Club where the village and wood meet on anything like equal terms is the Village Horticultural Society, where the officers and committee members are widely representative. This is likely to be a field where the working class villagers excel, and since it is increasingly a middle-class status symbol to produce home-grown vegetables, the wood has much to learn. Sport is of course also a good mediator between the classes but, as has been described, there are few young people in their teens and twenties mixing in the wood on account of the age of immigrants and the fact that most of them are newcomers. The Church also provides some common meeting ground for the two worlds. Here the respectable, conservative working class are matched with a similar proportion of middle class people, who take office and help to make the church as it was described in Chapter Five. To summarise this discussion on the interaction of the middle and working class in the social sphere, it would appear that by and large the working class are not deprived of any activity by the middle class immigrants (if we accept the Young Wives' Club as a substitute for the Women's Institute) despite many activities taking place in which they are not represented. They just do not want to join things. This situation was noticed by Birch in his study of Glossop:

'Most people in the managerial and professional groups have enjoyed a higher education, and in consequence have developed interests which are not generally shared by people who left school at fourteen. One result of this is that there is much less contact between people of different economic groups, in their spare-time activities, than used to be the case.' (5)

Because of this lack of contact each group accused the other unfairly. On the one hand the wood claims that the village will not do anything for itself, though this does not distress the village because it is not a traditional part of its culture to engage in such activities. On the other hand the village accused the wood of having organisations run by and for themselves and thus, curiously, "dominating" the village. It does, however, appear to be true that 'the Wood' monopolizes the Memorial Hall and some dances become dominated by the wood. It would be dangerous to make too much of this point. I heard complaints from the villagers that tickets cost far too much for the local young people to afford, whereas the wood claimed that too much emphasis was placed on one particular dance which was intended to raise money for Charity. This was the sort of issue which could not be resolved in the time available for fieldwork.

Undoubtedly there is a lot of power held by the people living in the "£1 million worth of houses in Tewin Wood" (6) and it was important to know what the effect of such people would be on the local government of the area. "It was an exceptional estate" the Clerk to the Rural District Council claimed, with a perhaps tactless choice of words, "which the Council approved (sic) most highly." (7) A developer who wanted to build two houses on 1.73 acres and three houses on another $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres was refused planning permission, and the appeal was also

refused, because the "Council was concerned with the preservation of the value of the investments of 150 people". Finally, the Minister of Housing and Local Government rejected a further appeal. It was stated at the appeal that sites of the houses the developer wanted to build were approved in principle before the war but the plans had been destroyed by enemy action. The Council was again concerned with preserving the value of the people's investments and the Minister felt that to allow the building would be "damaging to the area's natural woodland character". (8) A group of residents of the Wood had been successful in fighting the appeal.

A further example of the effect of newcomers on the life of the community can be seen with regard to a local government election which took place just before the time of the survey. The retiring councillor on the Rural District Council had been a member for five years; he had also been a member of the Parish Council for nine years and at the time of the election was its Vice-Chairman. For twenty years he had been a member of the Agricultural Workers Union and everyone to whom I spoke described him as a very able local politician, who had done a great deal for 'ordinary council house people' during his period of office. Certainly press reports show that he was not afraid to speak up for the parish. His opponent had just moved into the parish as a former British Ambassador and has a Knighthood. The following statement attributed to him appeared in the local paper.

I was asked to stand, but I have not done any canvassing, I just sent out a letter. I felt I could be of service to the community. I have not campaigned about anything specific, because I was abroad until I retired from the foreign service seven years ago.... (9)

The foreign service man was elected to represent the parish on the Rural District Council by a very narrow margin. The villagers claimed that a good man had been deposed by 'the newcomers'; the wood claimed that the villagers had voted against their best interests since they were swayed by a man with a title. It is impossible to be certain, obviously, of the truth of these assertions, but it is likely that the traditional working class element, who had been in service under Lord Desborough and Sir Otto Beit would think it right and 'respectable' to vote for the man who appeared to be a member of "the gentry". Also it seemed clear that the wood vote was split between those who approved of the retiring candidate and what he had done for the village, and those who for wider, national political affiliations distrusted a man with a working class background. In order to discover something about this, respondents were asked about their political affiliations. Unfortunately not much can be deduced from the information obtained. The working class respondents who supplied information on how they voted at the General Election in 1959 were divided almost equally between Conservative and Labour. The middle class was overwhelmingly Conservative, although there was a tendency for the newcomers to be slightly more left wing than the established respondents. Thus of the 102 newcomers, 5 per cent would not give information, 16 per cent voted Labour, 1 per cent Liberal and 77 per cent Conservative. Of the established middle class, 86 per cent voted Conservative. A further question regarding the way people would vote in 1961 if there were a General Election showed a 15-20 per cent decline in middle class allegiance to the Conservatives and a proportionate increase in support

Tewin would appear to be integrated into the wider urban society largely on account of its large immigrant middle class population. The wider, national class divisions in society are here played out in the local scene. As Birch pointed out, in the quotation given above, the contact between the classes becomes less since, however much the newcomers may try to be a middle class squirearchy, the radical working class resent it, and the conservative working class find it no real substitute for "the gentry". The division within the working class is a symptom of change. How much the change is due to the physical contact with 'the outside world' in surrounding towns and how much is due to the influence of the new middle class is difficult to say. The evidence has been presented and is open to different interpretations. My own view is that change in the village community has not taken place as rapidly as might be expected. To give an example, there are two pubs in Tewin. One is almost entirely devoted to the middle class, developing the atmosphere of a private party at which most people know each other. The other pub has tried to follow suit and certainly in the saloon bar has achieved some success. However, the public bar of the pub nearest to the village contains little sophistication. Simple country talk, with long periods of silence, was characteristic; talk centred around local events, neighbouring villages, football or cricket. On one occasion the friendly feeling of the in-group was shattered by the drunken entry of some youths from the neighbouring village. They were at once defined as outsiders and a veil of anonymity descended over the faces of the Tewin people (sometimes mistakenly described as an image of stupidity). When the intruders left conversation was re-established and fun was made of the foreigners

from three miles away. Those drinking on that occasion were young and old, male and female. One old man was constantly having his glass refilled by the younger men who treated him as a sort of patriarch. The whole situation was a highly complex structure of definite roles, relationships and behaviour. It all seemed far too delicate to be able to generalise from it about the 'working class world'. The broad distinctions between the middle and working class are so enormous that quite crude methods can be used to portray them. Within the classes much greater study in depth is required and this would have to be with a smaller sample.

Any attempt to measure urban influences on Tewin has, on the one hand, to assess the impact of the new middle class, as has been done, and, on the other, to assess the amount of change that has taken place within the working class world. The answer would appear to be - less than might be expected. With less than thirty per cent of the working class in the two parishes prepared to vote Labour they can hardly be said to be in line with urban working class behaviour. Not only has there been little contact between the worlds, but the main way of breaking down these barriers - by the children of the two groups going to the same schools - seems less likely to take place. A full discussion of the effects of social class on parental aspirations for their children's education and the differences in type of education received by the children of the two classes is not possible here. It is enough to say that there are few signs that the barriers between the two worlds are likely to become less marked for many years. (10)

Change within the Working Class Village at Watton.

The physical division at Watton is between the new council estate and the older cottages of the village street, against the background of an agricultural hinterland in which is the small hamlet of Whempstead. This is a working class village and the attitudes of different groups within the working class give a clearer idea of the outside world impinging on the older community than one could get at Tewin where the class division is so overwhelming. Three-quarters of all the working class non-commuters in the two parishes live in Watton, where nearly two out of every five chief earners were born in the parish or the neighbouring parish. By having a stronger feeling of the past the parish seems to have a greater consciousness of change than at Tewin. This has already been commented on in Chapter Five.

There is a small middle class element in Watton, living in its suburban fringe at the north end of the High Street. These people also resent change, even though it is often their presence that the working class villagers resent. Typical comments by middle class newcomers were,

"This village is scheduled for building which makes us very bitter. We need the grass for grazing." /ponies for her children/

"It's a very pleasant little place to live in provided it stays as it is. I'd hate it to become a dormitory of Stevenage."

"I like the country life and Watton is a good centre for commuting to Hertford, Stevenage and London, but it's a shame that the village is changing its character with all these new houses."

"All this new building spoils the village atmosphere" (from one living in a recently built house! Her husband commutes to Hatfield every day but she deplures "these privates who rush off to London each day".)

However, it is not so much the intrusion of the middle class world which causes tension at Watton, but rather the distinction between those who live in a council house and those still down in the High St. In fact one might trace a parallel between 'the wood' - village split in Tewin and the estate - High St. division in Watton. However, it may be less misleading to note that the High St. has proportionately more elderly people than the estate despite the provision of old people's bungalows there. In 'the village' there are 29 people over 65 as against 8 in the council estate.

On the estate many of the young people with children appreciate the quiet, away from the dangers of the traffic on the High St. The 29 year old wife of a pipelayer, who was born in the next parish, said "everything I need is here, there's a place for the children to play and the neighbours are nice". Another woman who had moved up from the High St. said, - "I like it very much but the garden is not as private as the cottage garden". In fact because things were so much better "some people in the village think the council houses are the West End". One often heard comments to the effect that it was difficult to get people enthusiastic over activities, maybe because house and family take up all their time. For example, "I'm quite settled here. I like the quiet area and the council estate, although the village is rather 'cliquey' and a small group seem to run everything and don't include or consider the council estate. But I'm too busy with the family to be very sociable". Most people on the estate seemed to think it very friendly, although newcomers complained of gossip and one woman - a twenty five year old wife of a painter - who had moved from Tewin, said "I prefer the people of Tewin; they're a higher class and don't quarrel so much". It would be unwise to read

too much into a single statement, there was so very little contact with the neighbouring parish, but it may be that the large middle class group in Tewin make the working class group more class-conscious when they leave. Also, of course, Tewin has had longer contact with the outside world, through the employment opportunities of Welwyn Garden City.

A standard complaint of those not living in the council estate was that when the squire at intervals sacked some of his farmworkers living in tied cottages, he moved them into council houses, in front of the waiting list, in order to get rid of them. I found this to be an exaggeration, although certainly some had been moved in this way, and the squire as Chairman of the R.D.C. housing committee and also owner of most of the land and many of the houses in the parish, was in a very powerful position. It was difficult to get the true situation here. A 63 year old spinster who had been born in Watton claimed "there are lots of strangers in the new estate - I don't know them, nor where they work" and the 66 year old sub-postmistress was emphatic:

"The village community is spoilt and finished. With the new estate the village has become a dumping ground for those who can't pay rent. There's two separate communities."

This is offset by the woman who said "I like living on the estate. I'm surrounded by neighbours who were neighbours in the village before I moved up here".

I conducted interviews in 36 of the 75 houses on the estate and the facts are as follows: 28 of the 36 households had previously lived in Watton or adjoining parishes (linked for the purposes of council house allocation) but four of these had seemingly moved into condemned or

tied cottages solely for the purpose of getting on the council waiting list. One household had been only a few months in a rented cottage before it was pulled down and they got a council house. A further two came from slightly further away in Hertfordshire, 3 came by exchanging their council house elsewhere, leaving 3 who came to get an agricultural job with its tied cottage and then gave notice so that the squire was obliged to get them a council house in order to get his tied cottage free. Clearly he could not evict families without offering alternative accommodation. The following table shows the place of work of chief earners on the council estate by their birthplace.

Table 8 - 9

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Workplace</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>In Parish of adjacent</u>	<u>Nearby Towns</u> (Hertford, Stevenage or Welwyn Garden City)	<u>Elsewhere</u>	<u>Retired</u>	
<u>In parish or adjacent</u>	8	4	2	1	15
<u>Elsewhere Herts</u>	1	3	1	-	5
<u>Elsewhere</u>	2	9	4	1	16
	11	16	7	2	36

It is indeed significant that the largest single group is that of people born outside the county who work in nearby towns. Of the 15 chief earners born outside the county, only three had married women born in the parish. A third of the households on the estate can be said to be truly outsiders to the parish. The following table is also illuminating:

Table 8 - 10Households on Council Estate

	<u>Born in Parish</u>		<u>Not born in parish but arriving</u>
Husbands	11	1945 or before	7
Wife but not husband	6	1946-1956	2
Unmarried	<u>1</u>	1957-1961	8
	18 or 50%		<u>17</u>
		DNK (sometime since 1945)	<u>1</u>
			18

Thus 25 out of the 36 households had either one partner born in the parish or had been established before 1945. The remaining eleven households had arrived since 1946. This proportion of just under one third compares with the total parish sample figure of 43% arrivals since 1946 and this latter figure includes the new middle class element. One half of all the households on the estate had the head and/or his wife, born in the parish, whereas the proportion is only one third for the parish as a whole. It is undoubtedly true that a minority had spent a short spell as agricultural workers with the ultimate objective of getting a council house and a job in Stevenage. Also a few families had moved to the area, attracted by the prosperity of the surrounding towns. The woman who had moved with her family from Yarmouth on a council house exchange to get "better jobs and prospects for the children" found that "the people are more sociable and we're in easy reach of Stevenage, Hertford and town". She herself works in the village as a chicken trusser and her husband works for a building contractor at Stevenage. One young Watton born man put

the problem of the newcomers like this. "Old people don't like to see strangers coming into the village - there's a split before you start."

It was clear that for some elderly people any change meant upsetting the old world they understood. One 66 year old widow living on the estate in an old people's bungalow said "there's too many new people here in Watton - some have even come from London". She went on to bemoan the fact that the Rector's wife never visits and to express her dislike for the young squire. (He was 48!) This was in contrast to a 63 year old roadman's wife who votes labour and thought "the village has been slow in developing and modernising chiefly because of the large number of old houses owned by the squire. New houses will mean a better village". It did seem that those of the old world had the more traditional, conservative, hierarchical view of society and those over 65 were much more likely to resent any change. A memorable exception was an 88 year old widower, living by himself, under the kindly eye of a neighbour, who called the old squire (present squire's father) "a rank old Blue - those that worked for him had to vote Blue - but not me: I never did. And I still don't now - even when the Blues send a car to fetch me" ! The numbers on the council estate were too few to test whether voting gave an indication of change from rural to an urban pattern. The crude figures are as follows but since they refer to the votes of respondents, in many cases the wives of chief earners, they should be treated with caution.

Table 8 - 11 General Election 1959 Voting Behaviour

	<u>Council Estate</u>	<u>Watton Parish</u>
Conservative	41.7%	60.0%
Labour/Liberal	44.5%	25.0%
Did not vote/not eligible	11.1%	10.0%
Won't say	2.7%	5.0%
	<u>100.0 = 36</u>	<u>100% = 120</u>

This indication of a slightly more left-wing tendency among council house dwellers is in the direction to be expected.

The squire is more or less the permanent representative of the parish on the R.D.C. Very frequent comments from those that voted Conservative were "I don't think much about it" or "I'm not interested". However, at the parish council level there was a contest and it was of considerable interest to observe the way that at this very local level national politics intruded and people associated themselves strongly with local issues. A sixty-six year old spinster, born in the parish, said:

"Only the private people vote - shopkeepers, householders and the like. There's nothing for the working class. An ordinary working woman was put up and she didn't stand a chance. The squire is the Chairman...there's a lot of unfairness...for instance there's a couple been on the housing list six years and she still lives with her mother and he with his, although they've been married all this time. If you're rough enough you stand a better chance. There's one family's got a home where the son's in prison and the daughter's in Borstal."

Another man claimed that there were simply "tradesmen with an axe to grind on the council who don't take their work seriously". He maintained that the real trouble was that "the Conservatives are a self interested party". Others saw the problem as one resulting from the increasing power of "them". "We will soon all be controlled from Whitehall," the post-mistress said, although clearly her job may have influenced her opinion. "Hertford takes no notice of local comment" said many, and this was substantiated by the one London commuter, a solicitor, who maintained that "the R.D.C. pays no attention and never consults the P.C. Any complaints are always met with evasion. It was not told about the old people's bungalows".

This last point is a complicated one involving the building over of land which has long been used for allotments for villagers. One who had been on the parish council for twenty six years said "the parish council was pushed round from pillar to post; mind you the people on the parish council are of a higher class than me - not that they're any better: just different jobs".

It is difficult to come to any conclusions on what after all are straws in the wind, but it does seem that local government at a parish level is taken seriously by the working class villagers. Middle class people, who may be on the council, accept, perhaps more readily, that the bureaucracy functions more efficiently and speedily if endless discussions at a parish level are avoided. Those middle class people who have genuinely associated themselves with the village also resent the attempts of 'Hertford' or 'the squire' to thrust policies on the village without previous consultation. Quite clearly the local tradesmen do stand to gain from the expansion of the village and they would encourage the outside world to impinge on the village more readily for that reason. I certainly did get the feeling from some villagers that they were somehow demoralized by these forces upon them, over which they had no control. This is probably the deepest way in which urban centres influence rural areas. In a sense people can shop in Stevenage supermarkets and return home unscathed. However, when the squire is lined up with 'them' at Hertford the forces are overwhelming and urbanization takes place.

Watton is undoubtedly disintegrating and the people themselves know it. There is no point in joining things or taking an interest, the older, more 'tradition directed' people (11) probably do feel more keenly the passing of the old order, however feudal that may have been.

For them the impersonal R.D.C. is not the right place for decisions affecting the local community to be made. The meaning and function of the local community has been shattered at Watton and Tewin in a way not found at Hexton where the land still belongs to the single landowner. Although the feeling of disillusion which such older people share is understandable, it would be wrong to assume that something valuable has necessarily been 'destroyed'. It was suggested that many old people still voted for the squire, since they still feel they may be evicted if they did not. It does seem reasonable that if the village feels that it is not consulted before decisions affecting its future are made, then the squire, their representative, is to blame. I would judge that the time has come for the village to make a clean break with its feudal past. However, this will not be easy as the discussion of the local election at Tewin showed.

I find it very difficult to describe the curious atmosphere of the village - a further example for the need to analyse in depth the problems revealed by the comparative survey. A year after the survey there seemed signs that something was going to happen in the village. A committee was formed to create a Watton Community Association; a dance was held in the village hall, which made a profit and a questionnaire was sent to every household to find out what activities they would like to join. The chairman of the committee was the squire's wife and the secretary, supplying most of the drive, was the squire's butler. In the winter of 1962/63 the initial impetus did not seem to be maintained. At the same time a new estate of between 20 and 30 privately financed houses was being constructed between Beane Rd and the north of the village. Further field work was

carried out, interviewing some of the newcomers, to get an impression of their reactions to the village. It seemed clear that these new people - mainly intermediate non-manual workers commuting to nearby towns in the county - were unlikely to become a new squirearchy. The situation was, however, different from that at Tewin. "We heard that Beane Rd. was the snob end..... some people do think they are lowering themselves by mixing with villagers.....but really we're a very mixed crowd, there's very few people with university education.....very few can lay their gardens out. - there's no reason for villagers to say we're a cut above them." This last speaker seemed to be speaking with some fair experience and candour. It was a fact that all the children at primary school age went to the village school - unlike at Tewin. It appeared, nevertheless, that these middle class people were less concerned with making contact with the village than those at Tewin. As a recent migrant from Surrey, who worked in electronics at Stevenage, put it,

We wanted somewhere quiet and the houses here are cheap with big gardens. We don't want to be bothered with neighbours. If we want amusement we go down to the club (i.e. for members of his firm) where we can get all possible entertainments at 6d a week. We don't want any more building at Watton - the 38 houses are enough. If there's too many they start to run the village and spoil it for us. I know it's selfish but now we're here we don't want any more houses built.

However, the house in which the previous informant lives is but one of 250 which are scheduled to be built in Watton by 1980.

Change, then, is taking place at Watton with increasing speed and there is a clear need for a follow-up survey in some ten years' time to

analyse more closely the trends which now appear so difficult to assess and define.

The Agricultural Workers.

It may be argued that in a thesis describing urban influences on rural areas, the amount of emphasis given to what might be considered the primary rural population - the agricultural workers - has been slight. This would be a fair point to make and yet I feel that the way this thesis is presented is justified for a number of reasons. Firstly, the admirable complementary thesis on Little Munden by Pons, already mentioned, is much more concerned with the agricultural population. So also are the works by Williams and a more recent study by Littlejohn. (12) I thought it better to concentrate on the distinctive traits of a rural area within a Metropolitan Region rather than cover ground less central to the true facts of the situation. After all, there are only 28 households out of the 264 in the joint sample in which the chief earner is engaged in agriculture and it seemed inappropriate to over-emphasise such a small minority. Further, I hoped that the analysis of the agricultural parish of Hexton would prove a sufficient basis of comparison with Watton and Tewin. Finally, agricultural workers could not easily be fitted into the classification of classes by socio-economic groupings. Although in terms of land use Watton and Tewin would still be termed agricultural, this to the social geographer is almost an irrelevance, since the effect on the social composition of the population is very slight. Nevertheless, it may be repeated now, in conclusion, that the agricultural workers are more likely than others to be immigrants to Hertfordshire from elsewhere in the country.

They are less likely to have come from London or elsewhere in the county - 54 per cent of chief earners in agriculture at Watton and Tewin having their first job, outside Herts or in London and 38 per cent were born "elsewhere". There seemed to be a fairly steady movement of young people coming in to farming jobs but taking a better paid job in a factory in one of the surrounding towns as soon as possible. Those that remained in agriculture were, in general, the poorest housed and most isolated of the whole population. It seemed to be a clear case of Myrdal's 'circular causation' (13) - because there was a relatively rapid turnover of labour, tied cottages were neglected and wages remain low and it is because of these reasons that younger people leave the land. The effect of the surrounding towns is to speed up the process. However, if agricultural workers could afford to keep a family, run a car to enable them to reach the towns and have money to spend on entertainment when they get there, then it is doubtful if they would want to leave working in agriculture. The point is that agricultural workers need to be paid more than industrial workers to compensate them for the social and economic expense of isolation. The prosperity of the new industries in Herts makes the contrast that much greater: many men I interviewed, who had worked all their life in farming and had developed considerable skill and experience, now found that their teenage sons in industry could earn almost twice their wage. It is no wonder that there is immigration of farm workers from elsewhere.

The Changing Class Structure of the Communities

This chapter has described the trends and changes within the parishes of Watton and Tewin and it has been pointed out that such changes have been associated with certain sub-groups of the population.

There is evidence of ecological segregation according to social class and these class divisions are clearly acknowledged locally. The different patterns of life which have been described are based on two main differences. The middle class have greater mobility owing to the use of private transport, particularly by the wives, often driving a second car, and this is a reflection of the economic differences between the classes. The two worlds of the middle and working class are polarised largely through the introduction of national class attitudes into the local scene. This is seen both in the different attitudes of the classes to social activities and in their attitudes to politics - both national and local. It is clear that although the major differences between the classes are obvious - and quickly became so during the fieldwork - the relationship between this division and urbanization or urban influences is less clear cut. Maybe urbanization could be equated with the changeover from the hierarchical social structure, which was functionally suited to the village as a community. Hence the introduction of a broad, national two-class division may be the chief cause of the working class people's resentment. The more traditional working class element, examples of which have been quoted at Hexton and Watton, are resentful partly because they have lost their clear position in the hierarchy and the reflected status of the gentry for whom they worked, and partly because they now find themselves lumped with the, to them, less respectable working class. They would like to be given respect and position in society, but they get neither. The non-traditional working class see the segregated middle class world as a symptom of the inequalities in society and condemn all middle class people as snobs and nouveaux riches without basing this on individual knowledge and experience.

The middle class people come into rural areas in search of a meaningful community and by their presence help to destroy whatever community was there. That is not to say that the middle class people change or influence the working class. They simply make them aware of national class divisions, thus polarising the local society. Part of the basis of the local village community was the sharing of the deprivations due to the isolation of country life and the sharing of the limited world of the families within the village. The middle class people try to get the 'cosiness' of village life, without suffering any of the deprivations, while maintaining a whole range of contacts with the outside world by means of the higher mobility afforded by their private transport. The arrival of large middle class groups into rural areas is neither right nor wrong - the effect is simply a reflection of national class divisions, the implications of which are not our immediate concern, but which are clearly related to differential educational opportunities. Both the middle and working class elements look at each other with only partial understanding. National class divisions come into sharper focus in the local setting. New middle class people are unprepared for what they find. Determined to move out of suburbia and influenced by the pastoral vision portrayed by everything from the Scott Report (discussed in Chapter One) to the popular novel, many do expect to become the squire's successors. Indeed many of the women have the sense of service to others, sometimes found in the squire's wife. On the other hand, to the working class they might just as well not be there. The main exception to this is the advantage which many working class women gain in the way of untaxed extra income from those middle class housewives, who employ

them to clean their homes. This is probably the most direct form of social contact. I found that at Tewin this was a "hot line" of communication between village and wood. On one occasion when one of the interviewers was suspected of working for a team of burglars by one working class woman (who in fact was mentally ill in some form) many people in the wood knew about it within the next day or two, carried from the village by "a treasure", as the best domestic helps are called. Some firm friendships between wood and village exist at this level, but of course this does not extend to a more normal social relationship as between equals.

Although I have stressed the broad division between classes as a tool of analysis, it is clear that there are interesting divisions within each major category. From the detached professional people of Queen Hoo Lane to the people living in the 'middle class fringe' of Watton, who must fall, socially, some distance below Tewin Wood, there is a great range. At Tewin those living outside the wood either dismiss it as an odd semi-suburban world, with which they do not wish to associate themselves, or as a reference group with which other middle class people wish to associate themselves, whether they live there or not. Similarly within the working class there is evidence of a range from the traditional, hierarchical minded conservative to the left wing industrial worker. By and large it would be true to say that more middle class people are conscious of the village people as being part of the world in which they live than the other way round. After all the middle class came to live "in a village". The working class, on the other hand tend to be more ready to ignore the existence of the middle class group. One woman in Tewin Wood was very surprised when, after asking her milkman where he lived, he replied

"I live down in Tewin" with the implication that Tewin Wood was somewhere else. The important point is that the woman was surprised.

It is a curious fact that despite the great deal of information which I amassed during the research period, showing the differences between classes, those within classes, although such differences are known to exist, are much less easy to define. A comparative study of three villages, despite having definite advantages, does make detailed work in depth less easy to achieve. Various points have been raised in this chapter which I do not have the necessary data to check. Much more participant observation is needed in each parish for the necessary detailed understanding, especially of the working class, to emerge. Thus although in broad terms the preceding analysis describes differential immigration and the consequent enlargement of the physical and social links of the parishes, taken as a whole, with the outside world, it is much less easy to describe the effect that middle class newcomers have on sub-groups of the working class population. Thus the 'village' working class element in Watton and Tewin seem to have many characteristics in common despite the broad facts that Watton is a 'working class village' and Tewin is 'middle class'. However, when tracing urban influences on rural areas it has been shown that these are largely introduced by the middle class and so it is the characteristics of this group which have been mainly described and discussed.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. The key to the abbreviations follows Figure 15.
2. For example J.M. Mogey in Family and Neighbourhood (OUP 195) and M. Young and P. Wilmott Family and Kinship in East London (London 195)
3. One of the most popular accounts of life in American suburbia - that by W.H. Whyte, Jr. entitled "The Transients" first appeared in Fortune (May, June, July and August 1953).
4. Hertfordshire Mercury 15th September, 1961.
5. A.H. Birch, Small Town Politics (O.U.P. 1959) p.39-40.
See also Margaret Stacey op.cit.
6. Said by the Clerk to the Hertford R.D.C. and reported in the Hertfordshire Mercury 21st April, 1961.
7. op. cit.
8. Hertfordshire Mercury 30th June, 1961.
9. Hertfordshire Mercury May, 1961.
10. On the question of education and social class see R.E. Pahl Education and Social Class in Commuter Villages, Sociological Review 11 (1963) p.241-246.
11. See The Lonely Crowd D. Riesman, abridged edition New Haven and London (1961) for an account of the hierarchy-loving character type.
12. Works by Williams op.cit. James Littlejohn Westrigg London 1963.
13. Gunnar Myrdal Economic Theory and Under-developed Regions (London 1963) P.B. Edition.

CHAPTER NINEThe Social Geography of the Rural Urban Fringe

One of the great insights which social geography brings to the overall problems of the social sciences is that place is a definite and important part of the distinctiveness of a community. Thus, the patterns of social relationships which are found, for example, in areas of small family farms, as shown in the study of Llanfihangel by Rees or Gosforth and Ashworthy by Williams, are quite different from areas where the farms are much larger, with wealthy resident or absentee owners. The studies of Westrigg and Little Munden, by Littlejohn and Pons respectively, not only differ in important respects from those on the Celtic fringe but also differ between each other, not the least because Westrigg is an area in the Southern Uplands of Scotland, mainly concerned with sheep rearing, and Little Munden is mainly an arable parish, not much more than twenty miles from the centre of London. (1) Hence, although sociologists may describe 'working class characteristics' or the 'characteristics of the population of rural England', whatever generalisations may be appropriate at a national level, they have to be modified at the local level, where differences in economic activity and environment create different social communities.

This is further complicated by the fact that in areas such as Westrigg,

The local community becomes less 'an area of common life' than an area within which the individual chooses his associations subject to such barriers as are imposed by social class or physical distance. (2)

We have seen that at Hexton it is still possible to speak of 'an area of common life' with only the squire's family living in a very much wider

social area. At Tewin, and to a lesser extent at Watton, the 'local community' is divided within itself, largely because of the influence of London and nearby towns, which, as it were, supply the jobs for middle class people, who then decide and are able to live in rural areas. These places cannot, therefore, maintain themselves, distinctively, as 'rural areas' nor yet is it reasonable to define such areas as 'urban' partly on account of the land use and low density of population, and partly because the people themselves do not consider themselves as 'urban'. In the face of such difficulties it seems reasonable to suggest that certain forces are at work modifying the social, economic and geographic conditions with which the original community was associated and creating a new kind of community based on a wider set of conditions. A previous pattern of social geography is being acted upon and moulded by processes to create a new pattern of social geography. The outer part of a metropolitan region is seen, then, as a frontier of social change, moving over communities, re-evaluating their spatial relationships with other communities and creating, as it were, new places, which in turn form the bases for different types of communities. These new communities are not easily defined, partly because they are still in the process of change and although this change is identifiable the final product is less easily discerned, and partly because few other studies have been made of such changing communities with which they can be compared and there is no overall framework into which they can be placed. Hence the term rural-urban fringe has been used, even though, as will emerge, this is not so appropriate for this country as it seems to be in the U.S. A. Before going further, it is

important that the phrases used above - "forces at work" and so on - should not be taken as a tacit acceptance of a mechanistic determinism which somehow, marvellously, transforms patterns of social geography. A more complicated analysis will follow, but it should nevertheless be accepted that the "forces" at work in the London Metropolitan region can be isolated and defined and are responsible for the type of community which has been described. However, not all communities have developed in the same way and the reactions of different groups of people in different places are partly 'controlled' by economic pressures, Town and Country Planning legislation and so on; within these definite limits individual choice and freewill still exists and has some effect. Before discussing the interplay of such factors, as providing a new pattern of social geography, it will be helpful to discuss the comparable work which is available on the situation in the U.S. A.

The Rural-Urban Fringe in the United States

"There is in America today", says Scott Greer, "a consistent decline in the differentiation and social distance between countryman and urbanite". (3) This process of 'urbanisation' appears in its most striking form at the frontiers of expanding metropolitan regions. Between 1950 and 1960 the outer fringes of these areas grew very rapidly so that, for example, whereas New York lost about one and a half per cent of its population during the decade, its suburbs increased by 75 per cent. (4) For the nation as a whole the outlying rings of metropolitan areas account for about two-thirds of the population increase since 1950 and for more than three-quarters of

the total increase within metropolitan areas. It is estimated that by 1975, 57 per cent of the total population of metropolitan areas will be in the suburban and fringe areas. (5) Over three-fifths of the nation's population is now living within these Standard Metropolitan Areas (discussed in Chapter One) and the centrifugal movement out to their peripheries involves a considerable movement of population. In the country as a whole, about one person in five moves in any one year and "mobility is greatest in the period when families are experiencing greatest growth. Most of the moves made by a family take place within a decade after its formation". (6)

There has been some discussion with regard to the terms 'fringe' and 'suburb' and a useful summary of some recent papers is provided by Kurtz and Eicher; the following are some of the definitions they quote. (7)

The Rural-Urban Fringe:

- (i) - That area of interpenetrating rural and urban land use peripheral to the modern city.
- (ii) - Includes suburbs, satellite cities, and any other territory located immediately outside central cities where the labour force is engaged in non-farm activities.
- (iii) - An area outside the legal city limits but within commuting distance.
- (iv) - Where residents are urban oriented.
- (v) - An open country area in which urban employed individuals reside.
- (vi) - An area where urban and rural occupations and orientations come into contact.

The fringe, then, is defined in relation to the city and spatially exists in the agricultural hinterland where land use is changing. The population density is increasing rapidly and land values are rising. Ecologically it could be said to be an area of invasion and "lax zoning regulations...have permitted the randomly spaced construction of such business establishments as gas stations, drive in restaurants and out-door movies along major traffic arteries... Thus the fringe is an area undergoing the growing pains of unplanned transition from land use consistency to inconsistency, i. e., from rural to a mixture of rural and urban". (8) In addition to the changing land use the occupations of the people living there are predominantly non-agricultural and the incidence of commuting is high.

A self-conscious and rigorously maintained rurality exists in "exurbia", described so wittily by Sectorsky. (9) The fringe is certainly more rural than urban in appearance and is still in the process of being absorbed into the metropolitan structure. Old established villages on the border of the rural-urban fringe are rapidly changing - "the assaulted village, with its rural institutions and way of life, goes through the agony of transition from rural to urban within the span of comparatively few years". (10)

Having established the importance of the centrifugal movement to the fringe of metropolitan regions and described in more detail what is meant by the rural-urban fringe in America, we may now adduce some of the theories put forward to account for the development of this new pattern of social geography. The first theory may be termed

socio-psychological: that people with certain personality types in common move out to the new social frontier - the fringe.

However, despite the efforts of popular writers on the subject there is no empirical evidence, as far as I know, to support the idea of an exurban personality syndrome. A more directly sociological theory is that people are consciously searching for a better life-style on the fringe. The 'better-for-the-children' theme appears in many research reports - a study by Wendell Bell, for example showed that such familistic reasons were given by over four-fifths of all households in his sample. (11) Bell, in developing his social choice hypothesis also claimed that vertical social mobility was not greatly associated with centrifugal movement, but of greater importance was the desire to 'live with people like ourselves'. However, there is a danger that such data may be preconceived by the interview schedule and, further, people may give socially approved answers, since in the American ethnic and religious situation 'better for the children' may be a euphemism for 'to get clear of the Negroes'.

Although the reason stated by respondents as the basis for centrifugal movement may make their action appear rational in their own eyes, nevertheless underneath these are fundamental social and cultural forces which may be of greater importance. Maybe the familism and search for community involved in the centrifugal movement is a tacit revolt against industrial society. The flight from the city may be a folk movement away from its dirt, violence and racial and religious tensions. The pastoral image of green fields, small community and basic primacy of family relationships have drawn people away from the larger problems of

the metropolis to the more manageable world of the fringe. By becoming involved in local community affairs people find their true natures in a form of grass root living. (12) The names given to new houses and estates - "Smoke Rise", "Green Mansion" and so on - may be seen as evidence of a yearning for a world that is true to nature - "hills, woodland retreats, verdant hollows, rounded knolls - clean, green and sweet" where "for \$38,000 a Madison Avenue account executive can become Tom Sawyer for a few blessed hours each weekend". (13) Escaping from the pressures of the city, more and more people are moving into the 'country villages' of the exurban hinterland.

Hawley, rather dogmatically, summarises his views as follows (14)

"The population scatter is explainable largely in terms of the increased speed of commutation travel and of communication afforded by the new forms of overcoming distance. It involves disproportionate numbers of young people in the upper socio-economic group. The reasons given by migrants from central cities of metropolitan districts to the outlying areas indicate that the movement is an effort to secure better conditions for family life."

Certainly the economic factor is important. Rising land values at city centres has forced builders to the periphery where land is cheap enough for them to construct large scale tract and development housing. Non basic industries such as retailing, services and light manufacturing follow their markets and labour supply by moving outwards. Schnore has pointed out (15) that the very highest rates of growth from 1940-1950 were in unincorporated rural areas where land was cheap, and that the redistribution of the population was circumscribed by close spatial and economic limits. Martin, seeking the ecological aspects of the population redistribution, propounds two principles, which

appear to be largely true. Firstly, urban influenced change in rural areas varies according to the distance from, and size of, the dominating city, and, secondly those rural areas under stronger urban influences are likely to show greater differentiation of function than those more isolated from the city. (16) Martin adduces evidence to substantiate his gradient hypothesis, but with regard to the differentiation principle his evidence is less clear. The change from rural homogeneity to heterogeneity would appear to be an a priori characteristic of the fringe, but that this change varies by sector as well as by distance from the nearest metropolitan centre is not convincingly demonstrated. Clearly, however, change is characteristic of this fringe area and "a search for the characteristic sequential patterns of this change is the untouched task remaining to challenge the researcher". (17)

There is in fact a most interesting account of change in a fringe village, much of which, unfortunately, is still unpublished. This is Dobriner's work on "The Impact of Metropolitan Decentralization on a Village Social Structure". (18) The analysis of Huntington, Long Island, in its transition from a self-contained village to part of the New York Metropolitan region, provides great insight into the processes involved in ecological change in fringe areas. In the 19th century the area had been developed by the new industrial millionaires who built great estates and summer houses. These large estates were broken up in the 1930's into two acre plots for smaller residences and the main period of change took place between 1940, when the population was 9,324, to the mid 1950's when it was about 15,000. Three-fifths of the newcomers moved in from elsewhere in the metropolitan region

and only 8.2 per cent moved from Manhattan, so that Dobriner suggests that the movement took place in a series of jumps.

About 60 per cent of the newcomers are 'upper white collar workers' - ambitious, socially mobile people in the professions - who buy their houses in Huntington. Very few of them work locally and nearly one half work in New York City. The following table illustrates the important differences.

Table 9 - 1

Place of Employment of Chief Earners

In Percentages

	<u>Those born in Huntington</u>	<u>In-Migrant 'Old-timers'</u>	<u>1-10 year Newcomers</u>	<u>Less than 1 year Newcomers</u>
Huntington	53.7	45.9	17.1	4.8
New York City	7.3	15.0	42.8	47.6
Suffolk/Nassau	19.5	24.1	32.5	38.1
Other	19.5	15.0	7.0	9.5
	100% = 41	100% = 87	100% = 105	100% = 42

"In a sense", says Dobriner, "Huntington is now two communities. There is the community of the Upper Middle Class, high income, well educated, cosmopolitan 'newcomers' and there is the community of the middle class, economically 'comfortable', localistic old-timers. The newcomers are segregated not only socially but spatially, living in estates on the periphery of the village in 'neo-colonial' or 'split-level' ranch houses costing £7-10,000. To the old-timers the newcomers were simply "the sleepers - work all day some place else, then come back here to sleep", whereas the old-timers were a "bunch

of old moss-backs" to the newcomers. Huntington, to the old-timers is a way of life and an object of deep affection, since the community, the social system, the institutions, the organizations and the friendships are part of the old-timers' characters and help to provide stability in a rapidly changing world. The newcomer, on the other hand, experiences the village as a series of isolated, fragmented and unconnected social situations - it is a one acre wooded retreat from all the drive, bureaucracy and anxiety of the city. As one newcomer said - "I came to Huntington because there is still some green around here and yet I can still get to the airport in 45 minutes". Others said that their friends and contacts were elsewhere and they did not feel any sense of local community. Many looked on the village as a temporary home before moving off elsewhere.

This segregation of the upper middle class newcomers appears to be typical of the American scene. According to Scaff the commuter in particular participates very little in the organisations of the community and those organizations which do exist, are highly selective of the educated and professional groups. (19) In addition, Vidich and Bensman in their most useful survey of "Springdale" found that for the industrial workers,

"As a consequence of their work routine, which involves, in addition to their work in a factory, one or two hours of commuting plus, in many cases, the operation of an extensive garden, home improvements and the care of livestock or a secondary occupation, this group tends to be relatively socially isolated in its day to day contact with the rest of the community." (20)

Perhaps we can best close this section, as we began, with a quotation from Scott Greer's The Emerging City - "The metropolitan community is the local community of contemporary man". (21)

The Rural Urban Fringe of the London Metropolitan Region

It is here intended to discuss the foregoing description of the American scene in the light of the situation in Hertfordshire, through which the rural-urban fringe of the London Metropolitan region is passing. The influence of London on the rural areas of the county has been important for at least the last 800 years. Even 150 years ago the constant stream of visitors to John Carrington's farm at Tewin brought in influences of the outside world and probably prevented the community from becoming socially isolated. (22)

The historic importance of London was discussed in Chapter Two and it is worth re-emphasizing here that the status symbolism of country living, perhaps a typically English characteristic and apparent in Hertfordshire for so long, may well have been exported to New England by the Puritans.

Chapters three and four analysed some of the social, economic and geographic factors involved in an understanding of the movement of population and industry to the periphery of the London region. The redevelopment of central London at a lower density, the necessity for both planned dispersal and the maintenance of a 'green belt' to preserve some open country for the recreation of Londoners, and the broader implications of the potential market in the South East for growth industries all helped to promote the extremely rapid growth in the inner country ring (see frontispiece) during the post-war period. The effect of the green belt was to push the rural-urban fringe further out. This encouragement of the centrifugal movements led to a great increase in commuting both into the centre of London and also between centres within the rings. Land values rose rapidly, due largely

to the Town and Country Planning legislation. This point is of fundamental importance when making a comparison with the American situation. "Unincorporated" land, which can be bought cheaply for building, is not available in this country, so the straight economic argument does not apply when accounting for peripheral expansion. The importance of the Town and Country Planning Development Control in this country is so great that the situation must be discussed in some detail.

Under the L.C.C.'s Green Belt Act of 1938, 4,528 acres were purchased in Hertfordshire to be maintained in perpetuity as a Green Belt. Abercrombie, when discussing the Green Belt in his Greater London Plan deplored the fact that there were so many existing communities in the area, which in the case of Hertfordshire included that part of the county lying South of a line from Hemel Hempstead, through St. Albans, to Hertford. This area was to be "where organized large-scale games can be played, wide areas of parks and woodlands enjoyed, and footpaths used through the farmland". (23) Seen from Hertfordshire the great merit of the Green Belt was to restrict the outward growth of London; this indeed was government policy, as the Minister of Housing and Local Government stated in 1955, "we have a clear duty to do all we can to prevent the further unrestricted sprawl, of the great cities". (24) To this end the Hertfordshire County Council (H.C.C.) extended the Green Belt to cover three-quarters of the county, leaving only the north east which, for the reasons discussed in Chapter Four, was less vulnerable to pressure from building development. The policy of the H.C.C. was then to prevent any major development in the Green Belt "unless required by the needs of the existing population or industry" and "even single houses in the Green Belt areas will be

considered as major development". (25) From 1948 to 1961 H.C.C. approved the development of 1,286 acres, or 161 acres of Green Belt land per annum (excluding school sites and public playing fields which took a further 462 acres during the period). On the other hand, during the same period 8,053 acres were disapproved for development, this total being almost entirely composed of requests for residential use.

Thus the expansion of existing towns and villages has been severely limited. However,

The danger arises from the large voluntary and planned migration of population, which is coming into Hertfordshire from Inner London and from the subsequent "natural increase" which this relatively young population will produce. The application of the Green Belt policy implies that the population for which Hertfordshire has been planned, both in the urban and rural areas, is about the limit which on desirable grounds (sic) it ought to house. A policy of restricting the growth of towns must increase the threat to the intervening countryside to which the pressure to develop is transferred. (26)

The policy of the H.C.C. is to stabilise the population of the county at about a million by means of what must be seen as a restrictive method, which leads to great increases in the value of land where planning permission is granted; thus where land has been zoned for future development this has often "been 'cornered' by firms of speculative builders".(27) It has been estimated that even in the 'rural parts of the Green Belt (excluding the "urban" parishes such as Hatfield, Borehamwood and so on) some 400 houses will be needed each year solely to provide for 'natural increase' of the population. (28) The H.C.C. knows that the county would become almost completely built-up at an alarming rate if "free-market-forces" were allowed to operate.

Now it has already been clearly demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4 that the rural areas have increased in population and there are, in fact, loopholes in the restrictive policy outlined above.

"Within certain larger villages, areas will be defined within which infilling primarily for local community needs will be approved as necessary and these are known as "listed" villages...the larger villages and small towns ("excluded" villages) which are no longer rural in character (sic) will be omitted from the Green Belt." (29)

It is not intended to offer a critique of the planning policy of the H.C.C. but simply to note that the development of the rural-urban fringe has been on the one hand stimulated by the planned expansion of industry and population in the new towns of the inner country ring and on the other frustrated by the Green Belt policies. This is one reason for the selective migration into rural areas. Only middle class people can afford the high cost of housing and the extra expense involved in travelling to work and so on. There is no reason to think that the working class would not also enjoy living in the country if they were not thereby at an economic disadvantage. At present a house in rural Hertfordshire has acquired an additional status symbolism on account of its expense and scarcity. In this connection social class is of fundamental importance. As Emrys Jones put it when concerned with the social geography of an urban area:

The concept of social class is central.....because it reflects so many attitudes of the people involved. A person will often identify himself with a particular class, irrespective of any objective criteria, and will act according to his concept of the expected behaviour of that particular class. Consequently his actions and beliefs and such matters as the part of the city in which he wishes to live reflect, to a large extent, his own estimate of his particular place in society. (30)

This rather psychological view of the nature of class differs from the socio-economic approach adopted here, but, far from undermining it, reinforces the points already made. The crucial point about this country, in comparison with the United States, is that here the clash is between classes in rural communities rather than between the newcomers and old-timers as, for example, at Huntington, Long Island. To quote Emrys Jones again,

If the factor being studied has an effect on the residence of people then its distribution will not be a random distribution, but irregularities will occur which will exhibit segregation.
Human motivation. . . . itself tends to conform to a pattern reflecting current social values. (31)

Applying such concepts to rural areas it seems clear a characteristic of the rural urban fringe of metropolitan regions is its changing communities - on the one hand segregated between the affluent middle class and the working class; on the other hand the uneven pattern of such segregated communities is related to the accessibility to workplaces and the status symbolism of specific localities. Perhaps the main way in which the social geography of such areas is changing on account of urban influences is by the introduction of segregation, an urban characteristic, into country districts. Existing society-land relationships are being upset by a sort of ecological invasion, but, on account of planning legislation, this is not taking place uniformly. Perhaps the main differences between the United States' Rural Urban Fringe and the situation in the northern sector of the London Metropolitan region may be summarised thus:

- (i) Martin's ecological theory that urban influences are directly dependent upon distance from, and size of, the metropolitan centre is complicated here by the Green Belt

policy which has sterilized land for development. The very idea of a Green Belt, is, of course, a consequence of the strong forces making for the expansion of London. Thus a peculiar characteristic of English society-land relationships is the Green Belt - a spatial manifestation of a social need.

- (ii) The fringe does not expand uniformly at the periphery, even beyond the Green Belt. West Hertfordshire has developed more rapidly on account of its geographical position and accessibility. The broad frontier may be traced in central Hertfordshire. The far north-east of the county is still beyond the fringe as the recent figures of depopulation show. This may be seen as the expression on a broad front of the economic factor - that is accessibility to employment in terms of time/cost distance.
- (iii) There is little uniformity within the fringe area as the differences between the neighbouring parishes of Watton and Tewin show. Factors making for such differences include the ownership of land, the influence of the squire (where he exists), local community structure, the attractiveness or status symbolism of the area, the accessibility of the area to places of employment, local employment opportunities, Local Authority housing policy and finally, above all, the H.C.C. planning policy which may prohibit all building or designate the area as either a 'listed' or 'excluded' village.
- (iv) Accessibility by itself at the local level does not produce change in the community as the analysis of Hexton, so close to Luton,

showed. This is an important modification of Hawley's Theory, quoted above.

- (v) There does not appear to be a comparable rural working-class population in the United States. The Local Authority housing estate in selected villages provides a unique element in the local social geography. Thus, when particular parishes receive a high proportion of immigrant newcomers - mainly middle class commuters - there is a strong tendency for a polarisation of the community along class lines to take place.
- (vi) There is a strong indication that certain villages are selected by the middle class for non-economic reasons, loosely grouped under the heading of 'status symbolism'. Villages with a high proportion of 'period' cottages are invaded in this way, and many exurbanites live in houses built before New England was colonised. The large number of old established villages and hamlets of the London region is clearly a distinguishing feature in relation to metropolitan regions, in, say, America and Australia.
- (vii) There is some indication that the speed of development of the fringe, or rather the pressure to develop if planning legislation permitted, depends on the growth of a professional and managerial class with the economic means and social inclination to live in rural areas. Certain features of New Town development 'pushes' such people to search for more space and a more distinctive life style.
- (viii) The population has by no means all moved centrifugally from London. Figure 16 showing the birthplaces of those adults living in Watton and Tewin makes this clear as does the analysis

of the previous addresses of the households. However, when solely considering the middle class population at Tewin there was a closer approximation to the American pattern.

- (ix) The importance of neighbouring, 'community' and local social organizations on the fringe has been variously interpreted in the United States. (32) The analysis of Tewin Wood shows that if there are sufficient middle class people to be both leaders and participants then community life may develop, even though this is not closely related to the established working class community.
- (x) This pattern of fringe living is undoubtedly dependent on the private car and this is true both here and in America. If petrol became scarce one would expect a movement of adventitious rural population closer to the main lines of public transport.

We have been discussing the processes involved in a new pattern of social geography. A recent international report claimed

In European society there are already signs that community is becoming a concept which is no longer confined to a particular locality, or which, indeed, is not primarily to be identified in terms of locality. (33)

It seems clear that at the same time as a wider, mass society is invading local communities, bringing in national values and class consciousness that a new type of community, associated with dispersed living, is emerging. Maybe the pattern of the future metropolis, as Kevin Lynch argues in a stimulating essay, will be a widely dispersed one.

"Such a pattern might not only raise flexibility, local participation, personal comfort, and independence to a maximum, but also go far toward solving traffic congestion through the total dispersion and balancing of loads". (34)

Much of course depends on the way Town and Country Planning, moving towards some form of Regional Planning, will adapt in the face of the forces of increased mobility and desire for a rural-urban life style by the middle class. Clearly the outer part of the London metropolitan region is undergoing rapid change, and in analysing the situation the social geographer is on common ground with all students of social change. Urban influences on rural areas are seen largely as the introduction of wider, national urban values into the limited, hierarchical local world. This process is not taking place to the same extent randomly throughout the country but is the result of social, economic and political forces working in a particular area, and in this area, the fringe, the relationships between society and the land are changing. The emphasis here has been on the sociological processes and it seems extraordinary that so little comparable work has been done. As Professor Buchanan recently wrote,

If an understanding of geomorphology and climatology must rest on a certain competence in geology and physics, so, too, must any understanding of human geography rest on an acquaintanceship with economics and sociology. (35)

In theoretical terms, therefore, this work is seen as an attempt to analyse the way a fringe of a metropolitan region develops in a particular society and within a particular geographical environment. These are significant differences between the London and New York regions and not all of these could be fully analysed and discussed. More cross-cultural studies taking into account the economic, social, geographic and ecological variables of different metropolitan regions are needed and this would appear to offer an exciting and stimulating challenge to the social geographer.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. All five studies have been referred to in previous footnotes.
2. Littlejohn op.cit. p.155.
3. Scott Greer, The Emerging City, Glencoe, Illinois (1962) p.195.
4. W.M. Dobriner, Class in Suburbia, New Jersey (1963) p.143.
5. ibid. p.146-147.
6. Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move, Glencoe, Illinois (1955) p.9.
7. R.A. Kurtz and J.B. Eicher, Fringe and Suburb: A Confusion of Concepts. Social Forces 37 (1958) 32-37.
8. ibid.
9. A.C. Sectorsky, The Exurbanites, New York (1955).
10. Dobriner op.cit. p.13.
11. Wendell Bell. Social Choice, Life Styles and Suburban Residence, in The Suburban Community (edited by W.M. Dobriner) New York, (1958), pp. 225-247.
12. On this theory see particularly David Riesman, The Suburban Sadness in Dobriner, ibid.
13. Class in Suburbia op.cit. p.73.
14. A.H. Hawley, Human Ecology, New York (1950) p.431.
15. Leo F. Schnore, The Growth of Metropolitan Suburbs, Am.Soc.Rev 22 (1957) 165-173.
16. W.T. Martin, Ecological Change in Satellite Rural Areas, Am.Soc. Rev. 22 (1957) 173-183.
17. ibid.
18. Unpublished Ph.D. Columbia University 1956.
19. A.H. Scaff. The Effect of Commuting on Participation in Community Organisations, Am. Soc. Rev. 17 (1952) 215-20.
20. A.J. Vidich and J. Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society New York (1960) p.95.
21. Scott Greer, op.cit. p.198.

22. See The Carrington Diary (1797-1810) W. Branch-Johnson, London 1956, p. 38.
23. Greater London Plan, op.cit. p. 8.
24. Statement in the House of Commons 26th April, 1953, quoted in the Hertfordshire County Council Report on The Administrative Problems of the Green Belt. (1961)
25. H.C.C. Report op.cit. paras. 21 and 22.
26. Ibid. p. 8. paras. 30 and 31.
27. Ibid. para. 38.
28. Ibid. para. 42.
29. H.C.C. Report Building in the Green Belt, 1960.
30. Emrys Jones, The Social Geography of Belfast OUP (1960) p. 164.
31. Ibid. p. 199-200 and p. 268. My italics.
32. In addition to sources already quoted see Contrasts in Neighbouring by S.F. Fava in The Suburban Community op. cit. pp. 122-131.
33. United Nations, Development in European Problem Areas, (1958).
34. Kevin Lynch, The Pattern of the Metropolis in The Future Metropolis edited by Lloyd Rodwin, London (1960) p. 108.
35. Keith Buchanan, West Wind East Wind, New Zealand Geographer 17 (1961) p. 119-36.

APPENDIX ONE

County StatisticsTable

1. Population Change in L. A. Areas 1951-1961
2. Job Ratios in L. A. Areas 1921 and 1951
3. Employment Structure 1951-1961 (by E. E. As)
4. Employment Structure by Industries 1951 and 1961

Table I

Population Change in Local Authority Areas 1951 - 1961

<u>BOROUGHES & URBAN DISTRICTS</u>	<u>Census 1951</u>	<u>Census 1961</u> (1)	<u>Percent. Increase 1951-1961</u>	<u>% Increase 1951-61</u> *	
				<u>By Natural Increase</u>	<u>By Migration</u>
Baldock	5,969	6,764	13.3	65.4	34.6
Barnet	25,019	27,834	11.3	38.7	61.3
Berkhamsted	10,783	13,048	21.0	23.4	76.6
Bishop's Stortford	12,772	18,308	43.3	20.4	79.6
Bushey	14,833	20,653	39.2	19.6	80.4
Cheshunt	23,019	35,297	53.3	22.6	77.4
Chorleywood	4,431	6,979	57.5	10.6	89.4
East Barnet	40,408	40,599	0.5	-	-
Harpenden	14,244	18,218	27.9	23.9	76.1
Hemel Hempstead	23,437	55,164	135.4	16.4	83.6
Hertford	13,884	15,734	13.3	38.9	61.1
Hitchin	19,963	24,243	21.4	24.8	75.2
Hoddesdon	13,736	17,902	30.3	25.7	74.3
Letchworth	20,322	25,515	25.6	28.7	71.3
Rickmansworth	24,508	28,442	16.1	36.9	63.1
Royston	4,659	6,160	32.2	15.3	84.7
St. Albans	44,098	50,276	14.0	41.4	58.6
Sawbridgeworth	3,693	4,633	25.5	17.0	83.0
Stevenage	7,168	42,964	499.4	14.8	85.2
Tring	5,017	6,087	21.3	7.5	92.5
Ware	8,253	9,980	20.9	10.4	89.6
Watford	73,130	75,630	3.4	102.0	-2.0
Welwyn Garden City	18,804	34,944	85.8	24.2	75.8
TOTAL	432,150	585,374	35.5	23.2	76.8
<u>RURAL DISTRICTS</u>					
Berkhamsted	5,420	6,283	15.9	33.6	66.4
Braughing	10,415	10,070	-3.3	-	-
Elstree	14,764	29,361	98.9	19.2	80.8
Hatfield	22,927	39,630	72.9	18.6	81.4
Hemel Hempstead	11,789	13,401	13.7	54.6	45.4
Hertford	8,452	9,952	17.7	37.3	62.7
Hitchin	21,088	22,706	7.7	69.2	30.8
St. Albans	28,608	38,865	35.9	23.6	76.4
Ware	10,480	11,362	8.4	56.7	43.3
Watford	38,316	58,146	51.8	23.7	76.3
Welwyn	5,366	6,938	29.3	28.0	72.0
TOTAL	177,625	246,714	38.9	24.8	75.2
ADMIN. COUNTY	609,775	832,088	36.5	23.7	76.3

* Calculations made by Herts County Planning Dept. 1. Preliminary Estimate

Table II Job Ratios in Local Authority Areas in 1921 and 1951

<u>BOROUGHES and U. D. s.</u>		<u>JOB RATIOS</u>	
		<u>1921</u>	<u>1951</u>
Baldock	.. ..	82	77
Barnet	.. ..	86	68
Berkhamsted	.. ..	88	83
Bishop's Stortford	.. ..	98	109
Bushey	.. ..	78	66
Cheshunt	.. ..	88	77
Chorleywood	.. ..	66	47
East Barnet	.. ..	65	70
Harpenden	.. ..	85	65
Hemel Hempstead	.. ..	64	100
Hertford	.. ..	100	120
Hitchin	.. ..	90	89
Hoddesdon	.. ..	80	79
Letchworth	.. ..	144	148
Rickmansworth	.. ..	68	61
Royston	.. ..	102	101
St. Albans	.. ..	92	91
Sawbridgeworth	.. ..	90	66
Stevenage	.. ..	85	129
Tring	.. ..	83	80
Ware	.. ..	79	118
Watford	.. ..	80	110
Welwyn Garden City	.. ..	-	120
<u>RURAL DISTRICTS</u>			
Berkhamsted	.. ..	87	70
Braughing	.. ..	90	80
Elstree	.. ..	88	147
Hatfield	.. ..	94	123
Hemel Hempstead	.. ..	152	68
Hertford	.. ..	89	65
Hitchin	.. ..	87	61
St. Albans	.. ..	100	73
Ware	.. ..	97	67
Watford	.. ..	113	69
Welwyn	.. ..	103	53

Source. Census Reports on Usual Residence and Workplace 1921 and 1951.

Job Ratio defined as the number of occupied day population per hundred occupied night population.

Table III

Hertfordshire Employment Structure 1951 - 1961By Employment Exchange Areas.

	<u>Change 1951 - 1961</u>			
	<u>Total Employment</u> <u>1961</u>	<u>Agriculture</u>	<u>Manfg.</u>	<u>Services</u>
Barnet, East Barnet and Borehamwood	31,357	-481	3,240	-1,129
Hemel Hempstead	29,016	-90	6,771	5,718
Bishop's Stortford	10,443	-167	559	1,675
Harpenden	6,061	-193	554	980
Hatfield	18,717	-28	3,994	3,853
Hertford	16,730	-260	587	1,476
Hitchin	13,409	222	1,096	3,942
Hoddesdon	8,552	-435	1,507	569
Letchworth	23,361	125	5,014	1,241
Rickmansworth	6,279	-110	497	663
Royston	4,883	-565	681	-70
St. Albans	29,232	-1212	2,857	2,079
Stevenage	22,394	-119	12,494	4,132
Watford	61,245	-160	5,881	6,067
Welwyn Garden City	21,100	-180	4,933	2,955
Waltham Cross	10,666	-1381	2,581	387
TOTAL	313,445	-5034	53,246	34,538

Source. Ministry of Labour Records (supplied through the
Herts County Planning Dept.)

Table IV Hertfordshire Employment Structure By Industries

1951 - 1961

(Source as for Table III)

<u>Order No.</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>% Change 1951-61</u>
I	Agriculture, Forestry			
	Fishing	16,652	11,519	-30.82
II	Mining and Quarrying	628	637	1.43
III	Food, Drink and			
	Tobacco	7,077	7,602	7.41
IV	Chemicals & Allied Inds.	9,065	10,881	20.16
V	Metal Manufacture	2,243	5,033	124.38
VI	Engineering & Electrical			
	Goods	29,664	53,121	79.07
VIII	Vehicles	18,859	31,597	67.54
IX	Metal Goods not			
	elsewhere specified	3,095	5,147	66.30
X and	Textiles and Leather			
XI	Goods	3,937	3,643	-7.83
XII	Clothing and Footwear	4,618	4,155	-10.02
XIII	Bricks, Pottery, Glass			
	Cement	2,972	5,110	71.93
XIV	Timber and Furniture	3,719	5,098	37.07
XV	Paper, Printing and			
	Publishing	17,491	21,663	23.85
XVI	Other Manufacturing			
	Industries	6,535	9,461	44.77
XVII	Construction	18,204	20,199	10.95
XVIII	Gas, Electricity & Water	4,490	4,668	3.96
XIX	Transport & Communi-			
	cation	9,190	8,927	-2.86
XX	Distributive Trades	20,405	30,828	51.08
XXI	Insurance, Banking,			
	Finance	2,878	4,308	49.68
XXII	Professional and			
	Scientific Services	18,719	35,426	89.25
XXIII	Miscellaneous Services	19,697	24,258	23.15
XXIV	Public Administration	10,440	9,948	-4.71
	TOTAL	104,024	138,562	33.20

APPENDIX TWO

Rural District StatisticsTable

1. Population Change 1921-1961 at Census Years.
2. Order of Population Change in Inter-Censal Periods.
3. Industrial Structure 1951.
4. Population and Housing in Hertford R.D.

Table I. Population Change in Herts Rural Districts

Group I.	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
Elstree	4,122	5,946	14,764	29,295
Hatfield	8,516	11,253	22,927	39,696
Watford	12,213	14,979	38,316	58,201
ALL	24,841	32,178	76,007	127,192
Group II.				
Hemel				
Hempstead	6,644	7,853	11,789	13,392
St. Albans	12,568	15,807	28,608	38,947
Welwyn	2,499	3,694	5,366	6,935
ALL	21,711	27,354	45,763	59,274
Group III.				
Berkhamsted	3,689	4,165	5,420	6,282
Braughing	9,465	9,088	10,415	10,086
Hertford	6,940	7,040	8,452	9,949
Hitchin	16,823	18,557	21,088	22,719
Ware	8,839	8,527	10,480	11,318
ALL	45,757	48,377	55,855	60,354
<u>HERTS R. D. s.</u>	92,309	107,909	176,660	246,820
<u>HERTS A. C.</u>	333,195	401,206	609,775	832,901
<u>R. D. s. as % of A. C.</u>	27.7	26.8	29.0	29.6

Source: Census Volumes. N.B. This table is based on the final statistics and thus there is some slight discrepancy with Appendix 1, Table 1.

Table II Order of Population Change in Inter-censal Periods
 (Based on percentage increases)

RURAL DISTRICTS

Group I	<u>1901-11</u>	<u>1911-21</u>	<u>1921-31</u>	<u>1931-51</u>	<u>1951-61</u>
Elstree	2	2	2	2	1
Hatfield	4	3	3	3	2
Watford	3	1	5	1	3
Group II					
Hemel					
Hempstead	6	5	6	5	8
St. Albans	1	6	4	4	4
Welwyn	7	4	1	6	5
Group III					
Berkhamsted	11	8	7	7	7
Braughing	9	10	11	11	11
Hertford	10	7	9	9	6
Hitchin	5	9	8	10	10
Ware	8	11	10	8	9

Table III Industrial Structure of Rural Districts 1951

RURAL
DISTRICTS

Group I	<u>Agriculture and Mining</u>	<u>Manuf. Ind.</u>	<u>Distrib. & Misc. Services</u>	<u>Profess. & Pub. Serv.</u>	<u>Transport Bldg. Pub. Utils</u>	<u>Total Employed.</u>
Elstree	2.0	54.0	10.5	14.0	19.5	9,049
Hatfield	4.5	60.5	16.0	8.0	11.0	13,454
Watford	4.5	43.1	16.8	19.6	16.0	10,822
Group II						
Hemel						
Hempstead	16.3	11.2	31.1	19.1	22.1	3,754
St. Albans	13.0	30.3	14.5	33.3	8.9	8,256
Welwyn	10.0	32.6	30.8	13.6	13.0	1,549
Group III						
Berkhamsted	25.0	12.0	28.5	20.5	14.0	1,574
Braughing	42.0	8.0	23.0	13.5	13.5	3,233
Hertford	34.1	17.4	24.0	11.0	13.5	2,519
Hitchin	35.0	16.5	24.0	11.0	13.5	5,715
Ware	22.9	19.4	22.7	24.1	10.9	3,229

Source: 1951 Census, Volume on The Industrial Structure of the Population.

Table IV

Population and Housing in Hertford R. D.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Popln. 1951</u>	<u>Popln. 1961</u>	<u>Housing 1945-1960</u>	
			<u>By L. A.</u>	<u>By P. E.</u>
Aston	678	578	22	12
Bayford	385	493	23	25
Bengeo Rural	353	462	60	10
Benington	553	692	22	10
Bramfield	194	237	22	8
Brickendon	379	420	18	12
Datchworth	978	1,220	62	68
Hertingfordbury	640	746	37	53
Little Amwell	791	982	95	18
Little Berkhamsted	468	567	32	12
Sacombe	177	198	11	4
Stapleford	430	497	40	16
<u>Tewin</u>	853	1,172	66	<u>100</u>
Walkern	803	816	38	15
<u>Watton-at-Stone</u>	772	869	<u>75</u>	30

Sources: Census Volumes and Officers of the Rural District Council.

APPENDIX THREEA Note on Problems of Interviewing and Coding the Data.

Some account of the success of the field work is given in the introduction to Chapter Five. Some further points will now be made, and it is suggested that reference be made to the questionnaire and code sheet to be found in the end pocket. The interviewer was required to interview the householder or his/her wife/husband, and the respondent decided who was the householder in each case. The following table shows who, in the event, provided information for the household.

Respondent's Position in Household

	<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Tewin</u>	<u>Watton</u>
Married woman	34	91	75
Div./Sep. woman	-	1	1
Widow	5	11	12
Spinster	3	5	5
Married man	6	31	20
Div./Sep. man	-	1	-
Widower	1	3	6
Bachelor	-	1	1
	<hr/> 49	<hr/> 144	<hr/> 120

The household was defined as all those who share the same table and larder.

In the tables which are presented in this thesis the proportion in the 'no information' category varies from question to question. Part of the reason for this arises from difficulties at the interviewing and coding stages. Some of these difficulties are listed below:

- a) With regard to questions 13-16 it appeared that some working class wives did not know anything of their husband's background.

Also some middle class wives who appeared to be socially mobile upwards were reluctant to provide information on their husband's schooling and indeed, on occasions, appeared to be inventing information which they would have liked to be true. Whilst on this point of wives' knowledge of husbands, some working class wives had only the vaguest notions of what their husbands were at present doing. Only after persistent probing could one discover that such men were generally "semi-skilled workers in other manufacturing activity".

- b) The bias arising from the different interpretation of the questions by respondents, in terms of their separate middle class and working class cultures, is perhaps the most serious weakness arising from the pre-set questionnaire. This was seen particularly with regard to the questions involving educational aspirations and social activities. However, throughout the field work I was alive to this problem and the verbatim comments which were recorded do much to reduce the error.
- c) Questions 27-30 suffered considerably on account of being directed at the respondent. It was impossible to check whether wives' views coincided with those of their husbands. This is simply a weakness in the questionnaire which should be avoided in future surveys. Its main value in the present context was to provide a further basis of informal discussion with some respondents.

The coding was relatively straightforward once a scheme had been devised, although caravans and open plan houses, for example, provided small snags. Much the most difficult and yet important codings were for the chief earner's occupation and industry. These appear on the

code sheet as columns 24 and 25. The socio-economic grouping or social class of the chief earner is my own classification based on the Registrar Generals' Classification of Occupations 1960. This latter system is summarised below and the positions in my own scheme are indicated.

Registrar Generals' Socio-Economic Groups

1. Employers and managers in central and local government, industry and commerce etc : large establishments.
Persons who employ more than 25 people in non-agricultural enterprises. (REP class 1)
2. As 1. but in establishments employing less than 25 people (REP class 2)
3. Professional workers, self-employed. Generally needing the qualification of a degree (REP class 1)
4. Professional workers as employees (REP class 1)
5. Intermediate non-manual workers, ancillary to professions and not needing a degree. Artists not employing others. All others with supervisory function not covered elsewhere. (Some in REP class 2, rest 3)
6. Junior non-manual workers. Employees, not exercising general planning or supervisory powers, engaged in clerical, sales and non-manual communications and security occupations, excluding those who have additional and formal supervisory functions (REP class 4)
7. Personal service workers.
Food, drink, clothing, etc. (REP class 4)
8. Foremen and Supervisors (manual) (REP class 6)
9. Skilled manual workers (REP class 6)
10. Semi-skilled manual workers (REP class 7)
11. Unskilled manual workers (REP class 7)
12. Own account worker, not needing degree and only employing members of family, if any. (REP class 3)

13. Farmers: employers and managers (REP class 8)
14. Farmers on own account (REP, large landowners class 1 - rest class 8)
15. Agricultural workers (divided into two groups by REP)
16. Members of armed forces. (Divided into two by REP - officers into class 1 and rest into class 6)

By and large the coding of the occupations, using the R.G's list was not too difficult. There was a subjective division between my positions two and three since I wanted to bring out the local social status of small tradesmen, not adequately reflected by the R.G's national framework. Sometimes the R.G's classification appeared to be at fault, as when, for example, cabin boys appear in my group 4 and postmen in my group 7. Similarly it was difficult to believe that all policemen should be coded in group 6. I was restricted by the number of positions available on the tabulating cards. Perhaps the R.G's most meaningless category is that of 'Agricultural worker' which includes everyone from skilled horticultural workers and mechanics to ditch diggers. I therefore divided up such workers, separating the skilled workers, such as shepherds, cowmen and gamekeepers, from tractor drivers, gardener's mate and so on. Rather than make a list of exceptions I found it more logical to follow the R.G's system completely since, although in the actual coding a postman and a seaman come in group 7 and a painter and a lorry driver come in group 6, nevertheless for most purposes groups 6 and 7 are taken together.

For the industry of the chief earner the Standard Industrial Classification was used and column 25 is based on this. Thus a man working in a garage, for example, is coded not in positions 3 or 4 but in position 5 in accordance with the classification. It should be noted that

barristers and county council roadmen, among others, appear in group 6. Hence the industrial structure, to be truly meaningful, has to be analysed in relation to the occupational structure.

Finally, perhaps, a brief justification of the method I have adopted is necessary. The presentation of the material makes it quite clear that doing a concurrent survey of three parishes has prevented detailed community studies in depth. To be sure certain themes, such as the division between 'the Wood' and 'the village' at Tewin, were analysed in depth, but there is a danger in this.

"We should remark how the bizarre is likely to stand out in experience and how selective our perception is, how we tend to see what makes us comfortable or wards off painful feelings. Odd people and those under pressure do and say the conspicuous things and we must beware of judging the whole situation by them. Comfortable people talk less and come forward less readily to the newcomer." (1)

In order to overcome such difficulties, and at the same time study three different parishes, the emphasis was placed on those aspects of the situation which could, legitimately, be quantified. Some sort of comparative yardstick was essential and it is important to note the two types of data which have been combined in this thesis. There is the factual type of information, such as where people live and work, and there is the no less important but totally different type of information, such as people's stated attitudes to commuting. In order to get the first type of data it appeared that there was no other way than actually to visit people in their homes and ask for it with a prepared schedule, and in the process some of the impressionistic data was gathered. Similarly the other economic and social links with the outside world could only be analysed objectively after direct questioning had elicited the

1. John Dollard. Caste and Class in a Southern Town New York, 1957 edition pp. 20-21.

necessary basic data. I am against quantification when it is used as a device for making rather dubious data appear more precise. I realise that the sample of 264 households in Watton and Tewin does not provide the basis for large order generalisations about South East England or even Hertfordshire. However, assuming the villages were selected according to meaningful criteria, and I feel that they were, then the quantification provides a very good indication of what is happening in a wider area, and the abstractions of such middle order generalisations are just as valid as those based on functional studies of single communities produced by anthropologists.

APPENDIX FOUR

Tables Relating to the Three Parishes.Table

1. Age Structure of the three Parishes
2. Population of Watton and Tewin by Age, Sex and Marital Status
3. Population of Geographical Areas in Tewin by Age and Sex
4. Population in Geographical Areas of Watton by Age and Sex
5. Age structure of Households in Watton and Tewin by Class and length of Residence of Head of Household
6. Married Couples in Watton and Tewin by selected characteristics of Head of Household
7. Place of Residence within Watton and Tewin of Those Born in Hertfordshire and London.
8. Date of Arrival of Household into The Three Parishes
9. Previous Address of Household Before Moving to Parishes
10. Reasons Given by Respondent for Household Moving to Parish
11. Industrial Structure of the Three Parishes: Chief Earners Only
12. Place of work of Chief Earners in the Three Parishes.

Table I.Age Structure of the Three ParishesIn Percentages

<u>Age</u>	<u>HEXTON</u>	<u>WATTON</u>	<u>TEWIN</u>
0-4	6.8	9.8	12.0
5-9	3.7	9.1	10.4
10-14	10.0	9.1	8.6
15-19	8.1	6.9	6.3
20-24	8.1	4.5	2.2
25-29	4.4	5.0	4.3
30-34	5.0	8.5	6.8
35-39	5.6	7.2	10.2
40-44	9.4	4.0	9.3
45-49	5.6	9.1	7.5
50-54	10.0	6.4	5.0
55-59	5.0	5.6	6.5
60-64	5.6	3.5	3.8
65-69	2.5	4.3	3.4
70-74	3.1	1.8	1.6
75-79	4.4	2.7	1.8
80 +	3.1	2.4	1.1
	100% = 161	100% = 375	100% = 442

Table II. Population of Tewin and Watton by Age, Sex and Marital Status

<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>		<u>Single</u>		<u>Widow(er)</u>		<u>Separated/ Divorced</u>	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
15-19	1	2	22	30				
20-24	4	8	10	6				
25-34	37	55	5	5				
35-44	61	64	3	1				
45-54	60	48	4	1			-	1
55-64	33	28	1	7	-	9	2	1
65 +	23	14	-	3	16	19	1	-
No Inf.	5	5	-	3	-	-	-	-
ALL	224	224	45	56	16	28	3	2
	448		101					

Table III. Population of Geographical Areas in Tewin by Age and Sex
(in percentages)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Tewin Wood & Orchard Rd.</u>		<u>Tewin Village</u>		<u>Tewin Council Houses</u>		<u>Elsewhere in Tewin</u>	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Less than								
5	11	8	14	7	26	7	11.5	12.5
5-9	11	13	7	7	10	14	14	2.5
10-14	12	7	14	5	12	7	2.5	10.0
15-19	5.5	7	9	3.5	4	9.5	7	5
20-24	2	-	4.5	3.5	6	5	-	2.5
25-34	4.5	13	14	12	12	19	11.5	7.5
35-44	21	22	28	17	10	19	14	22.5
45-54	15.5	13	11.5	15.5	12	5	14	12.5
55-64	9	9	28	14	4	5	11.5	10.0
Over								
65	5.5	3.5	9	14	4	9.5	11.5	12.5
No Inf.	2	4.5	-	2	-	-	2.5	2.5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	90	86	43	58	50	42	43	40

Table IV Population in Geographical Areas of Watton by Age and Sex
(in percentages)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Watton Village</u>		<u>Watton Council Houses</u>		<u>Watton Parish (Hamlets)</u>	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Under 5	5	6.5	14	11.5	6	16.5
5-9	12.5	8	8.5	10	9.5	3
10-14	11	4.5	10	9	19	3
15-19	3.5	9	7	5	3	16.5
20-24	-	3.5	8.5	5	3	5.5
25-34	10	16.5	11	13	15.5	16.5
35-44	11	8	14	11.5	9.5	11
45-54	16	14.5	19.5	13	19	8.5
55-64	6	15.5	1.5	4	9.5	16.5
Over 65	22	12	5.5	5	6	3
No Inf.	2.5	2	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	81	90	71	78	32	36

Table V. Age Structure of Households in Watton and Tewin by Class and Length of Residence of Head of Household
(in percentages)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Middle Class</u>				<u>Working Class</u>			
	<u>Newcomers</u>		<u>Established</u>		<u>Newcomers</u>		<u>Established</u>	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Under 5	16	14	-	-	14	9.5	11	7
5-14	19.5	17.3	13	3	30	14	24	16
15-24	6.5	8.0	9.5	22.5	9	9.5	9	16
25-44	28	36	13	9.5	28	42	21	26.5
45-64	22	18	42	48	14	18.5	26	26
65 +	6.5	2	22.5	13	3.5	4.5	10	9
No Inf.	2	3.5	-	3	2	2.5	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	170	171	31	31	57	43	111	113

Table VI Watton and Tewin Married Couples by Birthplace and Class/Commuting Characteristics of Head of Household

	<u>Middle Class</u>				<u>Working Class</u>				<u>Retired and No. Inf.</u>	<u>Totals</u>			
	<u>London Commuter</u>		<u>Local Commuter</u>		<u>Non Commuter</u>		<u>Commuter</u>				<u>Non Commuter</u>	<u>Agric. Workers</u>	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)					
<u>A) Husband Born in Parish (or adjacent) and Wife:</u>													
(i) - Also Born in Parish or adj.		1					4		2		2		9
(ii)- Born Elsewhere in Herts					1		6		3		1		11
(iii)- Born Outside County				1	3		11		6		1	3	25
<u>B) Husband Born elsewhere in Herts and Wife:</u>													
- (i)							5		1		1	-	7
- (ii)				2					2		3		7
- (iii)		1	1	4	1				2		2	1	12
<u>C) Husband Born Outside Herts and Wife:</u>													
- (i)				1			5				1		7
- (ii)		1	1	2	1	1	1						7
- (iii)	23	10	22	19	9	9	8		11		14	6	131
													216
													=====

(a) = Previous address outside Herts. (b) = Previous address within Herts.

Table VII A) Place of Residence of those Born in Hertfordshire by Age and Sex.

Age	<u>Tewin Village</u>		<u>Tewin Council</u> <u>Houses</u>		<u>Elsewhere</u> <u>Tewin</u>		<u>Watton Council</u> <u>Houses</u>		<u>Elsewhere</u> <u>Watton</u>	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Less than 5	4	4	12	3	10	5	10	9	5	12
5-14	7	3	10	3	15	6	9	13	19	7
15-24	3	1	4	3	4	2	5	5	3	10
25-64	15	8	9	9	3	3	18	15	23	16
65 and over	3	5	2	2	1	1	3	2	9	4
No information						1				
<u>TOTAL</u>	32	21	37	20	33	18	45	45	59	49

B) Place of Residence of those Born in the Census Conurbation of London by Age and Sex.

Less than 5	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-
5-14	1	2	-	1	10	11	2	-	7	2
15-24	1	3	1	-	3	2	-	1	-	2
25-64	5	7	4	7	36	31	4	6	10	20
65 and over	-	3	-	1	4	3	-	-	4	2
No information	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
<u>TOTAL</u>	7	16	5	9	57	54	6	7	22	27

Table VIII Date of Arrival of Household into Parish

<u>All Parishes</u>		<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Watton</u>	<u>Tewin</u>
25.2	1957-1961	25	23.4	27.1
19.0	1952-1956	18	12.5	25.6
9.6	1946-1951	4	7.5	13.2
54.4	All postwar, i. e. all above.	48	43.4	66.0
3.1	1939-1945	2	4.2	3.3
11.7	Pre 1939	18	12.5	9.0
24.6	Householder and/or spouse born in parish	22	32.4	19.4
4.1	Household formed in Parish tho' neither head nor wife (if any) born there.	6	5.0	3.3
1.6	Don't know.	4	-	2.5
% 100.0		49 = 100.0	120 = 100.0	144 = 100.0

Figures do not make 100% because of rounding.

Table IX Previous Address of Household Before Moving To Parish
i. e. Newcomers Only

<u>All Parishes</u>		<u>Hexton</u> %	<u>Tewin</u> %	<u>Watton</u> %
11.6	Adjacent Parish	24.3	1.8	20.0
16.1	Elsewhere 'Rural' Herts	18.9	14.3	17.3
16.5	Elsewhere 'Urban' Herts	8.1	24.1	9.3
<hr/>				
16.1	Conurbation of London outside A. C.	8.1	26.8	4.0
5.8	London A. C.	-	8.0	5.3
2.7	Other London (unspecified)		1.8	5.3
<hr/>				
24.6	Total LONDON	8.1	36.6	14.6
<hr/>				
	Elsewhere R. G. s.			
16.1	London & S. E, S. and E. Regions	18.9	8.9	25.3
8.5	England Elsewhere	10.8	8.9	6.7
2.7	Elsewhere U. K.	5.4	1.8	2.7
2.7	Other (Overseas etc.)	-	2.7	4.0
1.3	Don't know	5.4	0.9	-
<hr/>				
100%		100%	100%	100%
= 224		= 37	= 112	= 75
<hr/>				
89	Household formed in Parish	12	32	45
= 28%		= 25%	= 22.2%	= 37.6%
<hr/>				
313	Total Sample	49	144	120

Table X

Reasons Given by Respondent for Household
Moving to Parish.

Immigrants Only.

	<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Tewin</u>	<u>Watton</u>
Head of household moves to <u>new</u> job or nearer to job in a nearby parish.	73.5	23.4	54.7
Dwelling/Building land available when searching in wide area.	14.7	38.2	26.0
To be near relatives (linked with house and job)		7.0	5.5
Retirement	2.9	1.7	2.7
'Nice Place'	2.9	15.7	4.1
Other and Combination of above.		10.4	6.7
Don't know.	5.9	1.7	1.4
	34 = 100%	115 = 100%	73 = 100%

Table XI

Industrial Structure : Chief Earners Only

<u>Hitchin R.D.</u> <u>1951</u>	<u>Hertford R.D.</u> <u>1951</u>		<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Tewin</u> <u>1961</u>	<u>Watton</u>
All Earners					
35.0	34.1	Agriculture, hort, fishing, gravel working	58.0	10.0	20.3
13.5	13.5	((((Building	7.0	5.7	20.3
		((((Public Utilities and Transport	2.3	1.4	8.8
		((((Distribution	4.6	10.0	11.5
24.0	24.0	((((Misc. Services (incl. Domestic)	7.0	5.0	8.0
11.0	11.0	Profess. and Public Service	7.0	32.4	14.1
16.5	17.4	Manufacturing	14.0	35.2	16.8
Total Chief Earners			43 = 100%	139 = 100%	113 = 100%

Table XIIPlace of Work of Chief Earner

	<u>Hexton</u>	<u>Tewin</u>	<u>Watton</u>
London A. C.		21.6	0.9
Elsewhere Greater London Conurbation		6.9	
Total LONDON		28.5	0.9
Stevenage		3.8	10.5
W. G. C. and Hatfield		34.6	6.7
Hertford		6.1	11.5
Luton	19.1	0.7	0.9
Hitchin	2.4	-	-
In Parish or Adjacent Parish	73.8	16.2	55.0
Elsewhere or no fixed place of work	4.8	9.2	14.4
Don't know		0.7	
Total	100% = 42	100% = 130	100% = 104
Not earning, etc.	7	14	16
Total Sample	49	144	120

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CODE FOR HERTS VILLAGE SURVEY

Col. 1	<u>Reference number of village</u>	
	Hexton	1
	Tewin	2
	Watton	3
Col. 2	<u>Reference number within village</u>	
	- hundreds.	
Col. 3	- tens.	
Col. 4	- units.	
Col. 5	<u>Geographical location within village</u>	
	Tewin Wood and Orchard Road	1
	Tewin Village ^x	2
	Council Houses Tewin	3
	Queen Hoo Lane	4
	Elsewhere Tewin	5
	Watton Village	6
	Council Houses Watton	7
	Watton parish (hamlets)	8
	Hexton village	9
	Hexton (outlying farms and cottages)	0
Col. 6	<u>Date of arrival of Household into Parish</u>	
	Household formed <u>outside</u> parish and arrived:	
	1957 - 1961 (5 yrs)	1
	1952 - 1956 (5 yrs)	2
	1946 - 1951 (6 yrs)	3
	1939 - 1945 (7 yrs)	4
	Pre 1939	5
	Householder (whether M or F) and/or head's wife born in Parish	0
	H'hold formed in Parish through neither head nor wife (if any) born there	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 7	<u>Household Mobility within Parish</u>	
	H'hold (i.e. <u>after</u> formation) has lived in one or more other houses in parish	1
	H'hold has <u>not</u> lived in other house in parish:	
	- Head or head's wife (if any) <u>born</u> in house	2
	- Neither born in house but head or wife (if any) lived there before h'hold formed (e.g. ...)	

No names will be taken and all answers will be treated as
Strictly Confidential

Number /.....

SURVEY OF HERTFORDSHIRE VILLAGES

May, 1961

Office
Code

To Interviewer:- In order to save space on the questionnaire,
all those items marked * are more clearly
explained on the note-sheet.
- Interview only householder or housewife*.

1. How long have you (and your h'hold*) lived in this house?
Since 19.... Month
- Comment:
2. (Unless 'born here' in Qu.1.) Where were you living before?
Village or Town County or D.N.A.
Comment:
3. (Only those who lived outside parish before)
Could you tell me why you came to this village? D.N.A.
.....
.....
4. (Ask ALL) What do you (now) think of this village as a place to live in?
.....
.....
.....
- 5(a) Would you like to move somewhere else or Stay ()
would you prefer to stay in this village? Move ()
If move where to?
- Other answers (incl. 'uncertain')
(b) Why?
-
6. Do you (and your h'hold) rent or own your house? Rent ()
Own (free or long leasehold*)..... ()
Rent free (give details below)..... ()
Comment:
-
7. Do you know roughly when your house was built?
- Comment
8. How many rooms do you (and your h'hold) have to live in here? *
- Comment
9. Do you (and your h'hold) have:
(i) A car(s)? No.... () ; Yes ... () ; Number
- (ii) Motor cycle(s)? No.... () ; Yes ... () ; Number
- (iii) Bicycl(s)? No.... () ; Yes ... () ; Number
- Comment:

Number /

10. Do you have a telephone here? Yes () No () Office Code
11. Would you mind telling me how many people you are in your household, including yourself; how old you are
- (Check that temporarily absent members are included and full information for them; and that visitors are excluded).

No.	Relationship to Respondent	Sex	Age	Mar. Stat.	BIRTH PLACE		Office Code	Usually at work or in F/T Edu- cation*
					Villago/ Town	County		
1	Respondent							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							

No. #	Precise occupation # (Personal job)	Industry #	Office Code	Place of work # or Name & Address of School	Trans- port used	(1) (2)	

(1) Time at which person usually leaves home for work/school.
 (2) Time at which work/school usually starts.

12. (ASK WIDOWS ONLY) Would you mind telling me what was your husband's occupation? Industry
- Where was he born? County
- Comment:

(Interviewer: Ask Ques. 13, 14, 15 & 16 of CHIEF EARNER # only
 CODE: Chief Earner is Number

- 13(a) How old (was he / were you) when (he/you) finished F/T education?
- (b) What sort of school or other institute of full-time education was this?
- Comment:
14. When did (he/you) enter (his/your) present job? (or last job if retired or unemployed): 19 Month
- Comment:

Number .../ ...

Office
Code

15(a) What was (his/your) first job? Occupation
Industry

(b) Where was it? Town or village County

(c) Where (was he/were you) living then? Town or village

Comment:
.....

16. Would you mind telling me what was (his/your) father's occupation?
..... Industry

Comment:
.....

17. (Ask only if there are dependent children)
Could you say to what age you would like your child(ren) to stay at
school or full-time education?

Son(s)

Daughter(s)

Comment[Ⓢ] (incl. type of educ. and type of job desired)

.....
.....

18. Would you mind telling me where (the housewife[Ⓢ]) buys:

Commodity	Place or Places	Office Code	Transport used
(a) Most of your groceries? (e.g. butter, sugar, tea/coffee).			
(b) Meat?			
(c) Dress or coat (for housewife)?			
(d) Shoes (" ")?			
(e) Suit/Coat (for man/husband)?			
(f) Shoes (" " ")?			
(g) Coat/Suit/Dress (for dep. child)?			
(h) Shoes (" ")?			
(i) Piece of lvg. room or dining room furniture (e.g. table or cupboard)?			
(j) Where is dentist for man/husb.? " " " " woman/wife?			

Comment:
.....
.....

19. About how many times did (she/you) go shopping last week?

.....

Office
Code

20. Could you say HOW OFTEN you go to: and WHERE do you usually go? Transport used

Cinema .....	.....	.....
Theatre/Show/Circus (specify)....	.....	.....
.....
.....
Exhibition/Museum .....	.....	.....
.....

Comment:

21(a) Did you yourself go away on holiday last year (1960)? Yes ... ()
No ()

If yes where to?
For how long?

(b) Are you yourself going away on holiday this year 1961?
Yes (); No (); Don't know ()

If yes where to?
For how long?

Comment:

22 Could you tell me:
(a) the last time that friends/relatives came here to visit you and had a meal?
(b) when was the last time you yourself made a similar visit?

	Last time (approx.)	Office Code	Where from/to?	Transport used	(i) Relationship
To Respondent:					
Respondent going:					

(i) e.g. Parent/brother/sister/other relative/close friend/acquaintance.
Comment (e.g. Whether parents regularly, etc.):

23 Do you or members of your household make any other regular journeys outside the village?

24 Do you have a T.V. set? .. Yes ... (); No ... ().
(If 'yes') About how many hours did you yourself watch T.V. last week?

Comment:

Number /

Office
Code

26(a) Have you, within the last five years, attended any classes^{sc} held in the evenings but not connected with your job in any way?

Yes ... () No ... ()

(b) If yes, specify (incl. organising body, e.g. LEA, WEA, Univ.).....

.....
Comment: (incl. whether resp. would like to attend such non-vocational classes if these were arranged)

27 Are you satisfied about the way local government is conducted in this area?

28 Did you (yourself) vote at the last local^{sc} election which was on May 13th? Yes ... () No ... ().

Comment: (incl. not eligible)

29(a) Would you mind telling me for which party you (yourself) voted in the General Election of 1959?

Won't say ()
Didn't vote ()

(b) Would you vote in the same way now?

Yes (); No (); Uncertain ()

(c) If No, how would you vote now?

Comment: (incl. reasons for any change)

30 Have you, in the past, voted differently from the way you did in 1959? Yes ... (); No ... (); Won't say ... ()

Comment:

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS:

Respondent's Reaction

Other Comments and Observations

Difficulties/Queries re Indiv. Qus. & Ans.

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Initials</u>
1st Visit
2nd Visit
3rd Visit
4th Visit
5th Visit

CODE FOR HERTS VILLAGE SURVEY

Col. 1	<u>Reference number of village</u>	
	Hexton	1
	Tewin	2
	Watton	3
Col. 2	<u>Reference number within village</u>	
	- hundreds.	
Col. 3	- tens.	
Col. 4	- units.	
Col. 5	<u>Geographical location within village</u>	
	Tewin Wood and Orchard Road	1
	Tewin Village [*]	2
	Council Houses Tewin	3
	Queen Hoo Lane	4
	Elsewhere Tewin	5
	Watton Village	6
	Council Houses Watton	7
	Watton parish (hamlets)	8
	Hexton village	9
	Hexton (outlying farms and cottages)	0
Col. 6	<u>Date of arrival of Household into Parish</u>	
	Household formed <u>outside</u> parish and arrived:	
	1957 - 1961 (5 yrs)	1
	1952 - 1956 (5 yrs)	2
	1946 - 1951 (6 yrs)	3
	1939 - 1945 (7 yrs)	4
	Pre 1939	5
	Householder (whether M or F) and/or head's wife born in Parish	0
	H'hold formed in Parish through neither head nor wife (if any) born there	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 7	<u>Household Mobility within Parish</u>	
	H'hold (i.e. <u>after</u> formation) has lived in one or more other houses in parish	1
	H'hold has <u>not</u> lived in other house in parish:	
	- Head or head's wife (if any) <u>born</u> in house	2
	- Neither born in house but head or wife (if any) lived there before h'hold formed (e.g. on marriage)	3
	- H'hold moved in to present house as first address in parish of h'hold (i.e. on entry to parish or on formation of h'hold)	4
	Don't know	X

^{*} Tewin Village from Tewin Hill to Churchfield Cottages and Hertford Road.

Col. 8	<u>Date of Arrival of Household in Present House</u>	
	(Household formed at other address or on move to present address (e.g. on marriage))	
	1957 - 1961	1
	1952 - 1956	2
	1946 - 1951	3
	1939 - 1945	4
	Pre 1939	5
	Head of H'hold or wife born in house	0
	Either head or wife <u>lived</u> in house before h'hold formed but <u>not</u> born there	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 9	<u>Previous Address of Household before moving to Parish</u>	
	Adjacent Parish (where not U.D.)	1
	Elsewhere "Rural" Herts (and Rural Beds in case of Hexton)	2
	" " "Urban" Herts (excl. Barnet and E. Barnet but including U.D. Beds in case of Hexton. Also excluding Cheshunt U.D., Bushey U.D., Elstree R.D.)	3
	Conurbation of Gt. London outside London A.C.	4
	London A.C.	5
	"London" unspecified	6
	Elsewhere Reg. Gen. London and S.E. Southern and Eastern Regions	7
	England elsewhere	8
	Elsewhere U.K.	9
	Other (overseas etc.)	0
	D.N.A. (incl. h'hold formed in parish)	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 10	<u>Reasons given for moving to Parish</u>	
	Husband born (or established before marriage) in parish	1
	Wife " " " " " "	2
	Both H and W born in parish <u>or</u> other hd. of h'hold	3
	Easy commuting (i.e. near main roads rlys etc. <u>transport</u> mentioned)	4
	Hd of h'hold/Chief Earner moves to <u>new</u> job or nearer to job in a near parish	5
	Dwelling/Building land available when searching in wide area (i.e. not localised by 4 and 5 above)	6
	To be near relatives (linked with house and job)	7
	Retirement	8
	"Nice place"	9
	Other	0
	Combination of above	V
	Don't know	X

Note This will be analysed with regard to respondent even though
qu. asked about h'hold.

Col. 11 Respondent's satisfaction with Village

Staying in Village -	
satisfied to stay	1
would prefer to move	2
Moving from Village - plans definite -	
would like to stay in Village	3
would prefer to move	4
Stay but in smaller house	5
Stay but in larger house	6
Don't know and misc.	X

Col. 12 Ownership of House

Rent from private individ.	1
Rent from L.A.	2
Rent free	3
Own (free or long leasehold)	4
Don't know	5

Col. 13 Respondent's Assessment of Age of House

'Period' i.e. roughly pre 1830	1
19th Cent ^v	2
1900 - 1918	3
1919 - 1938	4
1939 - 1945	5
1946 - 1951	6
1952 - 1956	7
1957 - 1961	8
Don't know	X

Col. 14 Rooms occupied by Household

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8 or more	8
Open plan downstairs, Caravan etc.	9
Don't know	X

Col. 15	<u>No. of vehicles in Household</u>	
	1 car only	1
	2 cars only	2
	3 or more cars only	3
	1 motor bike only	4
	2 motor bikes only	5
	3 or more motor bikes only	6
	1 car and 1 bike	7
	1 car and 2 or more bikes	8
	Any other combination	9
	None of either	0
	No information	V
Col. 16	<u>Household composition</u> Servants <u>not</u> considered	
	<u>Simple</u>	
	Single Person	1
	One married couple with/without unmarried offspring	2
	Single person with one or more unmarried offspring	3
	Other - i.e. relatives not forming a nuclear family or unrelated	4
	<u>Complex</u>	
	As '2' above with additional related or non-related members	5
	As '3' above with additional related or non-related members	6
	Two or more married couples with/without additional members	7
Col. 17	<u>Household Size (excluding servants)</u>	
	1 person	1
	2 "	2
	3 "	3
	4 "	4
	5 "	5
	6 "	6
	7 "	7
	8 "	8
	9 or more	9
	Unknown or not sure	X

Col. 18	<u>No. of Children under 15 in Household</u>	
	1 child	1
	2 children	2
	3 "	3
	4 "	4
	5 "	5
	6 "	6
	7 "	7
	None	0
	Unknown	X
Col. 19	<u>Household Type</u>	
	Youngest child under 5 yrs	1
	" " 5 - 9 yrs	2
	" " 10 - 14 yrs	3
	No children under 15	0
	Don't know	X
Col. 20	<u>Number of Earners in H'hold (regular full or part time)</u>	
	1 Earner(s)	1
	2 "	2
	3 "	3
	4 "	4
	5 or more	5
	None	0
	Don't know/No information	X
	Retired.	V
	<u>Note:</u> Code Cols 21-28 and 40-44 inclusive for <u>Hd. of H'hold</u> where no Chief Earner.	
Col. 21	<u>Sex of Chief Earner/or Other Hd. of H'hold if Retired</u>	
	<u>NB</u> Chief Earner is <u>Oldest male Earner.</u> Where male Earner is <u>under 21</u> he is not taken as Chief Earner if there is a full time Female earner over 21.	
	Male	1
	Female	2
	No information	V
Col. 22	<u>Age of Chief Earner/Hd. of H'hold where no Chief Earner</u>	
	Under 21	1
	22 - 30	2
	31 - 40	3
	41 - 50	4
	51 - 65	5
	66 and over	6
	Don't know	X

Col. 23	<u>Marital Status of Chief Earner/Hd. of H'hold</u>	
	Married	1
	Single	2
	Divorced	3
	Separated	4
	Widow (er)	5
	Don't know	X
Col. 24	<u>Social Class of Chief Earner or Hd. of H'hold if no C.E.</u>	
	Professional people, landowners, managers and directors of large concerns in Govt., Ind ^y and Commerce. Officers in H.M. Forces. (i.e. R.G. 1, 3, 4 and some 16)	1
	Intermediate non-manual, ancillary to the professions with supervisory functions. Artists. Managers etc. of small non local concerns. All teachers. (i.e. R.G. 2 & 5, except for those in 3 below)	2
	Small local tradesmen, builders etc. (i.e. local people from R.G. 5)	3
	Junior non-manual workers - clerks, shop assistants, typists	4
	Personal service workers of skilled status - butlers, valets, cooks, nannies, waiters. But not chars	5
	Foremen and skilled manual workers	6
	Semi skilled and unskilled manual workers, remnants of personal service workers	7
	Farmers, baillifs, agricultural and horticultural managers, i.e. employers	8
	Agricultural employees with specialised skills specified	9
	Agricultural employee - general worker	0
	D.N.A. i.e. no paid occupation in past or present	V
	No information (incl. retired and unemployed when no inf. available - otherwise code last job)	X
Col. 25	<u>Industry of Chief Earner</u>	
	Agriculture, horticulture, fishing and gravel working	1
	Building	2
	Transport and public utilities	3
	Distribution	4
	Miscellaneous Services (incl. Domestic)	5
	Professional and public services	6
	Manufacture of vehicles/aircraft etc.	7
	Manufacture of other electrical and engineering equipment	8
	Other manufacturing industries	9
	Unemployed	0
	D.N.A. (e.g. single persons with no occupation)	V
	No information	X

9 } see
0 } note
at end

Col. 26	<u>Chief Earner's Birthplace</u>	
	In parish or neighbouring parish	1
	otherwise code as for Col. 9, previous address of h'hold	
Col. 27	<u>Chief Earner's Age at ending F/T Education</u>	
	12 or under	1
	13	2
	14	3
	15	4
	16	5
	17	6
	18 or over	7
	Don't know	X
Col. 28	<u>Type of Chief Earner's Education</u>	
	'Ordinary' state or church	1
	Primary school only	
	Grammar	2
	Public (and/or other full fee paying)	3
	Grammar and University	4
	Public and University	5
	Other and University	6
	1, 2 and 3 (above) and other professional or trade post school education (F/T)	7
	Don't know	X
Col. 29	<u>Chief Earner's Workplace</u>	
	London A.C.	1
	Elsewhere Greater London Conurb.	2
	Stevenage	3
	W.G.C. and Hatfield	4
	Hertford	5
	Luton	6
	Hitchin	7
	Elsewhere	8
	In parish or adjacent parish	9
	No fixed place of work	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 30 Time of journey to work of Chief Earner
(Single journey door to door)

Works on premises	1
Works in parish	2
Outside parish under 30 mins.	3
31 - 45 mins.	4
46 - 60 mins.	5
61 - 75 mins.	6
Over 75 mins.	7
Irregular journey to no fixed place of work	8
D.N.A.	V
Don't know	X

Col. 31 Distance of J. to W. of Chief Earner

Works on premises	1
Works in parish but <u>not</u> on premises	2
Up to 2 miles (outside parish)	3
Between 2.1 and 5 miles	4
" 5.1 and 10 miles	5
" 10.1 and 15 "	6
" 15.1 and 20 "	7
Over 20 miles	8
Irregular journey to no fixed place of work	9
D.N.A.	V
Don't know	X

Col. 32 Method and transport to work of Chief Earner

Works on premises	1
Walks or bike	2
Push-bike always	3
Motor-bike	4
Car/Van	5
Lift	6
Bus	7
Train	8
Car to train (or other private transport to train)	9
Other Combination	0
D.N.A.	V
Don't know	X

Col. 33 No. of subsidiary earners travelling outside parish daily

1	1
2	2
3	3
4 or more	4
D.N.A./None	V
Don't know	X

Col. 34	<u>Time of J. to W. of Subsidiary earner travelling furthest from parish.</u> Code as Col. 30	
Col. 35	<u>Distance of J. to W. of subsidiary earner travelling furthest from parish.</u> Code as Col. 31	
Col. 36	Whether Chief Earner's wife (if any) works or not (regularly)	
	Part time work	1
	Full time work	2
	Not at work	3
	D.N.A. (i.e. Chief earner has no wife or no Chief earner)	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 37	<u>Widow's deceased husband's birthplace</u> Code as Col. 9.	
Col. 38	<u>Widow's deceased husband's occupation</u> Code as Col. 24.	
Col. 39	<u>Widow's deceased husband's industry</u> Code as Col. 25.	
Col. 40	<u>Chief Earner's first occupational grouping</u> Code as Col. 24.	Cols 40-44 coded for Hd. of Household when no chief earner
Col. 41	<u>Chief Earner's first industry</u> Code as Col. 25.	
Col. 42	<u>Chief Earner's place of first job</u> Code as Col. 9	
	Within parish or neighbouring parish		1
Col. 43	<u>Social Class of Chief Earner's Father</u> Code as Col. 24.	
Col. 44	<u>Industry of Chief Earner's Father</u> Code as Col. 25.	
Col. 45	<u>Shopping Place for Most Groceries</u> i.e. place VISITED	
	Delivered from outside parish	1
	Shop in parish or adjacent parish and delivered within parish	2
	Luton	3
	Hitchin	4
	Stevenage	5
	W.G.C./Hatfield	6
	Hertford	7
	Other	8
	No particular place - many named	0
	Don't know	X

Col. 46	<u>Shopping place for MEAT</u> Code as Col. 45 None D.N.A.	V
Col. 47	<u>Shopping place for Dress/Coat for woman/housewife</u> London (West end) Other London - e.g. Palmers Green, Southgate, Enfield Luton Hitchin Stevenage Welwyn Garden City Hertford St. Albans Other (incl. 'various' local) Various incl. London D.N.A. (no woman/housewife) makes own etc. Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 V X
Col. 48	<u>Shopping place for Shoes for woman/housewife</u> Code as above.	
Col. 49	<u>Shopping Place for Shoes for man/husband</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 50	<u>Shopping place for coat/suit/dress for Dependent child</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 51	<u>As Col. 50 for Shoes</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 52	<u>Shopping place for piece of living-room furniture</u> Code as Col. 47.	
Col. 53	<u>Transport for Cols. 45 (Groceries)</u>	
Col. 54	- 47 (Dress for woman/h'wife)	
Col. 55	- 50 (Coat, Suit, dress of dependent child)	
	Walk	1
	Bicycle	2
	Motor-bicycle	3
	Car	4
	Bus	5
	Train	6
	Varies private	7
	Varies public	8
	Combination or variation of above	9
	Delivered	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 56 No. of Shopping Trips in last Calendar week

Housewife (Resp. to decide who is)

1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5 or more	5
None	0
Don't know	X

Col. 57 Respondent's Position in Household

Married wife	1
Div/Sep. wife	2
Widow	3
Spinster	4
Married husband	5
Div/Sep. "	6
Widower	7
Bachelor	8
Don't know	X

N.B. Interviewers instructed to interview only householder or wife.Col. 58 No. of journeys made by Respondent outside parish for various entertainments

More than once a week	1
About once a week	2
Three times a month	3
Twice a month	4
Once a month	5
Between 6 and 12 a year	6
Less than 6 times a year	7
Almost never (e.g. once a year sometimes)	8
Absolutely never	0
Don't know	X

Col. 59 Holidays

Only in 1960 (and D.N.K. 1961)	1
Only in 1961	2
Both 1960 and 1961	3
Neither 1960 nor 1961	0
Don't know	X

Col. 60	<u>Holiday Destination 1960</u>	
	Elsewhere Herts (and, in the case of Hexton, Beds)	1
	East Coast i.e. Lincs to Essex	2
	South Coast i.e. Kent to Dorset	3
	South West, i.e. Devon, Cornwall, Som.	4
	Scotland	5
	Wales and Ireland	6
	Elsewhere England	7
	Abroad	8
	Holiday at home	9
	Don't know/D.N.A. - didn't go	0
	Various places U.K.	V
	Various places including Abroad	X
Col. 61	<u>Holiday Destination 1961</u>	
	Code as above (Col. 60)	
Col. 62	<u>Length of Holiday 1960</u>	
	7 days and under	1
	8 - 15 days	2
	16 - 21 days	3
	over 21 days	4
	None - D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 63	<u>Last time visitor came for MEAL with Respondent</u>	
	Up to 7 days ago	1
	8 to 15 " "	2
	16 to 21 " "	3
	3 wks and over to under a month	4
	1 month and over and under 3 months	5
	3 - under 6 months ago	6
	6 months and over	7
	Never have visitors for meal or go out	V
	Don't know/remember	X
Col. 64	<u>Relationship of last visitor</u>	
	Friend	1
	Parents/Parents in law	2
	Sibling/sibling in law	3
	Offspring	4
	Other relation	5
	Combination of 2, 3 and 4	6
	Combination of any of above	7
	Never have visitors for meal or go out	V
	Don't know/remember	X

Col. 65	<u>Place from which last visitor came</u>	
	In parish or adjacent parish	1
	Elsewhere Herts (and Beds in case of Hexton only)	2
	Greater London Conurbation and London A.C.	3
	Neighbouring County (Essex, Cambs, Bucks and Beds in case of Tewin and Watton)	4
	Elsewhere R.G. S., S.E. and E. regions	5
	Elsewhere England	6
	Elsewhere U.K.	7
	Abroad	8
	Combination of above	9
	Never have visitors or go out	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 66	<u>Last time Resp. went to make visit for a meal</u> Code as Col. 63	
Col. 67	<u>Relationship of last person visited</u> Code as Col. 64	
Col. 68	<u>Place at which last person visited lived</u> Code as Col. 65	
Col. 69	<u>Total Clubs joined in village</u> (i.e. normally attending more than twice a year <u>excluding</u> church)	
	<u>Woman</u> 1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	5
	6	6
	7	7
	8 +	8
	None	0
	D.N.A.	V
	Don't know	X
Col. 70	as above for <u>Man</u>	
Col. 71	Total Clubs etc. joined <u>OUTSIDE</u> village (i.e. normally attending more than twice a year <u>excluding</u> church) Code as Col. 69 <u>Woman</u>	
Col. 72	As Col. 71 for <u>Man</u> Code as Col. 69.	

Col. 73 Office holders in village organisation Committee members etc.
Including organisations connected with Church

<u>Woman</u>	1 organisation(s)	1
	2 "	2
	3 "	3
	4 "	4
	5 "	5
	6 " or more	6
	None	0
	D.N.A. (i.e. not in any orgs.)	V
	Don't know	X

Col. 74 As for Col. 73 but for Man.

Col. 75 Office holders or committee members in organisation/clubs etc.
OUTSIDE village (including Church)

For Woman Code as Col. 73.

Col. 76 As for Col. 75 but for Man Code as Col. 73

Col. 77 Voting behaviour of Respondent at Local Election

Voted	1
Did not vote	2
Not eligible	V
Don't know/remember	X

Col. 78 General Election 1959: Voting Behaviour

Conservative	1
Liberal	2
Labour	3
Did not vote/not eligible	V
Won't say/can't remember	X

Col. 79 1961 (Now) Indication

Conservative	1
Liberal	2
Labour	3
Uncertain	0
Not eligible	V
Won't say/don't know	X

Col. 80	<u>Past Voting Behaviour</u>	
	Labour 1959 cons. before	1
	" " lib. "	2
	Always labour	3
	Cons. 1959 lab. before	4
	" " lib. "	5
	Always Conservative	6
	Liberal 1959 lab. before	7
	" " cons. "	8
	Always Liberal	9
	Won't say/can't remember/don't know	0
	D.N.A. - not eligible	V
	Has voted differently - won't say what	X

Note. The following are classified as skilled workers in agriculture:
 Cowman, shepherd, gamekeeper, estate handyman or mechanic, gardener.

Unskilled agricultural workers:
 Groom, woodman, vermin killer, gardener's helper, tractor driver,
 agricultural labourer with no further specification.